Colourful green

Immigrants' and non-immigrants' recreational use of greenspace and their perceptions of nature

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Chapter 1

Colourful green: An introduction

Introduction

During the last decade, nature conservation organisations in the Netherlands and in other Northwest European countries have been looking for ways to deal with current multicultural societies, in which the share of immigrants is increasing. Organisations such as *Staatsbosbeheer* (National Forest Service of the Netherlands), the English National Park Authorities and *Deutsche Naturschutzring* (German Nature Conservation Ring) have articulated concerns about immigrants or ethnic minorities not visiting nature conservation areas and having a low participation in outdoor recreation (Askins, 2006; Deutscher Naturschutzring, 2009; Somers et al., 2005). As outdoor recreation is supposed to have a positive effect on support for nature conservation, nature conservation organisations see this low participation as problematic.

Efforts to stimulate participation of immigrants in outdoor recreation have been made in some Northwest European countries, such as in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. However, these efforts have been limited and were sometimes controversial. The most notorious Dutch case in this respect is the initiative launched by *Stichting wAarde*, known as the *Smulbos* ("yum-yum forest"). For the *Smulbos* initiative, this foundation intended to plant a forest of fruit trees, in which visitors, and particularly immigrants, were invited to pick fruits and nuts and walk off the pathways. The foundation argued that, in contrast to Dutch practices and legislation, "in their [immigrants'] own country, food can be found and collected everywhere in nature" (Telegraaf, 2004). This initiative, although meant as accommodating and sympathetic, received severe criticism as it was considered to be stigmatising and exclusionary. It is in the context on debates over low participation levels that I decided to study immigrants' and non-immigrants' recreational use of greenspace and their perceptions of nature.

Motivations to study participation in outdoor recreation

Lack of empirical knowledge

While conservationists have addressed the participation by immigrants in outdoor recreation as a problem and some efforts have been made to take action against it, there is very little information on actual participation levels of immigrants in Northwest Europe. The number of scientific publications on this issue is still limited (see Chapter 2). The number of reports by research institutes and Master's thesis studies is larger, but the quality of research in these publications is generally lower and sometimes the work is mainly anecdotal. Moreover, outdoor recreation is often studied in rather limited ways and particularly overlooks the diversity of immigrant perspectives. The existing studies tend to focus on just one group of immigrants or to group all immigrant communities together. Therefore, we do not know to what extent the term "low participation" is

a proper reflection of a complex reality. Are immigrants indeed under-represented amongst users of greenspace, and if so, which different immigrant groups and for which types of greenspace? There may be variations, as one of the few Northwest European quantitative studies on this issue showed, which counted a far higher number of visitors from ethnic minority backgrounds to English national parks than expected (Askins, 2006).

Support for nature conservation

Knowledge about recreational behaviour of immigrants has societal relevance in the light of the positive effects that participation in outdoor recreation may have. Both conservation scientists and nature conservation professionals have voiced the view that outdoor recreation is relevant because of a presumed positive relationship with nature conservation. Although recreation may impact negatively upon nature, for example by disturbing animals, trampling of vegetation, increasing traffic and littering, various conservationists have argued that outdoor recreation or 'nature recreation' (also) has an important positive effect on nature conservation (see for example Balmford et al., 2002; Kareiva, 2008; Pergams & Zaradic, 2006). In this respect, conservationists probably do not refer to recreation in greenspace in general, but to recreation in specific green areas, such as 'wild' or 'nature' areas (see also section "Greenspace and nature"). The idea is that people who spend time in these nature areas and have positive experiences in nature, are more likely to provide the public support essential for nature conservation (Pergams & Zaradic, 2008). Supposedly, when people visit nature areas, they develop an emotional bond with nature. Moreover, it is argued that people care about what they know, and people need to know about nature to become engaged in environmental and ecological issues (Balmford et al., 2002). Successful nature conservation is therefore assumed to require a 'battle for the hearts and minds of people' (Kareiva, 2008).

The supposedly low participation of immigrants in outdoor recreation concurs with what has been described as a general decline in nature visits. In an influential paper published in 2008, Pergams and Zaradic (2008) pointed to an on-going and fundamental shift away from nature-based recreation in the United States. In another well-cited publication, "The last child in the woods", Louv (2005) pointed out that the exposure of children to nature is decreasing. Also in the Netherlands, there are indications that participation in various forms of outdoor recreation, such as walking and cycling, has decreased over the last decade (e.g. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2013), although the number of people engaging in outdoor recreational activities is still large. In the view of conservationists, these declining visits to nature areas may have crucial implications for current and future conservation efforts. Kareiva (2008, p. 2757) even states that wide-spread declines in nature recreation "may well be the world's greatest environmental threat […], far more foreboding for the environment than even declining tropical forest cover or increasing greenhouse gas emissions".

It should be noted that the assumed positive relationship between outdoor recreation and support for nature conservation has not been convincingly supported by scientific research. Since the 1970s, several researchers have examined the relations between participation in outdoor or nature recreation and support for nature conservation or pro-environmental behaviour. While there are some indications of relations between support for nature conservation and frequency of outdoor recreation, type of activities participated in, and childhood experiences in nature, the results of these studies remain inconclusive (see e.g. Bjerke et al., 2006; Thapa, 2010; Theodori et al., 1998).

Public health and social integration

Knowledge about participation in outdoor recreation is also relevant from a public health and a social integration perspective. The beneficial effect of greenspace on health and physical and mental well-being is a recurring theme in descriptions of therapeutic environments and associated healthy lifestyles (Ward Thompson, 2010). Concerns about increasing levels of obesity, type II diabetes, poor cardiovascular health and poor mental health, particularly with regards to young people, have led to an interest in (recreation in) green areas as a way to improve physical and mental health (Hartig et al., 2010; Maas et al., 2006; Ward Thompson, 2010). Current research shows that particularly exercise in greenspace has a positive influence on health. It is well-known that physical exercise decreases people's vulnerability to various diseases, including cardiovascular diseases, diabetes and mental and physical disorders (WHO, 2010). Recent studies indicate that exercise in greenspace has greater positive health effects than indoor exercise or exercise in a built environment (e.g. Lee et al., 2012; Thompson Coon et al., 2011). In a review study, Thompson Coon et al. (2011) showed that compared to exercising indoors, people associated exercising in natural environments with greater feelings of revitalisation, a decrease in tension and depression, greater enjoyment and satisfaction, and a stronger intent to repeat the activity at a later date. Not only exercising, but also 'being in greenspace' may have a positive effect on health, particularly by contributing to psychological well-being and restoration and the ability to cope with the pressures and stresses of daily life (Bowler et al., 2010; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989; Kaplan, 1995; Van den Berg et al., 2003). If immigrants have a low participation in outdoor recreation, this may negatively influence their health and well-being. This may be a reason to stimulate participation in outdoor recreation particularly among specific groups of immigrants such as those of Turkish and Moroccan descent, who tend to be more susceptible to obesity and various illnesses including those related to physical inactivity, such as diabetes (e.g. De Wilde et al., 2009; Fredriks et al., 2005; Uitewaal et al., 2004).

Furthermore, knowledge about participation in outdoor recreation, particularly among immigrants, is also interesting from a social integration perspective. It has been argued that greenspace offers the opportunity for people to meet, which can play a role in creating interethnic understanding that may not emerge in more formal settings (Dines et al., 2006; Peters, 2010). Recreation in green areas, and especially in urban greenspace,

may therefore play a role in social integration and social cohesion. The relation between outdoor recreation and social integration/social cohesion has not been studied as well as that with support for nature conservation or public health.

Towards a theoretical approach on participation in outdoor recreation

As knowledge about participation in outdoor recreation is relevant from various societal perspectives and as the empirical knowledge on this issue is limited, there is a demand for in-depth research on this topic. Research is needed that goes beyond simple descriptions of behaviour and reflects the diversity of immigrant and non-immigrant perspectives. Basing research on an appropriate theoretical foundation can help us develop such knowledge. In the following I will give a short description of the theoretical approaches used in the field of recreation studies. In addition, I will discuss insights from other social scientific fields, in order to come to a theoretical approach that enables a better understanding of the recreational use of greenspace by immigrants.

Towards a better understanding of recreational behaviour

Theories in the field of recreation and the related fields of leisure and tourism have largely focused on two clusters of issues: motivations and experiences, and constraints and negotiations. These issues have been studied both separately and in relation to each other. Theories on motivations and experiences mainly describe why people engage in leisure activities, and the psychological and physical objectives that people have with respect to recreation (e.g. Bang et al., 2007; Cohen, 1979; Crompton, 1979; Iso-Ahola, 1982; Lengkeek, 2001; Manfredo & Driver, 1996). Various motivations and experiences have been distinguished for outdoor recreation, such as enjoying nature, socialising, physical fitness and escaping the pressures of daily life (see e.g. Manfredo & Driver, 1996). Some authors explicitly focus on the position of greenspace in the recreation experience. For example, Bang et al. (2007) make a distinction between practices in which greenspace is foregrounded, intermediate or backgrounded, reflecting the position and role that the natural world plays in these practices. In addition to or together with motivations and experiences, various authors in this field focused on leisure constraints and negotiation strategies (e.g. Crawford et al., 1991; Jackson et al., 1993; Kay & Jackson, 1991; Stodolska, 2005b; White, 2008). Distinctions have for example been made between intrapersonal constraints (involving individual psychological attributes such as stress or perceived skills), interpersonal constraints (involving the relationships between people, such as the inability to find partners to participate in an activity) and structural constraints (intervening factors such as financial resources and time) (e.g. Crawford et al., 1991). Some of the constraints discussed in this context specifically focus on immigrants, such as perceived discrimination (e.g. Kloek et al., 2013b; Livengood & Stodolska, 2004; Stodolska, 2005b). Studies also explored how people adopt different strategies to negotiate various leisure constraints

(e.g. Jackson et al., 1993; Livengood & Stodolska, 2004; Peleman, 2003; White, 2008).

While the focus on motivations and constraints is very valuable in studying certain aspects of outdoor recreation, a theoretical approach based on motivations and constraints only does probably give too narrow a view of the complexity of recreational behaviour. As Coalter (1997) suggests, solely focusing on motivations and constraints leaves us without an understanding of the societal, cultural and individual meanings associated with recreation. Theories set up to understand complex behaviour in other scientific fields may help in achieving a further understanding of recreational behaviour. In sociology and social psychology, identity has been suggested as providing 'a prime explanatory principle' for human behaviour (Verkuyten, 2005, p. 38). Philosophers such as Manuel Castells, Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, Charles Taylor and Zygmont Bauman have argued in this respect that in the (post-)modern, globalised and individualised world, questions of identity have become both more salient and more urgent than ever before. Identities are closely related to people's subjective experiences and behaviour. As people have multiple identities, such as a gender or an ethnic identity, which are alternately activated depending on their importance and the specific context, identity theory can help explain complex and varied behaviour (Burke, 2003; Stets & Burke, 2000; Thoits & Virshup, 1997). Identity theory has for example been used to explain why people execute pro-environmental behaviour in some contexts and not in others (Clayton & Opotow, 2004). Various authors have already argued that recreation is one of the contexts in which people negotiate and construct their identities (e.g. Jay & Schraml, 2013; Kelly, 1981; Peters, 2011; Williams, 2002). Jay and Schraml (2013), for instance, stated that outdoor recreation is connected with peoples' lives and how they make sense of themselves and their multiple identities. Williams (2002) suggested that people actively seek recreational experiences in support of preferred identities, and participants in recreational activities may define and express themselves through those activities. Although theories on outdoor recreation in relation to identity have not been well developed, various attempts have been made to address recreation in a more in-depth manner by focusing on its relation with multiple identities as expressed in a variety of contexts (e.g. Clayton & Opotow, 2004; Kelly, 1981; Proshansky et al., 1983). For example, in a study on people with disabilities, Tregaskis (2003) showed that recreation can be a context in which, as people with and without disabilities join in on the same activities, their disability status can be subordinate to other identities, such as their identity as nature lover. Examining the relation between recreation and people's multiple identities may thus be a step forward in obtaining a better understanding of recreational behaviour.

Beyond the immigrant – non-immigrant dichotomy

Recreation research has tended to view migration background as a given factor that may explain differences in participation rates, motivations and constraints. Such research often proceeds from a binary opposition between immigrants and non-immigrants, and a straightforward correlation between behaviour and migrant background (see Chapter

2). Recently, several authors have observed that such research does not properly explain ethnicity-related differences in leisure (e.g. Gentin, 2011; Jay & Schraml, 2013; Shinew et al., 2006). This may have various scientific and ethical consequences. On a scientific level, scholars start to realise that applying ethnicity as a given explanatory factor for observed variations in recreational behaviour fails to acknowledge the heterogeneity between and within migrant groups (e.g. Gentin, 2011; Shinew et al., 2006). Moreover, such an approach cannot capture the subjective role that ethnicity plays in the (leisure) lives of individuals, which is important considering that ethnicity is a social construct (Jay & Schraml, 2013; Shinew et al., 2006). On an ethical level, various authors have pointed to the risk of essentialising groups and to the process of 'othering' as a consequence of carrying out research based on a binary opposition between immigrants and non-immigrants (e.g. Said, 1995). Focusing on just one group of immigrants or grouping all immigrant communities together may lead to a perpetuated 'us versus them'-thinking. Jay and Schraml (2013) have therefore called for research that accounts for a differentiated perspective on recreational behaviour of immigrant groups taking into account individual and group identities. This could be achieved by including immigrants from various backgrounds in studies and by focusing on how they themselves perceive their ethnicity in relation to their outdoor recreational behaviour, also vis-à-vis other identities. Such an approach implies using identity theory as well.

For gaining a better understanding of outdoor recreational behaviour that acknowledges the diversity of immigrant and non-immigrant perspectives, identity thus seems to be a useful concept. Indeed, Gleason (1983) expressed that we could hardly do without the word identity when we talk about immigration and ethnicity. In this dissertation I therefore elaborate a theoretical framework incorporating insights from identity theory as well as insights from recreation studies on motivations and constraints to study immigrants' and non-immigrants' recreational behaviour. I particularly take into account that people have multiple identities influencing their outdoor recreational behaviour, which differ in importance and are context-dependent, and which are activated and formed in interactions with others by societal ascriptions and individual subjective feelings. In Chapter 3, I will elaborate further on identity theory.

Greenspace and nature

While a large part of this dissertation focuses on recreation in greenspace, it also discusses perceptions of nature. As I described before, various conservationists have assumed a relationship between outdoor recreation and support for nature conservation. These conservationists generally do not make a distinction between greenspace and nature. I think that it is important to make such a distinction, as they are quite different concepts. Greenspace is a spatial concept, which includes all public and semi-public green areas, urban and non-urban, from wilderness to rural land and

urban parks. Nature is a subjective concept, as what people perceive to be nature strongly differs between individuals, social groups and cultures (see e.g. Buijs, 2009a; Cronon, 1995; Schouten, 2005). It may include spatial dimensions, such as (a subset of) all green areas (e.g. 'wilderness'). It may also include non-spatial aspects, such as forces of nature or natural processes. When conservationists speak of declining visits to nature areas, the nature areas they are referring to are related to their subjective definition of nature. What conservationists perceive as nature may or may not match with what lay people, including immigrants, perceive as nature (Buijs, 2009a). To avoid the subjectivity of the term 'nature' in descriptions of behaviour, outdoor recreation in this dissertation is synonymous to recreation in greenspace. In this dissertation I also study how immigrants and non-immigrants perceive nature, or, more specifically, how they understand, value and experience nature. This is especially important in the light of recent scientific insights that Western normative ideas of nature are reflected in Western conservation practices; in the design and layout of parks and nature areas, the facilities they contain, and the recreation programmes offered (Byrne, 2011). These practices of nature conservation can be at odds with immigrants' perceptions of nature. Similar to my approach to outdoor recreation, in researching perceptions of nature I intend to go beyond the immigrant – non-immigrant dichotomy, and distinguish differences between and within immigrant groups as well as similarities with non-immigrants.

A little history of migration in the Netherlands

In order to get a first understanding of the differences and similarities between groups of immigrants, it is important to know about the history of migration. I will focus in this section on migration to the Netherlands, as this is where I situated my empirical research. Throughout its history, the Netherlands has demonstrated a strong international orientation and the country has welcomed many newcomers (Lucassen & Penninx, 1994). Although the Netherlands does not consider itself a 'true country of immigration' (Rath, 2009), from 1960 onwards, and also in earlier periods of time, the annual immigration to the Netherlands almost invariably exceeded the emigration and the Netherlands has *de facto* been a country of immigration (Lucassen & Penninx, 1994; Rath, 2009).

Post-war immigration patterns in the Netherlands, as well as in most other Northwest European countries, have mainly been guided by three phenomena, namely economic developments generating demand for migrant workers, colonial ties between countries, and foreigners seeking asylum (Geddes, 2003; Hansen, 2003). After many Dutch emigrated from the Netherlands in the 1950s, in the 1960s and 1970s, large numbers of 'guest workers' were attracted from Turkey, Morocco and Southern-Europe to compensate for the shortage of labourers in the growing Dutch economy (Garssen et al., 2005). Since both the government and the immigrants themselves considered

the presence of these guest workers to be a temporary solution to labour shortages, the immigrants left their families behind, hoping to return to their home countries after a few years. After the economic breakdown resulting from the oil crisis in 1973, the government and businesses stopped recruiting workers from abroad, and many Spanish and Italian guest workers indeed returned to their countries of origin. Many Turkish and Moroccan men, however, decided to stay in the Netherlands permanently, having their families coming over to join them (Zorlu & Hartog, 2001). From 1976 until around 2005, family unification and family formation were the most common types of migration to the Netherlands (Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek- en Documentatiecentrum, 2009). Work-related immigration also continued to be an important type of migration. For example, since the 1970s a considerable number of Chinese immigrants came to the Netherlands for work purposes, particularly to work in the catering industry (Linder et al., 2011).

Furthermore, a large percentage of immigrants in the Netherlands comes from former colonies, such as Indonesia and Suriname. In Northwest European countries, immigration from former colonies often took place in a relatively short time span, mainly when colonies were on the brink of independence (Hansen, 2003). In the run-up to Algerian independence, for instance, many Algerians moved to France. People migrated from former colonial countries to the respective former colonial powers as many of these newly independent countries were politically unstable and did not offer sufficient economic opportunities. This phenomenon also happened in the Netherlands, for instance around 1975 when Suriname became independent and many Surinamese migrated to the Netherlands (Lucassen & Penninx, 1994). Between immigrants from different former colonies, there are large differences with respect to numbers, socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, and the timing of people's migration (Van Amersfoort & Van Niekerk, 2006).

Since the 1980s, the number of asylum seekers strongly increased in the Netherlands. This contributed to a diversification in terms of immigrants' countries of origin (Geddes, 2003). The influx of asylum seekers is strongly dependent on political developments in their countries of origin, and the latter is also the main reason for the fluctuations in number of immigrants since 1985 (Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek- en Documentatiecentrum, 2009). Large shares of people seeking asylum in the Netherlands came from Former Yugoslavia, Pakistan and Ghana, and more recently Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Somalia, Eritrea and Syria (Garssen et al., 2005). After 2000, the number of incoming asylum seekers to the Netherlands decreased, due to more strict national immigration and integration policies (Rath, 2009). Currently, this number is growing again because of political unrest in various countries in the world.

In 2014, 21% of the Dutch population was considered an immigrant (in Dutch: *allochtoon*) in the official counting (see Table 1.1). The percentage of immigrants is still rising: Statistics Netherlands (CBS) forecasted that in 2050, a total of 29% of the population will be immigrant and 17% will be non-western immigrant (see Figure

1.1, Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2014). A person is considered an immigrant in the official counting of the CBS when at least one of the parents is born abroad. Distinctions are made between first-generation immigrants, who are born abroad, and second-generation immigrants, who are born in the Netherlands. In 2014, 51% of the immigrants were first-generation immigrants. Almost 56% of all immigrants were considered to be non-western, while the remaining 44% were considered to have a western background. A non-western immigrant in the definition of the CBS is someone whose country of origin lies in Africa, Latin America and Asia including Turkey, with the exception of Indonesia (or the former Dutch East Indies) and Japan; while a western immigrant is someone whose country of origin lies in Europe (except Turkey), North America and Oceania, or whose country of origin is Indonesia or Japan. The large majority of western immigrants, namely 61%, comes from Indonesia, Germany, Poland and Belgium. The large majority of non-western immigrants, namely 63%, originates from Turkey, Morocco, Suriname and the Antilles. These percentages are expected to change in the future, as the number of particularly Asians is growing. It is predicted that Asians will become the largest group of non-western immigrants in the Netherlands within a few decades. Currently, the largest group of Asian immigrants is from Chinese descent, and China will continue to be an important country of origin in the next decades (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2014; Garssen & van Duin, 2009).

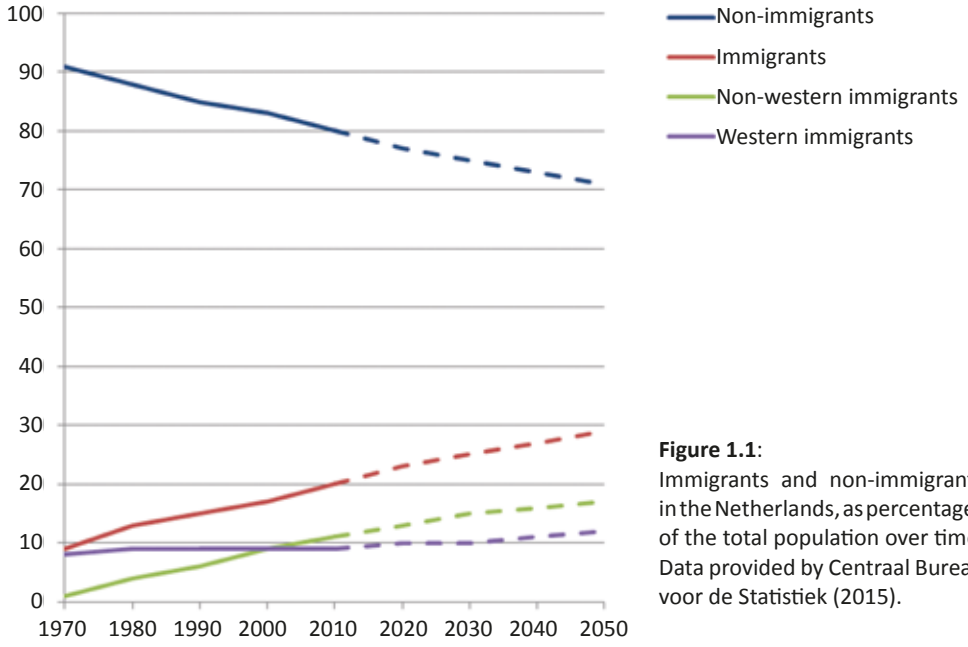

Figure 1.1:
Immigrants and non-immigrants in the Netherlands, as percentages of the total population over time. Data provided by Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (2015).

This short history shows that the term 'immigrants' refers to people with a variety of backgrounds with respect to socio-demographic characteristics, cultural background and the migration process. It may therefore be problematic to speak of 'immigrants' in general, especially in relation to particular behaviours or perceptions regarding greenspace. Even more so, since who is considered to be an immigrant depends on the used definition of immigrants.

Table 1.1: Population of the Netherlands by country of origin and generation (x1000) on 1 January 2014. The most common countries of origin are specified. Data provided by Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (2015).

	Total persons	First generation	Second generation
Total population	16.829	-	-
Total immigrants	3.594	1.818	1.776
Total non-western immigrants	1.997	1.095	901
Turkey	396	194	201
Morocco	374	168	206
Suriname	348	180	167
(Former) Dutch Antilles and Aruba	146	82	64
China	64	44	19
Total western immigrants	1.597	722	874
Indonesia	372	109	262
Germany	368	106	262
Poland	123	95	27
Belgium	115	40	74

Immigrants: whose definition?

Categorising immigrants is not clear-cut and straightforward, and is country-specific. The Dutch figures described in the previous paragraph are based on the criterion of country of birth only. In other Northwest European countries, various similar and other definitions are in use to distinguish immigrants (see also Jay et al., 2012). While someone may be considered an immigrant using one definition, he may not be an immigrant using another definition. It is therefore important to realise what the term immigrant means based on the Dutch official definition, and how it is related to other definitions of immigrants.

Firstly, as the official Dutch categorisation is based on the 'objectively measurable' country of birth, it does not express anything about how individuals experience their ethnicity themselves. For example, second-generation immigrants may have lost connection to their parent(s)' ethnic background and may subjectively only identify

with their Dutch background, especially when only one of the parents was born abroad. On the other hand, people who can be considered 'third-generation' immigrants may still or again identify with the ethnic background of their (grand)parents, while they are not considered to be immigrants based on the CBS definition. Moreover, people may identify with more than one ethnic identity, which cannot be captured by the CBS definition. Definitions of immigrants proceeding from self-categorisations have been in use in an official context in a few countries. In Northwest Europe, the United Kingdom's census bases its definition of ethnicity on the subjective feelings of the individual regarding his or her ethnicity, by asking people to distinguish their ethnic group or background themselves.

Furthermore, a definition based on country of birth is not related to who is in possession of Dutch nationality/Dutch citizenship. Immigrants in the Netherlands can obtain Dutch nationality after they have lived in the Netherlands for five years or have lived there together with their spouse for three years (also depending on a few other criteria including passing an integration test). Many of the people who are considered to be an immigrant based on the criterion of country or birth thus have Dutch nationality. In some other Northwest European countries such as Denmark and Germany, citizenship has been in use to distinguish immigrants, sometimes in combination with criteria based on country of birth. In the last German census, for example, a person is considered to 'have an immigrant background' if he or at least one of his parents does not have German nationality or is not born in Germany.

Lastly, the definition of country of birth does not express how others in society perceive people. Visible and aural/vocal characteristics play an important role in public categorisations of immigrants (e.g. Göle, 2011; Kloek et al., 2013b). As Prins (2011) argued, in popular Dutch language the term immigrants (*allochtonen*) often refers, in a very broad sense, to not being white and/or not being able to (properly) speak Dutch or, in a very narrow sense, to having a Muslim background. In categorising someone as Muslim, visible characteristics play a large role as well, such as wearing a veil. Public conceptualisations of immigrants strongly relate to ideas on 'national identity' (Essed & Trienekens, 2008; Prins, 2011). According to Duyvendak (2011), the nation has been framed as 'home' in the Netherlands in recent years, and immigrants are increasingly seen as negatively influencing the emotion of 'feeling at home'. These popular conceptualisations strongly differ from conceptualisations based on country of birth or self-categorisation.

Research objectives and research questions

In the previous paragraphs, I sketched the context and rationales of this research. This study was inspired by worries of nature conservation organisations in the Netherlands and in various other Northwest European countries that immigrants hardly visit nature areas and have a low participation in outdoor recreation, while at the same time the

number of immigrants in the Netherlands and other European countries is increasing. A low participation in outdoor recreation may be worrisome with regards to the assumed positive effects on support for nature conservation, as well as on health and well-being, and social integration. Whether or not immigrants indeed participate in outdoor recreation on a low level is debatable, as empirical knowledge is scarce and for the most part does not go beyond an immigrant – non-immigrant dichotomy. In this context I aim to get a better understanding of immigrants' and non-immigrants' recreational use of greenspace, which acknowledges a diversity of immigrant and non-immigrant perspectives. In order to do so, I root my research in social-scientific theories and especially in identity theory. Identity theory has been developed in various disciplinary fields and has a broad scope. In Chapter 3 I distinguish three sensitizing concepts based on identity theory that can be used to study recreation in greenspace. It should be noted that the word 'identity' may evoke various associations; in this study I use identity only as a theoretical lens to gain a better understanding of outdoor recreational behaviour. Furthermore, I also aim to research how immigrants and non-immigrants think about nature. Three research questions guide my research:

1. *How do immigrants and non-immigrants of different backgrounds use greenspace for recreation?*

This question relates to the outdoor recreational behaviour of immigrants and non-immigrants. Can we indeed speak of low participation, and if so, for which different immigrant groups and for which types of greenspace? Which motivations do immigrants of various backgrounds and non-immigrants have for participating in outdoor recreation and which constraints do they perceive? What is the role of greenspace during outdoor recreation? What are differences and communalities in recreational behaviour between and within immigrant and non-immigrant groups?

2. *How is the recreational use of greenspace related to people's multiple identities?*

How do immigrants and non-immigrants of different backgrounds see (the importance of) their ethnicity in the context of outdoor recreation? And how important are other identities to them? In answering these questions, I reflect theoretically on the relationship between individuals, social groups and greenspace by distinguishing insights from identity theory that can be applied to study use of greenspace.

3. *How do immigrants and non-immigrants of different backgrounds subjectively perceive nature?*

While the first research question focuses on recreational use of greenspace, this question focuses on the subjective concept of nature in order to make a link with nature conservation. How do immigrants of different backgrounds and non-immigrants perceive nature, or, more specifically, how do they understand, value and experience nature? To what extent do traditional cultural representations of nature resonate in individuals' views of nature?

My empirical analyses focus specifically on young adults (between 18-35) with Turkish, Chinese and non-immigrant backgrounds in the Netherlands. Young adults are an interesting research group as they potentially form both current and future greenspace users, and may have specific outdoor recreational patterns. I chose to focus on Turkish immigrants as they form the largest group of non-western immigrants in the Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2015). While the number of Turkish immigrants is not expected to grow much in future, particularly the number of immigrants from Asian countries is increasing, and it is predicted that Asians will become the largest group of non-western immigrants in the Netherlands in 2050 (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2010). Currently, Chinese immigrants are the fifth largest group of non-western immigrants and the largest group of Asian immigrants in the Netherlands. As China differs considerably from Turkey regarding cultural and religious traditions, including both groups enabled me to not only study differences based on immigrant status but also differences between ethnic groups. Furthermore, I only included second-generation immigrants, and first-generation immigrants who spent most of their youth in the Netherlands ('1.5-generation'). This group has generally been raised in two cultures. Through their parents and family they have been in contact with their country of origin, while through school and participation in the society they have been in touch with Dutch culture. Focusing on this group can therefore show the persistence of ethnic behaviours and perceptions. Moreover, previous studies did not focus on this group as much as on first-generation immigrants (see Chapter 2).

This dissertation is first and foremost a scientific quest. However, as this dissertation has been set up in the context of nature conservation organisations trying to deal with multicultural societies and has been funded by the National Forest Service of the Netherlands, I also intend to offer policy recommendation related to participation of immigrants. In various chapters I explicitly deal with the practical consequences and implications of my results, and relate these to management practices.

Methodology

Analyses of complex phenomena such as recreational use of greenspace and perceptions of nature require various types of data, from a variety of methods. I therefore used mixed methods, or both a qualitative and a quantitative approach, to study recreational use of greenspace and perceptions of nature. In particular, I applied quantitative methods to produce representative figures on participation levels, while I used qualitative methods to get a better understanding of identities related to outdoor recreation. Mixed-method research is widely practiced and increasingly common and accepted in many areas of research (Newing, 2011; Sale et al., 2002). Employing both quantitative and qualitative methods allows the development of a fuller picture of the research topics, and thereby it can increase the relevance of social inquiry (Jennings,

2001). I thus used quantitative and qualitative methods not so much for cross-validation purposes, but for complementary purposes (Sale et al., 2002).

My aim to gain more insight in a variety of immigrants' perspectives fits well with qualitative research. Qualitative research focusses on experiences, processes and meanings. I therefore used a qualitative method, namely group interviews, to come to a better understanding of immigrants' experiences and meanings. In group interviews, interactions and identity processes are actually taking place, while participants respond to and build on the views expressed by others in the group. Consequently, group interviews are a useful method for studying recreation in greenspace from an identity perspective (Munday, 2006). A limitation of this method is that it is less suitable for understanding individual thoughts, feelings, or experiences compared to for example individual interviews (Hennink, 2007). In total, I conducted nine group interviews in which 42 people participated. All group interviews took place in the city of Arnhem, the Netherlands (see Chapter 4 and 6 for more details on this method).

In order to examine whether immigrants indeed have low participation levels compared to non-immigrants, I also needed quantitative data. I therefore conducted a questionnaire with a quota sampling design among 1057 respondents. They were recruited in strongly urbanised regions and more rural regions with medium-sized cities surrounded by agricultural land and nature reserves (see Chapter 5 and 6 for more details on this method). The use of questionnaires has been well-established in assessing recreational patterns (Vaske, 2008), however, they may be less suited to assess the complexities and contextuality of multiple identities.

Outline of the dissertation

This dissertation comprises of seven chapters: this introduction, a literature review, a theoretical chapter, three empirical chapters and a concluding chapter. Chapter 2 is a literature review that provides an overview of existing Northwest European research on greenspace, immigration and society. It discusses uses and perceptions of greenspace, as well as the concepts used to study them. It has a broader focus than the other chapters of this dissertation, and also compares national research traditions of various countries. In this chapter, I also discuss current knowledge gaps and identify promising research directions. In Chapter 3, the theoretical framework of this dissertation is presented, based on the conclusions from Chapter 2. This chapter focuses on identity theory and distinguishes sensitizing concepts that can be used to study recreational use of greenspace, thereby contributing to the second research question. The theoretical framework set out in this chapter forms the basis for the three empirical chapters.

In Chapter 4, the results of the qualitative study regarding immigrants' and non-immigrants' recreational use of greenspace are discussed. This chapter mainly focuses on the first research question. Chapter 5 has the same focus on recreational use of

greenspace and contributes to the same research question, but from a quantitative perspective. In Chapter 6, I discuss the understandings, values and experiences of nature immigrants and non-immigrants have, and the extent to which traditional cultural representations resonate in these. This chapter is based on both the qualitative and quantitative studies, and focuses on the third research question. All three empirical chapters also include theoretical considerations, thereby contributing to the second research question. Chapter 7 presents the conclusions concerning the research questions presented above. Furthermore, this chapter contains a reflection on the theory and a discussion of the practical implications for policy and management.

Lastly, a short note: Chapters 2, 4, 5 and 6 are published in or are in review for scientific journals. This means that these chapters had to stand on their own, and they can therefore be read outside of the context of this dissertation as well. However, this also means that there is some overlap between the chapters, particularly regarding the rationale of the research, the theory and the methodology.

Chapter 2

Crossing borders: Review of concepts and approaches in research on greenspace, immigration and society in Northwest European countries

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Abstract

Relations between greenspace, immigration and society are emerging issues in policy and science. However, up to now research is fragmented and no overview of approaches exists. This review describes concepts and approaches in Northwest European research on immigrants' recreational use and perceptions of nature, rural landscapes and urban parks and on societal aspects of migration and greenspace. We show that national research traditions vary considerably, reflecting national 'contexts of reception' and conceptualisations of immigrants. Links between outdoor recreation and perceptions of greenspace have not been properly researched and explanatory factors are only superficially touched upon. Borders seem difficult to cross: learning processes and cooperation of scholars across approaches and countries are scarce. Furthermore, current research often lacks an explicit theoretical framework. We argue that the concept of identity-in-context can form a good starting point to build an internationally relevant theoretical framework on the greenspace – immigration – society interface.

Keywords: nature, countryside, ethnicity, immigration, identity

Introduction

In various Northwest European countries a 'whiteness' of staff of nature conservation organisations and an under-representation of immigrants in the recreational use of greenspace have been noted (Ambrose-Oji, 2010; Buijs et al., 2009; Edwards & Weldon, 2006). While immigrant populations are predicted to continue growing (Extra & Gorter, 2008), the number of studies in Northwest Europe on greenspace, immigration and society is rather limited and research has been fragmented. More studies have been published in the United States (see for example Carr & Williams, 1993; Floyd et al., 1993; Gobster, 2002; Stodolska et al., 2011), however, the United States differ from Europe regarding types of greenspace, cultural background of immigrants and social and political climate towards immigration. This review aims to discuss Northwest European approaches to study relations between greenspace, immigration and society and to distinguish knowledge gaps. The conceptualisation of greenspace in this review includes both urban and non-urban green, from natural and semi-natural landscapes to the countryside and urban parks. The conceptualisation of immigrants will be discussed after the introduction.

Both governments and nature conservation organisations in various Northwest European countries are starting to recognize that immigrants' perceptions and use of greenspace are relevant for policy-making. Nature organisations such as *Deutsche Naturschutzring* (German Nature Conservation Ring) and *Staatsbosbeheer* (National Forest Service of the Netherlands) articulated concerns about immigrants not visiting nature areas and barely applying for jobs in their organisations (Deutscher Naturschutzring, 2009; Somers et al., 2005). In the United Kingdom (UK), the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 and the Equality Act 2010 bind all statutory organisations and those substantially funded by statutory funds, including nature organisations, to take action to ensure and actively promote race equality. In this respect many projects have been set up to reach out to people of different ethnicities. For instance, the Mosaic Project which tries to link ethnic minorities with national parks and the Black Environmental Network, a countrywide network promoting equality of opportunity for ethnic minorities in the preservation and development of the environment (see also Curry et al., 2001). Lately, various governments emphasised the possible potential of greenspace to enhance social integration. The Dutch government, for example, created a subsidy arrangement aiming at facilitating interethnic interaction in public (green)space to bring about long-lasting social contacts within society (Peters, 2010). In the United States, Canada and Australia, countries outside the scope of this dissertation, comparable considerations have been voiced.

The above shows that there is a societal interest in the relationship between immigrants and greenspace. This interest is linked to many scientifically interesting issues, such as immigrants' recreational use and perceptions of greenspace and greenspace as a domain of attachment and social integration. However, although the

number of studies on greenspace, immigration and society is growing, the total number of scientific publications is relatively small. The amount of semi-scientific reports by research institutes and Msc thesis studies is larger, but these publications are not easily available. Research is almost exclusively nationally oriented and no international comparisons have been made. This prevented extensive theory building and possible interesting theories such as the importance of multiple identities and identity-in-context have been overlooked.

This review compares research of Northwest European countries in order to stimulate mutual learning. The focus is on Northwest European countries as they are fairly comparable regarding cultural background and types of greenspace. Included in the review is both peer-reviewed research and semi-scientific research from the last 25 years. Four strategies have been used to search publications on greenspace, immigration and society; 1) searching databases, namely ISI web of knowledge, Scopus, EBSCOhost and Google Scholar; 2) searching the internet and especially websites of nature organisations; 3) contacting five scientists from four countries for relevant literature; and 4) tracking references in found literature. Wide-ranging keywords are used in English, Dutch, German and French, all truncated/expanded as appropriate.

Three overarching themes can be distinguished in the reviewed studies, namely recreational use of greenspace, perceptions of greenspace and societal aspects of immigrants and greenspace. Within these themes various approaches exist. The number of studies carried out and the approaches used strongly differ per country. This review aims to: 1) provide an overview of concepts and approaches in Northwest European research on immigrants' perceptions and recreational use of greenspace, and societal aspects of migration and greenspace; 2) compare research traditions of different countries; 3) discuss knowledge gaps and identify promising research directions. This chapter is structured accordingly. The overview of concepts and approaches incorporates publications of all Northwest European countries. The order of the approaches is based on numbers of studies. In the comparison of national research traditions only three example countries are incorporated; namely the UK, the Netherlands and Germany.

Conceptualisations of immigrants

Before describing the approaches in existing research, conceptualisations of immigrants are discussed. Next, a short history is given of post-war immigration in Northwest Europe. Two main approaches to conceptualise immigrants are used in national censuses and governmental surveying institutions. These approaches are often, but not always, followed in the reviewed research from that country. One conceptualisation is based on country of birth. A person is considered an immigrant when his parents are born abroad. Distinctions are made between first-generation immigrants (born abroad) and second-generation immigrants (not born abroad). This conceptualisation is used in most Northwest European countries, such as Scandinavia, the Netherlands and Germany. Exact definitions differ between countries. The second

conceptualisation is based on the subjective experience of ethnicity by the individual. This approach is used in the UK. Terms like 'ethnic minority' and 'Black and Minority Ethnic people' (BME) are common in this context. This review covers both studies on 'immigrants' and on 'ethnic minorities'. We use the term 'immigrants' to designate both groups, as this term is used in most countries under review. In turn, we use the term 'natives'[1] if we refer to the rest of the population. In specific cases we use national terms put in quotation marks. We acknowledge that each terminology may reproduce essentialist notions of immigrants or ethnic minorities. It is therefore important to bear in mind that categorisations tend to ignore the in-group heterogeneity and overestimate differences between groups.

History of post-war immigration in Northwest Europe

Post-war immigration patterns in Northwest Europe have mainly been steered by three phenomena, namely colonial ties between countries, economic developments generating demand for migrant workers, and asylum seeking (Geddes, 2003; Hansen, 2003). The first phenomenon, migration from former colonies, occurred in France, the UK, the Netherlands and Belgium, mainly when colonies were on the brink of independence. For example, in the run-up to Algerian independence many Algerians migrated to France (Hansen, 2003). The second phenomenon, attraction of guest workers, took place in several Northwest European countries, namely France, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, the UK, Switzerland and Austria. Labour migration occurred largely between the 1950s and mid-1970s, with most labour migrants coming from the Mediterranean region. Asylum seeking migration, the third phenomenon, took a large increase in many Northwest European countries from the 1980s onwards. This contributed to a diversification in terms of immigrants' countries of origin (Geddes, 2003).

The following briefly describes immigration profiles of the UK, the Netherlands and Germany. In these countries most of the reviewed research has been conducted and these countries function as examples in the section 'National research traditions compared'. In the UK, influenced by decolonisation and the civil rights movement, the approach to migration issues focuses on race relations, equality between groups and oppression of discrimination. In 2001, the year of the last UK census, 8% of the population – 4.6 million people – belonged to a 'non-White ethnic group' (Office for National Statistics, 2005). Around half of them described themselves as 'Asian' and a further quarter as 'Black'. In the Netherlands, concepts of multiculturalism and cultural diversity have long shaped the migration philosophy, while this recently shifted toward integration of immigrants within society. In 2009, the Netherlands counted 3.3 million

[1] We use the term 'natives' to distinguish 'non-migrants'. This term is common in scientific papers on migration, however, it also has other connotations. In the UK, 'natives' is historically used as another word for 'savages' or 'uncivilised' people, while in the US the term refers to 'indigenous people'. These connotations do not apply here.

'first- and second-generation immigrants' (20% of the population), of which 1.8 million from non-western countries (Garssen & van Duin, 2009). Some 66% of the non-western immigrants originated from Turkey, Morocco, Suriname and the Antilles. In Germany, migration policies focus on the integration of immigrants into the society. In 2008, 19% of the population, more than 15 million people, had a 'migrant background' (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtelinge, 2010). The largest groups came from Turkey and the former Soviet Union.

Recreational use of greenspace

The first theme under which many studies on immigration and greenspace can be grouped is recreational use of greenspace. Three main conceptual approaches exist within this theme: recreational behaviour, social inclusion and access to greenspace. Studies within this theme have been published in the Netherlands, the UK, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Switzerland (see Table 2.1). Diverse methods are used to assess recreational use of greenspace, such as various interviewing techniques, focus groups, (participatory) observations, questionnaires, GIS programmes and combinations of these. In every theme, almost all studies focused on (various groups of) non-western immigrants from outside Europe. Dutch, German and Scandinavian studies largely focused on immigrants from the Mediterranean region, while studies from the UK mainly incorporated Asian and Black ethnic minorities.

Recreational behaviour

Studies on recreational behaviour focused on preferences for specific recreational activities and motives for recreation. This approach was mainly found in Dutch, Scandinavian and German research. In order to explain differences in recreational behaviour, a categorisation into socio-economic and ethnic-cultural factors was used particularly in Dutch studies. This categorisation corresponded to the marginality and ethnicity hypothesis, which originated from attempts to account for the recreational behaviour of African Americans in the United States (Washburne, 1978). The marginality hypothesis posits that social inequality, such as differences in income or educational level, affects recreational behaviour. The ethnicity approach argues that the existence of a distinct set of cultural norms and values with respect to recreation can explain differences in recreational behaviour (Aizlewood et al., 2006). A third hypothesis which more recently also received attention among American theorists, namely of perceived discrimination (see Byrne & Wolch, 2009; Stodolska, 2005a), did not gain much following in Northwest European research.

Results of studies on recreational behaviour showed many similarities. In all countries included, immigrants visited urban greenspace, especially greenspace in the close neighbourhood, more often than non-urban green. Immigrants appeared

to be under-represented in the use of non-urban greenspace. In the Netherlands, socio-economic factors mentioned to explain under-representation in recreational use of non-urban green by immigrants were low income and poor educational level, less mobility because of less car ownership, larger physical distance to nature areas, lack of knowledge on nature areas, and limited knowledge of the Dutch language (for example Aizlewood et al., 2006; Buijs & De Vries, 2005; Van der Waal, 2007b). Also some ethnic-cultural factors were found, such as no positive valuation for the Dutch 'artificial' nature and having other priorities in spending recreational time (De Witt, 2006; Somers et al., 2004). In other countries factors influencing this under-representation have not been extensively researched nor categorised. In Germany and Scandinavia some factors were mentioned, such as time constraints, poor weather, lack of company and fear of being attacked (Blomqvist, 2003; Figari et al., 2009; Gentin, 2006).

Two specific patterns of recreational behaviour were found in studies of various countries. First, the importance of social aspects associated with recreating in greenspace (see e.g. Figari et al., 2009; Jay & Schraml, 2009; Rishbeth & Finney, 2006). Immigrants often seemed to perceive greenspace as a domain for social gathering. Recreational visits mainly took place in large groups, as opposed to solitary visits or visits in small groups by natives. Second, immigrants' most popular activities were related to food, such as barbecuing, picnicking and picking fruits (see for example Jay & Schraml, 2009; Jókövi, 2000; Te Kloeze, 2001). Reasons behind these differences in behaviour patterns between native West-Europeans and immigrants from various non-western backgrounds, ranging from the Mediterranean region to Asia and the Caribbean, are not well researched and can be varied. For instance, differences may be connected to the process of immigration itself. Furthermore, the rural background of many immigrants may play a role. The findings may also imply that specific behaviours of natives, such as solitary visits, are part of a Northwest European/Western way of life, a Western identity. From the Romantic period onwards, the West has developed certain ideas about the perception and aesthetics of nature, such as that the most profound experience of nature, the experience of the sublime, is most accessible when one is alone in nature (Schouten, 2005). More research into this is needed.

Another similarity found mainly in German and Dutch research was the existence of gender differences in recreational behaviour (e.g. Jay & Schraml, 2009; Jókövi, 2000). For example, women visited greenspace mainly with family, while men also went out alone or with friends. Most of this research focused on people with a Muslim background. Muslim women may have less recreation opportunities because of rules on social and spatial separation of the sexes in Islam. Differences in recreational behaviour based on other identity aspects, such as generation of migration, are not well researched. Only the study by Jókövi (2001) on activities in urban and non-urban green found evidence that second-generation migrants remained attached to activities of first-generation migrants, but also picked up activities of natives.

Table 2.1. Key approaches in reviewed literature. The order of publications is alphabetically based on country and first author. Abbreviations of approaches: RB=Recreational behaviour; SI=Social inclusion; AtG=Access to greenspace; INLP=Images of nature and landscape preferences; EE=Embodied experiences of greenspace; NIR=National identity and rural racism; INO=Interculturalisation of nature organisations; SIt=Social integration. Country abbreviations: CH=Switzerland, DE=Germany, DK=Denmark, NL=The Netherlands, NO=Norway, SE=Sweden, UK=United Kingdom.

Publication	Country	Recreational use of greenspace			Perceptions of greenspace		Social aspects of migration and greenspace		
		RB	SI	AtG	INLP	EE	NIR	INO	SIt
Germann-Chiari and Seeland (2004)	CH			X					
Jay and Schraml (2009)	DE	X			X				X
Katz and Kontzi (2009)	DE							X	
Kontzi (2007)	DE				X				
Piniek et al. (2008)	DE	X							
Gentin (2006)	DK	X			X				
Schipperijn et al. (2010)	DK	X							
Aizlewood et al. (2006)	NL	X							
Belonje (1985)	NL	X							
Bosch (2004)	NL	X							
Bosch (2006)	NL	X							
Buijs et al. (2006)	NL				X				
Buijs et al. (2009)	NL				X				
De Boer and Schulting (2002)	NL				X				
De Witt (2006)	NL	X							
Elfrink (2009)	NL	X							X
Heinen (2005)	NL	X							
Jellema (2004)	NL				X	X			
Jókövi (2000)	NL	X							
Jókövi (2001)	NL	X							
Kloek et al. (2010)	NL				X				
Maasen (2004)	NL				X				
Milieu- en Natuurplanbureau (2007)	NL	X			X				
Peters et al. (2010)	NL								X
Peters (2010)	NL								X
Rijpma and Roques (2000)	NL	X							
Ruiter and Aalbers (2005)	NL				X				
Schmeink and ten Wolde (1998)	NL	X							
Soeters and van Meel (1995)	NL								X
Somers et al. (2004)	NL	X			X				
Somers et al. (2005)	NL							X	
Te Kloeze (2001)	NL	X							X
Van den Broek and Keuzenkamp (2008)	NL	X							

Table 2.1. [continued]

Publication	Country	Recreational use of greenspace			Perceptions of greenspace		Social aspects of migration and greenspace		
		RB	SI	AtG	INLP	EE	NIR	INO	SIt
Van der Waal et al. (2008)	NL				X	X			
Van der Waal (2007a)	NL							X	
Van Liempt (2001)	NL	X							X
Van Nederpelt (2000)	NL	X							
VAROR (1993)	NL	X							
Figari et al. (2009)	NO	X							
Blomqvist (2003)	SE		X						
Agyeman and Spooner (1997)	UK						X		
Agyeman (2001)	UK							X	
Ambrose-Oji (2009)	UK		X						
Ambrose-Oji (2010)	UK							X	
Askins (2006)	UK						X		
Askins (2008)	UK						X		
Askins (2009)	UK				X	X			
Booth et al. (2010)	UK	X	X						
Breakell (2002)	UK		X						
Bressey (2009)	UK						X		
Burgess et al. (1988)	UK					X			
Burgess (1995)	UK					X			
CABE (2010b)	UK			X					
Chakraborti and Garland (2004a)	UK						X		
Chakraborti and Garland (2004b)	UK						X		
Chakraborti (2010)	UK						X		
Cloke and Little (1997)	UK						X		
Comber et al. (2008)	UK			X					
Countryside Agency (2005)	UK		X		X				
Curry et al. (2001)	UK							X	
Davis and Adomako (2000)	UK							X	
De Lima (2004)	UK						X		
Edwards and Weldon (2006)	UK		X					X	
Finney and Rishbeth (2006)	UK					X			
Garland and Chakraborti (2006)	UK						X		
Ghodiwala et al. (1993)	UK	X			X				
Hubbard (2005)	UK						X		
Inland Waterways Amenity Advisory Council (2001)	UK		X						
Jay (1992)	UK						X		

Table 2.1. [continued]

Publication	Country	Recreational use of greenspace			Perceptions of greenspace		Social aspects of migration and greenspace		
		RB	SI	AtG	INLP	EE	NIR	INO	SIt
Jones et al. (2009)	UK			X					
King (2004)	UK						X	X	
Kinsman (1995)	UK						X		
Kinsman (1997)	UK							X	
Knowles (2008)	UK						X		
Madge (1997)	UK					X			
Memon (2005)	UK							X	
Moore (2007)	UK						X		
Morris (2003)	UK		X						
Neal and Agyeman (2006)	UK						X		
Neal (2002)	UK						X		
Noor-Ul-Amin and Woolley (1999)	UK	X	X						
O'Brien and Morris (2009)	UK		X					X	
OPENSpace Research Centre (2006)	UK		X						
OPENSpace Research Centre (2008)	UK		X						
Panelli et al. (2009)	UK						X		
Pendergast (2004)	UK		X						
Ravenscroft and Markwell (2000)	UK		X						X
Rishbeth and Finney (2006)	UK	X				X			
Rishbeth (2001)	UK	X				X			
Rishbeth (2004a)	UK				X	X			
Rishbeth (2004b)	UK	X				X			
Robinson and Gardner (2004)	UK						X		
Sidhu and Wong (2005)	UK							X	
Slee (2002)	UK							X	
Storey and Connolly (2008)	UK		X						
Ravenscroft and Markwell (2000)	UK		X						X
Suckall et al. (2009)	UK				X				
Tolia-Kelly (2004a)	UK					X	X		
Tolia-Kelly (2004b)	UK						X		
Tolia-Kelly (2006)	UK						X		
Tolia-Kelly (2008)	UK					X			
Uzzell et al. (2005)	UK							X	
Williams (2007)	UK						X		
Wong (1994)	UK							X	

Studies on recreational behaviour often concluded with recommendations for planning and management. In Dutch studies, recommended provisions mainly related to hygiene (providing water taps, toilets), control of phenomena perceived as immoral (restricting dogs running free and top-less sunbathing), facilities for group amusement (providing games facilities, tea rooms) and rules on area use (removing bans on picking fruits, allowing walking off the pathways) (see for example Jókövi, 2000; Jókövi, 2001). In German research some of the same recommendations were given to accommodate immigrants especially of Turkish descent (Jay & Schraml, 2009; Piniek et al., 2008).

Social inclusion

Closely related to the previous approach, is the approach of social inclusion. This approach, mainly found in research conducted in the UK, is concerned with providing individuals equal opportunities to participate in outdoor recreation. It assumes that everyone, including immigrants, should be given the ability to enjoy greenspace (Pendergast, 2004). Studies often focused not only on immigrants but also on other under-represented 'target groups' such as youngsters or women. Research on social inclusion mainly addressed frequency of recreation and perceived barriers to recreational use of greenspace. Debates focused on whether under-participating groups are excluded or simply choose not to recreate in greenspace (Pendergast, 2004). The approach has been criticized for its tendency to see behaviour of the traditional, white middle-class visitor as the 'normal activities of citizens' (Slee, 2002).

Results of studies on social inclusion showed that immigrants perceived various barriers to recreational use of greenspace. Barriers mentioned are negative feelings such as perceived discrimination or a worry of standing out, safety issues, cultural habits, lack of information, structural constraints (time, budget, transport), poor weather, lack of appropriate facilities and language (see for example Edwards & Weldon, 2006; OPENSpace Research Centre, 2006; Rishbeth & Finney, 2006). Almost no study on barriers to participation or factors influencing recreational behaviour tried to statistically capture the importance of various barriers or factors.

Access to greenspace

A third approach used in four recent studies published in the UK and Switzerland is access to greenspace. In this approach access to greenspace by immigrants is calculated using GIS programmes in which data on demographics and the distribution of greenspace are combined. All studies focused on urban greenspace. Results of these studies were diverse in character. The Swiss study by Germann-Chiari and Seeland (2004) focused on aggregated social target groups, of which 'foreigners' were part. They found a negative correlation between the availability of greenspace and the housing of social target groups. Whether this was related to ethnic background, socio-economic position or other factors was unclear. The studies conducted in the UK by Comber et al. (2008) and CABE (2010a) showed that areas with high populations of 'minority

ethnic groups' had limited access to greenspace, while Jones et al. (2009) found little evidence of unequal access for 'minority ethnic groups', but strong differences in access in relation to economic deprivation. No research has been executed yet linking access to greenspace to recreational behaviour.

Perceptions of greenspace

Under the theme perceptions of greenspace two approaches can be distinguished, namely 'images of nature and landscape preferences' and 'embodied experiences of greenspace'. Studies on perceptions of greenspace have been conducted in the Netherlands, the UK, Germany and Denmark (see Table 2.1). Methods are both quantitative, based on questionnaires, and qualitative, based on diverse interviewing techniques and focus groups, and combinations of these. Recently also less verbal methods are applied, such as using photographs to elicit reactions and inviting respondents to make photographs or paintings (Finney & Rishbeth, 2006; Ruiter & Aalbers, 2005; Tolia-Kelly, 2008). Kloek et al. (2010) uses discourse analysis to interpret novels written by immigrant and native writers.

Images of nature and landscape preferences

The images of nature approach is most developed in Dutch research. Images of nature are described as "enclosing frameworks that direct and structure the perception and appreciation of nature and environment" (Keulartz et al., 2004, p. 90). Most authors agree that they consist of three dimensions (Buijs et al., 2011; Keulartz et al., 2004):

- Cognitive dimension: cognitions on what nature is;
- Normative dimension: the value(s) of nature, the view on the relationship between humans and nature;
- Expressive dimension: the experience of nature.

Empirical studies on images of nature focused mainly on the cognitive and normative dimension. The expressive dimension is touched upon in empirical studies into landscape preferences. Landscape preferences can be described as "aesthetic or evaluative reactions to real or simulated natural settings" (Van den Berg, 1999, p.6). They have been studied in several Northwest European countries.

Results of various Dutch studies on images of nature of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants showed that on the cognitive level, compared to natives, these immigrants more often supported a broad definition of nature, while on the normative level, nature often had a functional value. Besides, nature sometimes had religious connotations for these immigrants (see for example Buijs et al., 2009; Kloek et al., 2010). Based on the cognitive and normative dimensions, Buijs et al. (2009) described various images of nature, such as the wilderness and the functional image. In comparison to natives,

relatively few immigrants in their study had a wilderness image and relatively many a functional image. A German case study on Turkish migrants also found that compared to natives these immigrants more often had a functional image of nature (Jay & Schraml, 2009). Studies from various countries on landscape preferences showed that immigrants preferred more managed and developed sites providing opportunities for collective use over wilderness landscapes (Buijs et al., 2009; Countryside Agency, 2005).

How do differences in images of nature and landscape preferences develop? Dutch studies discussed two suggestions, both relating to non-ethnic sources of identity:

1. Religion/Islam. In Islam, nature is represented as well organised and managed, without disorder. The Arabic ideal image of a paradisiacal garden resembles a cultivated oasis shielding from the wilderness of the desert (Schouten, 2005). This image of nature well fits the findings that relatively few immigrants have a wilderness image.
2. Geographical background. Many first-generation Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands grew up in small rural villages (Schmeink & ten Wolde, 1998). Earlier research showed that compared to urban dwellers, people living in rural areas more often had a functional image of nature (De Boer & Schulting, 2002). However, it should be noted that both the actual geographical background and the religious faith of respondents was generally not investigated.

German studies by Jay and Schraml (2009) and Kontzi (2007) suggested that differences in childhood experiences and in media use, such as watching foreign TV channels, may also influence landscapes preferences. The importance of all four influences has not been tested.

Embodied experiences of greenspace

In studies into embodied experiences of greenspace, the sensory, emotions and affects, (childhood) memories and place attachment play an important role. Embodied experiences have been studied especially in the UK. Results reported two embodied experiences as being rather specific for immigrants, namely nostalgia and fear (e.g. Madge, 1997; Rishbeth & Finney, 2006). Feelings of fear related to nature itself (for example, of bugs), as well as to other humans using greenspace (for example, of racial attacks). Feelings of nostalgia related to memories of the country of origin. Nostalgia did not appear to be based on an exact fit of current landscapes to memories (Rishbeth & Finney, 2006). Landscapes often conceived as 'typically British', such as the countryside, or 'typically German', such as the forest, were seen as 'home-like' to immigrants (Jay & Schraml, 2009; Rishbeth, 2004b; Rishbeth & Finney, 2006). Instances of nostalgia could be triggered by specific landscape elements, plants and animals, activities, and the social use of outdoor space (Rishbeth & Finney, 2006).

Not much research has been conducted on how perceptions of greenspace and recreational use of greenspace are linked or on how perceptions of greenspace can be explained by demographics such as gender, age or generation of migration. Only one study by Buijs et al. (2009) incorporated generation of migration and showed that landscape preferences of second-generation migrants were largely similar to those of first-generation migrants, while images of nature of second-generation migrants were largely similar to those of native Dutch.

Societal aspects of migration and greenspace

Under the theme societal aspects of migration and greenspace three rather distinct approaches can be grouped, namely national identity and rural racism, interculturalisation of nature organisations and social integration. Interculturalisation of nature organisations has been studied in various countries, but especially in the UK (see Table 2.1). Most of these publications are based on case studies. National identity and rural racism have only been studied in the UK, and especially in the English part of the UK. Methods used are discourse analysis, questionnaires, interviews and focus groups. Studies on social integration have mainly been limited to the Netherlands. Methods used are qualitative, namely interviews, observations, case studies and focus groups.

National identity and rural racism

The approach of national identity and rural racism is rather broad. Some studies focused on representations of the countryside related to national identity and ways in which these socially constructed imaginings promoted the 'othering' of immigrants (such as Panelli et al., 2009; Williams, 2007). Other studies focused on issues of belonging and attachment to the countryside (such as Askins, 2006) or pointed to exclusionary practices and rural racism (Chakraborti & Garland, 2004a, 2004b; Garland & Chakraborti, 2006). Some studies also evaluated policy responses to rural racism (such as Chakraborti, 2010; Williams, 2007). Results highlighted how deeply embedded constructions of a nostalgic, White rural idyll are to notions of a British national identity. Chakraborti and Garland (2004b) showed that rural areas have become cross-referenced with tranquillity, kinship, and a socially cohesive, happy and healthy living. Williams (2007) contended that the assumption of the homogeneity of the countryside as contrasted to the heterogeneity of the city illustrates how the countryside in imagery is rendered 'racially' pure and accordingly not multicultural. Evidences of rural racism ranged from unintentional racism and stereotyping to extremes of overt racial hatred. According to Chakraborti and Garland (2004a), rural racism was still rather 'invisible' as it was compounded both by the under-reporting of racist incidents and the reluctance of agencies to acknowledge the needs of 'minority ethnic groups' in the countryside.

Interculturalisation of nature organisations

The term 'interculturalisation' is borrowed from healthcare to describe the adaptation of an institution to suit people from different cultures. The approach 'interculturalisation of nature organisations' focuses on evaluating the outreach of nature organisations to immigrants and distinguishing challenges and key factors for success. Interculturalisation of nature organisations is supposed to contribute to the improvement of social inclusion. Results showed that nature organisations' outreach projects faced many challenges. One of the major challenges found in the UK was the 'indifference to difference' (Agyeman, 2001; Edwards & Weldon, 2006). Staff members often perceived nature as open to all and did not (want to) promote it to special, under-represented groups. Furthermore, stereotypes regarding immigrants also hindered outreach projects in the UK. Panelli et al. (2009) showed that if (white) managers perceived an absence of non-white immigrant visitors, they often saw this stereotypically as indicative of a lack of interest in visiting greenspace. This prevented understanding under-participation based on social exclusion. Specific funding restrictions also hampered outreach projects. Especially the fixed-term nature of funding prevented long-term projects (Curry et al., 2001). The German study by Katz and Kontzi (2009) also found the 'indifference to difference' and stereotypes as challenging interculturalisation. Some other challenges mentioned in the Dutch work by Van der Waal (2007a) were cultural differences (in language, handling appointments) and negative influence of the media. Key factors for success of outreach projects in the UK were appropriate staffing; proper communication and marketing; suitable monitoring and evaluation; partnership approaches; being community driven; and appropriate site design providing a range of experiences (see Countryside Agency, 2005; Curry et al., 2001; Slee, 2002).

Social integration

The last approach that gained attention is whether or not greenspace contributes to social integration among immigrants and natives. The assumption is that public greenspace offers opportunities for interaction between persons of different backgrounds, which may stimulate social cohesion and integration (Peters et al., 2010). In this approach greenspace functions as a background to analyse human interactions. Empirical studies have been executed only in urban parks (Peters, 2010; Peters et al., 2010; Te Kloeze, 2001) and urban forests (Jay & Schraml, 2009). Results showed that in urban green interactions between immigrants and natives were limited and cursory (Jay & Schraml, 2009; Peters, 2010; Peters et al., 2010; Te Kloeze, 2001). While natives did not look for more interactions, some immigrants wanted to have more and deeper conversations; however, the latter did not take the initiative themselves (Jay & Schraml, 2009; Peters et al., 2010; Te Kloeze, 2001). Peters (2010) contended that even without interethnic interactions, people could still value being together in parks, which may stimulate social cohesion. That urban greenspace could play a role in interethnic understanding by providing opportunities for people to meet, is also emphasised by for example Dines et al. (2006). Relations between the three approaches regarding social aspects of migration and greenspace are not well researched.

National research traditions compared

In this section we discuss differences in national research traditions in three example countries; the UK, the Netherlands and Germany. These countries were selected as they have produced the majority of the publications. Furthermore, in these countries research has been conducted within all of the three themes, and these countries differ regarding the political and social climate concerning immigration (or the 'contexts of reception'; Portes & Böröcz, 1989). A first difference is in the number of studies. In Germany only few studies on this rather broadly defined research field have been conducted, while in the Netherlands more studies have been done. In the UK, however, the largest number of studies has been conducted. Related to this, research from the UK displayed the largest spectrum of research perspectives. Some of those were not or scarcely studied in the Netherlands and Germany, such as national identity and rural racism, social inclusion and access to greenspace. Conceptually, research from the UK emphasised subjective experiences, for example (feelings of) stereotyping and rural racism and emotions experienced in greenspace, while these issues received little attention in the Netherlands and Germany. Dutch and German studies focused more on 'objectively' measurable phenomena such as specific recreational activities and landscape preferences.

Differences in research traditions can be linked to differences between host countries in conceptualisations of immigrants and 'contexts of reception'. In the UK, migrants face a relatively 'neutral context' (Portes & Böröcz, 1989) in which discrimination is high on the agenda. In comparison with the other example countries, immigrant communities are more encouraged to cherish their own minority ethnic identity. The UK tries to enforce mutual tolerance through one of the most comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation in the EU (Green, 2007). Migrant background is subjectively defined based on 'felt' ethnicity. This corresponds to the emphasis in the reviewed research from the UK on embodied experiences of greenspace, rural racism and social inclusion. By contrast, Germany has always seen itself as 'not a country of immigration' (Green, 2007) and immigration is negatively typified. Germany can be described as having an assimilation ideology, in which immigrants are more or less expected to discard their cultural distinctiveness (Bourhis et al., 1997). In Germany a more objective definition of immigrants is employed based on country of birth. Correspondingly, in Germany almost no scientific attention is paid to cultural diversity in use and perceptions of greenspace or rural racism. The Dutch political climate used to be shaped by concepts of multiculturalism and cultural diversity. Recently this approach has been questioned, leading to a shift toward integration of immigrants within society. Almost simultaneously, the topic of social integration through greenspace gained some prominence in Dutch research. This congruence in developments in research and society suggests that the different contexts of reception and conceptualisations of immigrants do "much more than simply reflecting social reality; rather they play a key role in the construction of that reality" (Extra & Gorter, 2008, p.16), among other in the construction of academic research.

Conceptualisations of greenspace also differ between countries. Where Dutch studies largely focused on 'nature', German research mainly investigated 'forest' and many British studies had 'the countryside' as starting point. This reflects the cultural tradition of imagining the natural environment. For example, the German focus on forest ('*Wald*') can be explained by the large significance of forests in Germany in a historical and symbolical sense. Forest is depicted as the archetype of nature and is loaded with political significance, representing heritage and homeland ('*Heimat*') (Jay & Schraml, 2009; Schama, 1995). In Britain the rural idyll or countryside is seen as representing British identity. Picturesque landscapes of rolling hills, where the farmer works in cooperation with nature, have become a 'way of seeing' Britishness. Although some studies functioned to deconstruct this romanticized and exclusionary image, the countryside is still a major point of departure for British research. Summarizing, national research traditions differ greatly, reflecting national contexts of reception and conceptualisations of immigrants and of greenspace.

Discussion

This review of research on immigration, greenspace and society shows that the borders between themes and especially between countries seem difficult to cross and international learning processes and cooperation of researchers across countries and approaches are scarce. Of course, crossing borders is a difficult move, especially as in most countries this research field is just emerging and national empirical data are still developing. However, crossing borders can illuminate common problems, such as the challenges of nature organisations in reaching out to immigrants. This is needed as the number of immigrants continues to grow in most Northwest European countries (Extra & Gorter, 2008) and societal attention is increasing. Moreover, results of the reviewed studies show the relevance of studying relations between greenspace, immigration and society, as immigrants are in various countries suggested to be under-represented in recreational use of greenspace and they show differences in recreational behaviour and perceptions of greenspace. Furthermore, nature organisations face various challenges in improving social inclusion, and societal constructions of greenspace have promoted the 'othering' of immigrants. Moreover, greenspace can potentially enhance social cohesion and social integration. In the next paragraphs knowledge gaps and promising future research directions will be discussed.

Knowledge gaps

Several knowledge gaps arise from this review. First, research has mostly been *nationally oriented*, empirically but also conceptually. The empirical execution of research taking place on a national level may seem rather obvious, as national borders define who is categorised as immigrant. However, migration is an international

phenomenon and international research could illuminate common issues. Also the development of concepts and approaches took place on a national level. For example, in the Dutch research tradition 'images of nature', with a strong focus on the normative and cognitive dimension, gained a prominent place. Conversely, in the UK experiential qualities of nature, such as embodied emotions, figured prominent in research, and normative and cognitive aspects of the relationship between humans and nature did not receive much attention. To ensure a more consistent use and development of concepts and approaches, more cooperation and exchange between scientists at an international level is needed. Not only within Northwest Europe, but also for example with scientists from the United States, where many more studies in this field have been conducted.

Second, a proper and careful reflection of the *diversity of immigrant perspectives* is needed. For example, Dutch and German studies mainly focused on immigrants from Turkey and Morocco. However, immigrants come from many more countries. Research from the UK took people of more varied backgrounds into account; however, this research tended to group all 'ethnic minority communities' together. Both approaches can lead to wrongly stereotyping and perpetuating 'us versus them'-thinking. Moreover, as Jay and Schraml (2009) showed in a study on migrants from Russia, the Balkans and Turkey, use and perceptions of greenspace of immigrants of different cultural backgrounds can vary considerably. Besides, use and perceptions of greenspace can also differ between natives. Focusing on (aggregated) groups tends to ignore the in-group heterogeneity and overestimate differences between groups. Such considerations on how immigrant perspectives are reflected should be part of a broader ethical discussion. Ethical issues are important in this field given the historic marginalisation of immigrants and their sometimes vulnerable position in contemporary society. In some of the reviewed studies ethical issues received attention, however, in general ethical issues deserve more prominence, for example by relating to debates on environmental justice (Floyd & Johnson, 2002).

Third, many of the described studies *lack an appropriate theoretical basis*. This may be related to the small share of scientific publications compared to the number of semi-scientific reports. Especially research into recreational use of greenspace is not sufficiently based on theoretical considerations. Theoretical frameworks could help linking use and perceptions of greenspace, strengthening explaining factors and guiding predictions on the development of immigrants' use and perceptions of greenspace in the future. Greenspace research is a field to which many academic disciplines contribute such as anthropology, geography and psychology. Various reviewed studies do not explicitly acknowledge their academic roots. Positioning research within a discipline and using the strengths of that discipline contributes to building a theoretical perspective on immigration, greenspace and society, while trans-disciplinary work can help overcome limitations of specific disciplines.

Fourth, research focusing on *explaining factors* for the use and perceptions of greenspace has mixed results and lacks in-depth elaboration. Askins (2006) and Edwards and Weldon (2006) postulated, without statistical basis, that gender and especially socio-economic position may be more central in explaining use and perceptions of greenspace than ethnicity. The study by Aizlewood et al. (2006) also showed, using logistic regression, that socio-demographic characteristics are generally stronger predictors of participation in general recreational behaviour than characteristics associated with minority status. However, a quantitative study by Buijs et al. (2009) found that for images of nature ethnic background was more important than socio-economic factors. These mixed results may be due to differences in factors taken into account. Besides, the usefulness of a distinction in socio-economic and ethnic-cultural factors can be questioned, as some factors such as gender contain both socio-economic and ethnic-cultural aspects. Furthermore, explaining factors have not been related to specific contexts or practices. Religion can function as an illustration. While religion is described as influencing the use and perception of greenspace (Buijs et al., 2009; Gentin, 2006), exactly how religion works in daily practices is unknown. For example, in a case study on sustainable use of the environment among Surinamese in the Netherlands, Heinen (2005) found that Surinamese religious traditions contain many clues on sustainable use which are not reflected in daily practice. So the question remains, which factor(s) best explain differences in use and perceptions of greenspace?

Directions for future research

Based on the knowledge gaps various directions for future research can be distinguished, such as international scientific cooperation and development of ethical discussions regarding the proper reflection of the diversity of immigrant perspectives in greenspace. In this final section one promising research strategy is highlighted. This strategy relates to the lack of an appropriate theoretical framework. We argue that *identity-in-context* can form an interesting theoretical starting point to study recreational use of greenspace. This idea is supported by developments in other fields of research, and particularly migrant studies. There, ethnic identification is a major theoretical approach (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006; Berry, 1997). Ethnic identification is a dynamic concept that is situationally dependent as people can shift their affiliation from one group to another depending on the context. Lately, Schiller and Çaglar (2009) argued that research should look beyond ethnic identity and incorporate all identities influencing the practices of migrants. Also in other fields researching behaviour, identity-in-context is an important theoretical perspective. For instance, in recent sociological studies identity processes seem to have replaced economic self-interest as prime movers for behaviour (Verkuyten, 2005). These studies emphasised that people have multiple identities and the identity performed is context-dependent. For example, in some situations one's ethnic identity is very prominent and related behavioural repertoires are roused, while on other occasions one's identity as a youngster is more important.

Identity-in-context forms an interesting theoretical point of departure, the more so since identity issues are already implicitly and sometimes explicitly incorporated in research into greenspace, immigration and society. Identity processes are related to societal issues of stereotyping and discrimination, which are shown to play a role both in immigrants' recreational use of greenspace (Stodolska, 2005a) and in outreach work of nature organisations (Askins, 2009; Katz & Kontzi, 2009; Panelli et al., 2009). This shows the usefulness of taking into account multiple identities and identity-in-context. Our understanding of the greenspace–immigration–society interface can be further advanced by research into, for instance, the dominant identities activated in the context of outdoor recreation; the behaviours and perceptions of greenspace associated with those identities; and the influence of stereotypes of and ascribed identities by nature conservation organisations or other visitors on immigrants recreating in greenspace. As identity-in-context is not necessarily nationally oriented; we argue that it can be a good starting point to build a comprehensive theoretical framework for the greenspace–immigration–society interface which enables and stimulates international cooperation of researchers and a crossing of the borders.

Chapter 3

Theoretical framework based on identity

Introduction

In Chapter 2 I showed that in Northwest Europe a growing number of studies on immigrants, greenspace and society have been conducted over the last decades. Various perspectives have been used to study this topic, ranging from post-positivistic studies on recreational use of nature (for example Jókövi, 2001; Schipperijn et al., 2010), to interpretative studies on embodied nature experiences (for example Rishbeth & Finney, 2006; Tolia-Kelly, 2008), to discourse analysis of representations of the natural environment related to national identity (for example Chakraborti & Garland, 2004b; Williams, 2007) and so on. Although the number of studies and perspectives is growing, the theoretical development in this field of research lags behind. Many of the described studies lack an explicit and well-elaborated theoretical basis. Especially research into behavioural aspects, such as recreational patterns and participation in leisure, usually comes without a well-developed theoretical framework.

In Chapters 1 and 2, I already suggested that identity could be an interesting theoretical lens to study recreational use of greenspace. Focusing on the relation between recreation and identity may be a step forward towards a more in-depth view on complex recreational behaviour. Such a focus would concur with a general development in social science thinking, where identity has become one of the main concepts (e.g. Bauman, 2007; Castells, 2011; Verkuyten, 2005). Moreover, an approach based on identity may be better suited to capture the diversity of immigrant and non-immigrant perspectives. Identity theory has indeed been used as such in other fields of research, particularly in ethnicity studies (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006; Berry, 1997). In this chapter I will discuss a theoretical framework based on identity, which forms the basis for the empirical chapters of this dissertation. This theoretical framework is largely based on theories of identity as developed in ethnicity studies as well as in social psychology and sociology. I will therefore give a short description first of how the theory of identity has been conceptualised in those fields. After this, I will distinguish three sensitising concepts that make identity theory applicable for studying outdoor recreation. The main aim of these three sensitising concepts, together forming an identity-based theoretical framework, is to understand recreational behaviour in greenspace. However, they also take less tangible, more subjective processes influencing behaviour into account, such as perceptions of nature. In this chapter, I will discuss the sensitising concepts on a rather abstract level. In the empirical chapters, and particularly in Chapter 4, they will be discussed in a more concrete sense.

Identity as a theoretical perspective in adjoining fields

In ethnicity studies, scholars have tended to understand and explain immigrants' behaviour by means of the concepts of acculturation and ethnic identification (Sasidharan, 2002). Traditionally, acculturation has been defined as "those phenomena which result

when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield et al., 1936). Later authors have made distinctions between acculturation as a collective or group-level phenomenon and individual psychological acculturation (e.g. Berry, 1997). Ethnic identification, which closely relates to individual psychological acculturation, can be interpreted as an individual's identification with his or her original ethnic group and/or with the host culture (Sasidharan, 2002). The most influential model in this field has been developed by Berry (1997). He distinguishes four acculturation orientations, namely integration (in which someone identifies with both cultures), assimilation (in which someone identifies only with the host culture), separation (in which someone identifies only with the original culture) and marginalisation (in which someone identifies with neither cultures). Other traditional models in this field describe immigrants' ethnic identification as a continuum ranging from strong identification with the original culture at one end to strong identification with the host culture at the other end, with the assumption that the strengthening of one is accompanied by the weakening of the other (see Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006). Recent studies in this field argue that ethnic identity is a dynamic concept that is situationally dependent as people can shift their affiliation from one group to another in response to immediate contextual demands (Sasidharan, 2002). The individual's preferences for behaviours related to the original ethnic culture or to the host culture can (and often will) vary across life domains and situations (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006). So in ethnicity studies, context-dependent identification with ethnic cultures and related behaviours are important structuralising theoretical insights. Recently, Schiller and Çaglar (2009) have argued we should look beyond ethnic identity and incorporate other identities influencing the practices of migrants as well.

Also in other scientific fields identity is becoming an important theoretical perspective. According to Verkuyten (2005), identity processes seem to have replaced economic self-interest as prime movers of behaviour in social theories. In these theories, identity is considered to be people's 'source of meaning and experience' (Castels in Ferguson, 2009). Identity is considered a key concept in understanding the relationship between the individual and society. Central to sociological and social psychological theories is the view that in order to understand behaviour it is necessary to conceive of the self and the wider social structure as being inextricably bound (Terry et al., 1999). As Giddens (1991) argues, identities are shaped by the institutions of society, while simultaneously shaping those institutions themselves. Social theories also state that people have multiple identities and that the importance of these identities may differ depending on the situation (e.g. Stets & Burke, 2000). For example, in some situations a person's religious identity may be very prominent, while in other situations this person's identity of being a youngster may be more important. The concept of identity is used in order to explain why people do not behave the same way in all situations (Breakwell, 1993; Liu & László, 2007). So in sociology and social psychology, the multiplicity and contextuality of identities are key theoretical insights.

The conceptualisation of identity in this dissertation

There is no single, consensual definition of identity. As the concept of identity crosses disciplinary fields, its usage shifts (Ashmore et al., 2004). My perspective of identity is based on various theoretical inputs, particularly those of Verkuyten (2005) and Ashmore et al. (2004), as well as more general social psychological theories such as Tajfel's social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and Turner's subsequent self-categorisation theory (Turner, 1985; Turner et al., 1987; Turner et al., 1994). In my conceptualisation of identity, I adhere to the idea that identity forms a link between the individual and society. Through activated and enacted identities, individuals get to know and understand society, and the identities that individuals enact form and shape that society (Verkuyten, 2005). Interactions and dialogues play an important role in identity activation and enactment, and in linking the individual with society. The philosopher Taylor (1995) states that we are only able to understand ourselves, and to thereby define our identity, in dialogue with others. Through interactions with others, societal relations, beliefs, norms and values are reproduced and changed, actualised or challenged, and it is in interactions that a sense of self and identity is formed (Verkuyten, 2005).

Research on identities can be executed on the individual level, the interactions level and the society level (see Verkuyten, 2005). Research on the individual level involves intra-individual processes and personal characteristics, which are studied in terms of perceived identity, cognitive structures, and so on. The emphasis in research on the level of interactions is on the activation and enactment of identities in situated interactions with other people and a person's surroundings. Research on the society level considers macro-social and historical developments, in which identity is studied in relation to for example state regulations, economic changes or institutional policy. As I needed to focus this dissertation, I concentrate on the individual level, and also touch upon the interactions level. The conceptualisation of identity in the context of this study is therefore based on individuals and their interactions. However, as all levels are continuously linked, this conceptualisation also connects with the society level.

Central in the conceptualisation of identity at the individual and interactions level is that identity connotes a process of meaningful categorisation (Ashmore et al., 2004). Identity categories are not empty, but have content and meaning, and have behavioural implications (Ashmore et al., 2004). So, identity, such as one's ethnicity, is not simply a label. It is a cognitive and affective meaning system that can influence people's cognitive focus, how they perceive information, as well as their behavioural responses (Brown, 2000; Deaux & Martin, 2003; Liu & László, 2007). All people can assign themselves to various identity categories. The importance of a particular identity category varies for each individual. This importance is also related to social embeddedness: the degree to which a particular identity is embedded in a person's everyday on-going social relationships (Ashmore et al., 2004). Someone can subjectively assign him- or herself to

specific categories, but other people can also assign this person to a group of others that this person shares characteristics with. Identity thereby becomes a dialectical process of what you think your identity is and what others think your identity is (Nagel, 1994). As people move through daily live, their identity can change according to the variations in the situations and people encountered.

I distinguish three sensitising concepts together forming an identity-based theoretical framework, which can be used to study recreational use of greenspace, namely identity content, identity dimensions, and identity processes. Identity content describes the relations between an identity category and specific behaviours and perceptions. Identity dimensions relate to a distinction in types of identities. Two types of identities can be distinguished, namely personal and collective identities. Lastly, identity processes focus on how identities are activated in a specific situation. It should be noted that these sensitising concepts could not operate by themselves: identity can only gain content through processes; processes would be meaningless without identity dimensions and identity content, et cetera.

Identity content

The content of identities, or the meanings that identities have, have been described in various ways. Some scholars see identity content as an integrated and highly general structure, such as an overall mentality, worldview, or value orientation. Others argue that it is better to describe identity content in the form of a loose network of domain-specific knowledge structures, such as categories and attitudes (e.g. Hong et al., 2000). The content of identity has also been categorised along cognitive, attitudinal and behavioural lines (e.g. Stets & Burke, 2000). Ashmore et al. (2004) argued that the content of identity contains associated behaviours, preferences, motivations, ideological positions, shared meanings and narratives.

As the exact structure of identity content is not well elaborated in identity theory, I focus on those aspects of identity content that are relevant for explaining outdoor recreational behaviour, thereby loosely following the definition by Ashmore and colleagues. The first aspect of identity content relevant for outdoor recreation is associated behaviours. Associated behaviours are those behaviours people subjectively perceive as belonging to a specific identity. Think for example about the relation between men and football, or the Dutch and their bikes. This does definitely not mean that all men love to play football, or that all Dutch people like to ride a bike, but that if such an identity is activated, those behaviours are likely to come to mind and people are likely to behave accordingly. Furthermore, identities are related to behavioural preferences, such as to which activities are considered fun, interesting or appropriate. Behavioural preferences may also focus on specific ways to behave, such as visiting the outdoors in a group or alone, or visiting specific types of greenspace. Motivations, which already form

an important theme in leisure studies, can be part of identity content as well. When a specific identity is activated, some motivations can be perceived as more important or valid than others. Furthermore, identity content refers to shared meanings, such as regarding what is considered to be nature.

The content of an identity is what we call temporarily fixed: it can be considered as fixed on the short term, but may change over time. For example, what someone sees as typically Turkish can change when this person immigrates to another country and is confronted with a different culture. In the empirical chapters of this dissertation I will describe identity content as being (temporarily) fixed, and I will not assess changes in identity content over time.

Identity dimensions

Most sociological and social psychological writings on identity distinguish two dimensions of identity: collective identities and personal identities. A collective identity is shared with a group of others who have (or are perceived to have) some characteristic(s) in common (Ashmore et al., 2004; Renwick Monroe et al., 2000). These similarities can be based on socio-demographic characteristics (gender, ethnicity, age), group/organisational membership or social roles (father, student) (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). Identifying with a particular collective identity means being at one with a certain group, behaving like others in the group, or seeing things from the group's perspective (Stets & Burke, 2000). Collective identities are formed mainly in interactions and experiences with social groups. Processes of cultural transmission take place in social settings (Kashima, 2008), which form, maintain and transform the content of collective identities. Collective identities are also called social identities. However, following Ashmore et al. (2004), I prefer the term collective identity to the somewhat more commonly used social identity, as all aspects of the self, including personal identities, are socially influenced and acquire meaning and significance within a context of social relations between people (Ashmore et al., 2004).

Personal identities are related to people's personal characteristics (Terry et al., 1999). Whereas collective identity is explicitly connected to a group of people, personal identity sets one apart from others (Ashmore et al., 2004). An individual's unique biography and experiences (Thoits & Virshup, 1997) and personal choices (Castells, 1998) can form personal identities. Childhood experiences can be particularly influential in forming personal identities (Ward Thompson et al., 2008). The distinction between personal and collective identity makes sense when studying recreation in greenspace, as it may help to distinguish between a more direct, personally chosen and perhaps more emotional interaction with the natural environment and a more indirect interaction in which collectives play the most important role.

Identity processes

Identity processes describe how an identity is activated in a specific context. Identity processes have been extensively discussed in social psychology, particularly in Tajfel's social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and Turner's subsequent self-categorisation theory (Turner, 1985; Turner et al., 1987; Turner et al., 1994). In social psychology it is argued that which identity category an individual identifies with and which identity is activated varies, representing people's changing relationship to reality. The variation is a function of the interaction between the relative accessibility or importance of a particular social identity and the 'fit' between the stored category specification and the understanding of the situation (Stets & Burke, 2000; Turner et al., 1994). Identity processes have also been described in sociology, particularly in Stryker's identity theory (Stryker, 1980, 1987; Stryker & Burke, 2000). The sociological conceptualisation suggests a relative stability of identity: salient or central identities are activated trans-situationally, and someone's identity hierarchy forms a kind of "personality" variable a person carries with him/her while moving across situations (Stryker & Sherpe, 1994). It has been argued that the sociological and socio-psychological theories differ mostly in their emphasis and that these are not actually different kinds of theories (e.g. Deaux & Martin, 2003; Stets & Burke, 2000). Both approaches acknowledge that which identity is activated in a situation relates to: 1) the 'importance' or 'centrality' of a specific identity and 2) the specific situation. Where the sociological tradition emphasises the centrality of an identity, the socio-psychological tradition emphasises the fit of an identity with the way the situation is understood.

Importance or centrality of identities implies that people are likely to define situations they enter into or in which they find themselves in ways that make a highly important identity relevant. This process enables them to enact that identity and make behavioural choices according to the meanings and preferences attached to that identity (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Specific situations, however, involve relations with others and interactions with the surroundings, and the extent to which people can enact an identity depends on how (they perceive that) others respond to their identity claims. Moreover, not all contexts may appeal to an important identity. Situations can therefore be important in two ways. First, in a specific situation others can collectively ascribe a certain identity to a person. Second, the situation influences the perceived fit of a specific identity. So, an individual can make some choices as to which categories he or she belongs, but this person's immediate situation may also assign him or her to specific categories. This means that activated identities have agentic aspects, as people subjectively claim central identities, depending on the centrality and perceived fit (Deaux & Martin, 2003). However, identity also depends on structuralising factors, as power issues come into play when identities are ascribed collectively. Especially so, when visual cues are evident, such as in relation to gender, age and ethnicity (Deaux & Martin, 2003; Howarth, 2002).

Recent discussions

Recent discussions on identity focus on the stability of identities and identity hierarchies, and on the importance of collective versus personal identities. These discussions mainly relate to larger societal trends, most importantly individualisation and globalisation. Philosophers such as Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, Charles Taylor and Zygmont Bauman have argued in this respect that in the modern, globalising world tradition is giving way, and our sense of self has become less dependent on circumstances of birth and local culture than it used to be. Beck (1992, in Atkinson, 2008), for example, argues that people have been 'disembedded' from their old communal modes of life. This leads people to seek new references when constructing identities. As a result, it is suggested that the importance of collective identities has waned and that personal identities have become more important. Furthermore, people are supposed to switch more quickly between identities in different contexts, and the centrality of identity is suggested to become less fixed (e.g. Bauman, 2007). This does not mean that identities have become completely 'fluid', as some identities are still more central (Verkuyten, 2005), especially identities based on physical characteristics, such as ethnicity is in part. Identities need to have a persistent quality in order to make sense to people (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). Or, as Duncan and Duncan (2001) argue, although identities are more fluid, multiple and contested than before, people continually try to establish secure identities and stabilise these.

Conclusion: identity and recreation in greenspace

To summarise, in this dissertation I use a theoretical framework based on three sensitising concepts: identity content, identity dimensions and identity processes. With these concepts I describe the meaningfulness, multiplicity, and contextuality and hierarchy of identities. I use the concept identity content to describe the associated behaviours, preferences, motivations and shared meanings related to an activated identity. The concept identity dimensions refers to different types of identities, namely collective identities such as gender and ethnicity, and personal identities. Lastly, identity processes describe how one identity or a cluster of identities becomes an 'activated identity'. The activation of an identity depends on the context – that is on ascriptions by others and on the perceived 'fit' between the identity category and the way people understand the situation they are in – and on the centrality of the identity.

In the following chapters I will apply this framework to study recreation in greenspace. But first a short note on how this framework links with current theories in the field of recreation. As discussed in Chapter 1, current theories in this field are largely focused on two issues: motivations (and experiences), and constraints (and negotiations). I argued that a theoretical approach solely based on motivations and constraints gives

too narrow a view of the complexity of recreational behaviour, as it does not provide an understanding of the societal, cultural and individual meanings associated with recreation (cf. Coalter, 1997). Still, the concepts of motivations and constraints have certainly shown their value for studying outdoor recreation. Fortunately, these issues fit well within the theoretical framework I described. I already argued that motivations can be part of identity content. The motivations that people have for outdoor recreation may vary for different identities and may be dependent on these. Constraints can be part of identity processes. Interactions with others and with specific contexts or environments can constrain people's activation of central identities or can constrain specific activities associated with an identity. An identity-based theoretical framework thus forms a kind of umbrella under which concepts like motivations and constraints fit well. An umbrella that embraces a differentiated perspective on recreational behaviour including a diversity of immigrant and non-immigrant perspectives.

Chapter 4

Beyond ethnic stereotypes: Identities and outdoor recreation among immigrants and non-immigrants in the Netherlands

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Leisure Sciences (in review)

Abstract

Studies on immigrants' recreational use of greenspace have tended to focus on ethnic groups as homogeneous entities. In a qualitative study based on group interviews, this chapter focuses on the cultural diversity between and within ethnic groups. We used an identity perspective to study outdoor recreation of young Dutch adults with Chinese, Turkish or non-immigrant backgrounds. Results show that particularly personal identities, age and ethnicity inform recreational behaviour. The multiplicity of people's identities results in more heterogeneity between and within ethnic groups, as well as more homogeneity between immigrants and non-immigrants, than commonly described. Considering immigrants as a homogeneous group that under-participates in outdoor recreation especially overlooks individual immigrants who frequently participate in outdoor recreation. Furthermore, we show that acculturation does not progress in the same way among all ethnic groups, and ethnic identity may be sustained among second- and maybe even later generations through certain recreational activities.

Keywords: identity, leisure, ethnicity, natural environment, public support

Introduction

In their efforts to understand and stimulate immigrants' recreational use of greenspace, policy makers and nature organisations have largely failed to include the cultural diversity between and within ethnic groups (Jay et al., 2012). Consequently, these efforts often suffered from simplistic and stereotyped images about immigrants and non-immigrants[2]. For example, with the article "A *Smulbos* ("yum-yum forest") especially for immigrants" in a popular Dutch newspaper (Telegraaf, 2004), the Dutch environmental foundation *Stichting wAarde* launched an initiative to make nature conservation in the Netherlands more ethnically inclusive. Their idea was to create a forest in which people, and particularly immigrants, were invited to pick fruits and nuts and walk off the pathways. The foundation argued that, in contrast to Dutch practices and legislation, "in their [immigrants'] own country, food can be found and collected everywhere in nature" (Telegraaf, 2004). That sparked a huge public debate and fierce opposition from both immigrants and non-immigrants, who thought such a forest especially designed for immigrants was stigmatising and exclusionary. The example of the *Smulbos* illustrates the difficulties that environmental organisations may face when trying to deal with a multicultural society.

Meanwhile, in various Western countries, the number of immigrants has grown substantially over the last decades. In the Netherlands, for example, 21% of the population was considered an immigrant in 2014 (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2015). At the same time, governments and nature conservation organisations noted an under-representation of immigrants in the recreational use of greenspace (Ambrose-Oji, 2010; Buijs et al., 2009), although few baseline data exist on real participation levels of immigrants, at least in European countries. Governments and nature conservation organisations increasingly think of this possible under-representation as a problem, especially considering the potential positive effects of outdoor recreation on health, social integration and public support for nature and biodiversity conservation (Deutscher Naturschutzring, 2009; Jay et al., 2012; Peters, 2011; Somers et al., 2005).

The relation between ethnicity and the recreational use of greenspace has been a subject of debate in academia as well (e.g. Carr & Williams, 1993; Chavez, 2000; Dwyer, 1993; Floyd, 1998; Gobster, 2002; Ho et al., 2005; Jay & Schraml, 2013; Krymkowski et al., 2014; Sasidharan, 2002; Stodolska, 2000; Tierney et al., 2001; Winter et al., 2004). Most of these studies on immigrants' use and perceptions of the natural environment focus on the United States. As the U.S. differs from Europe regarding types of greenspace and social and political views towards immigration but shows similarities in the cultural background of some immigrant groups, it is interesting to study immigrants' recreational use of greenspace from a European perspective as well. However, research on this

[2] The use of the terms 'immigrants' and 'ethnic minorities' (or other terms like race, visual communities, Blacks, BME) is very much country specific. We will mainly use the term 'immigrants', as this term is in use in the Netherlands, where we conducted our empirical study.

topic in Europe is limited (see Chapter 2). The few existing studies show that in various European countries, immigrants appear to be under-represented in the recreational use of greenspace, and especially of non-urban greenspace (e.g. Countryside Agency, 2005; Schipperijn et al., 2010). Moreover, these studies indicate that immigrants have other motivations for outdoor recreation than non-immigrants do, and that immigrants participate in different activities (e.g. Countryside Agency, 2005; Jay & Schraml, 2009).

Societal initiatives as well as scientific studies on immigrants' outdoor recreation in Europe are often based on a binary opposition between immigrants and non-immigrants. Immigrant culture is frequently depicted as a homogeneous entity; 'the' immigrants are thought to enjoy greenspace in a culturally specific way that is supposed to be not very compatible with the way 'natives' enjoy greenspace (Hoving, 2011). A proper and careful reflection of the diversity of immigrant perspectives is lacking. There is hardly any European research that takes into account differences between immigrants or ethnic groups and in-group heterogeneity (see Chapter 2). Research tends to focus on just one group of immigrants or to group all immigrant communities together. Furthermore, many studies describe recreation in quite general terms and do not specify the contexts in which they take place. Also in the U.S., researchers tend to study park use and outdoor recreational preferences of immigrant populations by categorising racial and ethnic groups as homogenous, monolithic segments (Sasidharan, 2002). This passes over the diversity between and within immigrant groups and probably does not reflect people's lived experiences, and can potentially lead to stereotyping and perpetuated 'us versus them'-thinking.

We therefore argue that we need a more in-depth understanding of the recreational use of greenspace by immigrants, which goes beyond potential immigrant stereotypes. We intend to contribute to a more complete picture by using an identity perspective. Identity has become one of the main concepts in social science thinking (e.g. Bauman, 2007; Castells, 2011; Nagel, 1994; Verkuyten, 2005). As people have multiple identities, such as a gender or an ethnic identity, which are variously activated depending on their importance and the specific context, identity theory can help in explaining complex and varied behaviour (Burke, 2003; Stets & Burke, 2000; Thoits & Virshup, 1997). Focusing on the relation between recreation and identity may be a step forward in moving towards a more in-depth view on the complexities of recreational behaviour. Moreover, an approach based on identity may be better suited to capture the diversity of immigrant and non-immigrant perspectives. Identity theory has indeed been used as such in other fields of research, particularly migrant studies (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006; Berry, 1997). The identity perspective we use focuses on multiple identities and related behavioural patterns. The main objectives of this study are: to distinguish the identities that play a major role in the outdoor recreational behaviour of young adults of immigrant and non-immigrant background in the Netherlands; and to delineate the recreational patterns related to these identities. As immigrant status or ethnicity has been described as very influential in immigrants' recreational patterns,

we explicitly also studied how immigrants and non-immigrants themselves perceive the role of their ethnicity in relation to their outdoor recreational behaviour.

Our qualitative interpretative study is based on group interviews with young adults in the city of Arnhem, the Netherlands. We conducted nine group interviews in total, with 42 young adults (18-35 years) of three different ethnic backgrounds, namely Chinese, Turkish and non-immigrant. We only included second-generation immigrant participants, and first-generation immigrants who spent most of their youth in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, a distinction is made between western en non-western immigrants, with 56% of the immigrants having a non-western background (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2015). From the non-western immigrants, the large majority, namely 63%, originates from Turkey, Morocco, Suriname and the Antilles (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2015). We chose to focus on Turkish immigrants as with almost 20% of the non-western immigrants being of Turkish descent, they form the largest group of non-western immigrants in the Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2015). While the number of Turkish immigrants is not expected to grow much in future, the number of immigrants from Asian countries is increasing, and the projection is that they will become the largest group of non-western immigrants in the Netherlands in 2050 (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2010). Currently, with 3% of the non-western immigrants being of Chinese descent, they form the fifth largest group of non-western immigrants in the Netherlands. As China differs considerably from Turkey regarding cultural and religious traditions, including both groups enabled us to not only study differences in outdoor recreational behaviour based on immigrant status, but also to make distinctions between ethnic groups.

Outdoor recreation among Turkish and Chinese immigrants

Turkish immigrants are among the largest groups of immigrants in various European countries, such as the Netherlands and Germany, and several European studies have researched Turkish immigrants' recreational patterns. The most striking results from these studies are that Turkish immigrants appear to hardly participate in non-urban outdoor recreation, and have a preference for recreation in urban greenspace (e.g. Jay & Schraml, 2009; Jókövi, 2000, 2001; Peters, 2010; Te Kloeze, 2001). The importance of social aspects associated with recreating in greenspace has also been stipulated in various studies. Group activities with (extended) family members are supposed to play an important role in Turkish immigrants' outdoor recreation (Jay & Schraml, 2009; Peters et al., 2010; Te Kloeze, 2001). Picking fruits and other activities related to food, such as picnicking and barbecuing, appear to be popular among Turkish immigrants (Jay & Schraml, 2009; Jókövi, 2000; Rijpma & Roques, 2000).

While the number of Chinese immigrants in Europe is growing, their outdoor recreational patterns have barely been researched in a European context. In the U.S.,

outdoor recreation by Chinese immigrants, or 'Asian Americans' in general, has received some attention, although less than that by other minority groups (see e.g. Chavez, 2000; Dwyer, 1993; Gramann, 1996; Ho et al., 2005; Sasidharan et al., 2005; Tierney et al., 2001; Walker et al., 2001; Winter et al., 2004). In general, these studies described their recreational patterns as more similar to 'white' patterns than recreational patterns of other minority groups in the U.S. such as 'African Americans' or 'Hispanics' (Dwyer, 1993; Gramann, 1996; Tierney et al., 2001). For example, Dwyer (1993) found that 'Asian Americans' visited state parks almost as often as 'whites' and more than for example 'Hispanics'. Differences have also been distinguished between 'Asian Americans' and 'whites'. Similar to Turkish immigrants in Europe, social activities seem to be important, and 'Asian Americans' tend to participate in outdoor recreation in larger groups than 'whites' do (Chavez, 2000; Ho et al., 2005). However, Chinese immigrants have also been described as visiting greenspace in smaller groups or alone more often than other minority groups (Sasidharan et al., 2005). Food-related activities such as picnicking seem to be popular among Chinese immigrants (Dwyer, 1993; Sasidharan et al., 2005), although maybe less so than among some other minority groups, such as 'African Americans' and 'Hispanics' (Sasidharan et al., 2005).

Still, relatively little is published regarding both Turkish and Chinese immigrants' recreational behaviour and preferences, particularly in Europe, and heterogeneity within ethnic groups have largely been overlooked (Kloek et al., 2013a; Sasidharan, 2002; Winter et al., 2004). We intend to contribute to a more complete picture of Turkish and Chinese immigrants' outdoor recreational patterns by using an identity perspective.

Outdoor recreation from an identity perspective

In various scientific fields, including ethnicity studies, identity is an important theoretical perspective. While identity is a complex concept which has brought about much discussion, there are some common insights that come up in almost all theories on identity (see e.g. Ashmore et al., 2004; Stets & Burke, 2000). Central to this perspective is that identity is a dialectical process of meaningful categorisation (Ashmore et al., 2004). Identity categories are meaningful as they influence behaviour and subjective experiences (Brown, 2000; Deaux & Martin, 2003; Liu & László, 2007). Categories are written in plural, as people can be categorised in various ways (Burke, 2003; Stets & Burke, 2000; Thoits & Virshup, 1997). As people move through daily live, their identity changes according to the situations they are in and the people they encounter. Identity thereby becomes a dialectical process of what you think your identity is and what others think your identity is (Nagel, 1994). An identity perspective therefore allows a reflection of a diversity of immigrant perspectives (Schiller & Çaglar, 2009).

Various researchers have shown links between recreational behaviour and identity. In as early as 1981, Kelly argued that leisure is a social space in which identity activation and formation takes place through social interaction (Kelly, 1981). Other studies have focused on how one particular identity influences outdoor recreation, such as environmental identity (e.g. Clayton & Opotow, 2004), place identity (e.g. Lawrence, 2012) and leisure identity (e.g. Williams, 2002). An identity perspective focusing on multiple identities has been less common (but see e.g. Shinew et al., 1995), however, is much needed, as "single variable" analyses in this complex society often seem to have limited results (Shinew et al., 2006). In the following we will elaborate on our theoretical perspective by focusing on the subjective meaning, multiplicity and contextuality of identity.

Identity: more than just a category

'Being a women' or 'being an immigrant' is more than a mere label. Identity categories clearly have meaning to people and their identities have behavioural implications (Ellemers, 2012), including for recreational behaviour. Ashmore et al. (2004) argued that identities have content as they contain associated behaviours, shared meanings, preferences, ideological positions and narratives. Identities can affect ideas on which specific recreational activities are fun, interesting or appropriate, or how they should be done. For example, a Dutch identity, when activated, may evoke images of and preferences for water sports such as swimming, sailing or ice-skating. A particular identity category is thus connected with certain activities, and this boundedness provides a shared or common-sense understanding of the social world (Verkuyten, 2005). This does not mean that all Dutch natives participate in water sports. However, when the identity category 'being Dutch' is activated, those activities are likely to come to mind and guide behaviour. People actively select recreational activities that they associate with particular self-images (Williams, 2002).

Multiplicity of identities

People do not belong to one collective, but can be considered as members of various different groups. A Dutch native may be a man, woman, young, old, student, et cetera. All identities may have different behavioural implications, including for outdoor recreation. Having multiple identities also offers the possibility of having combinations, of identities being closely connected or articulated in relation to each other (Verkuyten, 2005). What it means to be a youngster may for example vary between people of different ethnicities.

Which identities could potentially influence outdoor recreation? In various writings on identity, two dimensions of identity are distinguished, namely collective identities and personal identities (e.g. Ashmore et al., 2004; Renwick Monroe et al., 2000; Stets & Burke, 2000; Turner et al., 1994; Verkuyten, 2005). Both personal and collective identities may play a role in outdoor recreation. A collective identity is one that is shared with a group of others who have (or are perceived to have) some characteristic(s) in common

(Ashmore et al., 2004). Collective identities are formed mainly in interactions and experiences with social groups. As explained above for ethnicity, collective identities can have implications for outdoor recreation. Another example of a collective identity with behavioural implications for outdoor recreation is a religious identity. Earlier research showed that religious practices contain specific images of what nature is and how to appropriately behave toward nature or use it (Schouten, 2005). For example, in some readings of the Quran, nature, as a reflection of Allah's beauty, is represented as well organised and managed, without disorder, and ethical principles such as 'khalīfah' (responsible trusteeship or stewardship) guide the way in which humans should behave toward nature (Islam, 2012; Schouten, 2005). A Muslim-identity based on these readings of the Quran may incorporate this image of nature and influence outdoor recreation, possibly leading into a preference for ordered, neat natural areas over wild, untamed land.

Contrary to collective identities, personal identities are not directly related to other people, but to an individual's unique biography, experiences and personal characteristics (Terry et al., 1999). Various personal identities have been described in literature that can be of influence on outdoor recreation. People can have a strong personal bond with specific places (Hernández et al., 2007; Lawrence, 2012; Proshansky et al., 1983) or nature in general (Clayton & Opotow, 2004) or can personally strongly identify with specific outdoor activities (Jun & Kyle, 2011; Peters, 2010). They may for example see themselves as a nature lover or a hiker. Depending on the context, such identities can be interwoven with specific behaviours, including recreational behaviours (Clayton, 2004; Proshansky et al., 1983). Childhood experiences are often very influential in forming personal identities (Ward Thompson et al., 2008).

Contextuality of identities: identity activation

While people have multiple identities, not all identities are important at all times. In a specific situation, one or a few identities will become 'activated'. Ideas on identity activation have mainly been developed in sociology and psychology, such as in Stryker's identity theory (Stryker, 1987), Tajfel's social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974) and Turner's subsequent self-categorisation theory (Turner, 1985). Although the emphasis in the various theories differs, all stipulate that identity activation in a specific situation depends on the one hand on the 'importance', 'centrality' or 'relative accessibility' of a specific identity, and on the other hand on the way it 'fits' into a specific situation or context.

Central or important identities are identities that people personally feel strongly attached to. People are likely to primarily enact a central identity in the situations they enter into and make behavioural choices according to the perceptions and expectations attached to that identity (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Because outdoor recreation usually takes place in informal situations in which people have relatively more free time and freedom of choice of activity than in formal situations, recreation provides a good

opportunity to express important identities and select experiences in support of central identities (Peters, 2011; Williams, 2002). However, people do have to consider the physical properties of public space and deal with the other people in it. The activation of an identity therefore also depends on the context: on the perceived 'fit' between the identity category and people's perceptions of the situation, and on ascriptions by others (Howarth, 2002). This also explains why people do not behave the same way in all situations. For example, although an ethnic identity can generally speaking be central to someone, in the context of outdoor recreation a personal identity of a nature lover may be more important.

Contexts can constrain and enable identities. A very clear example of an identity-specific constraint is perceived discrimination, by means of which people feel excluded, restricted or favoured based on one specific identity – often an identity having clearly visible characteristics such as ethnicity or gender. Studies have described perceived discrimination as being a constraining factor for immigrants' outdoor recreation (e.g. Kloek et al., 2013b; Krymkowski et al., 2014; Stodolska, 2005a). Constraints can also be identity-specific in the sense that they inhibit specific activities associated with a certain identity. If barbecuing for a Turkish immigrant would be part of a Turkish identity, for example, rules prohibiting building a fire in greenspace may constrain the enactment of that identity. Contexts do not necessarily have to be restrictive; they can also be enabling or activating. For example, a forester approaching participants of an excursion as elderly people, immigrants or nature lovers, will activate different identities.

So identities have meanings and can be linked to recreational behaviour in greenspace. People have multiple identities, personal or collective, which are subjectively experienced and activated in specific contexts. This study seeks to add to the body of much-needed literature on behavioural variations between and within ethnic groups by examining outdoor recreational patterns of young adults of non-immigrant and Turkish and Chinese immigrant backgrounds from an identity perspective, in which we focus on the multiple identities that are of influence on outdoor recreation and their subjective meanings.

Methodology

This research used a qualitative methodology. It is grounded in symbolic interactionism and constructivism, which considers the meanings individuals attribute to things as constructed in a process of interaction with others and on-going interpretations of such interactions (Blumer, 1969). In our study we used group interviews to research people's multiple identities and related outdoor recreational behaviour. As during group interviews interactions and identity processes actually take place, while participants respond to and build on the views expressed by others in the group, the group interview is a method particularly suited for researching the

construction of identity and social behaviour (Hennink, 2007; Munday, 2006). Group interviews allow researchers to collect data not just on the content of collective identities, but also on the process of interaction and negotiation through which such an identity is produced within the group (Munday, 2006). A limitation of this method is that it is less suitable for understanding individual thoughts, feelings, or experiences compared to for example individual interviews (Hollander, 2004).

Group composition

In our study, we included young adults with two immigrant backgrounds, namely people of Turkish and Chinese descent, and young adults with a non-immigrant Dutch background. Group interviews were organised by country of origin and gender. This resulted in six (3 ethnic backgrounds * 2 sexes) types of groups. Regarding age, we focused solely on young adults (between 18-35). Young adults are an interesting research group as they potentially form both current and future greenspace users, and may have specific outdoor recreational patterns. We only included second-generation immigrant participants, meaning that their parents were born abroad while they themselves were born in the Netherlands, and first-generation immigrants who spend most of their youth in the Netherlands ('1.5-generation'). We chose to focus on this group as they generally have been raised in two ethnic cultures. Through their parents and family, they have been in contact with the culture of their country of origin; while through school and participation in the society, they have been in touch with Dutch culture. Focusing on this group can show how acculturation in the recreation domain is shaped and how persistent ethnic behavioural patterns are.

Possible participants were contacted through existing organisations and groupings, such as the Chinese Association Region Arnhem and the Turkish Ayasofia Mosque, and through Facebook. 'Gate-keepers', persons in these organisations having a large social network, helped the authors in finding participants and organising the group interviews. We aimed to have six to nine people in every type of group. Due to late cancellations and logistic difficulties, some groups were, however, smaller than six people. If groups were smaller than six people, another group interview was organised with participants of the same gender and ethnic background. All group sessions were conducted in Dutch and participants needed to have considerable knowledge of the Dutch language. Participants did not receive a financial compensation, except for travelling costs. Nine group interviews were conducted in total, all between December 2011 and April 2012. Generally, the group interviews took about 75 minutes, with some taking longer as a result of the size of the group and the talkativeness of the participants. In total, 42 people participated with an average age of 27 years (see also Table 4.1). Nine participants of Chinese descent and eleven participants of Turkish descent were second-generation immigrants, and three participants of Chinese descent and four participants of Turkish descent were 1.5-generation immigrants. Except for one female of Turkish descent, two males of Turkish descent and one female of Chinese descent, the participants did not have children.

Table 4.1*:* Group interview composition

Group number	Ethnicity	Gender	Total number of participants	Number of 1st generation immigrants	Number of 2nd generation immigrants
1	Chinese	Male	3	1	2
2	Chinese	Male	3	1	2
3	Chinese	Female	4	1	3
4	Chinese	Female	2	0	2
5	Dutch	Male	6	n/a	n/a
6	Dutch	Female	6	n/a	n/a
7	Turkish	Male	8	3	5
8	Turkish	Female	5	1	4
9	Turkish	Female	2	0	2

Conducting the group interviews

We conducted the study in the city of Arnhem, the Netherlands. In 2012, 18% of Arnhem's population of nearly 150.000 inhabitants had a non-western immigrant background, of whom 30% a Turkish and 5% a Chinese background (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2015). The natural surroundings of Arnhem are very varied. Within a few kilometres from the city, you can find forests; the river Rhine with riverbank reserves; heathland; agricultural land and hilly areas. These provide people with many options for outdoor recreation. Arnhem also has various large city parks.

Topics discussed during the group interviews were, among others, recreational behaviour and motivations, constraints and enabling environments, cultural differences and collective and personal identities. To establish people's collective and personal identities, we asked questions like "Do you see differences or similarities in your recreational behaviour compared to other (groups of) people?", "Can you distinguish different groups in society with regards to outdoor recreational behaviour and to which groups do you belong?" and "How would you describe yourself in relation to your recreational behaviour?". We used photos of landscapes ranging from urban greenspace to wilderness and photos of outdoor recreational activities in various landscapes to elicit more responses. We tried to enhance trustworthiness by becoming familiar with existing organisations and 'gatekeepers' through preliminary visits, and by organising the interviews together with a 'gatekeeper' of the same background as the participants. Furthermore, we tried to create an informal and comfortable setting with snacks and drinks in a location familiar to the participants. The first author, a female of non-immigrant Dutch background, moderated all group interviews, sometimes with the assistance of the 'gatekeepers'.

All interviews were recorded on tape and transcribed verbatim, including the moderator's observations on the interactions and processes during the interviews. We coded and analysed all interviews using the software package Atlas.ti. We created the codes beforehand from literature and added additional codes for extra or new issues that emerged from the data. We tried to enhance the reliability of the analysis process by applying investigator triangulation and an iterative analysis process. The first author coded the transcripts, while two other authors read all transcripts and checked and commented on the coding, findings and interpretations. Pseudonyms are used in the result section to distinguish between different participants and to ensure the participants' anonymity. Pseudonyms start with two letters that indicate country of origin (D=Dutch non-immigrants, C=Chinese immigrants, T=Turkish immigrants) and gender (M=male, F=female).

Results

Personal identities and two collective identities, namely identities based on ethnic background and being a youngster, played an important role in the participants' outdoor recreational behaviour. These will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

Personal identities

A few participants engaged in outdoor activities often. In most group interviews there were one or two who did so. Only in one of the group interviews with females of Chinese descent and in one of the group interviews with females of Turkish descent, no one did so frequently. The participants who did frequently engage in outdoor activities either had a very strong attachment to a specific outdoor recreational activity or related strongly to nature. The non-immigrant DM_Ruben, for example, described himself as a sailor who tried to spend every spare minute in a boat on the water. He was very perseverant in negotiating any constraint to this activity. Participants with a strong relation to nature often described themselves as nature lovers. They felt less bothered by constraints to outdoor recreation than others in the group interviews, as the following example of CM_Sulaymaan illustrates:

> Interviewer: Do you think outdoor recreation is important?
> CM_Sulaymaan: I think it's very important. To me it doesn't matter whether or not the weather is nice. I would also go out if the sun didn't shine.
> CM_Shaohan: But do you really *do* that?
> CM_Sulaymaan: Yes. To me, yes, it's important. And yes, it's like with many other things… For many people, it's like this: if you don't want to do something, you'll find many excuses. But if you really want to go out into nature, you would do it, whatever the weather is like, no matter the accessibility. If you think it's important, you will go anyway. So for me those things don't matter. I go out into nature anyway.

As they had a very personal connection to outdoor recreation or nature, their exact behaviours and the kinds of greenspace that these frequent participants visited varied and did not seem to be related to their ethnic background. For example, DM_Ruben mainly visited lakes, waterways and islands in Friesland, a province in the north of the Netherlands; CM_Sulaymaan visited various non-urban green areas all around the Netherlands; and TF_Nawar mainly visited green areas at a walking distance. However, they often described the same kind of motivation. They were either motivated by the activity itself and the result of the activity, for example the rush of it, or by a strong need to experience nature. These strong attachments to a recreational activity or to nature can be described as a personal identity and can be compared to what in previous research has been called a leisure identity (e.g. Williams, 2002) or an environmental identity (e.g. Clayton & Opotow, 2004). Leisure identities and environmental identities are suggested to be strongly influenced by experiences in people's youth and by personal characteristics (Ward Thompson et al., 2008). Although we did not specifically ask the participants with a leisure or environmental identity about the history of their behaviour, several of them mentioned that they had engaged in the respective activities for years or even as a child.

It is interesting to note that in all ethnic groups there were participants who strongly identified with nature or a specific outdoor recreational activity and who visited greenspace often. In their personal love for nature or for a specific outdoor recreational activity, all participants saw themselves as 'differing' from others in the group and from their peers, as the following example illustrates:

Interviewer: With whom do you go out?
CM_Sying: On my own, all alone. Sometimes I ask, to be sure… friends whether they want to join. Well, most of the time they won't. So then I go by myself.
CM_Sheng-Du: That's remarkable, that you go by yourself…
CM_Sagwau: I would not easily do that.
CM_Sheng-Du: I would never think: 'nobody joins, I'll go on my own'! For me, I wouldn't go to the park alone, but you are really a nature-lover, Sying!
CM_Sying: Actually, I do love to explore nature, yeah. I have been like that since I was young, such a type of person.

Among participants of Turkish and Chinese descent, environmental identities were experienced as more deviating from the norm than among non-immigrant Dutch. Participants of Turkish and Chinese descent who did not frequently visit greenspace were rather surprised to discover that someone from their age and ethnic background would visit greenspace very frequently, which was not so much the case for non-immigrants. Nature lovers of Turkish and Chinese descent also expressed more explicitly that they felt they were 'different'. The remark TF_Nawar made about her love for visiting nature by herself is a good example: "I don't mind, they may call me the village idiot". This might even have made the nature lovers of Chinese and Turkish descent more determined to persist in their behaviour.

Being a youngster

While only a few participants described personal nature-related identities, being a youngster came up as very influential in outdoor recreational behaviour among all participants. Participants who were asked to distinguish groups of people with the same outdoor recreational behaviour as their own mostly indicated people of the same age, who they described as 'youngsters':

> Interviewer: Do you see any differences or similarities between what you do in outdoor recreation and what other people do? Which groups would you distinguish?
> DF_Maaike: Well, when you look at who is taking a walk in the forest on an average day... You barely see people of our age in the forest, only very few… extremely few.
> DF_Melinda: I do see people between 20-30, who go for a run in the woods, or in parks… I increasingly see such youngsters, going outside for a run. But not to... well, just to go running.

Descriptions of what it is like to be a youngster in relation to outdoor recreation were quite similar in all ethnic groups. Most commonly, participants related being a youngster to a low frequency of outdoor recreational behaviour. Going outdoors to experience nature was described as something youngsters would not easily do. They did sometimes visit greenspace for sports activities like running and mountain biking and for social activities like 'hanging out in the park'. These activities generally took place in greenspace in the close vicinity of the participants' homes and usually together with peers, although sports activities were sometimes also practiced alone. The natural world then mainly played a role as background, as a décor for recreation. Chinese and Turkish immigrants mentioned social activities as typical for youngsters more often than non-immigrants did. In all ethnic groups, participants described motivations such as socialising with peers and exercising/maintaining a good health as more important than motivations related to nature itself; in the words of CM_Shaohan:

> "For me it's like, when you are with a group of peers you just want to do something, instead of just sitting at home. One of the options is going to the forest, or whatever, to the park or the Hoge Veluwe [Dutch conserved natural area]. But it's more like you are together with others and want to *do* something, no matter what. The forest itself is never the aim."

Other motivations for outdoor recreation mentioned in all ethnic groups were to have a moment's quiet and to experience freedom. The participants described their lives as busy and demanding, and greenspace formed a more relaxing counterpart to their daily lives. Furthermore, greenspace formed a place where youngsters felt free to be who they are and do what they want to do among their peers. The importance of freedom also showed from the participants' dislike of regulations. As TM_Askari mentioned: "There are enough places where you have to mind the rules. In nature, I don't want to think about rules, I want to relax and experience freedom". In most ethnic

groups, rules on barbecuing and picking fruits and nuts were brought into question. Non-immigrant males also mentioned a dislike of rules on building fires and walking off the pathways. The dislike of regulations seemed to be strongest among males of Turkish descent and non-immigrant males.

Important constraints to outdoor recreation related to an identity of 'being a youngster' are time constraints, accessibility, having no company, and the regulations described above. As the participants experienced their lives as busy and demanding, they felt time was the most important restriction to outdoor recreation. Time restrictions were closely related to accessibility: they said that when greenspace is close by and easily accessible, it is possible to visit it just for a short time or in between other activities. As most activities were performed in a group, having no company was another constraint to outdoor recreation, particularly for the Chinese and Turkish immigrants. Although most participants did not frequently take part in outdoor recreation, they all had a positive attitude toward nature. The participants assumed that when they grew older and started a family, they would increase their visits to nature, as becomes evident for example from a discussion among males of Turkish descent:

> Interviewer: What are your most important motivations for outdoor recreation?
> TM_Ayman: I think it's doing something together with a group of people. I'm not going to… whatever… to observe nature or something like that. I don't uh…
> TM_Ali [35, oldest participant in this group]: When you reach a certain age, you do visit nature for that reason. When you have a child… For me, that's the case.
> TM_Ayman: Yes, but I haven't reached that age. […]
> TM_Ali: Yes, I know it from my own experience. Five years ago, I did not go… I went out to see my friends or for sports or to do something together. Not for nature itself. But now I see that it is important as well.

Both Turkish and Chinese immigrants distinguished recreational behaviours as youngsters from behaviours related to their ethnicity. They described that in some situations they mainly acted as youngsters, for example when hanging out with peers from various ethnic backgrounds, while in other situations they mainly acted as people from Turkish or Chinese descent, as the following discussion shows:

> CM_Sagwan [in reaction on one of the pictures]: It strikes me that these two groups on the picture are very segregated. I don't know whether this… I think they are all from Turkish or Moroccan descent.
> CM_Sying: They keep to themselves a lot, you know.
> Interviewer: Do you experience that yourself as well?
> CM_Sagwan: Yeah. The Chinese and Western culture are also quite different.
> CM_Sheng-Du: But only when you talk about family outings, then the Chinese form a close community. But if you visit the outdoors with friends, what I normally would do, you don't say: 'you sit here, I sit there because I'm Chinese'… No, of course not!

In the next paragraph we elaborate on how being of Turkish or Chinese descent was related to outdoor recreational behaviour.

Identities related to ethnic background

Identities related to ethnic background appeared to be important to outdoor recreational behaviour as well. The participants did not so much distinguish immigrants from non-immigrants; they did not really perceive 'immigrants' and 'non-immigrants' as meaningful categories in relation to outdoor recreation. Instead, participants identified with their more specific country of origin, namely being of either Chinese or of Turkish descent. The participants of non-immigrant Dutch descent rarely referred to ethnicity or being of Dutch descent in relation to outdoor recreation.

Activities related to the collection of food formed a special case. These kinds of activities, such as picking fruits and nuts, were mentioned quite often in all ethnic groups. Moreover, almost all flora that participants of Turkish, Chinese and non-immigrant Dutch backgrounds talked about were edible, such as chestnut, mushrooms and berries. However, while the non-immigrant Dutch participants also practiced these kinds of activities, the participants of Turkish descent themselves saw such activities as typically Turkish and the participants of Chinese descent as typically Chinese. In the following sections we will elaborate on the perceptions and recreational use of greenspace that participants related to being of Turkish, Chinese and Dutch descent.

Being of Turkish descent

When bringing up the topic of outdoor recreation in groups with participants of Turkish descent, people quickly started to talk enthusiastically about daylong barbecues or picnics with extended families and friends of the same ethnic background. Although much liked, these daylong outings took place infrequently. The main activity during such an event was a large barbecue or picnic, but participants also described going for a walk nearby or playing ball games. Participants related these outings explicitly to their identity as being of Turkish descent. They only went on such outings with people of Turkish descent and clearly distinguished these outings and their style of participation as being unique in comparison to recreational activities in which others, i.e. people not of Turkish descent, engage:

> TF_Noor: Well, I have to say: if we, people of Turkish descent, go for a picnic, we're going to whoop it up. We also do things very exuberantly, I think.
> (In the background others are saying 'yes!' and laughing)
> TF_Nawar: Dutch families… they go… and what do they take with them? Just some sandwiches! And what do we take with us?
> Various participants together: Everything! […]
> TF_Nawar: Now that I think about it, we are indeed very exuberant. All those things we take with us to go on a picnic… even the sunflower seeds.
> TF_Nisa: Yes, those should be part of every picnic!

TF_Noor: I remember one time that I had to go back home for the sunflower seeds. I said to myself: what are we doing here without those seeds?
TF_Nisa: No picnic without sunflower seeds!
TF_Noor: And that's something those other people just don't understand.

During these events, greenspace was mainly a background for social activities and socialising was an important motivation. Food played a central role in these events, especially food taken from home. These outings took place in one or a few specific green areas, to which people kept returning. In this respect, the participants of Turkish descent very often mentioned one area along the river Rhine, *De Westerbouwing*. The participants of non-immigrant Dutch and Chinese backgrounds never mentioned this area. The preference for this area is probably related to the fact that you can have a barbecue here, something that is prohibited in many green areas in the Netherlands. For the participants of Turkish descent it also felt familiar and safe, maybe because the area is mainly visited by immigrants, and especially by people of Turkish descent. As TF_Nawar explains, "I think we like to go somewhere where we can be ourselves". Although many stories were told about such events, these outings are not regular activities. Participants indicated that these rather large outings normally take place just a few times a year. They engaged more frequently in activities that can be related to the identity of being a youngster, such as sports or hanging out with people of the same age. This hints at the importance of the identity of being a youngster over the identity of being of Turkish descent in the context of outdoor recreation.

Being of Turkish descent was more influential on outdoor recreation than just in relation to infrequent daylong outings. Almost all participants of Turkish descent were Muslim, and being of Turkish descent and being Muslim seemed closely intertwined. With regards to outdoor recreation, the Muslim religion was particularly important with respect to how the participants experienced nature. Participants of Turkish descent emphasised that Muslims should feel grateful to Allah for the beauty of nature. As TF_Noor explained in reaction to the pictures shown: "When I see these pictures, I think: 'Maşallah'. That's what we say from a religious viewpoint to express our feelings about the beauty of the Creation. God, Allah, created this and all pictures, every landscape has its own beauty." Moreover, as a Muslim, they thought it important to take care of nature, and keep nature areas well-tended and clean, also during outings. Furthermore, the mosque sometimes organised outdoor recreational activities for Muslims.

As Nagel (1994) argued, identity is a dialectical process of what you think your identity is and what others think your identity is. Not only did the Turkish immigrants categorise themselves as being from Turkish descent, they also reported that others assigned them as being from Turkish or non-native descent. They particularly gave examples of occasions in which they felt excluded or treated negatively because of their ethnicity. Various previous studies have suggested that immigrants may experience personal or institutional forms of discrimination that influence their participation in outdoor recreation (e.g. Kloek et al., 2013b; Krymkowski et al., 2014; Stodolska, 2005a).

Although the participants never explicitly 'labelled' their experiences as discrimination, they could be described as such. Participants of Turkish descent were the only ones to mention such occasions; participants of Chinese descent did not mention these. The following discussion among males of Turkish descent gives an example of such an experience:

> TM_Azzam: Do you remember that night, when we were in the park around midnight, and the next day they found a dead body?
> TM_Ayman: Yes.
> TM_Azzam: Do you understand? Then we thought: 'Ok, we will never go there again at night'. So when we visit the park now, we leave around seven or eight in the evening.
> Interviewer: So you won't go there anymore at night because you feel it's dangerous, it's not safe?
> TM_Askari: They immediately think of you as a suspect.
> TM_Ayman: When they see you there at midnight...
> TM_Azzam: You're with a group, you know. As an outsider, you will think: 'Aah, a group of Turkish guys, what are they doing here at midnight?' You're anyway suspicious when you walk somewhere at midnight with a group of Turkish guys.
> Interviewer: So you are not so much afraid something will happen to you, but that you get suspected? […]
> Various participants together: Yes.
> TM_Azzam: I'm not so much afraid that something will happen to me. But to get suspected of something, that's far worse for me.

Mentioned exclusionary acts were mainly what have been called 'low-level' examples of discrimination (Chakraborti, 2010), and included unpleasant looks and negative remarks. Participants were approached as such both by other visitors in greenspace as well as by official authorities. Both females and males of Turkish descent mentioned occasions on which they were approached on the basis of their Turkish descent; however, only males said they were seen as 'suspicious' or 'potential aggressors'. The participants tried to deal with these discriminatory experiences in various ways, such as by modifying their behaviour and trying to act Dutch, for instance by changing their language from Turkish to Dutch. They also reduced their participation in recreational activities to specific times or places.

Being of Chinese descent

Being of Chinese descent seemed to be less central to the Chinese immigrant participants during outdoor recreation than being of Turkish descent was to the Turkish immigrant participants. The participants of Chinese descent described that immigration history and the Chinese culture played a major role in outdoor recreational patterns for their parents or other first-generation Chinese immigrants, but that they themselves did not perceive being of Chinese descent as very influential in their outdoor recreational

behaviour. According to the participants of Chinese descent, the culturally dependent prioritisation of work and earning money limited outdoor recreation of first-generation Chinese immigrants. Many first-generation Chinese immigrants were motivated to migrate to the Netherlands in order to earn money for themselves and their families (see also Linder et al., 2011). As 1.5-/second-generation immigrants, the participants did not prioritise these, what they described as Chinese, values. They regarded their recreational patterns primarily as quite similar to non-immigrant Dutch or to young people in general. The immigrants of Turkish descent did not mention differences between generations and the importance of immigration history.

Although being of Chinese descent was not very central to their outdoor recreational behaviour, there were three distinct types of outdoor recreational behaviour that were related to cultural traits among the participants of Chinese background. Activities connected to collecting food, such as picking herbs or chestnuts, as well as food consumption such as picnicking, were popular among participants of Chinese descent. Such activities were usually carried out in small groups with family members and were seen as typically Chinese (see above). Furthermore, some participants practiced Tai Chi in public parks. Tai Chi is a type of Chinese martial arts often practiced outdoors, and is also described by the participants as something typically Chinese. Lastly, the participants of Chinese descent reported a preference for comfort and hygiene as part of their Chinese background. Litter and getting dirty constrained their outdoor recreation. They especially mentioned comfort and hygiene in relation to camping:

> CM_Sheng-Du: I play hockey myself, so sometimes I go to a tournament with my hockey team. Then they bring a tent and a sleeping bag, and they just stay in a big… uh… actually on a field of grass. The first time I joined them, I thought: 'Wow, this is weird, that's typically Dutch! We don't know this'.
> (In the background others laugh and agree)
> CM_Sheng-Du: This is really a country of campers. In the forest, along the rivers, outdoors… That was an eye-opener to me: 'Is that normal!?' Well, apparently it is. And even for little kids, in those tents… it's really strange […].
> CM_Sagwau: I think that many Chinese… they don't like these kinds of things. For us, if we want to go somewhere, we prefer a hotel. We do go outdoors, but we're not going to sleep outside in nature.

Camping was perceived in various Chinese groups as typically Dutch. Although some of the participants of Chinese descent did go on camping trips with non-immigrant Dutch friends, they did not find it very pleasant because of the lack of comfort.

Being of Dutch descent

While the participants of Turkish and Chinese descent made quite a few references to their ethnic background, the non-immigrant Dutch barely referred to an identity of 'being of Dutch descent'. It is likely that the non-immigrant Dutch were not so much aware of such an ethnic identity. Previous research showed that for a dominant group,

ethnic identity tends to be less visible and less salient as a result of dominant status, and is often taken for granted (Doane, 1997). As members of a majority group, they could consider their behaviour and perceptions as 'normal behaviour', while for outsiders their behaviour could be perceived as culturally distinct. Indeed, some perceptions and activities were labelled by participants of Turkish or Chinese descent as typically Dutch or were only mentioned by non-immigrant Dutch participants. Water sports activities, such as sailing and windsurfing, are examples of activities almost exclusively mentioned by non-immigrant Dutch, and non-immigrants are the only ones to speak positively of camping. Furthermore, non-immigrant Dutch participants described visiting greenspace with one or a few people in order to have a good conversation that is deepened by being in greenspace, as the following shows:

> DF_Marieke: For example, when I go for a walk with my mother, we're just focused on each other, nothing else. For one reason or another, when you are in nature, you talk about different topics than at home or in a bar. How this works, I don't know, but the forest certainly has an influence. You go to the forest to… I have the most significant conversations in the forest! Maybe you feel freer? Or… not too busy, no obligations…
> DF_Maaike: Nobody can overhear you…
> DF_Marieke: Yes, nobody hears you… You are more relaxed and don't need to look into each other's eyes, as you're walking next to each other. And in the meantime you're enjoying yourself, so you draw closer together. I'm sure I have different conversations with my mother when I visit her at her home.

This may be an extra motivation for non-immigrants to visit greenspace as a couple or in a small group. Participants of Chinese and Turkish descent did not seem to perceive conversations in greenspace as being much different from conversations in other places.

Conclusion and discussion

This study shows that focusing on immigrant status alone does not give a proper understanding of the diversity in outdoor recreational patterns of ethnic groups. As Buizer and Turnhout (2011) argue, the emphasis on the role of "outsiders", such as immigrants, as a homogeneous group, hides the more diverse and ambiguous practice of greenspace use. Foregrounding immigrant status as the single frame of reference prevents distinguishing alternative relevant frames of reference (Brubaker, 2013). By describing the various identities, both personal and collective, that play an important role in outdoor recreational preferences and behaviour, we tried to disentangle the complexity and contextuality of outdoor recreation. In our study among young adults of non-immigrant Dutch and of Chinese and Turkish immigrant backgrounds in the Netherlands, personal identities, being a youngster and ethnicity were perceived as

important for outdoor recreation. Furthermore, for some women, their gender identity influenced their outdoor recreational behaviour as well, particularly with regards to the perceived risk of getting assaulted. This resulted in more heterogeneity within groups as well as in more homogeneity between immigrants and non-immigrants than usually described. This study thereby underlines criticism voiced by various authors (e.g. Sasidharan, 2002; Shinew et al., 2006; Winter et al., 2004), namely that studies tend to focus too much on finding differences between ethnic groups at the expense of identifying intra-ethnic differences and similarities based on other identities such as age and gender.

Considering immigrants as a homogeneous group that under-participates in outdoor recreation especially overlooks individual immigrants who frequently participate in outdoor recreation. In all ethnic groups in this study, at least one participant frequently participated in outdoor recreation. Frequent participants in outdoor recreation related their behaviour to personal identities such as an environmental or leisure identity, instead of to collective identities such as ethnicity. Being a 'nature lover' or 'sailor', for example, largely guided their outdoor recreational behaviour. These personal identities were important to the participants: When a collective identity such as being young or ethnicity conflicted with their personal identity, participants kept referring to their personal identity and were sometimes even more determined to persist in their behaviour. Identity theorists have had difficulties in positioning personal identities in the identity hierarchy, but in general they tend to consider personal identity as the lowest level of self-identification and as easily overridden by collective identities, depending on factors in a specific situation, such as social comparison or normative fit (e.g. Stets & Burke, 2000; Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1985; Turner et al., 1994). Our study shows that in the context of outdoor recreation, personal identities can for some people be high up in the identity hierarchy.

For people without such a distinct personal drive to go out into greenspace, a limited number of collective identities seemed to influence their outdoor recreational behaviour. Being a youngster was mentioned often as influencing outdoor recreation in all ethnic groups. The importance the participants placed on being a youngster forms evidence for some homogeneity between immigrants and non-immigrants in outdoor recreation. Being a youngster was related in all ethnic groups to a low frequency of outdoor recreation, as well as to sports and social activities with peers of the same age such as 'hanging out in the park'. The social activities related to being a youngster clearly differed from for example typically Turkish social activities with extended families.

Besides being a youngster, ethnicity was mentioned as influencing outdoor recreational behaviour in some situations. Ethnicity, in general, seemed to have a stronger effect on recreational behaviour of Turkish immigrants than of Chinese immigrants. Turkish immigrants in our study often discussed outdoor recreation in the light of being Turkish, even if the frequency of this behaviour was relatively low. One specific recreational activity stood out as typically Turkish, namely daylong outings

including a barbecue. People of Turkish descent gather together in large groups for such events, and their ethnic identity clearly guides their outdoor recreational behaviour. These outings formed a kind of icon of the Turkish identity, and have been described in various previous studies on Turkish immigrants' recreational patterns (e.g. Jay & Schraml, 2009; Peters et al., 2010; Te Kloeze, 2001). Furthermore, the subjective identity of being of Turkish descent seemed to be closely related to the identity of being Muslim. Almost all participants of Turkish descent were Muslim, and, among other things, their religion was important with respect to how they experienced nature (cf. Buijs et al., 2009; Schouten, 2005). For Chinese immigrants in our study, being of Chinese descent seemed to be less central in the context of outdoor recreation. However, there were certain recreational behaviours which were affected by their Chinese origin among the participants of Chinese descent, namely activities connected to food such as picnicking or picking chestnuts (cf. Dwyer, 1993; Sasidharan et al., 2005), practicing Tai Chi, and a preference for comfort and subsequent dislike of camping. Particularly the preference for comfort and dislike of camping have, to our knowledge, not been elaborated on in earlier studies on Chinese immigrants' recreational patterns.

Our study is an indication that acculturation does not progress in the same way among all ethnic groups, as participants of Turkish descent seemed more focused on their ethnicity with respect to outdoor recreation than participants of Chinese descent. Comparable differences in acculturation patterns between Chinese and Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands have also been described for other domains of life, such as education (e.g. Gijsberts et al., 2011; Linder et al., 2011). There are no previous studies that compared Turkish and Chinese immigrants' outdoor recreational patterns in Europe, however, in the U.S., recreational patterns of Chinese immigrants or 'Asian Americans' have been compared to other minority groups and described as more like those of 'whites' than those of minority groups such as 'African Americans' or 'Hispanics' (Dwyer, 1993; Gramann, 1996; Tierney et al., 2001). Furthermore, our study also indicates that ethnic identity may be sustained among second- and maybe even later generations through certain recreational activities. Food collection and food consumption particularly seemed to function as domains in which ethnicity identity can be retained, and have also been described as such in earlier studies (e.g. Breton et al., 1990; Rabikowska, 2010; Schösler, 2014).

While the previous paragraphs described identities claimed subjectively, identity can also be collectively ascribed by others in specific contexts (Deaux & Martin, 2003; Nagel, 1994). Ascriptions by others, and particularly ethnic discrimination, have been suggested both in Europe and the United States as a constraint to outdoor recreation for immigrants (Floyd et al., 1993; Gobster, 2002; Kloek et al., 2013b; Livengood & Stodolska, 2004; Stodolska, 2005a; Woodard, 1988). Bonjour and Lettinga (2012) mention that in the Netherlands, non-immigrant Dutch tend to see certain traits of migrants as determined by their membership of a specific ethnic group, and they are inclined to see group differences as essential, lasting, and irremediable. By consistently

relating to an ethnic non-native identity, other identities relevant for outdoor recreation may become overlooked and an 'us versus them'-distinction may be reinforced (Shadid, 2006). As Rishbeth (2004a) argues, the psychological containment of ethnic groups in fixed identities can lead to the perpetuation of stereotypes. In our study this was mainly true for the Turkish group: participants of Turkish descent described a few situations in which they felt excluded or treated differently because of their ethnicity, either by other visitors or by authorities. Previous research showed that especially when ethnicity is highly visible, immigrants may perceive discrimination during outdoor recreation (Kloek et al., 2013b). Indeed, the Turkish group outings are a very visible form of outdoor recreation and a well-known icon.

The main limitations of our study lie in the methodology. A thorough analysis of complex phenomena such as identities and outdoor recreation requires data obtained through various methods. Further research, based for example on (participant) observations or individual interviews, is needed to gain a better understanding of how different identities are activated and practiced through interactions in specific recreational contexts. As we showed that recreational behaviour strongly differs between and within ethnic groups, future research should focus on various (more and other) ethnic groups and age groups. Comparative research on one or a few immigrant group(s) in various countries could help to further illuminate commonalities and differences within specific immigrant groups.

This study has been set up in the context of policy makers and nature organisations trying to understand and stimulate immigrants' recreational use of greenspace. We think that the multiplicity of identities offers various opportunities to increase inclusion in outdoor recreation. Social inclusion in outdoor recreation is particularly important considering the potential positive effects of outdoor recreation on health and well-being (Bowler et al., 2010; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989; Thompson Coon et al., 2011). Policy makers trying to increase inclusion would be well-advised to not only focus on a single identity such as ethnicity, but to make use of various identities, either collective, such as age or religion, or personal, such as leisure or environmental identities. Addressing specific ethnic groups through various identities enables policy makers to come up with other policy and management approaches and prevents them from reinforcing ethnic stereotypes. The importance of age-related identities provides an opportunity to overcome barriers based on ethnicity. Especially time constraints and the accessibility of green areas seemed to be important to youngsters. To get youngsters, including young immigrants, to participate in outdoor recreation more often, nature organisations should not only focus on 'hard-core' nature areas, but also on urban and peri-urban greenspace. Furthermore, personal nature-related identities could form an interesting opportunity to attract immigrants as well. Individual nature lovers are found in all ethnic groups. As these people are very enthusiastic about outdoor recreation, they may become 'gatekeepers' to larger networks of friends and family. However, immigrants' possibilities to enact a personal identity may be more constrained in comparison with non-immigrants, as it

may be more difficult for immigrants to obtain information on nature conservation. For example, non-immigrant Dutch nature lovers often gather in largely 'white' groups such as the Dutch Youth for Nature Study. By enabling contacts between immigrants and non-immigrants with a personal nature-related identity, involvement of immigrants in outdoor recreation could be enhanced. Such an approach may be particularly promising for 1.5- and second-generation immigrants who spent (most of) their youth in the Netherlands, as they usually already have more contacts with non-immigrants, for example through schools.

Nature organisations trying to increase public support and participation should be aware of the extent to which their attempts are based on limited, and especially 'Western', ideas. The practice of creating greenspace may forge identities and reproduce inequalities (Grove, 2009). For example, possibilities for water sports, a typically Dutch activity, are often provided in Dutch natural areas, while collecting products such as nuts and fruits, an activity practiced in various ways in all studied ethnic groups, is generally forbidden, even though both activities may have hazardous ecological effects. Providing possibilities for water sports while prohibiting the collection of foods may be based on Western norms and values and reproduce inequalities. Not only in the Netherlands, but also in other Western countries, attempts to increase public support for nature conservation may be based on Western ideas. For example, Byrne (2011) showed that 'white' normative ideas of nature are reflected in the design and layout of American parks, the facilities they contain, and the recreational programs offered. Including immigrants' use and perceptions in Western nature policy and management could have a positive effect not only on the inclusiveness of nature conservation, but also on biodiversity. According to the biocultural diversity theory, there is an 'inextricable link' between biological and cultural diversity (Cocks, 2006; Elands & Van Koppen, 2012).

In conclusion, we would like to stipulate that an identity perspective allows us a more in-depth understanding of different types of recreational behaviour, which goes beyond the well-known stereotypes. Taking the multiplicity of identities as a starting point offers fresh theoretical insights and broadens policy and management options to increase inclusion and public support for the conservation of nature, biodiversity and greenspace.

Chapter 5

‘Nature lovers’, ‘Social animals’, ‘Quiet seekers’ and ‘Activity lovers’: Participation of young adult immigrants and non-immigrants in outdoor recreation in the Netherlands

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Abstract

Immigrants are often described as 'under-participating' in non-urban outdoor recreation. Our quantitative study among 1057 young adults of Chinese, Turkish and non-immigrant descent in the Netherlands, however, showed strong differences in outdoor recreational behaviour between and within ethnic groups. Participation frequency, participation rate, group size and motivations strongly varied between ethnic groups. In our study, a similar share of Turkish immigrants and non-immigrants recreated in non-urban greenspace, while half as many Chinese immigrants did so. Respondents of Turkish descent mainly participated in group-based activities and respondents of Chinese descent in individual-based activities. Respondents subjectively perceived their ethnicity but also personal identities, age and, to a lesser extent, gender and religion to influence their outdoor recreational behaviour. Cluster analysis of participants in non-urban outdoor recreation resulted in five recreational types: 'Nature lovers', 'Social animals', 'Activity lovers', 'Group-based quiet seekers' and 'Individual quiet seekers'. These recreational types were correlated with ethnicity, but also with various other socio-demographic variables. We therefore argue that 'under-participation' is a misleading term to typify non-urban outdoor recreational behaviour of immigrants, and that multiple identities should be taken into account to understand this behaviour.

Keywords: outdoor recreational patterns, motivations, constraints, greenspace, ethnicity, identity

Introduction

Background of the study

A growing number of scientific studies argue that immigrants or ethnic minorities in Western countries, compared to non-immigrants, are under-participating in outdoor recreational activities (see e.g. Countryside Agency, 2005; Jay & Schraml, 2009; Jókövi, 2001; Krymkowski et al., 2014). Outside academia, governments and nature conservation organisations in various Western countries have also noted that immigrants do not visit greenspace as often as non-immigrants do (e.g. Curry et al., 2001; Somers et al., 2005). As various positive effects are attributed to outdoor recreation, such as on health and well-being (e.g. Thompson Coon et al., 2011), social integration (Dines et al., 2006; Peters, 2010) and public support for nature conservation (Balmford et al., 2002; Kareiva, 2008; Pergams & Zaradic, 2008), under-participation is seen as a problem. A problem that becomes more pressing as the number of immigrants continues to increase, which indeed seems to be the case. For example, in the Netherlands, 17% of the Dutch citizens had an immigrant background in the year 2000. In 2014, this percentage was 21% and it is predicted to grow to 28% in 2050 (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2015).

Evidence supporting the idea that immigrants are under-participating in outdoor recreation particularly comes from quantitative studies published in North America (e.g. Carr & Williams, 1993; Floyd et al., 1993; Krymkowski et al., 2014; Washburne, 1978). Few European baseline data exist on immigrants' participation, as most European studies on immigrants' recreational behaviour are qualitative studies (see Chapter 2). This research therefore aims to quantify (under-)participation and outdoor recreational behaviour of immigrants, in specific immigrants with Turkish and Chinese backgrounds, in comparison to non-immigrants in a European country, namely the Netherlands. Furthermore, we aim to study heterogeneity between and within these ethnic groups, as current studies often treat immigrants as one group and differences between and within ethnic groups have not been studied well.

In this chapter we distinguish between recreation in urban and in non-urban greenspace, with urban greenspace being urban parks and other urban green areas; and non-urban greenspace ranging from fields, pastures and other agricultural areas to forest, heathland and other non-urban green areas. Our main focus in this chapter is on non-urban outdoor recreation, as under-participation seems to be most prominent in this type of greenspace. Non-urban outdoor recreation is also more relevant to nature conservation management and policy. However, we did also study urban outdoor recreation and we will give a concise report of those results[3].

[3] For purposes of simplification, we sometimes use the terms urban recreation and non-urban recreation. It should be noted that in this study these terms refer only to outdoor recreation in (urban or non-urban) greenspace.

Immigrants' outdoor recreational patterns, motivations and constraints: a literature review

Studies on differences between immigrants and non-immigrants in outdoor recreational behaviour often focus on one or more of the following topics: recreational patterns, motivations or constraints. Recreational patterns include aspects of recreation that can be objectively measured, such as participation rate, activity type and group size. Motivations are subjective explanations of why people engage in recreation and help to understand what people want from recreation (Manfredo & Driver, 1996). Motivations for outdoor recreation can be categorised based on whether greenspace is foregrounded or backgrounded (e.g. Bang et al., 2007; Jensen & Guthrie, 2006). When greenspace is foregrounded, the experience of greenspace or the natural world forms the main motivation, while greenspace serves only as a décor for recreational activities when it is backgrounded. Constraints can be defined as factors that inhibit participation in outdoor recreation or dampen the joy people experience outdoors (Jackson et al., 1993). These may lead to non-participation; however, people can also negotiate constraints. Below, we will describe the most salient differences in outdoor recreational patterns, motivations and constraints between immigrants and non-immigrants found in studies conducted in Europe. It should be noted that most European studies on immigrants' outdoor recreational patterns, motivations and/or constraints either incorporate people of diverse (mostly non-western) ethnic backgrounds and then treat these as a homogenous group or focus only on one specific group of immigrants (see Chapter 2).

Studies on recreational patterns first and foremost tend to argue that immigrants do not visit greenspace, and especially non-urban green areas, as often as non-immigrants do (e.g. Countryside Agency, 2005; Jay & Schraml, 2009; Jókövi, 2000). Immigrants are said to mostly visit urban outdoor recreational areas or areas close to home. Another recreational pattern consistently found is that picking fruits and other activities related to food, such as picnicking and barbecuing, are popular among immigrants (see for example Edwards & Weldon, 2006; Jay & Schraml, 2009; Jókövi, 2000). Furthermore, it is regularly argued that immigrants tend to visit outdoor areas in large groups, as opposed to the solitary visits or visits in small groups non-immigrants tend to make (Askins, 2008; Edwards & Weldon, 2006).

Immigrants' motivations for outdoor recreation did not receive much attention in European research. Some authors suggested that non-immigrants more often than immigrants go outdoors specifically to experience nature. In studies conducted in Britain, for example, visiting nature for the solitude and contemplative possibilities that it offers, to enjoy and learn from nature, has been described as a typically British activity (Askins, 2008; Countryside Agency, 2005). It is suggested that the main motivation for immigrants to visit greenspace is to interact socially with friends or family or to meet new people (e.g. Countryside Agency, 2005; Peters, 2010; Rishbeth & Finney, 2006).

Immigrants may perceive various constraints to outdoor recreation, such as fear of nature; fear of crime; lack of information, time or transport; poor weather; discrimination;

and a lack of appropriate facilities (see for example Edwards & Weldon, 2006; Kloek et al., 2013b; OPENSpace Research Centre, 2006; Rishbeth & Finney, 2006). The extent to which these constraints are specific for immigrants has not been studied well. However, in a recent study conducted in the United States, Covelli Metcalf et al. (2013) showed that people across ethnic groups perceive many of the same constraints, with only a few distinctions.

Explanations for differences in outdoor recreation

Scholars have various hypotheses explaining differences in outdoor recreational behaviour between immigrants and non-immigrants. The best-known hypotheses, formulated by Washburne (1978), are the marginality and ethnicity hypotheses. The marginality hypothesis posits that immigrants' outdoor recreation is constrained due to social inequality, such as low income or educational level. The ethnicity hypothesis states that immigrants' recreational behaviour is influenced by a distinct set of cultural norms and values. A third, more recent, hypothesis considers perceived discrimination as an important factor explaining differences in recreational behaviour (Stodolska, 2005). Studies conducted in the United States found evidence supporting all three hypotheses (see Krymkowski et al., 2014).

Recent publications argue that recreational behaviour is complex, and differences in outdoor recreation between immigrants and non-immigrants can be understood only when multiple and possibly interrelated influences are taken into consideration (Manning, 2010). While immigrants share one important characteristic, namely having a migrant background, they also have many differentiating characteristics. The term 'immigrant' lumps all people with a migrant background together, irrespective of their country of origin, or ethnic or cultural background. Moreover, no one is an immigrant and an immigrant only. Lately, several authors therefore argued to take into account people's multiple identities when assessing immigrants' recreational behaviour (Jay & Schraml, 2013; Kloek et al., 2013a). Someone may be male, young, a surfer or nature lover, and all these identities may influence outdoor recreational patterns, motivations and constraints.

A differentiated perspective on immigrants' outdoor recreational behaviour is scarce in existing European research, according to two recent review studies (see Chapter 2 and Gentin, 2011). As stated above, most of the European studies either only take into account one specific group of immigrants, or incorporate people of diverse (mostly non-western) ethnic backgrounds but treat them as a homogeneous group. Both approaches pass over the diversity between immigrants and can lead to erroneous stereotyping and perpetuated 'us versus them'-thinking. Indeed, two recent European studies show that not only people's immigrant status but also their specific ethnic background and other identities play a role in outdoor recreation. The study based on focus groups described in the previous chapter concluded that various identities influence immigrants' outdoor recreational behaviour. Considering immigrants as a homogeneous group particularly overlooks immigrants with a personal bond with nature or with specific recreational

activities who frequently participate in outdoor recreation. Furthermore, in a German study, Jay and Schraml (2013) compared immigrants with a Turkish and Russian-German background as well as non-immigrants, and found that lifestyle and gender influence outdoor recreational practices independently from migration background. Both studies were based on qualitative research.

In this chapter we aim to quantify outdoor recreational patterns, motivations and constraints of young adult immigrants in comparison to non-immigrants, taking into account differences between ethnic groups. We also aim to examine heterogeneity within ethnic groups, as an indication of the influence of other identities on outdoor recreational behaviour. Therefore we conducted a survey with a quota sampling design among 1057 young adults with Turkish, Chinese and non-immigrant Dutch backgrounds in the Netherlands. Turkish immigrants form the largest group of non-western immigrants in the Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2015). The number of immigrants from Asian countries – particularly from China – is increasing, and it is predicted that they will become the largest group of non-western immigrants in the Netherlands by 2050 (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2010; Linder et al., 2011). Turkey differs considerably from China in ethnic, cultural and religious terms, as well as regarding common outdoor recreational practices. For example, people in Turkey use greenspace generally for passive recreational activities, with a preference for group activities such as picnicking (Özgüner, 2011). Recreational behaviour in China is commonly relatively solitary – although in Chinese society there is also a strong value on social, rather than personal, needs (Walker et al., 2001; Wang & Stringer, 2000). Including both groups enabled us to make distinctions between differences related to immigrant status or to ethnic background. We only included immigrants who spent most of their youth in the Netherlands, which is to say '1.5-' and second-generation immigrants.

Methodology

Sampling design

In this chapter we discuss the results of a face-to-face survey among a sample of 350 people of Chinese descent, 350 people of Turkish descent and 357 native Dutch people in the Netherlands (N=1057). We will use the term 'immigrants' to refer to Chinese and Turkish immigrants as being one group, and 'ethnic background'/'ethnic group' or 'Chinese immigrants'/'Turkish immigrants' to refer to people either of Chinese or Turkish descent[4]. The survey was designed based on quota sampling. Quota sampling means that a predetermined number of people per socio-demographic category participates in the

[4] The categorisation of immigrants and ethnic groups is based on country of birth, which is the standard of Statistics Netherlands. A person is considered an immigrant when at least one of the parents is born abroad. First-generation immigrants are born abroad and second-generation immigrants are born in the Netherlands. This definition does not take into account subjectively perceived ethnicity.

study. Within the three ethnic groups, we set representative quota on gender, age and education based on the Golden Standard of Statistics Netherlands. Furthermore, we set quota on location of residence, in order to have a 50/50 ratio of respondents from strongly urbanised regions (Amsterdam and The Hague) and respondents from more rural regions with medium-sized cities surrounded by agricultural land and nature reserves (Twente and Arnhem/Nijmegen). This allowed for a comparison between strongly urbanised regions and regions with more non-urban greenspace in the close environment. It should be noted that in this respect the sample is less representative on a national level. Dutch immigrants mainly live in strongly urbanised regions. Immigrants from more rural regions are therefore over-represented in our sample. As people in more rural regions have more opportunities to visit greenspace, this over-representation may have led to raised participation levels in our sample.

Regarding age, we focused on young adults between 18 and 35 years old. Young adults are an interesting research group as they potentially represent both current and future greenspace users. We only included immigrants who lived in the Netherlands at least from the age of seven, which means 1.5- and second-generation immigrants. Through their parents and family, they have been in contact with the culture of their country of origin, while through school and participation in society, they have been in touch with the Dutch culture. Focusing on this group can therefore show how persistent ethnic behavioural patterns are.

Data collection

Quota sampling is the second most representative method after random sampling (Moser, 1953). We used quota sampling as we did not have a complete record of the population, which made it impossible to use random sampling. Quota sampling leaves room for bias, particularly with respect to the choice of respondents within the quotas. We tried to limit bias by recruiting respondents in various ways and by interviewing both on weekdays and in weekends, during the day and in the evening. 23 trained interviewers from the professional research company Motivaction collected the data. Within each region respondents were recruited in various neighbourhoods, including neighbourhoods known from census data to have high concentrations of immigrants and neighbourhoods with a more diverse population. Non-immigrants and Turkish immigrants were mainly addressed in the street or contacted at their homes. Turkish immigrants were also contacted in places where groups gather, such as societies and religious buildings. Chinese immigrants were difficult to recruit in the street and at their homes. They were therefore mainly contacted through restaurants and Chinese societies. Differences in how the ethnic groups were approached, particularly between the Chinese immigrants and the other two groups, may have had an impact on the results, leading to a larger difference between Chinese immigrants on the one hand, and Turkish immigrants and non-immigrants on the other hand. Interviews were conducted at quiet places, preferably with only the interviewer and respondent present. If possible, interviewers of the same ethnicity as the

respondents conducted the interviews. They did so face-to-face and in Dutch. We first did a pilot survey with ten respondents, after which we made some alterations to the questionnaire especially with regards to length. Interviews took place between the end of May and the beginning of July 2013.

The quotas were up-dated on a daily basis, so that the number of respondents per gender, age and educational level could be attained as set. 27% of the respondents came from Amsterdam, 23% from The Hague, 25% from Twente and 25% from Arnhem/ Nijmegen. Almost all immigrant respondents were second-generation immigrants; only 9% of the respondents of Chinese descent and 10% of those of Turkish descent were 1.5-generation immigrants. The majority of the respondents of Turkish descent identified themselves as Muslim or non-institutionalised religious/spiritual, the majority of the non-immigrants as Christian or not religious and the majority of the respondents of Chinese descent as not religious. 'Non-institutionalised religious/spiritual' denotes respondents who consider themselves religious or spiritual but do not feel as if they belong to a specific religious denomination. Unfortunately, we could not find national data on religion per ethnic group to compare our data with. Table 5.1 gives an overview of the respondents' demographics.

The main concepts quantified in the survey concerned general participation in outdoor recreation, group size, motivations, constraints and the typicality of outdoor recreation for various identities. We assessed these concepts separately for urban and non-urban greenspace. Furthermore, we quantified participation in twelve specific recreational activities. As the pilot test indicated that discussing these activities for urban and non-urban greenspace separately was too time-consuming and repetitive, we assessed them for urban and non-urban greenspace together. We included outdoor activities that are either very common in the Netherlands, such as walking and cycling, or that are supposed to be popular among immigrants, such as barbecuing and collecting food (Buijs et al., 2009; OPENSpace Research Centre, 2008; Peters, 2010).

Answer categories for participation in outdoor recreation were based on number of visits in the previous three months, on a scale ranging from not at all; less than once a month; 1-3 times per month; 1-3 times per week; to more than 3 times per week. Group size was measured as the total number of people with whom respondents mostly visit greenspace. We aggregated the given group numbers into alone; couple; small group (3-5) and large group (6 and more). We assessed motivations and constraints with open questions with pre-coded answer categories. This allowed respondents to spontaneously mention their own motivations and constraints, instead of rating or ranking a series of constraints or motivations. Respondents could mention up to three motivations and constraints. For analytical purposes, we only included the first motivation and constraint mentioned. We determined the typicality of outdoor recreation for various identities by asking respondents to what extent on a 5-points Likert scale they perceived their outdoor recreational behaviour to be typical of people of the same ethnicity, age, gender, religion and the respondent personally. This measure allowed us to assess subjectively perceived

relations between behaviour and identities, instead of just correlating behaviour with objectively measured demographic variables.

Table 5.1: Overview of demographics (N=1057).

Variable	Level	Total		Dutch non-immigrants		Turkish immigrants		Chinese immigrants	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
		1057	100	357	100	350	100	350	100
Gender	Male	512	48	182	51	165	47	165	47
	Female	545	52	175	49	185	53	185	53
Age	18-24	401	38	146	41	105	30	150	43
	25-29	328	31	97	27	105	30	126	36
	30-35	328	31	114	32	140	40	74	21
Location	Urban region	527	50	177	50	175	50	175	50
	More rural region	530	50	180	50	175	50	175	50
Education	Higher	419	40	171	48	80	23	168	48
	Middle	504	48	171	48	193	55	140	40
	Lower	134	12	15	4	77	22	42	12
Religion	Christian	140	13	103	29	0	0	37	11
	Islam	216	21	8	2	207	59	1	0
	Other religion	27	3	15	4	3	1	9	3
	Non-institutionalised religious/spiritual	154	15	18	5	122	35	14	4
	Not religious	520	49	213	60	18	5	289	83

We determined demographic variables as follows. We based ethnicity on the respondents' country of birth and that of their parents. Educational level was categorised as lower, middle and higher educated. As we focused on young adults, we did not only incorporate completed educational level in this variable, but also the respondents' current study level. We assessed religion in two steps. Respondents were first asked whether they felt they were religious/spiritual, and thereafter whether they considered themselves as belonging to a specific religious denomination/institution. As part of a combined research project, the questionnaire also included questions on topics that will not be discussed in this chapter, such as food habits and discrimination.

Data analysis

Associations between participation, group size, motivations, constraints, and immigrant status/ethnicity were analysed using Chi Square and Cramer's V or using analysis of variance and Eta^2, depending on the level of measurement. Cramer's V and Eta^2 are measures of effect size. For Chi Square tests with degrees of freedom equal to 2, a value of Cramer's V within the range of 0.07–0.21 indicates a small effect, a value from 0.21–0.35 a medium effect, and a value larger than 0.35 a large effect (Sun et al., 2010).

Eta^2=0.01 is considered a small effect size, Eta^2=0.06 a medium effect size and Eta^2=0.14 a large effect size. We distinguished significant differences by using 0.05(*), 0.01(**) and 0.001(***) levels of significance.

Participation was analysed in two ways, namely as participation rate and as participation frequency. Participation rate is the percentage of respondents that participated in outdoor recreation. Participation frequency is the average number of times that 'participants' engage in outdoor recreation. Non-participants are not included in the calculation of the participation frequency. In order to asses participation frequency, we converted the original ordinal answering scale into an interval scale by taking the middle value of the answering category transposed to visits per three months. For example, 1-3 times per month was converted into 6 times per three months. Less than once a month was converted into 2 times per three months; and more than 3 times per week into 72 times per three month (5.5 times per week). Participation frequency was then calculated as the mean number of visits per three months.

We assessed the heterogeneity within each ethnic group by analysing how typical non-urban outdoor recreational behaviour was for various identities per ethnic group, and by conducting a cluster analysis segmenting participants in non-urban recreation on the basis of their recreational behaviour (N=363). The objective of a cluster analysis is to isolate groups (clusters) with a relatively low degree of intragroup and high degree of inter-group variation on selected variables. Motivations, group size and participation frequency were selected as input variables. We used a two-step clustering technique with Schwarz's Bayesion Criterion and log-likelihood distance measurement. This yielded five clusters, with a cluster quality over 0.5. Motivations clearly dominated the clustering and had highest predictor importance (1.00). Participation frequency (0.47) and group size (0.29) still had considerable predictor importance as well. We then assessed whether the distinguished clusters had linkages with immigrant status/ethnicity and other socio-demographic variables.

Results

In this section we will first show the relations we found between immigrant status/ethnic background and recreational participation, group size, motivations and constraints, without discussing relations with other socio-demographic variables. After this, we will discuss the heterogeneity within the studied ethnic groups based on the perceived typicality of outdoor recreational activities for various identities and on the cluster analysis. We will then correlate the recreational types found in the cluster analysis with various socio-demographic variables.

Participation in outdoor recreation and group size

Our data demonstrate that the term 'under-participation' does not capture the complex practices of immigrants' outdoor recreation. This especially holds true for respondents with a Turkish background (see Table 5.2 and Figure 5.1). In non-urban recreation, respondents of Turkish descent actually had a similar participation rate as non-immigrants in our study. However, they visited non-urban greenspace less frequently, on average half as often as non-immigrants did. The participation rate and participation frequency of respondents of Chinese descent in non-urban recreation were both about half of that of non-immigrant respondents. In urban greenspace, respondents of Turkish descent had an even higher participation rate than non-immigrant respondents, while respondents of Chinese descent had a lower participation rate than non-immigrant respondents. The participation frequency in urban recreation of both respondents of Turkish and Chinese descent was slightly higher than that of non-immigrant respondents. So the extent to which immigrants participate clearly differs per ethnic group and type of greenspace, and depends on whether the focus is on participation rate or participation frequency.

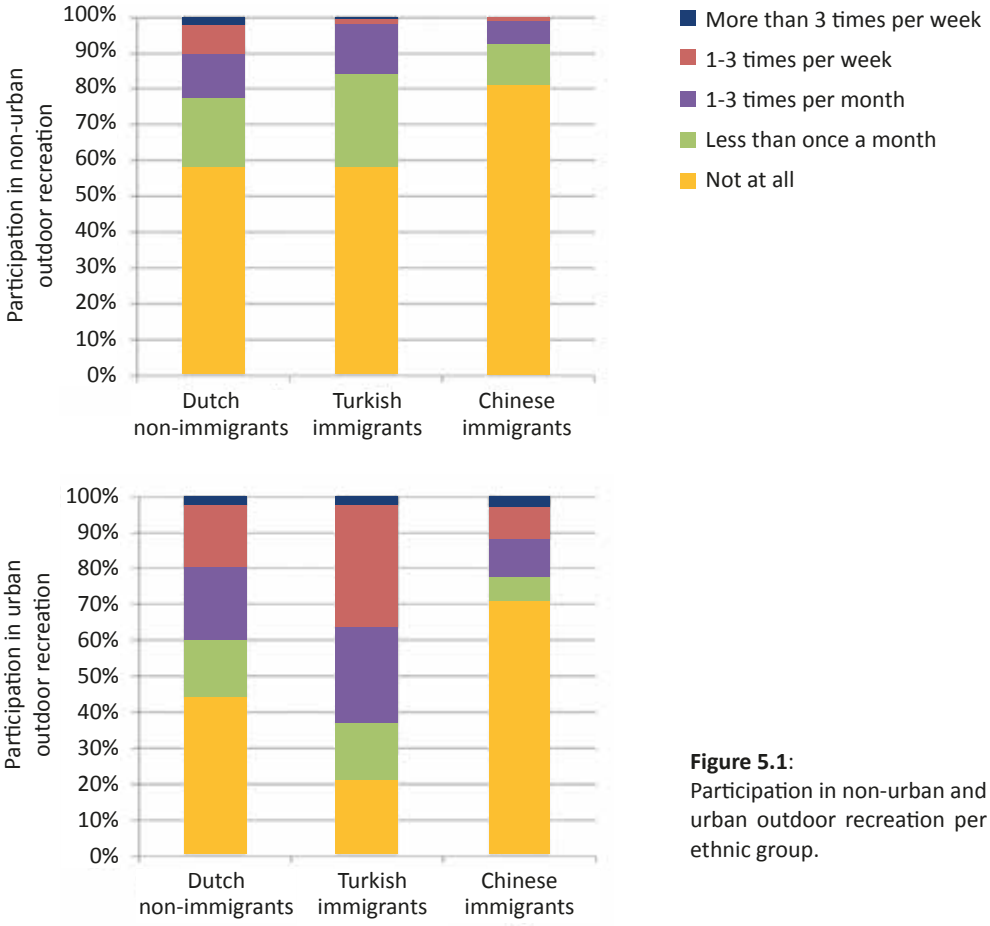


Figure 5.1:
Participation in non-urban and urban outdoor recreation per ethnic group.

Table 5.2: General participation rate and participation frequency per three months in non-urban and urban outdoor recreation per ethnic group. Participation rate in percentages (N=1057) and participation frequency in mean number of visits per three months, with standard deviation between brackets (N=363 for non-urban recreation and N=554 for urban recreation).

	Total	Dutch non-immigrants	Turkish immigrants	Chinese immigrants	Significance[1]	Effect size[2]
Participation rate						
Non-urban recreation	34.3	42.0[a]	41.7[a]	19.1[b]	53.62(2)***	0.23
Urban recreation	52.3	56.0[a]	71.7[b]	29.1[c]	130.10(2)***	0.35
Participation frequency						
Non-urban recreation	7.66 (12.51)	11.04 (15.86)[a]	5.12 (9.11)[b]	4.81 (5.82)[b]	11.20(2)***	0.06
Urban recreation	15.95 (16.24)	13.80 (16.20)[a]	17.20 (14.40)[b]	17.53 (19.99)[b]	3.16(2)*	0.01

[1] Significance is measured as χ^2 (df)p for participation rate and as F-value(df)p for participation frequency.
[2] Effect size is measured as Cramer's V for participation rate, and as Eta^2 for participation frequency. Note that the interpretation of Cramer's V and Eta^2 is not the same, see paragraph 2.3
[a,b] Results with different superscripts differ significantly between ethnic groups at $p<0.05$.
The number of stars reflects the level of significance, with *=$p<0.05$; **=$p<0.01$; and ***=$p<0.001$.

The participation rates in specific outdoor recreational activities show even better that the term 'under-participation' is too much of a simplification to describe immigrants' recreational behaviour (see Table 5.3). For almost all activities, there were significant correlations with ethnicity, with a medium to high effect size. However, whether one ethnic group or another 'under-participated', differed per activity. In some activities, indeed more non-immigrant respondents participated than immigrant respondents. Yet in other activities, respondents of Turkish descent participated about as often as non-immigrant respondents, such as in picnicking and barbecuing. Respondents of Turkish descent engaged even more often in the activities walking and sitting/talking/relaxing than non-immigrant respondents. Respondents of Chinese descent participated less than non-immigrant Dutch in almost all activities, including 'typical immigrant activities' like picnicking and barbecuing. Only for yoga/Tai Chi/meditation, their participation rate was similar to that of non-immigrant Dutch. However, they did have a higher participation rate than respondents of Turkish descent in activities that are often done on an individual basis, such as photographing and running. Respondents of Turkish descent especially had a high participation rate in group activities, such as barbecuing and ball games, and hardly participated in such more individual-based activities. Furthermore, and rather unexpectedly, non-immigrant respondents had the highest participation rate in collecting food. Collecting food is often associated with immigrants, but apparently has also become popular among non-immigrant young adults.

As another measure to assess (under-)participation, we calculated the percentage of respondents that did not participate in any of the twelve activities included. The Chinese group had the highest share of respondents who did not participate in any of the included activities, while the Turkish group had the lowest share of respondents who did not participate in any of these activities. To summarise, when we focus on specific activities, we see that participation rates of ethnic groups differ per activity.

Table 5.3: Participation rate in twelve recreational activities (N=1057). Numbers represent the share of respondents that participated in this activity at least once during the last three months, in both urban and non-urban greenspace together.

Activity	Total	Dutch non-immigrants	Turkish immigrants	Chinese immigrants	χ^2(df)p	Cramer's V
Walking	48.8	48.2[a]	64.3[b]	34.0[c]	64.33(2)***	0.25
Sitting, talking, relaxing	40.6	42.0[a]	56.3[b]	23.4[c]	78.81(2)***	0.27
Cycling	37.9	45.9[a]	39.1[a]	28.6[b]	22.96(2)***	0.15
Barbecuing	28.3	37.0[a]	36.6[a]	11.1[b]	75.84(2)***	0.27
Ball games	23.8	31.9[a]	23.4[b]	16.0[c]	24.76(2)***	0.15
Picnicking	22.0	30.0[a]	29.1[a]	6.9[b]	70.30(2)***	0.26
Running	21.0	39.8[a]	4.0[b]	18.9[c]	137.79(2)***	0.36
Photographing	16.8	31.7[a]	1.7[b]	16.9[c]	113.11(2)***	0.33
Collecting food	5.5	13.4[a]	0.0[b]	2.9[c]	68.59(2)***	0.26
Yoga, Tai Chi, meditation	5.7	10.4[a]	0.0[b]	6.0[a]	36.34(2)***	0.19
Camping	5.1	12.6[a]	0.3[b]	2.3[c]	63.93(2)***	0.25
Searching for specific plants or animals	4.0	9.8[a]	0.0[b]	2.0[c]	49.86(2)***	0.22
No participation in any activity	39.1	36.4[a]	22.9[b]	58.0[c]	92.39(2)***	0.30

[a,b,c] Results with different superscripts differ significantly between ethnic groups at p<0.05.
The number of stars reflects the level of significance, with *=p<0.05; **=p<0.01; and ***=p<0.001.

Group size also varied between ethnic groups. In line with earlier studies, respondents of Turkish descent visited non-urban outdoor areas in large groups far more often than non-immigrant respondents (see Table 5.4). However, respondents of Chinese descent visited non-urban greenspace alone or in couples more often than non-immigrant respondents. This reflects the pattern we found in our analysis of participation rates, namely that respondents of Turkish descent have a preference for group activities, and respondents of Chinese descent for individual activities. For urban recreation, overall group size was smaller and differences between ethnic groups were less distinct [not included in table 5.4].

Table 5.4: Group size per ethnic group for non-urban outdoor recreation, in percentages. Data available only for respondents who visited non-urban greenspace at least once during the last three months (N=363).

	Total	Dutch non-immigrants N=150	Turkish immigrants N=147	Chinese immigrants N=67	χ^2 (df)p	Cramer's V
Alone	6.9	8.7[a]	0.7[b]	16.4[a]	18.99(2)***	0.23
Couple	16.0	17.4[a]	4.8[b]	37.3[c]	36.48(2)***	0.32
Small group	47.8	58.4[a]	41.1[b]	38.8[b]	11.50(2)**	0.18
Large group	29.5	15.3[a]	53.4[b]	9.0[a]	68.29(2)***	0.43

[a,b,c] Results with different superscripts differ significantly between ethnic groups at p<0.05.
The number of stars reflects the level of significance, with *=p<0.05; **=p<0.01; and ***=p<0.001.

Motivations and constraints

The suggestion in previous research that greenspace is more backgrounded for immigrants than for non-immigrants during outdoor recreation is, according to our data, only valid for respondents of Turkish descent. Five motivations were often mentioned by our respondents (see Table 5.5), namely 'Enjoy nature', 'Social encounter with family/friends', 'Take a rest/Relax', 'Forget daily life' and 'Sports/Health'. Less than 2% of the respondents mentioned other motivations, such as 'Learn from nature' or 'Meet new people'. It should be noted that these motivations all relate to non-urban outdoor recreation in general, and cannot be related to specific activities. Only 'Enjoy nature' and 'Learn from nature' clearly reflect the natural world as main motivation. We categorised these as nature-oriented motivations. Other motivations have a social orientation, such as 'Social encounter with family/friends', or a personal orientation focusing on the effect on the person itself, such as 'Take a rest/Relax' and 'Sports/Health'. Respondents of Turkish descent indeed mentioned nature-oriented motivations less often than non-immigrants did. Instead, they mentioned socially oriented motivations more often. The types of motivations respondents of Chinese descent mentioned, however, quite closely reflected those mentioned by non-immigrant respondents. Differences between ethnic groups in types of motivations therefore mainly related to the importance of social motivations among respondents of Turkish descent. All three ethnic groups mentioned motivations with personal orientations to about the same extent. When we look at specific personal motivations, respondents of Turkish descent mentioned 'Forget daily life' relatively often, while non-immigrants mentioned 'Sports/Health' relatively often. Motivations for urban recreation [not included in table 5.5] were largely comparable to those for non-urban recreation; only 'Sports/Health' was more frequently mentioned, especially by respondents of Turkish and Chinese descent. Differences in motivations thus seem to be more related to ethnic background than to immigrant status per se.

Opposite to what we expected, respondents with an immigrant background seemed to perceive less constraints than non-immigrants in our study did. For the analysis of perceived constraints, we have to distinguish between participants and non-

participants in recreation. With regards to the non-participants in non-urban recreation, 55% of those with a non-immigrant background mentioned up to three constraints. The contrast with respondents with an immigrant background is striking: only 6% of those of Turkish descent and 28% of those of Chinese descent mentioned up to three constraints. Among the participants in non-urban recreation, differences were even larger: 80% of those of non-immigrant background reported up to three constraints, compared to only 16% of those of Turkish descent and 37% of those of Chinese descent. Moreover, participants of Turkish and Chinese descent more frequently indicated they perceived no constraints at all.

Table 5.5: Motivations per ethnic group for non-urban outdoor recreation, in percentages. Data available only for respondents who visited non-urban greenspace at least once during the last three months (N=363).

	Total	Dutch non-immigrants N=150	Turkish immigrants N=147	Chinese immigrants N=67	χ^2 (df)p	Cramer's V
Nature oriented	*27.8*	*36.7*	*15.9*	*33.8*		
Enjoy nature	25.9	32.6[a]	15.9[b]	32.8[a]	14.13(2)**	0.20
Other	1.9	4.1	0.0	1.0	X	
Social oriented	*20.6*	*12.2*	*29.7*	*19.1*		
Social encounter with family/friends	19.0	9.3[a]	28.8[b]	19.1[b]	18.16(2)***	0.22
Other	1.6	2.9	0.9	0.0	X	
Personal oriented	*51.7*	*51.0*	*54.5*	*47.1*		
Take a rest/Relax	25.9	24.0	27.4	26.9	n.s.	
Forget daily life	14.9	9.3[a]	22.1[b]	11.9[ab]	10.00(2)**	0.17
Sports/health	4.7	8.0[a]	2.9[b]	1.5[ab]	6.46(2)*	0.13
Other	6.2	9.7[a]	2.1[b]	6.8[ab]	7.31(2)*	0.14
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*23.91(4)****	*0.18*

[a,b] Results with different superscripts differ significantly between ethnic groups at p<0.05.
The number of stars reflects the level of significance, with *=p<0.05; **=p<0.01; and ***=p<0.001. X means that numbers were too small to calculate whether or not differences between groups were significant. n.s. means not significant.

Less than 2% of our respondents first mentioned a constraint often seen as specific for immigrants, such as insufficient access to information, lack of facilities and safety issues (see for example Edwards & Weldon, 2006; OPENSpace Research Centre, 2006; Rishbeth & Finney, 2006). In contrast with the 'perceived discrimination hypothesis', hardly any of the respondents with an immigrant background spontaneously brought up discrimination as a constraint for engaging in outdoor activities (see Kloek et al., 2015, for a reflection on discrimination as measured with this survey). Constraints specific to immigrants/ethnic groups may be of lesser importance than constraints that are applicable to all respondents, such as time, weather, accessibility, lack of company and

just not being interested. These constraints were mentioned most in all ethnic groups. It should be noted that these constraints all relate to non-urban outdoor recreation in general, and cannot be related to specific activities. Constraints specific for immigrants may be more important to first-generation immigrants than to the 1.5- and second-generation immigrants we approached for this study.

Still, there were some differences between the studied ethnic groups in perceived constraints (see Table 5.6). Respondents of Turkish descent mentioned the weather more frequently, while respondents with Chinese and non-immigrant backgrounds mentioned time more frequently. Furthermore, non-participants of Turkish and Chinese descent more often were just not interested in non-urban outdoor recreation. For urban outdoor recreation, the same constraints stood out as being important, with accessibility being brought up less often, and time and no constraints being mentioned more often than for non-urban recreation. That differences in perceived constraints between ethnic groups were not very pronounced, suggests that constraints are not the main explanation for differences between ethnic groups in outdoor recreational behaviour.

Table 5.6: Constraints to non-urban outdoor recreation for participants (N=363) en non-participants (N=694) per ethnic group, in percentages.

Constraint	Total	Dutch non-immigrants	Turkish immigrants	Chinese immigrants	χ^2 (df)p	Cramer's V
Non-participants					49.93(10)***	0.19
Not interested	51.7	44.9[a]	52.0[ab]	56.5[b]	6.85(2)*	0.10
Time	28.0	32.4[a]	20.6[b]	30.0[a]	8.49(2)*	0.11
Weather	8.1	7.2[a]	13.2[b]	4.9[a]	12.32(2)**	0.13
Accessibility	5.0	5.8	6.9	3.2	n.s.	
No company	2.3	1.0[a]	5.9[b]	0.7[a]	16.45(2)***	0.15
Other	4.9	8.7[a]	1.5[b]	4.6[b]	18.09(2)***	0.16
Participants					81.63(10)***	0.34
Time	34.4	43.3[a]	23.3[b]	38.8[a]	13.86(2)**	0.20
Weather	33.7	18.0[a]	53.1[b]	26.9[a]	42.38(2)***	0.34
Accessibility	9.6	12.0	6.2	11.9	n.s.	
No company	4.4	5.3	4.1	3.0	n.s.	
Other	8.3	18.0[a]	1.4[b]	1.5[b]	31.96(2)***	0.30
No constraints	9.4	3.4[a]	11.7[b]	17.9[b]	12.99(2)**	0.19

[a,b] Results with different superscripts differ significantly between ethnic groups at $p<0.05$.
The number of stars reflects the level of significance, with *=$p<0.05$; **=$p<0.01$; and ***=$p<0.001$.

Heterogeneity within ethnic groups

The previous two paragraphs showed that considerable differences exist between ethnic groups in recreational participation, group size and motivations. Up to now, we

did not discuss differences within ethnic groups, nor did we assess how respondents themselves value their ethnic background in relation to outdoor recreation, also vis-à-vis other identities. In this paragraph, we will assess heterogeneity within ethnic groups by discussing the perceived typicality of outdoor recreational behaviour for different identities and by segmenting respondents into clusters with similar types of recreational behaviour. These analyses only include participants in non-urban recreation (N=363).

In all ethnic groups, the number of respondents who found their recreational behaviour typical of themselves personally was larger than the number who found it typical of their ethnic group (see Table 5.7). Still, more than one third of the respondents in all ethnic groups saw their behaviour as typical of their ethnic group. Thereby, ethnicity is the collective identity most often perceived as influencing outdoor recreational behaviour, even among non-immigrant respondents. Interestingly, respondents of Chinese descent saw their recreational behaviour as typically Dutch more often than they thought of it as typically Chinese. Respondents of Turkish descent more often found their behaviour typical of Turkish people than of Dutch people.

Table 5.7: Share of respondents that considers their non-urban recreational behaviour as typical for a perceived identity, in percentages. Data available only for respondents who visited non-urban greenspace at least once during the last three months (N=363).

	Total	Dutch non-immigrants	Turkish immigrants	Chinese immigrants	χ^2(df)p	Cramer's V
Personal identity	55.6	42.7[a]	74.7[b]	43.3[a]	35.77(2)***	0.31
Dutch identity (all)	35.1	36.7	31.0	40.3	n.s.	
Ethnic identity	34.4	-	-	-	28.50(2)***	0.28
Dutch identity	-	36.7[a]	-	-		
Turkish identity	-	-	44.5[a]	-		
Chinese identity	-	-	-	7.9[b]		
Age identity	29.3	30.7[a]	37.2[a]	9.0[b]	17.94(2)***	0.22
Gender identity	22.0	29.3[a]	22.6[a]	4.5[b]	16.70(2)***	0.21
Religious identity	19.9	13.4[a]	31.5[b]	9.0[a]	21.31(2)***	0.24

[a,b] Results with different superscripts differ significantly between ethnic groups at p<0.05.
The number of stars reflects the level of significance, with *=p<0.05; **=p<0.01; and ***=p<0.001.

Other collective identities came into play as well: a considerable number of respondents perceived their recreational behaviour as typical for people of the same age and, to a lesser extent, of the same gender and religion. The perceived typicality strongly differed per ethnic group. Relatively many respondents of Chinese descent only mentioned a Dutch collective identity. Respondents of Turkish descent, on the other hand, mentioned all assessed collective identities relatively often. Similar to the respondents of Turkish descent, non-immigrants brought up almost all assessed collective identities relatively often, except for religion. This shows that ethnicity is not only objectively correlated with certain differences in outdoor recreational behaviour, but also subjectively perceived as

a determining factor. Furthermore, it also shows that other identities besides ethnicity, particularly personal identities but also collective ones, are subjectively associated with outdoor recreational behaviour. This last finding indicates heterogeneity within ethnic groups.

In order to further assess diversity within ethnic groups, we conducted a cluster analysis to segment respondents into clusters with similar participation frequency, motivations and group size. We did not include participation rate in this analysis, as this analysis focused only on participants. We also did not include perceived constraints, as differences in perceived constraints between ethnic groups were not very pronounced and constraints did not seem to be the main explanation for participation in recreation. We distinguished five clusters, or recreational types, which we named 'Nature lovers', 'Social animals', 'Individual quiet seekers', 'Group-based quiet seekers' and 'Activity lovers' (see Table 5.8).

Table 5.8: Recreational typology. Based on respondents who visited non-urban greenspace at least once during the last three months (N=363).

	Nature lovers (28%)	Social animals (20%)	Activity lovers (7%)	Individual quiet seekers (29%)	Group-based quiet seekers (16%)
Motivation	Nature Oriented	Socially oriented	Personally oriented *specifically:* Sports/Health Walk the dog	Personally oriented *specifically:* Take a rest/Relax Forget daily life	Personally oriented *specifically:* Forget daily life Take a rest/Relax
Group size	Alone, couple or group	Mainly in groups	Mainly alone, couple or small group	Alone, couple or small group	Large group
Participation frequency (average times per three months)	7.6	4.5	41.9	3.5	3.2

Our names for these recreational types were inspired by the underlying motivations, which had the highest cluster importance, as well as by group size for segments with similar motivations. 'Nature lovers' have a nature-oriented motivation and engage in outdoor recreational activities more frequently than most other recreational types. 28% of the participants were categorised as a 'Nature lover'. 'Social animals' have a socially oriented motivation to visit nature and mainly recreate in groups. 20% of the participants fell into this category. 'Individual quiet seekers', 'Group-based quiet seekers' and 'Activity lovers' all have a personal motivation to visit greenspace. 'Activity lovers' differ from (individual and group-based) 'Quiet seekers' in that they have by far the highest participation frequency. Their specific motivations focus on sports/health and walking the dog. With only 7% of the participants categorised as an 'Activity lover', this was the smallest cluster. 'Individual quiet seekers' and 'Group-based quiet seekers' are

quite similar in their specific motivations and participation frequency; however, 'Group-based quiet seekers' recreate in large groups while 'Individual quiet seekers' do so alone or in a couple or small group. Together, they represented 45% of the participants in non-urban recreation.

Ethnicity had the strongest correlation with recreational types. However, other demographics showed considerable correlations with recreational types as well (see Table 5.9). Regarding ethnicity, respondents with a Turkish background were less frequently categorised as 'Nature lovers' and more frequently as 'Social animals' in comparison with the other two ethnic groups. Furthermore, compared to the other ethnic groups, more non-immigrant respondents fall into the 'Activity lovers' category, more respondents of Chinese descent into the 'Individual quiet seekers' category and more respondents of Turkish descent into the 'Group-based quiet seekers' category. This is consistent with the findings described earlier that respondents of Turkish descent more frequently participated in group activities and respondents of Chinese descent in individual activities.

Table 5.9: Socio-demographic characteristics and recreational typology, in percentages. Data available only for respondents who visited non-urban greenspace at least once during the last three months (N=363).

	N	Nature lovers (28%)	Social animals (20%)	Activity lovers (7%)	Individual quiet seekers (29%)	Group-based quiet seekers (16%)
Ethnicity (Cramer's V=0.35***)						
Dutch non-immigrants	149	36.5	11.5	13.5	33.8	4.7
Turkish immigrants	146	15.9	29.7	2.1	20.0	32.4
Chinese immigrants	68	34.3	19.4	3.0	37.3	6.0
Religiousness (Cramer's V=0.27***)[1]						
Non-religious	111	30.7	16.7	13.2	34.2	5.3
Religious	242	26.4	21.5	3.7	26.9	21.5
Location (Cramer's V=0.25***)						
Urban region	193	26.9	24.4	4.1	34.7	9.8
More rural region	170	28.6	15.5	10.0	22.6	23.2
Education (Cramer's V=0.16*)						
Higher	147	34.9	16.4	6.2	28.8	13.7
Middle	176	25.0	21.6	9.1	29.5	14.8
Lower	39	12.8	28.2	0.0	28.2	30.8
Age (Cramer's V=0.15*)						
18-24	121	27.3	21.5	10.7	12.4	28.1
25-29	107	36.4	17.8	7.5	12.1	26.2
30-35	135	20.7	20.7	3.7	22.2	32.6
Gender (n.s.)						
Male	196	25.1	18.5	7.7	32.3	16.4
Female	167	31.5	21.8	5.5	25.5	15.8

[1] We included religiousness instead of the specific religious denominations, as for the specific religious denominations, groups were too small for proper statistical analysis.
The number of stars reflects the level of significance, with *=p<0.05; **=p<0.01; and ***=p<0.001.

The cluster analysis shows evidence of heterogeneity within ethnic groups, and it does so in two ways. First, respondents from all ethnicities were included in all recreational types. For example, not all respondents of Turkish descent were 'Group-based quiet seekers' or 'Social animals', as a considerable number was categorised as 'Nature lovers' or 'Individual quiet seekers'. Second, various other socio-demographic variables also correlated with recreational types, namely religiousness, location of residence, educational level and age. Respondents with higher educations, for example, were categorised as 'Nature lovers' more often than respondents with lower educations and less often as 'Social animals' or 'Group-based quiet seekers'. Another example: 'Activity lovers' were mainly young, non-immigrant, non-religious, and with a middle to higher education. Some of the socio-demographic variables may be interrelated with immigrant status/ethnicity, such as educational level and religiousness. For example, a relatively high percentage of the respondents with a Turkish background was religious and had a lower education. In line with those findings, respondents of Turkish descent, respondents with lower educations and religious respondents were all categorised more often as 'Social animals' or 'Group-based quiet seekers'. This shows that the relationship between recreational behaviour and ethnicity/immigrant status is not straightforward, as multiple and possibly interrelated identities are of influence. Acknowledging the multiplicity of identities makes research more complex but also more nuanced. It may also open up opportunities to increase participation in outdoor recreation. We will discuss this in the next paragraph.

Discussion and management implications

'Under-participation' is a misleading term to typify outdoor recreational behaviour of immigrants. Our quantitative study among young adults with Chinese, Turkish and non-immigrant backgrounds in the Netherlands showed that immigrants' outdoor recreational behaviour is more complex than this term suggests. Participation has several dimensions, which differ at least as much between ethnic groups as between immigrants and non-immigrants. Moreover, ethnicity is just one identity category among a number of identity categories influencing recreational behaviour. Furthermore, outdoor recreational behaviour is more than just participation, as it also concerns aspects like motivations, constraints, group size and type of activity. Besides being too simple a term to describe complex recreational behaviour, 'under-participation' also has debatable moral connotations. This particularly concerns the assumption that immigrants should display the same outdoor recreational behaviour as non-immigrants do. We will elaborate upon this in the following.

Results of our study focusing on young adults with Chinese and Turkish backgrounds show that differences in outdoor recreational behaviour between ethnic groups can be substantial. Most striking results were that respondents of Turkish descent had a

similar participation rate in non-urban recreation as non-immigrant respondents, while that of respondents of Chinese descent was half as large. However, the participation frequency in non-urban greenspace of respondents of both Turkish and Chinese descent was on average about half that of non-immigrant respondents. In urban greenspace, respondents of Turkish descent had a higher participation rate than non-immigrant respondents, while respondents of Chinese descent had a lower participation rate than non-immigrant respondents. Turkish respondents showed a preference for group activities and more often had a socially oriented motivation for recreation, while Chinese respondents had a preference for individual activities and had similar types of motivations for recreation as non-immigrant respondents. This shows that differentiating between ethnic groups is crucial for understanding immigrants' diverging outdoor recreational patterns.

Multiple reasons may explain differences in outdoor recreational behaviour between immigrant groups (Manning, 2010). Of course, ethnic/cultural aspects may underlie these differences. Turkish culture, for example, is known to be more collectivistic than Western culture (Hofstede, 1980). This could explain the preference for group-based activities among respondents of Turkish descent. However, Chinese culture is also more collectivistic (Hofstede, 1980). The trait of collectivism thus cannot explain the preference of respondents of Chinese descent for individual activities. Their preference may reflect traditional recreational behaviour in China, which has been described as rather solitary (Wang & Stringer, 2000). Acculturation patterns could also explain differences in recreational behaviour. Turkish second-generation immigrants in the Netherlands are supposedly differently acculturated than Chinese second-generation immigrants and more focused on maintaining contacts with members of their own ethnic group (see Gijsberts et al., 2011). The group activities popular among respondents of Turkish descent, may enable them to maintain contacts with their ethnic group.

Furthermore, other identities may explain differences in outdoor recreational behaviour between, as well as within, ethnic groups, of which some likely interrelate with ethnicity. Indeed, respondents in our study subjectively perceived various identities to be of influence on their outdoor recreational behaviour: ethnicity, but also personal identities, age and, to a lesser extent, gender and religion. Moreover, the five recreational types we distinguished in a cluster analysis were also related to various socio-demographic variables besides ethnicity, including religiousness, location of residence, educational level and age. This shows that outdoor recreational behaviour is closely related to how people make sense of themselves, in which various identities are at play. In comparison to first-generation immigrants, other than ethnic identities may be more important to second-generation immigrants, as they are commonly less tied to their (parents') country of origin. Which identities most influence outdoor recreational behaviour may differ per situation. Future research into immigrants' outdoor recreational behaviour focusing on the contexts in which specific identities are activated could, in our opinion, offer valuable new insights.

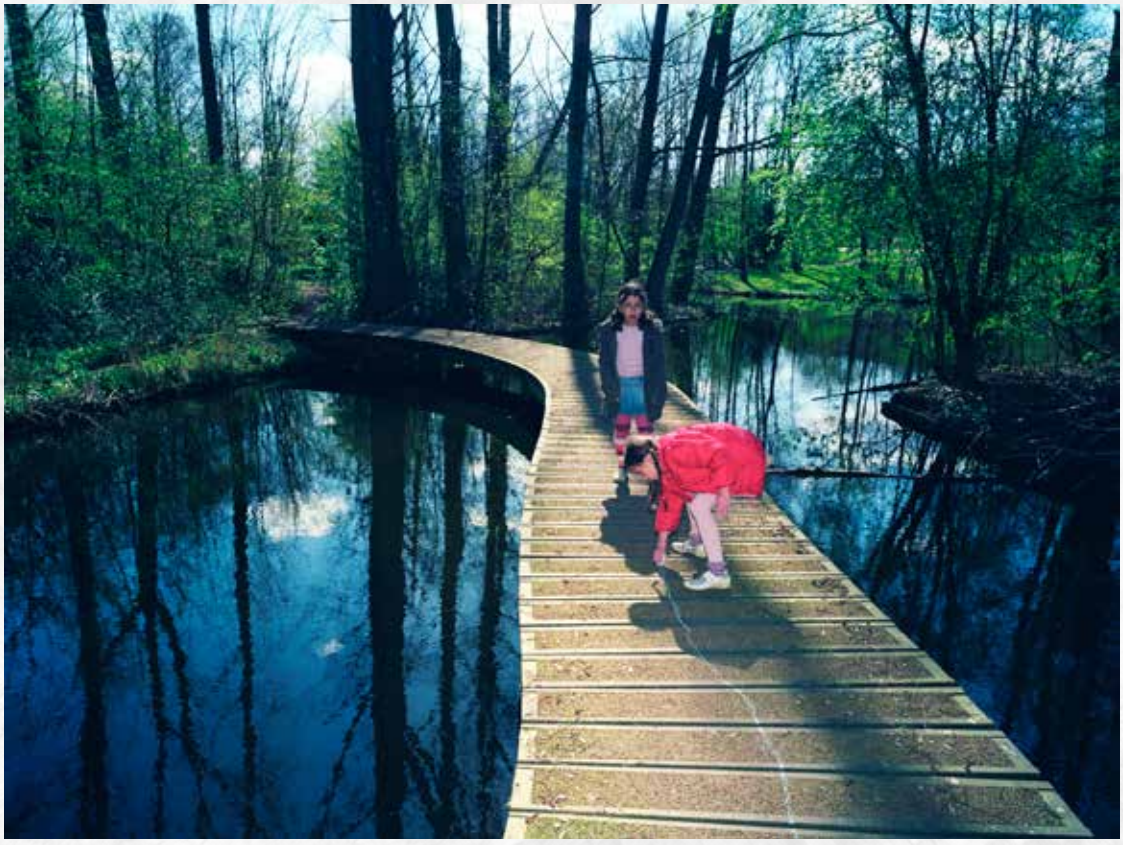
As the term 'under-participation' does not properly reflect immigrants' complex recreational behaviour, why does it pop up in so many studies? One reason can be the 'alarming' connotation of this word. As suggested in the introduction, (ethnic) 'under-participation' suggests a problem, which lies in missing out on the positive effects of outdoor recreation. However, direct positive effects of general participation in outdoor recreation can be called into question. To begin with, evidence for the positive relationship between participation in outdoor recreation and support for nature conservation is mixed (e.g. Bjerke et al., 2006; Thapa, 2010; Theodori et al., 1998). Our study also does not suggest a strong relation between the two. In our survey, almost 50% of the respondents of Turkish descent could not mention any nature conservation organisation, while this was the case for 22% of the respondents of Chinese descent and 12% of the non-immigrant respondents. Similarly, less than 1% of the respondents of Turkish descent were members of a nature organisation, while 7% of the respondents of Chinese descent and 14% of the non-immigrants were members. The relatively high participation rate of respondents of Turkish descent in both urban and non-urban recreation and low participation rate of respondents of Chinese descent thus was not reflected in their support for nature conservation, when measured as knowledge and memberships of nature conservation organisations. This indicates that general participation in outdoor recreation is not strongly related to support for nature conservation. Furthermore, evidence for a relation between participation in outdoor recreation and social integration is scarce and weak, and mostly limited to urban recreation (see Chapter 2). Evidence for a relation between outdoor recreation and health and well-being is, however, stronger and growing (Thompson Coon et al., 2011). Arguably, the relation with health and well-being is the most important reason why 'under-participation' in outdoor recreation would be problematic, although not all outdoor recreational activities may have a positive effect on health and well-being and health effects may differ for different groups of people. The 'alarming' connotation of 'under-participation' in relation to these positive effects is therefore somewhat misleading.

An ethical issue underlying the phrase 'under-participation by immigrants' is that it implies that the behaviour of non-immigrants is the norm from which immigrants' behaviour deviates (Curry et al., 2001). This imposition of values of one group on another also echoes in other aspects of forest and nature conservation. According to a study conducted in the United States, for example, 'white' or Anglo-Saxon normative ideas of nature are reflected in the design of parks and nature areas, the facilities they contain, and the recreational programmes offered (Byrne, 2011). We want to argue against this imposition of values, as we think that immigrants do not need to display the same outdoor recreational behaviour as non-immigrants do. Still, we do think it important that immigrants are involved in decision making and planning for outdoor recreation, with room for their ethnic and cultural uses and perceptions of greenspace. We therefore propose focussing on involvement instead of 'under-participation'. This

will also open up an ethical debate on environmental justice and social inclusion in which non-immigrant behaviour is not the norm.

Given all sensitivities surrounding the issue, how can forest and nature managers enable and stimulate immigrants' involvement? First of all, they need to reflect on their aims when reaching out to immigrants, which could include increasing environmental justice; increasing awareness of their organisation and the areas they work in; or increasing public support for nature conservation. These aims most likely require different approaches. In all cases, we advise forest and nature managers to adapt their strategies to specific ethnic groups. A choice for (a) specific group(s) may depend, for example, on the presence of ethnic groups in the immediate surroundings of an area, on contacts and networks established, and on current involvement in outdoor recreation. Reaching out to ethnic groups requires more than just new policies or management options, as also an evaluation of the extent to which the effects of current management and policy are fairly distributed should be conducted. Furthermore, this study showed that immigrants' outdoor recreational behaviour is related to various identities besides ethnicity. This invites managers to come up with creative approaches to increase involvement. For example, in our study outdoor recreational behaviour appeared to be closely related to the age of the young adult respondents. Reaching out to young people, for instance through schools, colleges and universities, could therefore also attract young adult immigrants. Lastly, we want to urge forest and nature managers to not simply assume that an increase in recreational participation will have a positive effect on public support for nature conservation (organisations). More research is needed into how immigrants' support for nature conservation can be stimulated through recreation. Some suggestions for forest and nature managers are: to establish personal bonds, for instance by organising activities together with migrant organisations; and to facilitate recreational experiences in which nature plays a central role, such as guided walks.

As nature conservation is increasingly shifting away from the national government to initiatives of citizens and local practices, in the Netherlands but also in other European countries (Buijs et al., 2014), it is increasingly important to equally involve citizens in nature conservation, including immigrants or ethnic groups. In our view, instead of fighting the presumed under-participation, the ambition should be to increase people's involvement in decision making, planning and conservation, and to enable various cultural practices and uses of greenspace.



Chapter 6

Cultural echoes in Dutch immigrants' and non-immigrants' understandings, values and experiences of nature

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Abstract

Contemporary societies are rapidly changing demographically and culturally, which raises new challenges for nature conservation organisations regarding public support and involvement. In this chapter we study differences and similarities between non-immigrants and two groups of immigrants in how they perceive nature or, more specifically, how they understand, value and experience nature. How people perceive nature is, at least partly, related to their support for and active involvement in nature conservation. This mixed-method chapter is based on nine group interviews and a survey among 1057 respondents, both conducted among young adults of Turkish, Chinese and non-immigrant Dutch backgrounds. We show that how people perceive nature differs between ethnic groups, even though the immigrants included spent (most of) their youth in the Netherlands. Non-immigrants used most strict boundaries to qualify green areas as nature, while Turkish and especially Chinese immigrants expressed a more inclusive idea of nature. Turkish immigrants articulated most often ecocentric and religious reasons to conserve nature, while Chinese immigrants stood out as mentioning most often anthropocentric reasons to conserve nature. Traditional cultural representations of nature as described in literature partly seemed to echo in immigrants' and non-immigrants' perceptions of nature. Besides ethnicity, other factors such as their location of residence (urban/more rural) and their age also influenced participants' perceptions of nature.

Keywords: identity, social representations of nature, ethnicity, immigration, public support, nature conservation

Introduction

Nature conservation organisations and conservation scientists have often focused their efforts on environmental quality and biodiversity, without sufficiently recognising the central role of humans in nature conservation (Agyeman, 2001; Jacobson & Duff, 2008; Pietrzyk-Kaszynska et al., 2012). Lately, this has been changing, as conservationists increasingly realise that for the long-term conservation of nature citizens need to support and be involved in nature conservation and management (Elands & Van Koppen, 2012). This requires new policy and management strategies and raises new research questions, including how demographic and cultural shifts in the human population influence support for and active involvement in nature conservation (Fleishman et al., 2011).

Contemporary societies are rapidly changing demographically and culturally, and immigration is an important factor in this change. For example, in the Netherlands, where we conducted our research, currently 21% of the citizens are considered to have an immigrant background and the share of immigrants is predicted to grow even further (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2014). The number of immigrants is increasing in other European countries as well. There are various indications that support for and active involvement in nature conservation and management differ between immigrants and non-immigrants. The members, volunteers, contributors and staff of European nature organisation, for instance, are often largely of non-immigrant descent (e.g. Ambrose-Oji, 2010; Edwards & Weldon, 2006; Katz & Kontzi, 2009; Vader et al., 2010).

Support for and active involvement in nature conservation are at least partly related to how people perceive nature or, more specifically, how they understand, value and experience nature. A good example is the case of the Oostvaardersplassen, a well-known nature development site in the Netherlands where large herbivores – Konik horses and Heck cattle – were introduced and de-domesticated to reinstate the ecosystem processes. Different perceptions of how 'natural' the introduced large herbivores were and norms concerning the treatment of these animals caused fierce public opposition to the project (Fielding et al., 2014). Other studies have shown that perceptions of nature influence support for and active involvement in, for example, nature restoration (Buijs et al., 2011) and management of invasive species (Selge et al., 2011).

Immigrants and non-immigrants are suggested to differ in how they perceive nature (e.g. Buijs et al., 2009; Jay & Schraml, 2009). However, research into this issue is limited and a differentiated account in which several immigrants groups are compared is lacking (see Chapter 2). Moreover, the influence of culture on perceptions of nature of immigrants is not well understood. Cultural processes or social groups partly influence how individuals perceive nature. Shared cultural writings, stories, rituals and artworks often contain views on nature; such as ideas on the relationship between humans and nature. The studies by Cronon (1995), Schama (1995) and Schouten (2005), among

numerous others, provide many illustrations. Non-Western views of nature may therefore resonate in how immigrants perceive nature. However, immigrants may not only be influenced by the culture in their country of origin, but also by the culture of the country they live in now. Moreover, just like everyone else, immigrants are part of various social groups: they may be youngsters, women, et cetera. All these social groups may impact upon how immigrants perceive nature (see also Jay & Schraml, 2013). The extent to which various non-Western views of nature resonate in how immigrants perceive nature, and the importance of other identities on their perceptions of nature, is unclear.

In this chapter we aim to quantify and further explore similarities and differences between immigrants from two ethnic backgrounds and non-immigrants in how they understand, value and experience nature. Furthermore, we aim to reflect on whether their perceptions of nature can be explained by dominant views on nature in the respective cultural traditions. We will do so by discussing the results of two studies: a survey among 1057 respondents and a qualitative study based on nine group interviews with 42 participants. Both studies were conducted among young adults of Turkish, Chinese and non-immigrant Dutch backgrounds. We chose to focus on immigrants of Turkish background as Turkey is the country of origin for the largest group of non-western immigrants in the Netherlands. Chinese immigrants are included as it is predicted that Asians will become the largest group of non-western immigrants in the Netherlands within a few decades, and the largest group of Asian immigrants is from Chinese descent (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2010, 2014). Moreover, Turkey, China and the Netherlands differ considerably in their cultural traditions. Our theoretical approach is based on identity theory and social representation theory, which we will explicate in the next paragraph.

Identities and social representations

The relation between nature, culture and individuals is certainly not a simple one. In current multicultural societies, many people are rooted in more than one culture. Moreover, people are also part of various other social groups in which views are formed on the outside world and the natural environment. To understand this complex relation between nature, culture and individuals, we turn to identity theory (Ashmore et al., 2004; Nagel, 1994; Stryker, 1987; Tajfel, 1974; Turner, 1985) and social representation theory (Moscovici, 2000). While identity theory concentrates on how individuals construct and negotiate meanings on the multiple identities they have; social representation theory concentrates on how social groups construct meanings of, among others, the natural environment. We tried to combine both theories, and thus relate the multiple identities of immigrants and non-immigrants to representations of nature constructed in social groups.

Central to identity theory is that people have multiple identities and that these identities influence people's behaviour and subjective experiences. In this theory, a collective identity is a person's identification with a social category or group (Stets & Burke, 2000). Membership of a group informs or prescribes what one should think, feel and how one should behave (Hogg et al., 1995). Besides collective identities, people can also have personal identities, which are related to an individual's unique biography and experiences (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). Identity theory contends that identity is not a static concept, as the identity category someone identifies with varies in different contexts (Nagel, 1994). This also applies to ethnic identification. Previous studies have shown that individual preferences for perceptions and behaviours related to the original ethnic culture or to the host culture can (and often will) vary across life domains and situations (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006). Non-Western representations of nature may therefore influence individual immigrants' perceptions of nature, but perceptions of nature may also reflect Western representations of nature or views formed for example in age groups.

Social representation theory focuses on how social groups construct meanings regarding, for example, the natural world. Social representations are often described as socially elaborated (thus culturally and historically contingent) systems of understandings, values and experiences that are used by social groups to understand a phenomenon (Moscovici, 2000). People use such representations, often unconsciously, in their interactions with the natural environment. As a resource for their individual understanding of nature, representations of nature help people to understand the world around them, in line with their multiple identities (for a more in-depth elaboration of social representations of nature see: Buijs, 2009b; Buijs et al., 2012). Research on representations of nature [and related concepts, such as images of nature (Buijs, 2009a) and concepts of nature (Keulartz et al., 2004)] have tended to differentiate between cognitive (how nature is understood or defined), normative (how nature is valued), and expressive dimensions (how nature is experienced emotionally or how people feel about nature). We follow this categorisation and elaborate on these dimensions of representations of nature in the following.

The cognitive dimension includes people's understandings of nature. How do they define and describe nature, which phenomena in the real world do they consider to be nature? Important aspects are the boundaries of what they define as nature. This is closely related to the separation of nature and culture, which forms a long-standing debate (Worster, 1985). Are nature and culture seen as opposites or is nature closely related to and inseparable from human beings and their products? Or, in other words: can you still consider a heathland to be 'real nature', even though it is strongly influenced by human interference, or are 'pristine' wilderness areas such as rainforests the only 'real nature' areas? Such demarcations are highly relevant for discussions about what should be conserved and what not.

The normative dimension concerns people's ethical views on the value of nature. In this respect, the distinction between anthropocentric and ecocentric views of nature has often been put forward (e.g. Dunlap & Van Liere, 1978; Thompson & Barton, 1994). The anthropocentric, or utilitarian, view has been described as a view in which nature deserves moral consideration because it is instrumental to human well-being: it provides goods and services that enhance people's quality of life. From an ecocentric point of view, nature has an intrinsic value aside from its usefulness to humans: it has its own value for its own sake, and should be treated as such (e.g. Kortenkamp & Moore, 2001; Thompson & Barton, 1994). Of course, both anthropocentric and ecocentric approaches are based on valuations by human beings. In the context of this study, we mainly use these terms to distinguish between largely utilitarian views and views in which the intrinsic value of nature is taken into consideration.

The expressive dimension is less well theorised and delineated in literature on representations of nature. Various approaches have been suggested to conceptualise this dimension, ranging from aesthetics to affective responses and emotional connectedness to nature (e.g. Buijs et al., 2012; Keulartz et al., 2004). As the expressive dimension has not yet been very clearly delineated, we operationalised it as emotional connectedness to nature, as we think that this is closest to the expressive dimension understood as 'how people experience nature emotionally or feel about nature'. Moreover, various measures have been developed to study emotional connectedness to nature, such as the Love and Care for Nature scale (Perkins, 2010).

Representations of nature vary between cultures (Gerlitz, 1998; Schouten, 2005) and the three cultural traditions relevant to this study show considerable differences in their views on nature. For instance, since classical (Greek/Roman) times the Western concept of nature has been intrinsically linked to the concept of culture, as nature used to be and still often is defined as the domain of autonomous and spontaneous phenomena and processes outside the influence of human activity and creativity (Glacken, 1967; Santmire, 1985; Schouten, 2005). The opposition between nature and culture is less pronounced in the Islamic (Turkish) and particularly Confucian/Daoist (Chinese) cultural traditions. The Qur'an teaches that within the created world, humanity forms the primary community but not the only one (Gerlitz, 1998; Izzy Deen, 2003; Wersal, 1995). The traditional Chinese worldview, based on Confucianism and Daoism, proceeds from a notion of interconnectedness between heaven (as a guiding force), earth (nature) and humans (culture). This interrelationship of reality is elaborated in various unifying principles, such as *ch'i* (dynamic material force) and *dao* (universal force) (Maspero, 1971; Tucker & Berthrong, 1989).

From a normative point of view, traditional Western views of nature have by various environmental philosophers been described as largely utilitarian (Glacken, 1967; Passmore, 1974; Santmire, 1985; White, 1967). For centuries the cultivation of nature was seen as an act of civilisation or a religious (Christian) duty. The Romantic period brought an appreciation of unspoilt wilderness, among others in a reaction to the

urbanisation and industrialisation of that time (Glacken, 1967; Schama, 1995; Schenk, 1966). This formed a basis for the nature conservation movement which emerged in the second half of the 19th century, when wilderness areas started to disappear at large scale. In the traditional Islamic view of the relationship between humans and nature, the concept of steward *(*or *khālifah*) is of significance, more than in Western (Christian) traditions. Humans may employ nature for their well-being but they may not abuse it, because ultimately it belongs to Allah (Foltz, 2003; Izzy Deen, 2003; Özdemir, 2003; Wersal, 1995). An idealisation of autonomy of nature comparable to that of the Western Romantic movement is not present in Islamic cultural traditions (Al Fārūqi & Al Fārūqī, 1986; Gerlitz, 1998). The traditional Chinese worldview stresses the importance of harmony between humans and nature (Maspero, 1971; Tucker, 1998).

It should be noted that traditions can change over time. In Western societies, for example, there are indications of a gradual shift from predominantly utilitarian views towards more ecocentric approaches (Hedlund-De Witt, 2011; Hedlund-De Witt et al., 2014; Van den Born, 2007). In China, the Maoist revolution brought a rather abrupt break with traditional images and introduced more utilitarian ideas of nature into Chinese society (Shapiro, 2001). In the context of this study, it is impossible to fully describe the views of nature in the cultural traditions concerned. In the discussion of this chapter we will try to explain differences in perceptions of nature between ethnic groups by relating them to specific aspects of the representations of nature in the respective cultural traditions.

Methods and materials

This study is based on a quantitative survey and a qualitative study using group interviews. Both quantitative and qualitative studies were conducted among young adults (18-35 years) of Turkish, Chinese and non-immigrant backgrounds. Both studies only included second-generation immigrant participants, meaning that their parents were born abroad and they themselves in the Netherlands, and first-generation immigrants who spend most of their youth in the Netherlands ('1.5-generation'). We chose to focus on this group as they generally have been raised in two cultures. Through their parents and family they have been in contact with the culture of their country of origin, while through school and such they have been emerged in Dutch culture.

There are various ways in which qualitative and quantitative methods can be combined (see e.g. Creswell, 2003; Newing, 2011). We combined these methods as follows: we first conducted the group interviews in order to get a broad idea of the existing perceptions of nature. We then based the questionnaire on the results of the group interviews. Finally, we re-analysed the transcripts of the group interviews for a careful interpretation of the quantitative results. In doing so, we used the quantitative and qualitative methods not so much for cross-validation purposes, but for complementary

purposes (Sale et al., 2002). In both the methodology and the result section, we will first discuss the quantitative and then the qualitative study.

Survey using quota sampling

Sampling design and data collection

We conducted a face-to-face questionnaire among a sample of 350 Chinese immigrants, 350 Turkish immigrants and 357 non-immigrants in the Netherlands (N=1057). It was not possible to draw random samples, as we did not have lists of addresses of all immigrants. We therefore used a quota sampling design for our questionnaire, which is second best in terms of representativeness. Quota sampling means that a predetermined number of people per socio-demographic category participated in the study. Based on the Golden Standard of the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, we set quota on gender, age and education separately for Turkish immigrants, Chinese immigrants and non-immigrants. Furthermore, we set quota on location of residence, in such a way that half of the respondents came from strongly urbanised regions (Amsterdam and The Hague) and half of the respondents from more rural regions with medium sized cities surrounded by agricultural land and nature reserves (Twente and Arnhem/Nijmegen). Quota sampling leaves some room for bias, particularly with respect to the choice of respondents within the quotas. We tried to limit the bias in this study by recruiting respondents in various ways and places, and by interviewing both on weekdays and in weekends, during the day and in the evening. Respondents were recruited among other places in the street, at places where groups gather and at their homes. As a thank you, they received a prepaid calling card with a value of €7.50. Within each region, respondents were included living in various neighbourhoods, both neighbourhoods known from census data to have high concentrations of immigrants and neighbourhoods with a more diverse population. 23 trained professional interviewers conducted the interviews, all face-to-face and in Dutch. If possible, interviewers of the same ethnicity as the respondents conducted the interviews. We first did a pilot survey with ten respondents, after which slight adjustments were made to the questionnaire. Interviews took place between the end of May and the beginning of July 2013.

Table 6.1 gives an overview of the demographics of the respondents. The quotas were up-dated on a daily basis, so that the number of respondents per gender, age, educational level and location could be attained as set. Regarding religion, the majority of the respondents of Turkish descent identified themselves as Muslim or non-institutionalised religious/spiritual, the majority of the non-immigrants as Christian or not religious and the majority of the respondents of Chinese descent as not religious. 'Non-institutionalised religious/spiritual' denotes respondents who consider themselves to be religious/spiritual but do not feel like they belong to a specific religious denomination. Unfortunately, we could not find national data on religion per ethnic group to compare our data with. Besides a measure of ethnicity

based on country of birth, we also measured perceived ethnicity, i.e. the ethnic groups with which respondents subjectively identified themselves. Almost all respondents identified themselves with their parents' country of birth. An exception to this is that 12% of the Chinese immigrants self-categorised as being Dutch only.

Table 6.1: Overview of demographics (N=1057).

Variable	Level	Total		Dutch non-immigrants		Turkish immigrants		Chinese immigrants	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
		1057	100	357	100	350	100	350	100
Gender	Male	512	48	182	51	165	47	165	47
	Female	545	52	175	49	185	53	185	53
Age	18-24	401	38	146	41	105	30	150	43
	25-29	328	31	97	27	105	30	126	36
	30-35	328	31	114	32	140	40	74	21
Location	Urban region	527	50	177	50	175	50	175	50
	More rural region	530	50	180	50	175	50	175	50
Education	Higher	419	40	171	48	80	23	168	48
	Middle	504	48	171	48	193	55	140	40
	Lower	134	12	15	4	77	22	42	12
Religion	Christian	140	13	103	29	0	0	37	11
	Islam	216	21	8	2	207	59	1	0
	Other religion	27	3	15	4	3	1	9	3
	Non-institutionalised religious / spiritual	154	15	18	5	122	35	14	4
	Not religious	520	49	213	60	18	5	289	83
Perceived ethnicity	Dutch only	388	37	345	97	0	0	43	12
	Turkish only	243	23	1	0	242	69	0	0
	Turkish and Dutch	115	11	6	2	108	31	0	0
	Chinese only	199	19	4	1	0	0	195	56
	Chinese and Dutch	111	11	0	0	0	0	111	32

About one third of the Turkish and Chinese immigrants identified themselves with two ethnic backgrounds. Lastly, only 9% of the respondents of Chinese descent and 10% of the respondents of Turkish descent were 1.5-generation immigrants, the other respondents of Chinese and Turkish descent were second-generation immigrants.

Operationalisation of concepts

The questionnaire focused, among others, on the cognitive, normative and expressive dimensions of representations of nature. We quantified the cognitive dimension in two ways. In a word association task we asked respondents to list the first three words that came to mind when thinking of the term 'nature'. Furthermore, we asked respondents to evaluate the extent to which they considered different types of greenspace to be real nature. We included four types of greenspace, namely Parks

and other urban green areas; Fields, pastures and other non-urban agricultural areas; Sea, rivers and other non-urban water areas; and Forest, dunes, heathland and other non-urban conserved areas. We distinguished these four types of greenspace in order to include both urban and non-urban non-built environments, and within the non-urban greenspace both areas that are strongly influenced by human beings and areas that are only moderately influenced. As the Netherlands is a country full of water and as water plays an important role in Dutch culture, we included a separate category including water bodies.

To quantify the normative dimension, we used a statement on the importance to protect nature. Underlying values were assessed with an open question asking for the most important reason to conserve nature. This allowed respondents to spontaneously mention what they thought was most important, instead of rating or ranking a series of values. We pre-coded various answer categories into which interviewers categorised the open answers of the respondents. Pre-coded answer categories included ecocentric values (because of the value of nature itself, because we should care for plants and animals), anthropocentric values (useful for human beings, for my own use and recreation), religious values (religious duty), and laws and regulations (obliged by international law). We distinguished these last two categories because some authors state that moral judgements regarding the way we should treat nature can also be based on social contracts, such as international treaties or religious duties (e.g. Kortenkamp & Moore, 2001).

The expressive dimension was measured as emotional connectedness to nature. We used a shortened version of the Love and Care for Nature Scale (LCN) (Perkins, 2010) to measure the emotional connectedness. The LCN scale is one of various scales used to measure this connectedness to nature. In an overview study, Tam (2013) demonstrated that the various measures developed to measure connectedness to nature can be considered as markers of a common construct: they were strongly inter-correlated and did not show much unique predictive power when their common factor was controlled for. As these measures do not differ much in what they measure, we chose LCN as this scale is generally less intellectually demanding than other scales (Perkins, 2010). The shortened LCN scale we used comprised four statements, which related to feelings of joy, awe and wonder, a spiritual connection with nature and the feeling of being one with nature. Respondents replied to these statements – as well as to statements used in other questions – on a 5-points Likert Scale.

Data analysis

We analysed associations between representations of nature and ethnic background and other socio-demographics using Chi Square and Cramer's V or using analysis of variance and Eta^2, depending on the level of measurement. Cramer's V and Eta^2 are measures of effect size. For Chi Square tests with degrees of freedom equal to 2, a value of Cramer's V within the range of 0.07–0.21 indicates a small effect, a value within the range of 0.21–0.35 indicates a medium effect, and a value larger than 0.35 indicates a

large effect (Sun et al., 2010). Eta^2=0.01 is considered a small effect size, Eta^2=0.06 a medium effect size and Eta^2=0.14 a large effect size. When analysing associations with religion, we did not take 'other religions' into account as this concerned only a very small number of respondents.

For the word association task, we cleaned the data of typing errors and homogenised it by grouping associations that only differed in their grammatical forms. We combined 'tree' and 'trees' into 'trees', for example. Then, we classified these homogenised associations into a limited number of categories. For example: 'trees', 'forest', 'woodland', 'primeval forest', 'forest areas' and 'tropical forest' were combined into the category 'forest'. Through this categorisation, we were able to bring down the initial number of 241 associations to 64 combined categories. We only analysed those categories that were mentioned by at least 5% of one of the ethnic groups.

The LCN scale was computed based on the average of the four underlying statements, and it had a sufficiently high reliability (Chronbach's alpha=0.73). Deleting any of the variables did not improve the Chronbach's alpha.

Group interviews

Group design and data collection

We conducted nine group interviews in which 42 people participated (see Table 6.2). The group interviews were organised on the basis of ethnic background and gender. This resulted in six (3 ethnic backgrounds * 2 sexes) types of group interviews. We aimed to have six to nine people in every type of group interview. Due to late cancellations and logistic difficulties, various groups were, however, smaller than six people. If groups were smaller than six people, another group interview was organised with participants of the same gender and ethnic background (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Group composition.

Group number	Ethnic background	Gender	Total number of participants
1	Chinese	Male	3
2	Chinese	Male	3
3	Chinese	Female	4
4	Chinese	Female	2
5	Dutch	Male	6
6	Dutch	Female	6
7	Turkish	Male	8
8	Turkish	Female	5
9	Turkish	Female	2

We contacted possible participants through existing organisations and groupings, such as the Chinese Association Region Arnhem and the Turkish Ayasofia Mosque, and through

Facebook. Central persons in the organisations having a large social network helped the authors organise the group interviews. All group interviews were held in the city of Arnhem, the Netherlands. Arnhem is a rather green city and the natural environment in its close vicinity is varied. All group interviews took place between December 2011 and April 2012, and were conducted in Dutch.

Operationalisaton and data analysis

All group interviews started with the associations people had with the term 'nature'. Twelve photos of Dutch green areas, representing all four types of greenspace that were assessed in the quantitative study, were used to stimulate discussion on the extent to which participants regarded green areas as 'real nature'. Other topics raised during the group interviews were, among others, motivations to conserve nature and recreation in nature. The order of the topics discussed varied depending on the group dynamics. The first author moderated all interviews. She tried to enhance trustworthiness in the interview process by becoming familiar with the existing organisations through preliminary visits, by organising the interviews together with someone of the same background as the participants, and by recruiting participants through acquaintances. Furthermore, she tried to create an informal and comfortable setting with snacks and drinks in a location familiar to the participants.

All interviews were recorded on tape and transcribed verbatim, including the moderator's observations on the interactions and processes during the interviews. The first author coded the transcripts, while two other authors read all transcripts and checked and commented on the coding, findings and interpretations. All interviews were coded and analysed using the software package Atlas.ti. Pseudonyms used in the result section start with two letters that indicate country of origin (D=Dutch non-immigrants, C=Chinese immigrants, T=Turkish immigrants) and gender (M=male, F=female).

Results

Cognitive dimension: associations with nature

In the quantitative study, respondents of all ethnic backgrounds most readily associated nature with forests (see Table 6.3). Other associations frequently mentioned were green, animals, water bodies, plants, and weather and climate. However, the extent to which these and other terms were mentioned largely differed per ethnic group. Non-immigrant interviewees mentioned animals in general relatively often, as well as, more specifically, animals belonging to the classes of mammals and insects. The respondents of Chinese descent relatively often mentioned plants and flowers. They also referred to parks and grassland slightly more often. These types of greenspace are generally more influenced by humans than other types of greenspace and this may indicate that people of Chinese descent have a more inclusive idea of what nature

consists of. Respondents of Turkish descent tended to describe nature in more abstract terms such as 'green' instead of mentioning more specific animals, plants or types of greenspace, and relatively often they did not name more than one or two associations. They relatively often mentioned functions of nature or ecosystem services, such as health, fresh air and the environment and environmental issues. Mountains were the only type of greenspace mentioned more often by respondents of Turkish descent than by those of Chinese descent or non-immigrants. That the respondents with a Chinese background hardly mentioned mountains at all was opposite to what we expected, since mountains are an important element of nature in China, which is reflected in the Chinese word for landscape, *shanshui,* which literally means 'mountains and water' (Schouten, 2005).

Table 6.3: Number of people that mentioned an association with nature, per ethnic group (N=1057). Only associations mentioned at least by 5% of one group are included. Respondents could mention up to three associations. χ^2(df)=712.12(128); Cramer's V=0.34.

Item	Dutch non-immigrants	Turkish immigrants	Chinese immigrants	Total
Forest	175[a]	220[b]	240[b]	635
Green	91[a]	119[b]	71[a]	281
Animals	122[a]	35[b]	92[c]	249
Water bodies	98[a]	38[b]	82[a]	218
Plants	64[a]	41[b]	100[c]	205
Weather and climate	58[ab]	73[a]	49[b]	180
No second and/or third answer	9[a]	106[b]	14[a]	129
Grassland	46[a]	25[b]	52[a]	123
Flowers	33[a]	16[b]	59[c]	108
Recreation	30[a]	41[a]	13[b]	83
Mountains	17[a]	40[b]	18[a]	75
Parks	19[a]	8[b]	44[c]	71
Environment and environmental issues	25[a]	36[a]	8[b]	69
Relaxation	20	27	17	64
Beach	15	12	20	47
Fresh air	2[a]	34[b]	10[c]	46
Sky	16	18	11	45
Animals belonging to the class of insects	27[a]	4[b]	9[b]	40
Health	5[a]	23[b]	7[a]	35
Landscape	4[a]	18[b]	13[b]	35
Earth	5[a]	7[a]	18[b]	30
Animals belonging to the class of mammals	26[a]	3[b]	1[b]	30

Results with different superscripts differ significantly between groups at $p<0.05$. Results without a superscript do not show significant differences between groups.

Forests and green were most readily associated with the term nature in the qualitative study as well, followed by plants and animals, parks and various types of greenspace. Terms that relate to the experience of nature, like 'freedom', 'happiness', 'relaxation' and 'smell' were also mentioned frequently in association with the word nature, while rarely in the quantitative study. These terms were usually not the first association but they did come up quickly. This may be related to the context of the group interviews, in which the group process generally resulted in a higher number of topics raised and in deeper and sometimes more personal or emotional experiences being shared.

Besides forests, the participants in the non-immigrant groups frequently mentioned other green areas, such as heathland, riverbanks and grassland. The participants of Chinese descent and particularly those of Turkish descent less mentioned other types of greenspace and seemed to have less personal experience with various types of greenspace. Participants of Turkish and Chinese descent often did not recognise the types of greenspace in the pictures used in the group interviews as being Dutch, while this was not the case for the non-immigrants. In contrast to the quantitative study, participants of both Turkish and Chinese descent in the qualitative study frequently brought up mountains, while non-immigrants did not mention mountains very often. It must be noted, however, that mountains, which can be found in Turkey and China but not in the Netherlands, were mentioned several times in association with the view of nature of the participants' parents:

> CF_Lan-Fen: My father… when we talk about nature, he always talks about water and mountains. If he sees a picture of mountains, he says 'Oh, so beautiful!' You won't find that here.

Zooming in on specific plant and animal species, people in all group interviews especially associated large mammals (e.g. cows, sheep, deer) and 'small animals' (e.g. insects, midges, snails) with nature. Participants often discussed this last category in negative terms. Almost all mentioned flora species in all group interviews were edible (e.g. chestnut, blackberry's, mushrooms). There were also differences between ethnic groups in the flora and fauna species that were spoken of. The non-immigrant groups quite regularly brought up animals that function as target species in Dutch nature conservation, like the badger and the wolf, as well as animals that are often used in Dutch nature management, such as Highland cattle and Galloways. Participants of Turkish and Chinese descent seemed to be less familiar with these species, as these did not come up in immigrant group discussions. Instead, in the Turkish and Chinese immigrant groups animals were mentioned that do not occur in the Netherlands, such as camels and elephants.

Cognitive dimension: nature as boundary object

Respondents of Chinese descent regarded all four types of greenspace presented in the quantitative study as more 'truly nature' than non-immigrants did (see Table 6.4). This is in line with the result described in the previous paragraph that respondents of Chinese descent more frequently associated parks and grassland with nature. Turkish immigrants and non-immigrants had quite similar evaluations of the naturalness of the studied landscapes, although the Turkish immigrants regarded non-urban conserved areas as more natural than non-immigrants did and, opposite to results from earlier studies (e.g. Buijs et al., 2009), urban green areas as less natural. Effect sizes are largest for urban green areas and non-urban agricultural areas.

Table 6.4: Mean scores regarding whether respondents consider various landscapes as nature (standard deviations in parentheses) per ethnic group (N=1057). 1=no nature at all, 5=real nature.

Type of landscape	Dutch non-immigrants	Turkish immigrants	Chinese immigrants	F(df)p	Eta^2
Urban green areas	3.33 (1.19)[a]	3.00 (0.80)[b]	3.95 (1.25)[c]	68.3(2)***	0.11
Non-urban agricultural areas	3.31 (1.25)[a]	3.46 (0.92)[a]	4.08 (1.14)[b]	49.9(2)***	0.08
Non-urban conserved areas	4.09 (0.98)[a]	4.44 (0.82)[b]	4.52 (0.91)[b]	24.65(2)***	0.04
Non-urban water bodies	4.05 (1.00)[a]	4.14 (0.90)[a]	4.37 (1.01)[b]	11.1(2)***	0.02

Results with different superscripts differ significantly between groups at p<0.05.
The number of stars reflects the level of significance, with *=p<0.05; **=p<0.01; and ***=p<0.001.

The qualitative study largely showed the same trend. Most non-immigrant participants used rather strict boundaries to qualify green areas as nature. Several non-immigrants voiced the view that there is no 'real nature' left in the Netherlands:

> Interviewer: What do you consider to be real nature?
> DF_Miranda: Maybe this [points towards a picture of an agricultural area], this reminds me of the Netherlands, with a tractor. Land that is well structured. Or… that's not real nature, but the Dutch… 'nature-scape'… landscape.
> DF_Maaike: Well, we have no primeval forests left or anything, for that matter, nowhere in Europe…
> DF_Miranda: Maybe in Poland, there may be some nature left.

On the other hand, most of the participants of Turkish and especially Chinese descent expressed a more inclusive idea on what nature consists of. Various participants considered all pictures used in the discussion as 'real nature', including those of urban green areas.

Normative dimension

We found a large consensus on the importance to conserve nature among the respondents of the quantitative study: 65% of the respondents think it is (very) important to conserve nature and only 8% think it is (very) unimportant. Interestingly, respondents

of Turkish descent found it most important to conserve nature (see Table 6.5). Of the respondents of Turkish descent, 94% found it (very) important to conserve nature, while 50% of both the respondents from Chinese and non-immigrant backgrounds did so. As a reason to conserve nature, respondents of Turkish descent spontaneously mentioned the ecocentric value of nature more often, that is the value of nature or specific plants and animals in and for themselves (see Table 6.6, χ^2(df)=119.44(8); Cramer's V=0.24). Furthermore, they spoke of religious reasons more often. While the respondents of Chinese descent and non-immigrant respondents had comparable views on the importance of nature conservation, the rationale for this differed considerably. The respondents of Chinese descent mentioned anthropocentric reasons more often, such as nature being useful for human beings or for their own personal (recreational) use. The non-immigrants brought up law/international treaties relatively often.

Table 6.5: Mean scores regarding the importance to conserve nature in the Netherlands (standard deviations in parentheses) per ethnic group. 1=very unimportant, 5=very important. N=1057.

Overall score	Dutch non-immigrants	Turkish immigrants	Chinese immigrants	F(df)p	Eta^2
3.66 (0.87)	3.40 (0.97)^a	4.14 (0.58)^b	3.49 (0.79)^a	92.23(2)***	0.14

Results with different superscripts differ significantly between groups at p<0.05.
The number of stars reflects the level of significance, with *=p<0.05; **=p<0.01; and ***=p<0.001.

Table 6.6: Most important reason to conserve nature per ethnic group (in percentages). N=1057.

Reason	Dutch non-immigrants	Turkish immigrants	Chinese immigrants
Ecocentric	31.9^a	45.3^b	26.6^a
Anthropocentric	48.5^a	43.3^a	63.3^b
Law/international treaties	7.6^a	1.4^b	2.3^b
Religious duty	0.8^a	8.3^b	0.6^a
Did not mention any reason	11.2^a	1.7^b	7.4^a
Total	100	100	100

Results with different superscripts differ significantly between groups at p<0.05.
The number of stars reflects the level of significance, with *=p<0.05; **=p<0.01; and ***=p<0.001.

In the qualitative study, participants mainly discussed anthropocentric reasons for nature conservation, as the following quotations show:

> CM_Sheng-Du: It's good to learn from childhood: 'That is nature, which belongs to us. You should not destroy it, because than we won't have any nature left'.
>
> Interviewer: Do you think we should conserve nature?
> TF_Nyla: Yes, because buildings are being built everywhere. There are people who like to walk in the forest to relax. But if we build everywhere, that will not be possible anymore, because the forest will be gone. It's not easy to grow a forest; therefore it's important to conserve it well and beautifully.

Ecocentric reasons hardly came up in the group interviews. This could be due to the set-up, in which both recreational behaviour and representations of nature were discussed. Reasons to conserve nature were often framed in relation to recreation. Still, the more anthropocentric view of Chinese immigrants from the quantitative study is partly reflected in the group interviews. For instance, a male participant of Chinese descent voiced a strong preference for the conservation of small-scale nature close-by over that of large-scale nature areas. Other participants shared his view:

> CM_Shen: Close to my house, there is a new housing estate. It used to be woodland, up to a few years ago. I remember that when I was young, you could always find me there – well, not every day, but at least a few days a week. For whatever reason, playing tag, building small fires, whatever. Nowadays, children can't go there anymore, as it is totally built over. That's a shame. Maybe you think: 'such a small piece of woodland, that doesn't amount to anything'. But a child is small, and he will experience it as being enormous. […] Those small pieces of green I think are more important than large nature areas, as those areas are less accessible to a large number of people. If necessary, we should give up a few large areas to save those smaller ones.
> CM_Shaohaan: Yeah, you should make those housing estates with small patches of woodland right next to them.
> CM_Sulaymaan: Sure.

Both some participants of Chinese and Turkish descent argued that nature should be structured, clean and well-tended. They seemed to be in favour of human interference in nature: humans should not let nature run wild. In both male and female Chinese groups this was related to a preference for comfort and hygiene. In the Turkish groups the preference for well-tended nature was related to the Muslim religion:

> TM_Abdel: In our religion, being clean is very important. For example, if you have an apple tree, you should not pee on the soil beneath it. People might sit in the shadow of that tree, or take shelter from the rain, and you don't have the right to make it dirty. In our religion, you will be punished for that. Our prophet tells us: Imagine a piece of dead grassland, or barren land. When you take care of it and grow grasses or trees, you will be rewarded. And you should plant fruit trees.
> TM_Amir: Considering Islam and nature: a tree is alive, you should not break its branches. If you are a Muslim, you should not do so.
> TM_Abdel: For example, if you planted an apple tree, and after your death birds come and eat from it, you will be rewarded.

Participants of Turkish descent discussed the value of nature more generally in religious terms and mentioned several times that nature teaches about divine intentions:

> TF_Nouria: We Muslims can learn from nature. Of course, you have to study the Qur'an, but when you look at nature and how it is created, you can also learn about Allah. That is very important to me.

A bit paradoxically, some participants of Turkish descent also voiced the view that they themselves could only minimally contribute to the conservation of nature. In the group interview with males of Turkish descent, they discussed and agreed on nature conservation being the responsibility of the government. In the Chinese groups similar ideas were spoken of.

Expressive dimension: emotional connection

On average, respondents in the quantitative study had a rather neutral emotional connection to nature based on the LCN scale (see Table 6.7). We cannot properly compare this result with previous studies, as to our knowledge previous studies using the LCN scale have been done outside of Europe, did not include this specific age group, used the full version of the LCN scale instead of a shortened version, or used a 7-points Likert-scale instead of a 5-points Likert-scale (e.g. Perkins, 2010; Tam, 2013). Still, this average seems to be rather low. Only 18% had a (very) strong positive emotional connection to nature. There were differences between groups: respondents of Chinese descent had a less positive emotional connection than respondents of Turkish descent and non-immigrant respondents had. However, this difference had a small effect size. When zooming in on the specific underlying items of the LCN scale, respondents more frequently experienced emotions of joy, awe and wonder when visiting nature, and less frequently experienced a spiritual connection and oneness with nature. When comparing ethnic groups, especially respondents of Turkish descent scored high on the emotion of joy. Non-immigrants scored higher on spiritual connection and oneness with nature.

Table 6.7: Mean score on LCN scale and specific LCN scale items (standard deviations in parentheses) per ethnic group. 1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree. N=1057.

	Dutch non-immigrants	Turkish immigrants	Chinese immigrants	F(df)p	Eta^2
1. I feel joy just being in nature	3.09 (1.09)^{a}	3.54 (0.87)^{b}	2.94 (1.01)^{a}	34.98(2)***	0.06
2. When I am close to nature, I often feel a sense of oneness with nature	2.56 (0.98)^{a}	2.37 (0.61)^{b}	2.33 (0.73)^{b}	8.90(2)***	0.02
3. I feel spiritually bound to nature	2.36 (0.95)^{a}	2.27 (0.57)^{ab}	2.17 (0.69)^{b}	5.75(2)**	0.01
4. I often feel a sense of awe and wonder when I am in unspoilt nature	3.24 (1.10)^{a}	3.43 (0.80)^{b}	3.14 (0.99)^{a}	8.05(2)***	0.01
Total LCN scale	2.92 (0.85)^{a}	3.02 (0.54)^{a}	2.76 (0.75)^{b}	11.67(2)***	0.02

Results with different superscripts differ significantly between groups at $p<0.05$.
The number of stars reflects the level of significance, with *=$p<0.05$; **=$p<0.01$; and ***=$p<0.001$.

In the qualitative study, participants in general felt a positive but not very strong emotional connection to nature. However, in every ethnic group, there were individuals with a strong positive emotional connection. These single exceptions personally

identified themselves as nature lovers, and frequently visited nature. Although most other participants did not frequently visit nature, they still felt a positive connection to it. Specific emotions often mentioned in all group interviews were feelings of joy and pleasure and of peace and quiet, and, to a lesser extent, feelings of awe and wonder and oneness with nature:

> CF_Lixue: You just asked how we feel about nature… Being in nature means being protected from daily life's hustle and bustle. There is just always commotion in our lives. In our bodies, our heads, our lives – then nature is very good.
> CF_Lian: Now that we got to talk about this, I think… I need to find more time to be in nature.
> CF_Li-Ming: It is just so relaxing.
> CF_Lian: I feel at home in nature!

A number of respondents of Turkish descent related the emotional experience of nature to their religion, just as they did for the norms and values towards nature. The following quotation gives an example of that:

> TF_Noor [when discussing the pictures]: All these pictures have their own beauty. When I see these pictures, I think: 'Maşallah'. That's what we say from a religious viewpoint to express our feelings about the beauty of Creation. God, Allah, created this and every landscape has its own beauty. Anyone may have a preference for a specific picture, I myself prefer the picture with the small lake, but everything has its own beauty. Animals, forests, all things green… and even the bare plains.

In the following paragraph we will further discuss the relation of representations of nature with religion and other identities.

Relations with other identities

People have multiple identities and are part of various social groups that may have an influence on their representations of nature. In the quantitative study, we therefore also studied relationships between representations of nature and several other socio-demographic variables, namely age, gender, educational level, location of residence (urban/more rural region) and religion. As the main focus in this chapter is on differences between ethnic groups, we will only mention here those socio-demographic variables that had a substantive relation ($p<0.001$ and Eta>0.04 or Cramer's V>0.21), and we will not discuss the results in depth.

Besides ethnicity, only religion turned out to have a substantive relation with all three dimensions of representations of nature. It should be noted that in our sample ethnicity and religion were strongly related. Moreover, religious subgroups were rather uneven in size. In the statistical analyses, subgroups became even more unbalanced. Results may therefore be less representative in showing representations of nature

related to religion. Most striking results were that Muslims and non-institutionalised religious/spiritual respondents, who were both mainly of Turkish descent, found it more important to conserve nature than Christians and non-religious respondents did ($F(df)=73.10(3)$; Eta=0.17). The majority of Christian and Muslim respondents gave ecocentric reasons for conserving nature, while the majority of non-institutionalised religious/spiritual and non-religious respondents gave anthropocentric reasons for nature conservation ($\chi^2(df)=213.701(12)$; Cramer's V=0.26). On an expressive level, Muslim and Christian respondents showed a stronger emotional connection to nature than non-institutionalised religious/spiritual and non-religious respondents ($F=42.32(3)$; Eta=0.11). Some of these results are contrary to what we expected, particularly the anthropocentric view and weaker emotional connection to nature of non-institutionalised religious/spiritual respondents. According to Hedlund-De Witt (2011), Western non-institutionalised religious/spiritual people, and particularly people with a 'contemporary spirituality', have mainly an ecocentric attitude. In our study non-institutionalised religious/spiritual people were mainly of Turkish descent, and in their representations of nature they apparently differ from people with a 'contemporary spirituality'.

Location of residence also showed substantive correlations with representations of nature, but not for all dimensions. Being from an urban or more rural background appeared to be of relevance for the cognitive dimension: rural respondents regarded all areas and especially non-urban conserved areas ($F(df)=70.28(1)$; Eta=0.06) as 'true nature' more strongly than urban respondents did. Furthermore, urban respondents more frequently associated nature with beaches and water bodies, which are found close to the two urban areas included in the study, and rural respondents more frequently associated it with forest and grassland, which are abundant in the rural areas included in the study ($\chi^2(df)=185.62(64)$; Cramer's V=0.24). Age, gender and educational level did show correlations with aspects of representations of nature, but these did not meet the criterion of a substantive relation. For instance, there was a weak correlation between age and the importance that is attributed to nature conservation. The latter was slightly higher for the older respondents.

In the qualitative study, ethnic background and religion particularly seemed to influence how participants perceived nature, alongside personal experiences. As participants often associated nature with the green environment of Arnhem, the city in which the group interviews were conducted, location of residence was also of influence on their representations of nature. Furthermore, age seemed to influence their representations of nature as well, as they described their views as being typical for their age group. In doing so, participants compared themselves with both older and younger age groups. These groups were not assessed in the quantitative study. Both the quantitative and the qualitative studies thus show that besides ethnicity other identities influence the perception of nature.

Discussion

Echoes of traditional cultural representations of nature

Our results show that perceptions of nature differ between ethnic groups. These differences can partly be explained by relating them to specific aspects of representations of nature in the respective cultural traditions. To begin with, on a cognitive level, non-immigrants used the strictest boundaries to define nature. Primeval forest and unspoilt wilderness came up prominently in their group discussions. Turkish and especially Chinese immigrants expressed a more inclusive idea of nature. Chinese immigrants regarded all studied types of greenspace, including urban greenspace, as more 'truly natural' than non-immigrants did, while Turkish respondents only saw non-urban nature conservation areas as more 'truly natural' than non-immigrants did. Participants of both Chinese and Turkish backgrounds in the qualitative study felt that nature should be well-tended and clean. Non-immigrants' understandings of nature match well with a Western concept of nature in which autonomy and spontaneity are important markers and particularly with the ideal of wilderness that emerged in the Romantic period. Moreover, they also fit in the Dutch debate on restoration and rehabilitation of landscapes and ecosystems in which the concept of wilderness is prominent. As stated before, an idealisation of wilderness comparable to that of the Western Romantic period is not part of Islamic cultural traditions, which may explain why Turkish immigrants thought of non-urban conserved areas more as being 'true nature' than non-immigrants did. Chinese immigrants expressed the most inclusive idea of nature, as they considered urban green to be nature more often as well. This may be an echo of traditional Confucian/Daoist views, which do not so much place nature and culture in opposition to each other, but stress the importance of harmony between the two.

We could not really relate some of the results on the cognitive level to traditional cultural representations of nature as discussed in existing literature. This especially concerns our findings that non-immigrants more frequently associated nature with animals, Chinese immigrants more frequently associated nature with plants and flowers, and Turkish immigrants more frequently associated nature with environmental issues and ecosystem services. Non-immigrants' association of nature with animals may be related to recent cultural developments. In current Western nature conservation efforts, animals, in particular 'charismatic' mammals, play a leading role in gaining public support (Leader-Williams & Dublin, 2000). The otter, badger and wolf function as 'flagship species' in Dutch nature conservation. Moreover, large de-domesticated herbivores are increasingly used to restore 'natural processes' in the Netherlands, which may trigger associations of nature with animals.

On a normative level, we showed that there is potential in all studied groups for support for nature conservation, as there was large consensus on its importance. However,

motivations for nature conservation strongly differed between groups. The majority of the non-immigrants gave anthropocentric motivations for nature conservation or based their motivations on the law/international treaties. The majority of the Turkish respondents gave ecocentric reasons to conserve nature and 8% of the respondents of Turkish descent explicitly perceived the conservation of nature as a religious duty. The respondents of Chinese descent stood out as having the most anthropocentric view. Non-immigrants' anthropocentric reasons for nature conservation can be well understood considering that traditional Western representations of nature, according to various environmental philosophers, are predominantly utilitarian (Glacken, 1967; Passmore, 1974; White, 1967). That about one third of the non-immigrants expressed ecocentric reasons for nature conservation, may be attributed to the recent gradual shift from these traditional utilitarian views towards more ecocentric approaches in Western societies as described by various authors (Hedlund-De Witt, 2011; Hedlund-De Witt et al., 2014; Van den Born, 2007).

That respondents of Turkish descent stood out for giving most frequently ecocentric reasons for nature conservation was striking. This outcome may not be related so much to views based on the concept of an intrinsic value of nature, which is usually associated with an ecocentric approach (Kortenkamp & Moore, 2001; Thompson & Barton, 1994). It may rather be associated with the idea of stewardship, which postulates that nature does not belong to humans but to Allah. The results, therefore, may reflect a 'theocentric' more than an ecocentric worldview. This explanation is supported by findings of the qualitative study, where participants of Turkish descent often discussed the value of nature in religious terms. The idea of nature providing signs for humanity on how to lead a righteous life was voiced several times. In this context, it is interesting to note that the Arabic word āyāt (literally: 'sign') is not only used to indicate the verses of the Qur'an but traditionally also refers to the divine messages contained in nature (Schouten, 2005).

The strongly anthropocentric and utilitarian view of Chinese immigrants is puzzling when considering traditional Chinese views based on the ideal of harmony between man and nature. An explanation for this utilitarian view may be found in the Maoist revolution, where the Chinese ideal of harmony was 'abrogated in favour of Mao's insistence that "man must conquer nature"' (Shapiro, 2001, p. 93). Utilitarian ideas may also be related to a prioritisation of work and earning money over other values among (first-generation) Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands (Gijsberts et al., 2011; Linder et al., 2011; see also Chapter 4). Furthermore, the anthropocentric view of Chinese immigrants in our studies could also be interpreted as a sign of adaptation to (what they may perceive as) Western representations of nature.

On an expressive level, differences between ethnic groups in the quantitative study were small as on average all groups showed to have a rather neutral emotional connection to nature. These results can therefore not be linked to differences in cultural traditions. This may also be reason why in scientific literature less attention is paid to the expressive level of representations of nature. Still, our qualitative study did provide an indication

that cultural traditions also influence the expressive level, seeing that the participants of Turkish descent often related the emotional experience of nature to their religion. Besides that, more than the other dimensions, the expressive dimension may be strongly influenced by personal experiences. Indeed, in the qualitative study a few participants in almost every ethnic group had a strong and positive emotional connection to nature.

Multiple influential identities

In the previous paragraph we showed that various elements of non-Western representations of nature still seemed to resonate in 1.5- and second-generation immigrants' perceptions of nature. At the same time, Western culture may be of influence on immigrants as well. For respondents of Chinese descent we did indeed find some indications of an adaptation to Western culture. Respondents of Chinese descent regarded themselves to be quite similar to non-immigrant Dutch in the way they behaved and the views they held. More often than respondents of Turkish descent, they identified themselves as being ethnically Dutch. Furthermore, in the Chinese tradition mountains are essential, even eponymous, elements of nature (Zhang et al., 2013). In our quantitative study, however, respondents of Chinese descent hardly associated mountains with nature. In the qualitative study, participants of Chinese decent related mountains to their parents' views of nature.

Immigrants as well as non-immigrants may combine different identities and may thus draw on different cultural resources to construct their perceptions of nature. Indeed, besides ethnic background, also religion and location of residence were related to perceptions of nature both in the qualitative and quantitative study. It should be noted that through cultural traditions, ethnicity and religion are closely related. It falls outside the scope of this dissertation to discuss the exact relations between the two. Furthermore, the participants of the qualitative study thought age was influential as well. In the quantitative study, age was not so much related to representations of nature. However, we only assessed age differences within the group of young adults and could not assess differences with other age groups. It is interesting to note that even within this group (weak) correlations were found between age and certain aspects of the representations of nature. Focusing on ethnic identities while also acknowledging other identities such as age, may be a way for scientists and conservationists to go beyond a binary immigrant/non-immigrant approach.

Implications for nature conservation policy and management

This chapter started out from recent observations of nature conservation organisations and conservation scientists that for the long-term maintenance of nature, citizens need to support and be involved in nature conservation and management (for example Fleishman et al., 2011). What are the implications of this study for the new challenges for conservationists regarding public support and involvement? At least, we showed that there is potential in all studied groups to support nature conservation, as

there was large consensus on its importance. Respondents of Turkish descent were the strongest proponents of nature conservation. However, this large potential may not directly lead to active involvement in nature conservation. In the quantitative study, we also examined the number of memberships of nature conservation organisations and whether or not respondents volunteered in nature conservation. Only less than 1% of the Turkish respondents reported to be member of a nature conservation organisation, while 7% of the respondents of Chinese descent and 14% of the non-immigrants did so. Furthermore, none of the respondents of Turkish descent, 2% of the respondents of Chinese descent and 4% of the non-immigrant respondents had worked as a volunteer in nature conservation in the previous twelve months.

Various explanations may be found particularly among immigrant groups for the discrepancy between potential support for and active involvement in nature conservation. Conservation practices focusing on (unspoilt) wilderness and a strong human-nature dichotomy may not invite immigrant groups to support nature conservation, as particularly Chinese immigrants had a more inclusive image of what nature consists of. Group discussions with respondents of Turkish and Chinese descent also suggested that nature conservation might be seen as the responsibility of the government. Furthermore, the discrepancy may also be explained by preferences for other types of active involvement and by differences in acculturation patterns. Related to the latter, immigrants may be less aware of nature conservation organisations, as the results of our quantitative study indeed seem to indicate. When asked which nature organisations they knew, almost half of the respondents of Turkish descent could not spontaneously mention any nature conservation organisation at all, while this was the case for about one fifth of the respondents of Chinese descent and one tenth of the non-immigrant respondents. According to Agyeman (2001), immigrants may engage in nature conservation through other channels, such as local initiatives and community, cultural, religious and social groups whose typical focus is not (only) on nature conservation. Indeed, the Mosque through which we contacted Turkish participants for the group interviews organised volunteer activities such as cleaning urban green and gave lectures on nature. This may particularly apply to Turkish immigrants, as second-generation Chinese immigrants have been described as more focused on having contacts with non-immigrants and participating in their social life (Gijsberts et al., 2011). Nature conservation organisations could try to link up with local and community initiatives. The current change in Dutch nature conservation policies, from a very institutional outlook towards a stronger focus on local initiatives (for example Buijs et al., 2014), could match well with such practices and could open up opportunities for new collaborations.

In order to further stimulate support for and active involvement in nature conservation among various immigrant groups and other social groups, we think that an inclusive conservation ethic is needed, which recognises and accepts various values of nature, and welcomes a diversity of views justifying the protection and restoration of nature areas (Tallis & Lubchenco, 2014). For effective site management and conservation,

it is therefore important to analyse the social and cultural character of an area, and take these considerations into account together with ecological considerations when making management plans (Pietrzyk-Kaszynska et al., 2012). In the Netherlands, and probably also in other European countries except maybe for the United Kingdom, the strong *Ecology First* approach (see Stoll-Kleemann, 2001) is gradually transitioning to a more participative way of conserving nature. We think that this shift should be advanced further, and that nature conservation managers and policy-makers should not only focus on dominant groups, but also on other ethnic and social groups.

Conclusion

This chapter showed that ethnicity has a considerable influence on the way that people understand, value and experience nature. Although other identities besides ethnicity such as those related to location of residence and age were important as well, cultural differences seemed to be persistent even though the immigrants included spent (most of) their youth in the Netherlands. Demographic shifts resulting from immigration in last decades might consequently also change perceptions of nature in the long run, and may influence support for and active involvement in nature conservation.

Chapter 7

Colourful green: A synthesis

Introduction

In this dissertation I aimed to come to a better understanding of the recreational use of greenspace and perceptions of nature of immigrants and non-immigrants in the Netherlands. In various Western countries, such as in the Netherlands, both scholars and nature conservation organisations have described immigrants as under-participating in outdoor recreation. However, these generalisations are not well grounded in scientific research, as I showed in an extensive literature review. Few baseline data exist on actual participation levels of immigrants, and differentiated knowledge on recreational behaviour reflecting a diversity of immigrant perspectives is lacking. In order to get a better understanding of the use of greenspace of immigrants and non-immigrants, I developed a theoretical framework based on identity and I conducted a qualitative and a quantitative empirical study among young adults of three different ethnic backgrounds in the Netherlands: non-immigrants and 1.5- and second-generation immigrants with Turkish and Chinese backgrounds. Central to the theoretical framework is that people have multiple identities that have subjective meaning, as their identities influence people's subjective experiences and behaviours. Which identity plays a role in a specific situation, depends both on the importance of a specific identity and on the context. As a framework based on identity does not reduce people to their ethnicity, it helps in looking beyond simple and 'flat' descriptions of immigrant versus non-immigrant behaviour, without ruling out ethnicity.

In the following I will show that under-participation is too simple a term for varied recreational behaviour. Participation levels in outdoor recreation differ between and within ethnic groups, and depend on whether you focus on participation rate or frequency, urban or non-urban greenspace, and one activity or another. Ethnicity does influence outdoor recreational behaviour even for 1.5- and second-generation immigrants. However, ethnicity is not all-encompassing, since other identities, particularly age, environmental identity and leisure identity, also play an important role in the recreational behaviour of young adults with non-immigrant, Chinese and Turkish backgrounds. Furthermore, I will reflect in this chapter on the theoretical framework I used and argue that identity theory can help to overcome current challenges in leisure and recreation studies, particularly with regards to addressing complexity (see Rowe, 2015). From outdoor recreation, I will then turn to nature conservation. I will show that the link between outdoor recreation and support for and involvement in nature conservation among immigrant groups is weak at most. This chapter ends with recommendations for nature conservation policy and management.

Participation levels in outdoor recreation

Participation levels in outdoor recreation strongly differed between ethnic groups in my studies. When immigrants are studied as one homogeneous group, such differences might be obfuscated. My results thereby underline the claim voiced by various authors, that it is important to acknowledge differences between ethnic groups when studying immigrants' participation levels in outdoor recreation (for example Sasidharan, 2002; Shinew et al., 2006; Winter et al., 2004). My studies also demonstrate the importance of distinguishing between urban and non-urban outdoor recreation, and between participation rate and participation frequency. Those distinctions have conceptual relevance as well. Urban and non-urban green areas usually have quite different landscape characteristics such as with respect to size and wildness. A distinction between rate and frequency shows whether specific groups do not visit greenspace at all or just less frequently.

Participation levels in outdoor recreation in my quantitative study, based on an assessment of respondents' recreational behaviour in the previous three months, were as follows. In non-urban greenspace, respondents of Chinese descent had low participation levels, both regarding frequency and rate. While over 40% of the non-immigrants participated in non-urban outdoor recreation, only about 20% of the Chinese immigrants did so. Moreover, Chinese immigrants who did visit non-urban greenspace, on average did so half as often as non-immigrants. Unexpectedly, the participation rate of Turkish immigrants in non-urban outdoor recreation was similar to that of non-immigrants. However, the Turkish immigrants in this study visited non-urban greenspace less frequently, on average half as often as non-immigrants. In urban greenspace, respondents of Turkish descent had an even higher participation rate than non-immigrant respondents. While over 70% of the respondents of Turkish descent visited urban greenspace, this was the case for 56% of the non-immigrants and about 30% of the respondents of Chinese descent. Respondents of Turkish and Chinese descent who did visit urban greenspace, averagely both did so slightly more often than non-immigrants. So in urban greenspace, Turkish immigrants were actually 'over-participating', both regarding participation frequency and rate.

These results are partly in line with previous studies on immigrants' participation in outdoor recreation, which found that immigrants tend to recreate in urban green and have lower participation levels in non-urban green than non-immigrants (e.g. Countryside Agency, 2005; Jay & Schraml, 2013; Jókövi, 2001). However, I also found more differentiated patterns. Lower participation levels of immigrants in non-urban outdoor recreation, for example, did apply to Chinese immigrants both regarding participation frequency and rate, but the Turkish immigrants in my study only had a lower participation frequency, not a lower participation rate. Furthermore, far more Turkish immigrants than non-immigrants visited non-urban greenspace, while far less Chinese immigrants than non-immigrants visited urban greenspace.

Focusing on participation levels of specific activities further nuances our understanding of outdoor recreational participation. Jacobs and Manfredo (2008) uttered similar considerations in their criticism on the influential study by Pergams and Zaradic (2008) who suggested a 'pervasive decline' in nature-based recreation, namely that (declines in) participation levels strongly depend on the recreational activities taken into account. The results of my study showed that participation rates for various activities strongly differed between ethnic groups. In some activities, such as walking, more respondents of Turkish descent than non-immigrant respondents participated, while for other activities the opposite pattern was found. Respondents of Chinese descent participated less than non-immigrants in almost all activities. However, respondents of Chinese descent did participate in individual activities such as photography and running more than respondents of Turkish descent did, while respondents of Turkish descent participated more in social activities like sitting and talking or picnicking.

Not only between, but also within ethnic groups quite some heterogeneity exists. Several other factors besides ethnicity influence outdoor recreational behaviour, and respondents in my study subjectively perceived various identities to be of influence on their outdoor recreational behaviour as well (see below). I therefore think that the term 'under-participation' is not appropriate for describing immigrants' outdoor recreational patterns. It overlooks important differences between and within ethnic groups, between participation rate and frequency, and between participation in urban and non-urban greenspace and in one activity or another. It is therefore too simple a term to describe varied behaviour. Moreover, 'under-participation' also has ethical or moral connotations, which can be put into question. As Curry et al. (2001) argued, the term 'under-participation' assumes non-immigrants' behaviour is the norm from which immigrants' behaviour deviates. This imposition of values of one group to another is questionable. Furthermore, focusing only on participation does not tell us anything about how people experience outdoor recreation, what recreation means to them, and the motivations and constraints they have.

Multiple identities influence behaviour

Outdoor recreation is connected with people's lives and how they make sense of themselves. Already in 1981, Kelly argued that leisure or recreation is a social space in which identity activation and formation takes place through social interactions (Kelly, 1981). People actively seek recreation experiences in support of preferred identities, and participants in recreation activities may define and express themselves through those activities (Williams, 2002). Moreover, interactions with other people during recreation may activate and strengthen specific identities. I found four identities – two personal and two collective – to be particularly important with regards to the recreational behaviour of young adults with Turkish, Chinese and non-immigrant backgrounds in the Netherlands.

Personal identities: environmental and leisure identity

In all ethnic groups in the qualitative study, a few people frequently participated in outdoor recreation. These people tended to have a strong personal greenspace-related identity. Through either their recreational activities or their love for nature, these participants defined and expressed themselves. Thinking of themselves as for example a 'nature lover' or 'sailor' largely led their outdoor recreational behaviour. The personal identities I found in my qualitative study are similar to what in previous research has been called a leisure identity (e.g. Williams, 2002) and an environmental identity (e.g. Clayton & Opotow, 2004). I therefore use those terms to indicate the personal identities of importance in my studies. People with a leisure identity were motivated by the activity itself and/or the result of the activity, such as the rush of the activity or the direct result of feeling healthy. People with an environmental identity were motivated by a strong need to experience nature. In the quantitative study, similar motivations were related to frequent participation in outdoor recreation, namely 'sports/health' and 'enjoy nature'. Nature appears to have a direct, leading role in the experiences of people with an environmental identity, while it has a more indirect role in experiences of people with a leisure identity. As people who frequently recreated in greenspace had a personal relation to outdoor recreation or nature, their exact behaviours and the kinds of greenspace that they visited varied. In the group interviews, people with a personal leisure or environmental identity stood out from other participants. Particularly those of Chinese and Turkish descent saw themselves as 'being different' from others in the group interviews.

Collective identities

Being a youngster

Among people without such a pronounced leisure or environmental identity, being a youngster was perceived as an important identity influencing outdoor recreation in all ethnic groups. Descriptions of being a youngster in relation to outdoor recreation were quite similar in all ethnic groups in the qualitative study. Most commonly, participants related being a youngster to a low frequency of outdoor recreation. Going outdoors to experience nature was not something youngsters would easily do. They did, however, participate in outdoor sports activities like running and social activities like hanging out in the park with peers. These activities generally took place close to the participants' homes and usually together with peers, although sports activities were also practiced alone. The natural world then mainly was a décor for recreation. Important motivations were socialising, to have a moment's rest and to feel free. Chinese and Turkish immigrants mentioned social activities as being typical for youngsters more often than non-immigrants did. Greenspace formed a place where youngsters felt free to be themselves and to do what they felt like, together with their friends. The importance of freedom also showed from the participants' dislike of regulations, such as those on

barbecuing. This dislike of regulations seemed to be strongest among males of non-immigrant and Turkish backgrounds. Important constraints to outdoor recreation that participants in the qualitative study related to an identity of 'being a youngster' were lack of time, accessibility and having no company. Together with the weather, these were the constraints mentioned most often in the quantitative study as well. The importance of the identity of being a youngster forms evidence for some homogeneity between immigrants and non-immigrants in outdoor recreation.

Ethnic identities

Ethnic identities also played an important role in outdoor recreation. Turkish immigrants related various aspects of their recreational behaviour to a Turkish identity. Chinese immigrants regarded their recreational patterns as quite similar to non-immigrant Dutch, with a few exceptions.

For a Turkish identity, daylong outings including a barbecue are almost iconic (cf. Jay & Schraml, 2009; Peters, 2010). Such outings, in which extended families of Turkish descent gather together in large groups, also appeared to be very important to Turkish immigrants in my study. Social motivations play an important role for these outings. However, these events only take place a couple of times a year. Another aspect of a Turkish identity in relation to outdoor recreation that I found is that it seems to be closely intertwined with a Muslim identity. Religious perceptions of nature echoed in how Turkish respondents experienced greenspace and nature. Moreover, the mosque sometimes organised outdoor recreational activities. Furthermore, not only did the Turkish immigrants in the qualitative study self-categorise as being of Turkish descent, they also reported a few instances in which they felt others excluded them because of their Turkish background. Mentioned exclusionary acts included unpleasant looks and negative remarks. Such experiences could be described as discriminatory.

Chinese ethnicity was not very important to Chinese immigrants in my research, as respondents of Chinese descent perceived their recreational behaviour mainly as being typically Dutch. In the quantitative study, recreational behaviour of Chinese immigrants indeed seemed to be rather similar to that of non-immigrants when taking into account motivations for recreation, diversity of recreational activities and group size. However, this was not the case for participation rate and frequency, which were much lower than that of non-immigrants. This is an interesting discrepancy, which may be explained in various ways. Chinese immigrants may have different views of natives' recreational behaviour than natives have. They may also be eager to describe their behaviour as similar to natives in order to show that they fit in well. Further research is needed to fully explain this discrepancy. Still, being of Chinese descent was perceived as being of some influence, particularly with respect to three distinct types of outdoor recreational behaviour. Activities connected to food, such as picking chestnuts, were popular among participants of Chinese descent. Such activities were usually carried out in small groups with family members and were seen as typically Chinese. Furthermore, some participants practiced Tai Chi in public parks. Lastly, participants of Chinese descent

reported a preference for comfort and hygiene as part of their Chinese background, and subsequently did not like to participate in camping trips.

Non-immigrant Dutch participants barely referred to an identity of 'being Dutch' in the qualitative study. It is likely that they were not so much aware of an ethnic identity at all. For a dominant group, ethnic identity tends to be less visible and less salient as a result of their dominant status, and it is often taken for granted (Doane, 1997). In relation to ethnicity, activities related to food collection form a special case. Nature conservation organisations tend to perceive such activities as typical for immigrants, think for example of the *Smulbos* ('yum-yum forest') initiative launched to attract immigrants. Indeed, food collection and consumption particularly seems to function as a domain in which ethnicity identity can be preserved (e.g. Schösler, 2014), including in my studies. In the qualitative study participants of Turkish descent saw such activities as typically Turkish where participants of Chinese descent saw these as typically Chinese. However, non-immigrants also participated in food collection in greenspace. In the quantitative study, non-immigrants even had the highest participation rate in collecting food. Thus, although collecting food is an activity perceived as strongly related to ethnicity, it is practiced among young adults of all ethnic groups included in my studies, although perhaps in different ways with different foods being collected.

Contextuality and identity hierarchy

In the previous paragraphs I described four identities to be of large influence on recreational behaviour of young adults with Chinese, Turkish and non-immigrant backgrounds in the Netherlands. These identities should not be interpreted as some people having one identity and others having another. People have multiple identities that are expressed in specific contexts. While in some contexts ethnicity may be most influential for outdoor recreational behaviour, in other contexts other identities are more important. For example, a young adult of Turkish descent may go to typical daylong family outings with a barbecue a couple of times a year, while on other occasions this person may hang out in a city park with some friends, both of Turkish and non-Turkish backgrounds; a social activity typical for young adults. In this respect, identity hierarchy and contextuality are aspects of identity theory of importance for outdoor recreational behaviour. Identity hierarchy means that some identities are more central than others, so that people are likely to primarily enact a central identity in the situations they enter into (Howarth, 2002; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Contextuality means that activation of an identity also depends on the context – that is on the perceived 'fit' between the identity category and people's understandings of the situation as well as on ascriptions by others (Howarth, 2002; Stryker & Burke, 2000).

For this dissertation, I did not study precisely how identities are activated or how they interact in specific contexts. Further research into this is therefore recommended.

Still, my research does offer some clues regarding the importance of various identities. Personal identities seem to be central in the identity hierarchy of people who frequently visit greenspace. For the participants in the qualitative study who expressed they had a personal leisure or environmental identity, these personal identities seemed to largely guide their outdoor recreational behaviour. When a collective identity such as being a youngster seemed to be in conflict with their personal identity, participants kept referring, sometimes even more vehemently, to their personal identity. Among people without such a pronounced leisure or environmental identity, being a youngster was a central identity in all ethnic groups. Furthermore, a Turkish identity was important for Turkish immigrants, while a Chinese identity seemed to be of lesser importance to Chinese immigrants.

The central position of personal identities is opposite to what socio-psychological scholars traditionally have argued. They considered personal identity to be at the lowest level of self-identification, and argued that depending on factors in a specific situation, such as social comparison or normative fit, collective identities override a personal identity (see Stets & Burke, 2000). In recent discussions on identity, however, the growing importance of personal identity has been stipulated. It has been argued that contemporary processes of individualisation and globalisation lead people to seek new references for constructing identities (e.g. Bauman, 2007). As a result, it is suggested that the importance of collective identities has waned and personal identities have become more important. The importance of personal environmental and leisure identities as found in my studies can well be interpreted in this context. The central position of personal identities in my studies may also be related to the lesser importance of nature and greenspace in some central collective identities, particularly in the identity of being a youngster. This may offer room for the development of personal identities.

Understanding outdoor recreation in contemporary societies

In previous paragraphs I addressed the first two research questions formulated in Chapter 1, focusing on immigrants' and non-immigrants' recreational use of greenspace and its relation with people's multiple identities. In order to address these questions, I elaborated a theoretical framework based on identity. It should be noted that this framework was meant to gain a better understanding of outdoor recreational behaviour; it was not intended to give a full understanding of people's identity. In my studies, I used this framework to research recreational behaviour of ethnic groups. Below I will argue how leisure studies in general can profit from identity theory.

The added value of identity theory

Various scholars have argued that identity is becoming an important theoretical perspective in social sciences, as identity is considered people's source of meaning and experience (e.g. Castells, 2011; Verkuyten, 2005). A major advantage of identity theory

is that it allows for a more complete portrayal of individuals. It does not reduce people to one specific identity such as their ethnicity, but also takes into account their other important characteristics. Because a theoretical framework based on identity allows for a more complete portrayal of individuals, it can also be used to study recreational behaviour of other societal groups than ethnic groups. Likewise, while I used this framework in a national context, it may very well be used internationally.

Identity is a dynamic concept that stimulates further investigation and disentanglement of the variety and nuances of people's experiences and behaviours. In my study, for instance, the identity of being a youngster was important among young adults with non-immigrant, Chinese and Turkish backgrounds; it would be interesting to study the importance of age in relation to outdoor recreation among a variety of ethnic groups with people of various ages. The dynamics of identity also invite us to study people's experiences and behaviours over time. While I studied identity content as being (temporarily) stable, it may change over time. What it means to be young now, for example, is different from what it meant in the (recent) past, such as in the 1960s or 1980s. Identity content thus may differ between generational cohorts, as well as within a generational cohort over time. Moreover, besides the identity content, the centrality of identities may also change over time. As suggested before, for example, in current societies personal identities may become more important. A theoretical framework based on identity encourages us to take these dynamics into account, thereby opening up opportunities for avoiding the essentialisation of groups.

Furthermore, a framework based on identity stimulates the assessment of people's subjective experiences. It encourages to analyse how people subjectively perceive the importance of ethnicity and other identities for recreational use of greenspace, instead of or alongside correlating behaviour with objectively measured demographic variables. It is these subjective experiences that are meaningful to people. And studying the subjective experiences that are meaningful to people, may have emancipating effects.

Lastly, a focus on identity creates, using Bhabha's (1994) term based on neo-colonial theory of identity, a kind of 'Third Space' that opens up possibilities for policy-making. A Third Space can be described as an ambiguous area that develops when two or more individuals/cultures interact, which challenges the sense of ethnicity or culture as a homogenising, unifying force (Bhabha, 1994). It can be seen as a space of discontinuities that enables setting up new structures of authority and launching new policy and management initiatives, and that enables other positions to emerge (Verkuyten, 2005). From this space, it might be possible to challenge and alter the dominant categorical constructions, and to transcend dualism and binary thinking. Indeed, acknowledging the multiplicity of identities in my studies enabled me to provide recommendations for creative policy and management approaches that were not so much mentioned in previous studies on immigrants' recreational use of nature (see the last paragraph of this chapter). Because identity is a dynamic concept, that takes into account people's subjective experiences, allows for a more nuanced and complete portrayal of individuals, and opens up possibilities for policy making, I think it is of much added value to leisure studies.

Furthering leisure studies

According to Rowe (2015), the field of leisure studies is in a continuous process of re-assessing itself, with a consequent need for retooling and renewal. In his view, the current challenge for leisure studies lies in aligning research to complex societies. This does not mean merely acknowledging complexity, but requires an analytical response that goes beyond the frequently paralysing recognition that the world is, indeed, complex (Rowe, 2015). A careful analytical approach is needed in order 'to grasp and explore the complexities that constantly re-fashion what is regarded as leisure and constructs its meanings, where and when it takes place, who engages in and governs it, and its implications and consequences, not least for questions of power' (Rowe, 2015, p.3).

In answering his call for a 'complexity turn' in leisure studies, identity theory can form one, of multiple, ways forward. Important factors in current complexity are globalisation and individualisation, which come together in multicultural societies. Philosophers such as Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, Charles Taylor and Zygmont Bauman have argued in this respect that in the (post-)modern, globalising world, tradition is giving way, and our sense of self has become less dependent on circumstances of birth and local culture than it used to be. Questions of identity have become both more salient and more urgent than ever before. Leisure forms one – important – context in which identity is formed, maintained and transformed. People can define and express themselves through recreation activities, and they may actively seek recreation experiences in support of preferred identities (Williams, 2002). Identity is thus related to what is regarded as leisure, to where and when it takes place, to who engages in it, as well as to questions of power; and focusing on identity can therefore advance leisure studies.

Identity theory may also advance leisure studies by gaining a better understanding of motivations and constraints, two important concepts in leisure studies. Motivations remain important when studying outdoor recreation from an identity-based theoretical framework. The motivations that people have for outdoor recreation vary for and are dependent on different identities. As motivations form an important element of identity content and as identities are activated in situated processes, identity theory shows how motivations depend on the context. In my studies, motivations seemed to play a more defining role in outdoor recreation than constraints did. Still, constraints do play a role in outdoor recreation, which may also be acknowledged in an identity-based theoretical framework. In this framework, constraints could be considered part of the contexts that play a role in the activation and enactment of identities. A very clear example of an identity-specific constraint is perceived discrimination, by means of which people feel excluded, restricted or favoured based on one specific identity. Constraints may also interfere with specific activities associated with an identity.

As current complexity is interwoven with questions of identity, focusing on people's identities is a logic step in trying to grasp complexity. I particularly want to make a plea for acknowledging both personal and collective identities in leisure studies. Both

types of identities have already gained attention in leisure studies separately. Personal identities have been researched in studies on environmental identity (e.g. Clayton, 2004) and leisure identity (e.g. Williams, 2002) – two identities that played a major role in my study – as well as, for instance, in studies on place identity (Proshansky et al., 1983). The relation between collective identities and leisure and outdoor recreation has been researched as well, particularly in studies on gender and sexual orientation (e.g. Aitchinson, 1998). Studying personal and collective identities in conjunction is a next step towards a more comprehensive understanding of leisure behaviour.

This is not to say that identity theory is a completely worked-out theory that can easily be applied in leisure studies. This is also not to say that identity theory is a 'silver bullet', which can solve the challenge of complexity in leisure studies, as in a complex world all theories can only be a partial and provisional 'solution'. Still, I think that incorporating insights from identity theory can be an important way of addressing complexity in leisure studies.

From outdoor recreation to nature conservation

Now, I would like to turn to less abstract and theoretical issues. One of the motivations for studying participation in outdoor recreation was its possible effect on support for nature conservation. As described in Chapter 1, various authors have assumed a positive relationship between outdoor recreation/'nature recreation' and support for nature conservation (e.g. Balmford et al., 2002; Kareiva, 2008; Pergams & Zaradic, 2006). However, this assumed positive relationship has not been convincingly confirmed by scientific research (see e.g. Bjerke et al., 2006; Thapa, 2010; Theodori et al., 1998). In this paragraph I would like to elaborate on the relation between outdoor recreation and nature conservation among immigrants and non-immigrants as found in my studies. I thereby address the last research question formulated in Chapter 1, focusing on how immigrants and non-immigrants subjectively perceive nature.

Representations of nature

Conservationists describing a positive relation between outdoor recreation/'nature recreation' and support for nature conservation generally do not make a distinction between greenspace and nature. Such a distinction is, however, important, as greenspace and nature connote two different things. Greenspace is a spatial concept, while nature is a subjective concept. What people perceive to be nature strongly differs between individuals, social groups and cultures (see e.g. Buijs, 2009a; Cronon, 1995; Schouten, 2005). In this respect, conservationists describing a positive relation between 'nature recreation' and nature conservation probably do not refer to recreation in greenspace in general, but to recreation in specific green areas that they consider to be nature. I used the concept of 'representations of nature' (Buijs et al., 2011) to

assess how young adults with Turkish, Chinese and non-immigrant backgrounds perceive nature. Representations of nature are suggested to have three dimensions – a cognitive, normative and expressive one – that relate to how people understand, value and experience nature.

Perceptions of nature strongly differed between ethnic groups. Although other identities besides ethnicity were important as well, such as those related to location of residence and age, cultural differences seemed to be persistent. To begin with, on a cognitive level, non-immigrants used the strictest boundaries to qualify green areas as nature. They particularly did not describe non-urban conservation areas in terms of true nature as often as the other groups did. Turkish and especially Chinese immigrants expressed a more inclusive idea of nature. They supported the view that nature should be well-tended, while non-immigrants perceived nature more in terms of unspoilt wilderness. The non-immigrants' understandings of nature match well with a traditional Western view of nature, in which nature is defined in opposition to culture as the domain of spontaneous phenomena and processes; and in which wilderness forms an ideal type of nature (Glacken, 1967; Schama, 1995; Schenk, 1966; Schouten, 2005; Thomas, 1985). Their understandings of nature can also be understood in the context of current debates on nature conservation in the Netherlands, in which the concept of wilderness regained prominence. Chinese immigrants in my studies had the most inclusive idea of nature, as they most frequently perceived even urban green to be 'true nature'. Traditional Confucian/Daoist views, which proceed from a notion of interconnectedness between heaven (as a guiding force), earth (nature) and humans (Maspero, 1971; Tucker & Berthrong, 1989), may have had an echo in the cognitions of Chinese immigrants.

On a normative level, this research showed that there is a potential in all studied groups for support of nature conservation, as there was large consensus on its importance. However, motivations for nature conservation strongly differed between groups. Participants of Turkish descent gave ecocentric and religious reasons for nature conservation most often. Islam played an important role in their representations of nature, as they frequently discussed the value of nature in religious terms. Chinese immigrants stood out as having the most anthropocentric reasons for nature conservation. Their strongly utilitarian view is difficult to explain considering traditional views based on the ideal of harmony between heaven, earth and humans, but could be related to a prioritisation of work and earning money over other values among (first-generation) Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands (Gijsberts et al., 2011; Linder et al., 2011). Their view might also be explained by the strongly anthropocentric ideas introduced during the Maoist revolution (Shapiro, 2001). Non-immigrants were divided in their choice for ecocentric or anthropocentric reasons for nature conservation. This matches with what has been described as the recent gradual shift from traditional utilitarian views towards more ecocentric approaches based on an intrinsic value of nature in Western societies (Hedlund-De Witt, 2011; Hedlund-De Witt et al., 2014;

Van den Born, 2007). On an expressive level, the young adults in all ethnic groups generally had a rather neutral emotional connection to nature, with the exception of a few individuals with a strongly positive connection to nature. Perceptions of nature thus differed between ethnic groups on various levels, which may mean that similar recreational behaviour may not lead to similar support for and involvement in nature conservation.

Outdoor recreation and active involvement in nature conservation

In my studies I did not directly look into the relation between outdoor recreation and support for and involvement in nature conservation. In the quantitative study, however, I did include active involvement in nature conservation, namely by measuring the number of memberships of nature conservation organisations and the number of respondents volunteering in nature conservation. Being a member of nature conservation organisations and volunteering are common ways to actively be involved in nature conservation in the Netherlands.

On average, only 7.5% of the respondents reported to be a member of one or more nature conservation organisations. There were large differences between the studied groups: while less than 1% of the Turkish respondents reported to be a member of a nature conservation organisation, 14% of the non-immigrants did. Chinese immigrants had an in-between position, with 7% of the respondents being a member. Furthermore, just 4% of the non-immigrant respondents and 2% of the respondents of Chinese descent had worked as a volunteer in nature conservation in the previous twelve months, while none of the respondents of Turkish descent had done so. Based on both memberships and volunteering, active involvement in nature conservation does not seem to be high among young adults in general. It appeared to be highest among young adults with a non-immigrant background and lowest among young adults of Turkish descent. Particularly the low active involvement in nature conservation among Turkish immigrants may seem strange when taking into account their relatively high participation rate in outdoor recreation, in urban but also in non-urban green areas. Moreover, respondents of Turkish descent also strongly favoured conserving nature. This may indicate that there is at most a weak relationship between outdoor recreation and involvement in nature conservation, and maybe as well between passive support for and active involvement in nature conservation. Indeed, while there were some statistically significant relations between memberships/volunteering and participation rate/frequency in recreation in non-urban greenspace, they had a small effect size[5].

[5] Respondents who participated in non-urban recreation were slightly more often members of nature conservation organisations ($F(df)=14.42(1)$***, $E^2=0.01$). Over 4% of the participants in non-urban recreation had worked as a volunteer while less than 1% of the non-participants had done so ($\chi^2=24.16$***; Cramer's V=0.15). Non-urban recreation frequency was minimally correlated with the number of memberships (Pearsons r=0.10*) and volunteering (Pearsons r=0.12*).

It should be noted that I only assessed relationships between involvement in nature conservation and recreation in non-urban greenspace, as recreation in non-urban greenspace probably comes closer to the 'nature recreation' conservationists refer to than recreation in urban greenspace.

The weak relationship between outdoor recreation and active involvement in nature conservation for these young adults may be partly explained by the type of activities people participate in and the motivations they have to do so. Turkish immigrants, for example, more frequently participated in outdoor recreational activities in which greenspace is more of a décor for social gatherings. If greenspace forms just a décor, outdoor recreation may not stimulate support for and involvement in nature conservation. The weak relationship between outdoor recreation and active involvement in nature conservation may also be explained by people's perceptions of nature. Current conservation efforts focusing on wilderness may not really resonate with Turkish and Chinese immigrants' more inclusive view of nature. Furthermore, both Chinese and Turkish immigrants appeared to see nature conservation mainly as a responsibility for the government. Lastly, the weak relationship may also be explained by differences in acculturation patterns and preferences for other types of active involvement. Memberships and volunteering may not be the most common ways in which particularly young adult immigrants, but maybe also young adults in general, are or want to be involved in nature conservation. According to Agyeman (2001), immigrants may engage in nature conservation through other channels, such as local initiatives and community, cultural, religious and social groups whose typical focus is not (only) on nature conservation. This may particularly be the case for Turkish immigrants. Second-generation Chinese immigrants have been described as having more contacts with non-immigrants in their social life (Gijsberts et al., 2011). Related to that, immigrants, and particularly Turkish immigrants, may also be less aware of nature conservation organisations. Results of the quantitative study did indeed indicate such a difference. When asked which nature organisations they knew, almost half of the respondents of Turkish descent could not spontaneously mention any nature conservation organisation at all, while this was the case for about one fifth of the respondents of Chinese descent and one tenth of the non-immigrant respondents.

Reflections on my research

Limitations

All studies naturally have their limitations. In retrospect, I think that in my studies the quantitative method was not as fruitful in accessing some of the phenomena that I was interested in as I had hoped, especially with regards to multiple identities and the specific contexts in which they are activated and enacted. By its nature,

a quantitative method only allows for a limited number of issues to be assessed, as questionnaires can only have a limited length. This conflicts with the multiplicity and contextually of identities. When designing the questionnaire, I experienced a trade-off between including questions on outdoor recreational behaviour and on identities. I had to choose between designing the questionnaire in a way that either yielded a lot of general information on outdoor recreational behaviour, thereby only superficially touching upon identities and contexts, or that gained in-depth information on a few identities and contexts with losing general information on outdoor recreation. As my main research interest was outdoor recreation, the design of the questionnaire tended towards the first option. I think that qualitative studies, such as the group interviews I conducted, are therefore needed (as well) when using an identity-based framework to study outdoor recreational behaviour.

Furthermore, by discussing multiple identities separately, intersections between identities were given less attention in my studies. For example, do Chinese immigrants have a different view of what it means to 'be Dutch' than non-immigrants? Or do perceptions of 'being a youngster' differ between ethnic groups? Although I did describe some intersections between identities, more attention for this phenomenon could be insightful. This requires more qualitative, in-depth research sensitive to how identities are performed in interactions. Both limitations discussed above underline the point made by Floyd et al. (2008) that qualitative methods in studies on leisure behaviour of immigrant groups will yield benefits such as enhancement of theory and development of knowledge about leisure behaviour from an "insiders" perspective.

Another limitation of my studies with regards to assessing recreational behaviour, is that there may be a discrepancy between reported and actual behaviour. Self-reports of behaviour may and probably will differ from actual behaviour. They may, for example, be compromised because some behaviours are difficult to recall (Schwarz, 1999). In addition, respondents might under- or over-report some behaviours because they believe these are socially (un)desirable; although in the context of my studies, which did not so much concern socially sensitive issues, I do not expect this had a large influence. A difference between reported and actual behaviour becomes particularly problematic when analysing the impact of recreational behaviour on the ecology of green areas. For such purposes, additional measurements should be made, for example based on observations.

Future research

Although a PhD study of over five years (part-time) work sounds rather long, I (naturally) did not have time to study all aspects of immigrants' outdoor recreational behaviour and perceptions of nature. I therefore would like to discuss a few promising suggestions for further research. In this dissertation I studied outdoor recreation focusing on how it relates to individuals' multiple identities. As Verkuyten (2005) argued, research on identities can be conducted on the individual level, the interactions

level and the society level. Future research may profit from a focus on the society level, such as regarding the relation between the use of greenspace and institutional policy and management. It would, for instance, be interesting to study whether and how nature conservation organisations are reaching out to specific social groups, or to study the extent to which Western perceptions of nature are mobilised in conservation practices. Such studies could examine whether, as Byrne (2011) showed for the United States, Western normative ideas of nature are reflected in the design and layout of green areas, the facilities they contain, the recreational programs offered and the communication strategies used. The studies by Martin (2004) and Buzinde et al. (2006) on ethnic representations in recreation advertisement are interesting in this respect. The current shift in nature conservation from a governmental level towards civil society, in the Netherlands but also in other European countries (Buijs et al., 2014), is also interesting. Does the 'participation society' diversify conservation practices, or will it enforce Western practices as only a limited number of pre-dominantly high-educated non-immigrants participate in such initiatives?

Besides the society level, also the interactions level should receive more attention in future research. In my empirical studies, the activation and enactment of identities in situated interactions were given less attention. The identities I described in this dissertation were mainly based on self-identification (or: avowed identities). It would therefore be interesting for future research to focus on interactions in outdoor recreational practices, in order to make a clearer assessment of the interplay between avowed and ascribed identities as activated and enacted in specific outdoor recreational contexts. One could study, for example, how foresters or rangers approach visitors from different ethnic backgrounds. Focusing on interactions may show intersections between identities as well.

Further research may also elaborate on aspects of time in recreational behaviour. An interesting approach would be to study how the content of (ethnic) identities in relation to outdoor recreation changes over time, both within and between generational cohorts. The extent to which the importance of (ethnic) identities in outdoor recreation changes over time would also be an interesting research project. This could, for example, be studied by comparing first- and second-generation immigrants or even third- or later generation immigrants. Identification of third generation immigrants is increasingly seen as valuable, as this growing group could give more insight into the pertaining importance of ethnicity on people's behaviour and perceptions (Goedhuys et al., 2010; Stronks et al., 2009).

Furthermore, as my research revealed considerable differences between immigrant groups, research into various other immigrant groups is required to get a more complete view of the variety of immigrants' outdoor recreational behaviours. In this respect, I think it is important to also study recreational behaviour of western immigrants. Just like non-western immigrants, western immigrants may have specific outdoor recreational behaviours or perceptions of nature that can be related to their ethnicity. A recent example is the concern of the Dutch angler association about the fishing habits of Polish immigrants (see Van der Linden, 2007). Unlike the fishing habits of Dutch anglers, who are supposed

to throw their fish back, Polish anglers primarily seemed to fish for consumption purposes. Focusing on western immigrants may show the heterogeneity between ethnic groups once again, which cannot be caught in simple dichotomies like western/non-western or immigrant/non-immigrant. Finally, a study that compares outdoor recreational behaviour of one (or a few) immigrant group(s) in various countries, with researchers cooperating across countries, could enhance international learning processes, and further illuminate commonalities and differences within specific immigrant groups.

Ethnic identity once again

As ethnicity remains such a central theme in my dissertation, I would like to share a few more thoughts on ethnic identification and the use of categories based on ethnicity. The use of categories based on ethnicity has been a struggle for me. As described in Chapter 1, reaching out to immigrants is a delicate issue that may enhance (discriminatory) stereotypes and raise public resistance. Likewise, research using categories based on ethnicity carries the risk of adding to the process of exclusion and essentialising groups. I also experienced this myself when I discussed my research with outsiders. Upon hearing the topic of my research, the majority of lay people commented that they 'already knew the results: immigrants just like to go barbecuing in the park, and pick fruits and nuts'. Such generalisations made me hesitant to use ethnic categories. Whether categories based on ethnic background are needed and how they should be used in academia and policy, has been a topic of discussion among scientists in various fields (e.g. Cho, 2006; Extra & Gorter, 2008). In this discussion, scientific and ethical arguments are closely interwoven.

In the end, I could not avoid categories based on ethnic background in order to describe my results and expose certain issues. Not using such categories would underestimate the importance of ethnicity to individual people. Ethnicity is a factor that matters, as the results of my study (again) show. In the descriptions of my results related to ethnic background, some issues might seem essentialising, such as the 'iconic' daylong outings including a barbecue of Turkish immigrants. I hope I managed to describe such issues as a real practice of importance, as it is subjectively experienced as such. However, these outings do not tell the complete story, as they only take place a few times a year and as young adults of Turkish descent may participate in other outdoor recreational practices as well. Also on an ethical level, I think that categories based on ethnic background are needed in this field, in order to stimulate social justice and evaluate the effects that policy may have on immigrant groups. As Peters (2011) argued, this leads to a paradoxical situation in which scientists attempting to contribute to equal opportunities have to find a balance between the need for categories based on ethnicity and the need to treat these categories with strong reservations because of their essentialising qualities. I think that this balancing act can only be successful when scientists acknowledge the importance of ethnicity, while they simultaneously look at individual experiences and the meaning of multiple, potentially intersecting, identities.

Low participation levels in outdoor recreation: a problem?

In the previous paragraph I argued that categories based on ethnic background are needed in order to evaluate and stimulate social justice. Social justice is related to fairness in the distribution of goods (Allison, 2000). Greenspace can be considered a societal good like education and fair housing opportunities, which ought to be distributed equitably (Floyd & Johnson, 2002). Particularly so as the maintenance of a large share of greenspace is paid for by public money. Low participation levels among immigrant groups in outdoor recreation may be a sign of social injustice, although people may also choose not to use greenspace. As most immigrants live in large cities, social justice with regards to the distribution of greenspace is especially important in urban regions. However, social justice is more than only a distributive question since it also relates to the inclusion of social groups in policy and management processes (Floyd & Johnson, 2002; Young, 1990). Low participation rates are therefore a sign for societal institutions, including nature conservation organisations, to reflect whether they (sufficiently) involve immigrant groups in their policy and management processes (Allison, 2000). In relation to social justice, health and well-being form an important argument for why low participation levels in outdoor recreation may be problematic. Research suggests that outdoor recreation has positive physical and mental health effects (e.g. Bowler et al., 2010; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989; Lee et al., 2012; Thompson Coon et al., 2011). This is particularly important since studies have shown that some groups of immigrants, such as Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, are more susceptible to obesity and various illnesses related to physical inactivity, such as diabetes (e.g. De Wilde et al., 2009; Fredriks et al., 2005; Uitewaal et al., 2004).

Whether low participation levels in outdoor recreation are problematic from a nature conservationist point of view is debatable. As I discussed and as has been shown in various other studies (e.g. Bjerke et al., 2006; Thapa, 2010; Theodori et al., 1998), the relation between outdoor recreation and support for and involvement in nature conservation is weak at most. My studies show that participation in outdoor recreation is not directly related to volunteering or memberships of nature conservation organisations, which may indicate that an increase in participation may not lead to more volunteers and more members of nature conservation organisations. Moreover, increased participation in recreation may also negatively impact upon ecological processes and biodiversity. Still, I think that an increase in outdoor recreation may help to stimulate support for nature conservation and some forms of active involvement in nature conservation. However, this is probably only valid for specific recreational activities, for activities in which nature is foregrounded, or for recreation in specific green areas.

Recommendations for policy and management

This dissertation started out from observations by nature conservation organisations that immigrants make less use of nature conservation areas, and from the difficulties that these organisations face trying to involve immigrants. Coming back to that, I will now address implications of my studies for nature conservation policy and management. Recommendations given below also partly apply to greenspace planners and landscape architects.

Reflect on the motivations to reach out to immigrant groups
Involvement of ethnic groups in recreation in greenspace is at least as important from a well-being and social justice perspective as from a conservation perspective. However, each of these motivations to reach out to immigrants may ask for a different approach. Raising awareness for nature conservation (organisations) could involve a different design and layout of green areas, different facilities and recreational programmes, and other communication strategies than the stimulation of health and well-being would. An increase in recreational participation, for example, will probably not have a one-to-one effect on public support for and involvement in nature conservation (organisations). It is therefore important to reflect on the motivations to reach out to immigrant groups.

Recognise diversity between immigrant groups
Strategies should be adapted to specific ethnic groups and should not target immigrants as one homogeneous group. Differences between, as well as within, ethnic groups in outdoor recreational behaviour and perceptions of nature are substantial. Motivations for recreation, preferences for specific activities and participation in outdoor recreation are related to people's ethnic background, but much less so to immigrant status. Moreover, immigrants themselves perceive their ethnic background to be of influence on their outdoor recreational behaviour along with other identities, but they do not think their immigrant status is very influential. Immigrants thus are not a homogeneous group, but a diverse one, and should be approached as such.

Look beyond ethnicity (but don't forget it)
No one is an immigrant and an immigrant only. Outdoor recreation is connected with people's lives and with people's multiple identities. These multiple identities offer opportunities for creative approaches to increase involvement. Acknowledging a 'Third Space' – where cultures meet and other identities become important as well – opens up possibilities for policy and management. For example, in my studies among young adults from Turkish, Chinese and non-immigrant backgrounds, outdoor recreation appeared to be closely related to their identity of being a youngster. Reaching out to young adults could therefore also attract young adult immigrants.

Acknowledge the multiplicity and contextuality of recreational behaviour
People do not behave the same way in all recreational contexts. As outdoor recreation is related to multiple identities, one identity can be important in some contexts while another identity is important in other contexts. Particularly people with a strong personal leisure or environmental identity recreate in greenspace often. Such people can be found in all ethnic groups. As they are very enthusiastic about outdoor recreation and/or nature, they may act as 'gatekeepers' for larger networks of friends and family.

Question Dutch/Western views on recreation and nature (conservation) as being 'the standard'
Terms such as 'under-participation in nature-recreation' imply that a Dutch/Western way of behaving and Dutch/Western views of nature should be the [best] standard, which may be questioned. Of course, we may not want to question certain views and practices regarding recreation and nature (conservation) – particularly views on conservation, such as those regarding the importance of biodiversity or ecological processes. Still, it is important to focus on and be sensitive to the inclusion of various ethnic and cultural views and practices. For example, possibilities for water sports, a typically Dutch activity, are often provided in Dutch natural areas, while collecting products such as nuts and fruits, an activity practiced throughout all studied ethnic groups, is generally forbidden, even though both activities may have harmful ecological effects. In this respect, an evaluation of the extent to which effects of current management are fairly distributed is in order as well, alongside the development of new management options that appeal to various ethnic groups.

… all of this for even more *colourful green*.

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Summary

In various Western countries, such as in the Netherlands, both scholars and nature conservation organisations have described immigrants as under-participating in outdoor recreation. Because of the presumed positive effects of outdoor recreation on support for nature conservation, health and wellbeing, and social integration, low participation levels of immigrants have been perceived as a problem. However, few baseline data exist on immigrants' actual participation levels, and we are lacking in differentiated knowledge on recreational behaviour reflecting a diversity of immigrant perspectives. As the number of immigrants in most Northwest European countries is growing, including in the Netherlands, it is important to gain a better understanding of their outdoor recreational behaviour.

In this dissertation I researched immigrants' and non-immigrants' recreational use of greenspace and their perceptions of nature. I did so by means of a qualitative empirical study and a quantitative empirical study among young adults from three different ethnic backgrounds in the Netherlands. For these studies I developed a theoretical framework based on the concept of identity, which argues that outdoor recreation is connected with people's lives and with people's multiple identities. As a framework based on identity incorporates multiple identities and does not reduce people to their ethnicity, it helps in looking beyond simple and 'flat' descriptions of behaviour of immigrants versus non-immigrants, without ruling out ethnicity. The empirical studies were conducted among young adults of Turkish, Chinese and non-immigrant descent in the Netherlands. Turkish immigrants currently form the largest group of non-western immigrants in the Netherlands. Statistics Netherlands predicts that Asians will become the largest group of non-western immigrants in the Netherlands within a few decades, and the largest group of Asian immigrants is of Chinese descent. The empirical studies only included second-generation immigrants and '1.5-generation' immigrants who spent most of their youth in the Netherlands.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of existing Northwest European research on immigrants' perceptions and recreational use of greenspace. This overview shows that research in this field, although growing, is still limited and fragmented. Three overarching themes can be distinguished in current studies: recreational use of greenspace, perceptions of greenspace and societal aspects of migration and greenspace. Various approaches exist within these themes, of which some were given far more attention than others. Within the theme 'recreational use of greenspace', studies have been done on recreational behaviour, on social inclusion and on access to greenspace. Studies on 'perceptions of greenspace' mainly focus on images of nature and landscape preferences and on embodied experiences of greenspace. Under the theme 'societal aspects of migration and greenspace', three rather distinct approaches can be grouped, namely national identity and rural racism, interculturalisation of nature organisations and social integration. Strong differences exist between countries in the number of

studies carried out and the approaches used. By discussing three example countries – the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Germany – I show that differences in national research traditions reflect how immigrants are approached and typified in respective societies. Several knowledge gaps in current literature arise from this literature review. Firstly, a proper and careful reflection of the diversity of immigrant perspectives is lacking. Furthermore, links between outdoor recreation and perceptions of greenspace have not been properly researched, and explanatory factors are only superficially touched upon. Borders seem difficult to cross: learning processes and cooperation of scholars across approaches and countries are scarce. Lastly, current research often lacks an explicit theoretical framework.

I present the theoretical framework of this dissertation in *Chapter 3*. This theoretical framework has mainly been set up to understand and explain recreational behaviour in greenspace, but also takes less tangible issues into account, such as perceptions of nature. It is largely based on insights from ethnicity studies as well as from sociology and social psychology regarding the concept of identity. Central to identity theory is that people have multiple identities (for example gender identity, ethnic identity), which have subjective meanings, as they influence people's subjective experiences and behaviour. In different situations, different identities may influence behaviour. My focus on identity concurs with a general development in social science thinking, where identity has become one of the main concepts. I distinguished three sensitising concepts, together forming an identity-based theoretical framework, in order to make identity theory applicable to study recreational behaviour: identity content, identity dimensions and identity processes. Identity content in the context of outdoor recreation is formed by associated behaviours, preferences, motivations and shared meanings. The multiple identities that people have can be categorised in two dimensions: personal and collective identities. Identity processes relate to how one identity or a cluster of identities becomes an 'activated identity'. The activation of an identity depends on the context – that is on ascriptions by others and on the perceived 'fit' between the identity category and the way people understand the situation they are in – and on the centrality of the identity. This framework forms the basis for the next empirical chapters.

In *Chapter 4* I present a qualitative study in which I focus on the multiple identities that are of influence on outdoor recreational behaviour and their subjective meanings. This chapter is based on nine group interviews with 42 young adults. Results show that personal identities alongside collective identities (particularly being a youngster and ethnic background) were perceived as important for outdoor recreation. These identities should not be interpreted as some people having one identity and others having another. People have multiple identities that are expressed in specific contexts. Frequent participants in outdoor recreation, which were present in small numbers in all ethnic groups, related their behaviour to personal identities, namely an environmental or a leisure identity. Being a 'nature lover' or 'sailor', for example, largely guided their outdoor recreational behaviour. In all ethnic groups, people without such a distinct

personal drive to go out into greenspace expressed that being a youngster was of great influence on their outdoor recreational behaviour. Descriptions of being a youngster in relation to outdoor recreation were quite similar throughout all groups. Most commonly, participants related being a youngster to a low frequency of outdoor recreation. Going outdoors to experience nature was not something youngsters would easily do. They did, however, participate in outdoor sports activities like running and social activities like hanging out in the park with their friends.

Ethnic identities also played an important role in outdoor recreation. These seemed to have a stronger effect on the recreational behaviour of Turkish than on that of Chinese immigrants. For a Turkish identity, daylong outings including a barbecue in which extended families of Turkish descent gather together, appeared to be important to the participants of Turkish descent in my study. However, these outings took place only a few times a year. Another aspect of a Turkish identity in relation to outdoor recreation that I found, is that it seems to be closely intertwined with a Muslim identity. Furthermore, besides being subjectively claimed, a Turkish identity is collectively ascribed as well, as participants of Turkish descent discussed a few occasions in which they felt others excluded them because of their Turkish background. Chinese immigrants in my research perceived their recreational behaviour mainly as being typically Dutch. Still, they felt that being of Chinese descent had some influence, particularly with respect to activities connected to food, such as picnicking or picking chestnuts, and practicing Tai Chi. They also found it typically Chinese to have a preference for comfort and a subsequent dislike of camping. This shows that acculturation does not progress at the same rate among ethnic groups; while it also shows that ethnic identity may be sustained among second- and maybe even later generations through certain recreational activities. Non-immigrant Dutch participants barely referred to an identity of 'being Dutch'. For a dominant group, ethnic identity may be less visible and less salient as a result of their dominant status. Interestingly, although participants of Turkish and Chinese descent – and probably the general public in the Netherlands as well – perceive collecting food to be an activity strongly related to ethnicity, it is practiced among young adults of all ethnic groups included in this research, although perhaps in different ways. The multiplicity of people's identities results in more heterogeneity between and within ethnic groups, as well as more homogeneity between immigrants and non-immigrants, than commonly described. This offers various opportunities for increasing inclusion in outdoor recreation. Immigrants with a strong leisure or environmental identity, for example, may act as 'gatekeepers' for larger networks of friends and family. Furthermore, reaching out to young adults could also attract young adult immigrants.

Chapter 5 considers immigrants' and non-immigrants' outdoor recreational behaviour from a quantitative perspective, based on a questionnaire among 1057 young adults which assessed, among others, their outdoor recreational behaviour in the previous three months. Differences between and within ethnic groups in outdoor recreational participation as well as in group size and motivations for recreation were

considerable. In non-urban outdoor recreation, respondents of Chinese descent had lower participation levels than non-immigrants regarding both frequency and rate, while respondents of Turkish descent had a lower participation frequency than non-immigrants but a similar participation rate. Over 40% of the non-immigrants and Turkish immigrants participated in non-urban recreation, while only about 20% of the Chinese immigrants did so. Both respondents of Chinese and Turkish descent who visited non-urban green, on average did so half as often as non-immigrants. Regarding urban greenspace, 70% of the respondents of Turkish descent visited those areas, while this was the case for 56% of the non-immigrants and just 30% of the respondents of Chinese descent. Both respondents of Chinese and Turkish descent who visited urban green, on average did so slightly more often than non-immigrants. Motivations of respondents of Turkish descent were more social in orientation and they mainly participated in group-based activities. Respondents of Chinese descent had similar motivations as non-immigrant respondents, and preferred individual-based activities. Cluster analysis showed that several other factors besides ethnicity influence outdoor recreational behaviour, such as religiousness, location of residence (urban/more rural), educational level and age. Respondents also subjectively perceived various identities to be of influence on their outdoor recreational behaviour. Based on these results, I argue that under-participation is a misleading term to typify outdoor recreational behaviour of immigrants, as it overlooks differences between and within ethnic groups. Moreover, 'under-participation' also has ethical or moral connotations that can be put into question, as it assumes non-immigrants' behaviour is the norm from which the behaviour of immigrants deviates.

Chapter 6 considers how immigrants and non-immigrants perceive nature or, more specifically, how they understand, value and experience nature. I show that perceptions of nature differ between ethnic groups on various dimensions. On a cognitive level, non-immigrants used the strictest boundaries to qualify green areas as nature. Turkish and especially Chinese immigrants expressed a more inclusive idea of what nature consists of. On a normative level, there was large consensus on the importance of nature conservation. However, motivations for nature conservation strongly differed between groups. Turkish immigrants most frequently articulated ecocentric and religious reasons to conserve nature, while Chinese immigrants stood out as expressing anthropocentric reasons to conserve nature most often. On an expressive level, differences between ethnic groups were small, as respondents in all groups generally had a rather neutral emotional connection to nature. Traditional cultural representations of nature as described in literature partly seemed to resonate in immigrants' and non-immigrants' perceptions of nature. Non-immigrants' understandings of nature, for example, match well with a Western view of nature in which nature is defined in opposition to culture as the domain of spontaneous phenomena and processes. Their views possibly also reflect the recent emphasis on wilderness in the public debate on nature conservation in the Netherlands. Chinese immigrants' more inclusive idea of nature may resemble

traditional Daoist/Confucian views of nature, in which nature is not so much defined in opposition to culture, but in which heaven, earth and humans are seen as interconnected. Islam played an important role in representations of nature of Turkish immigrants, as they often discussed the value of nature in religious terms. Traditional cultural representations of nature cannot explain all differences between ethnic groups. Some of these differences can better be attributed to recent cultural developments. For example, results of non-immigrants on the normative level match with what has been described as the recent gradual shift from predominantly utilitarian views towards more ecocentric approaches in Western societies. Besides ethnicity, other factors such as location of residence and age also influenced perceptions of nature. I argue that there is a potential for support for nature conservation in all ethnic groups. However, this may not directly lead to active involvement in nature conservation, as, among others, current Western conservation practices may not really resonate with representations of nature among immigrant groups.

Chapter 7 – the final chapter – starts out with a synthesis of the main results on the recreational behaviour of immigrants and non-immigrants. I argue that when assessing participation levels in outdoor recreation it is important to make distinctions between and within ethnic groups, between urban and non-urban greenspace, between participation rate and frequency, and between different activities. Furthermore, I argue that it is important to consider how outdoor recreation is connected with people's multiple identities. Identity theory can help in overcoming current challenges in leisure and recreation studies, particularly with regards to addressing complexity. From outdoor recreation, this chapter then turns to nature conservation. Based on data on volunteering and memberships of nature conservation organisations, I show that relationships between outdoor recreation and active involvement in nature conservation were not strong in my studies. This final chapter ends with five practical recommendations for policy and management, namely to reflect on the motivations for reaching out to immigrant groups; to recognise diversity between immigrant groups; to look beyond ethnicity (but not to forget it); to acknowledge the multiplicity and contextuality of recreational behaviour; and to question Dutch/Western views on recreation and nature (conservation) as being 'the standard'.

All of this for even more *colourful green*.

Samenvatting

Natuurorganisaties, waaronder Staatsbosbeheer, hebben sterke vermoedens dat allochtone Nederlanders minder in de natuur komen dan autochtone Nederlanders. Ook bij natuurorganisaties in andere westerse landen, zoals in Duitsland en het Verenigd Koninkrijk, leeft het idee dat allochtonen weinig in de natuur komen. Omdat recreatie in de natuur mogelijk het draagvlak voor natuurbeheer vergroot en een positief effect heeft op gezondheid, welzijn en sociale integratie, wordt 'onder-participatie' in recreatie in de natuur als zorgelijk gezien. Er zijn echter weinig harde cijfers over het natuurbezoek van allochtonen. Ook is weinig bekend over verschillen in recreatief gedrag tussen groepen allochtonen van diverse komaf. Daarom is meer inzicht nodig in de recreatie van allochtonen in de natuur, zeker nu er steeds meer allochtonen in Europa zijn. Zo is het aandeel allochtonen in de Nederlandse bevolking gestegen van 17% in 2000 naar 21% in 2014. Het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS) verwacht dat dit zal toenemen naar 28% in 2050.

In dit proefschrift heb ik onderzocht hoe allochtonen en autochtonen in Nederland recreëren in de groene ruimte en hoe ze denken over natuur. Hierbij maak ik een onderscheid tussen 'groene ruimte' en 'natuur'. 'Groene ruimte' heeft, zoals het woord al zegt, een ruimtelijke dimensie en bestaat uit zowel groene gebieden buiten de stad – zoals bossen, heide, duinen, weides, akkers – als binnen de stad, zoals parken. 'Natuur' zie ik als een subjectief begrip: wat iemand als natuur beschouwt verschilt van persoon tot persoon en is deels cultuurgebonden. Iemand kan (een deel van) de groene ruimte tot natuur rekenen, maar ook niet-ruimtelijke aspecten als ecologische processen of natuurkrachten. Om het recreatief gedrag in de groene ruimte en het begrip en de waardering van natuur van allochtonen en autochtonen te onderzoeken, heb ik groepsinterviews gehouden en een enquête uitgevoerd die geïnspireerd zijn op een theoretisch kader waarin het begrip 'identiteit' centraal staat. Ik ga er daarbij vanuit dat de manier waarop iemand recreëert, verbonden is met hoe deze persoon zichzelf ziet en hoe anderen hem of haar benaderen. Iedereen heeft verschillende identiteiten, zoals 'jongere', 'vrouw', 'van Turkse afkomst', 'natuurliefhebber'. Deze identiteiten hebben een verband met wat iemand doet in de groene ruimte en hoe hij of zij denkt over natuur. Door naar meerdere identiteiten te kijken, worden mensen niet 'gereduceerd' tot hun etnische achtergrond. Dit helpt om verder te kijken dan simpele en eendimensionale verschillen tussen allochtonen en autochtonen, zonder daarbij het belang van etniciteit uit het oog te verliezen.

Aan zowel de groepsinterviews als de enquête hebben Nederlandse jongvolwassenen (18-35 jaar) van Turkse, Chinese en autochtone afkomst meegedaan. Het recreatief gedrag van jongvolwassenen is relatief onderbelicht, terwijl zij potentieel zowel de huidige als toekomstige bezoekers van de groene ruimte vormen. Turkse allochtonen vormen momenteel de grootste groep niet-westerse allochtonen in Nederland. Aziaten zijn volgens het CBS een sterk groeiende groep, die waarschijnlijk over een aantal

decennia de Turkse groep in grootte voorbij zal gaan. Momenteel is de grootste groep Aziatische allochtonen van Chinese afkomst. Alle jongvolwassenen van Turkse en Chinese komaf in mijn onderzoek waren 'anderhalf' of tweede generatie allochtonen, wat betekent dat ze (een deel van) hun jeugd in Nederland hebben doorgebracht.

Voordat ik begon met de groepsinterviews en de enquête, heb ik een uitgebreid literatuuronderzoek gedaan naar allochtonen en de groene ruimte. Daarin heb ik de in Noordwest-Europa gepubliceerde studies over dit onderwerp bij elkaar gebracht. *Chapter 2* geeft een overzicht en thematisering van de gevonden studies. Het laat zien dat onderzoek in dit veld groeiende is, maar nog steeds beperkt en versnipperd. De gevonden studies richten zich veelal op drie thema's: 1) recreatie in de groene ruimte, 2) percepties van de groene ruimte en 3) sociale aspecten van migratie en de groene ruimte. Binnen deze thema's onderscheid ik verschillende onderwerpen. Naar sommige onderwerpen is veel onderzoek gedaan, terwijl aan andere onderwerpen maar een enkele studie is gewijd. Binnen het thema 'recreatie in de groene ruimte' vallen drie onderwerpen: 'recreatief gedrag', 'belemmeringen voor recreatie' en 'toegankelijkheid van de groene ruimte'. Onderzoeken binnen het thema 'percepties van de groene ruimte' richten zich op de onderwerpen 'natuurbeelden en landschapsvoorkeuren' en 'de lichamelijke beleving van de groene ruimte'. Het thema 'sociale aspecten van migratie en groene ruimte' omvat de onderwerpen 'nationale identiteit en discriminatie', 'interculturalisatie van natuurorganisaties' en 'sociale integratie'. De mate waarin onderzoek is gedaan naar deze onderwerpen verschilt sterk tussen Europese landen. Ook wordt in verschillende landen op andere onderwerpen de nadruk gelegd. In dit hoofdstuk ga ik dieper in op de onderzoekstradities in Nederland, het Verenigd Koninkrijk en Duitsland en laat ik zien dat deze verbonden zijn met het sociale en politieke klimaat met betrekking tot allochtonen in de desbetreffende landen. Uit mijn literatuurstudie blijkt dat er diverse lacunes zijn in het onderzoek naar allochtonen en de groene ruimte. Ten eerste ontbreekt een duidelijk overzicht van de diversiteit tussen allochtonen. Verder is er weinig aandacht voor verklarende factoren voor gedrag en percepties, evenals voor relaties tussen beide. Onderzoek is vaak nationaal gericht en samenwerking tussen wetenschappers uit verschillende landen blijkt schaars. Ten slotte ontbeert veel van het bestaande onderzoek een duidelijk theoretisch kader.

Ik presenteer mijn theoretisch kader in *Chapter 3.* Dit theoretisch kader is vooral bedoeld om te verklaren hoe mensen recreëren in de groene ruimte. Het is geïnspireerd op inzichten opgedaan in etniciteitsstudies en in de sociologie en sociale psychologie. In deze vakgebieden wordt het begrip identiteit steeds belangrijker om gedrag te kunnen verklaren. Hoewel het brede begrip identiteit op verschillende manieren kan worden opgevat, zijn de meeste wetenschappers het erover eens dat iedereen meerdere identiteiten heeft en dat identiteiten beïnvloeden hoe je denkt, doet en je voelt. Hoe belangrijk een bepaalde identiteit is voor je denken en doen kan per situatie verschillen. Ik gebruik drie kernbegrippen om identiteitstheorieën toe te passen op recreatie: identiteitsinhoud, identiteitsdimensies en identiteitsprocessen. Identiteitsinhoud

omvat de associaties, voorkeuren, gedeelde meningen en motieven die mensen koppelen aan een bepaalde identiteit. Het begrip identiteitsdimensies benadrukt dat je meerdere identiteiten hebt, die kunnen worden opgedeeld in persoonlijke identiteiten en collectieve identiteiten. Persoonlijke identiteiten zijn grotendeels gebaseerd op persoonlijke keuzes; hiermee kun je je onderscheiden van anderen. Denk bijvoorbeeld aan iemand die zich natuurliefhebber of pianist noemt. Collectieve identiteiten zijn vooral gebaseerd op overeenkomsten tussen groepen mensen, zoals geslacht of etnische afkomst. Identiteitsprocessen, ten slotte, betreffen de processen die zorgen dat een bepaalde identiteit sturend wordt in een situatie. Het belang dat je hecht aan een bepaalde identiteit speelt hierin een rol, evenals de situatie zelf – vooral de mate waarin je vindt dat een bepaalde identiteit passend is in die situatie en de manier waarop je benaderd wordt door anderen. Deze drie kernbegrippen, die samen mijn theoretisch kader vormen, zijn de basis voor mijn empirische studies.

In *Chapter 4* laat ik zien dat jongvolwassenen van Turkse, Chinese en autochtone afkomst ervaren dat meerdere persoonlijke en collectieve identiteiten verbonden zijn met hun recreatief gedrag in de groene ruimte. Dit hoofdstuk is gebaseerd op negen groepsinterviews met 42 jongvolwassenen. In alle geïnterviewde groepen waren er enkele jongvolwassenen die vaak de groene ruimte in trokken. Deze jongvolwassenen koppelden hun gedrag voornamelijk aan een persoonlijke natuurgerichte of recreatiegerichte identiteit. Zij noemden zichzelf bijvoorbeeld ‘natuurliefhebber’ of ‘zeiler’. Jongvolwassenen die aangaven niet zo vaak de groene ruimte te bezoeken, relateerden hun gedrag meestal aan hun identiteit als jongere. Ze vonden het niet typisch voor jongeren om de groene ruimte frequent te bezoeken of van natuur te genieten. Wanneer ze de groene ruimte wel bezochten, was het vooral voor sportactiviteiten zoals hardlopen of voor sociale activiteiten zoals met vrienden in het park rondhangen.

Naast persoonlijke identiteit en leeftijd vonden de deelnemers aan mijn onderzoek etnische afkomst ook van belang voor recreatief gedrag. Dat gold vooral voor Turkse en in mindere mate voor Chinese allochtonen. De Turkse allochtonen in mijn onderzoek beschouwden urenlange familiebezoeken in de groene ruimte met uitgebreide barbecues als typisch Turks. Over dergelijke bezoeken werd tijdens de interviews uitgebreid en met veel enthousiasme gepraat. Ze gaven echter aan dat dergelijke bezoeken maar een paar keer per jaar plaatsvinden. Verder speelde bij de geïnterviewde Turkse allochtonen hun moslimachtergrond een rol in de beleving en waardering van de groene ruimte en natuur. Daarnaast gaven ze aan dat ze niet alleen zelf hun gedrag soms ‘typisch Turks’ vonden, maar dat ze ook door andere bezoekers werden benaderd als ‘Turks’. Zo voelden zij zich soms gediscrimineerd door andere bezoekers en door boswachters. Chinese allochtonen in mijn onderzoek beschreven hun recreatief gedrag als typisch Nederlands. Hun Chinese achtergrond vonden ze wel van invloed op een aantal specifieke activiteiten, met name Tai Chi en activiteiten gerelateerd aan voeding zoals picknicken of kastanjes rapen. Ook gaven ze aan dat Chinezen houden van comfort en liever niet gaan kamperen. Autochtonen in mijn onderzoek gaven niet zo zeer aan

dat hun Nederlandse afkomst belangrijk is voor hun recreatief gedrag. Waarschijnlijk speelt daarbij mee dat etnische achtergrond voor een dominante etnische groep minder nadrukkelijk een rol speelt. Interessant detail: voedsel verzamelen in de groene ruimte was een tamelijk populaire activiteit ook bij de autochtone deelnemers aan mijn onderzoek. Dit gaat in tegen het beeld dat voedsel verzamelen typisch iets is voor (specifieke groepen) allochtonen.

Uit de resultaten van de groepsinterviews trek ik diverse conclusies. Ten eerste concludeer ik dat meerdere identiteiten van invloed zijn op het gedrag van allochtonen. Daarmee bedoel ik niet dat voor sommigen de ene identiteit van belang is en voor anderen een andere. Voor dezelfde jongere kan in de ene situatie zijn identiteit als jongere belangrijk zijn, terwijl in een andere situatie zijn afkomst of persoonlijke identiteit als natuurliefhebber leidend is. Denk bijvoorbeeld aan een Turkse allochtoon die soms met de hele familie van Turkse komaf gaat barbecueën en op andere momenten met een groep vrienden van diverse afkomst gaat 'chillen' in het park. Dit leidt niet alleen tot meer diversiteit in recreatief gedrag tussen en binnen etnische groepen, maar ook tot meer overeenkomsten tussen allochtonen en autochtonen dan vaak wordt verondersteld. Hier liggen mogelijkheden voor natuurorganisaties die allochtonen willen bereiken. Allochtonen met een sterke persoonlijke natuur- of recreatie-gerelateerde identiteit kunnen bijvoorbeeld aangesproken worden om hun vrienden en familie te interesseren. En activiteiten gericht op jongeren kunnen ook allochtonen aantrekken. Verder laten deze resultaten zien dat etnische identiteiten kunnen worden geschraagd of versterkt door bepaalde recreatieve activiteiten, zelfs voor tweede en wellicht latere generaties allochtonen. Het laat ook zien dat acculturatie – de aanpassing van culturele groepen aan andere culturen – niet bij alle etnische groepen hetzelfde verloopt.

Er zijn dus aanzienlijke verschillen in recreatief gedrag tussen en binnen etnische groepen. Dit blijkt ook in *Chapter 5* uit de resultaten van een enquête onder 1057 jongvolwassenen – 350 van Turkse afkomst, 350 van Chinese afkomst en 357 autochtonen. Op mijn vraag of ze in de drie maanden voorafgaand aan de enquête de groene ruimte buiten de stad hadden bezocht, antwoordde 40% van de autochtonen en eveneens 40% van de Turkse allochtonen bevestigend. Slechts 20% van de Chinese allochtonen had dit ook gedaan. De respondenten van Turkse en Chinese afkomst die de groene ruimte bezochten, deden dit gemiddeld half zo vaak als de autochtone respondenten. In vergelijking met autochtonen bezochten dus minder Chinese allochtonen buitenstedelijk groen en ze gingen gemiddeld ook nog eens minder vaak, terwijl Turkse allochtonen in gelijke aantallen als autochtonen deze plekken bezochten maar gemiddeld minder vaak. Voor bezoeken aan groene gebieden binnen de stad zijn verschillen tussen etnische groepen nog groter. 70% van de respondenten van Turkse afkomst had deze gebieden bezocht in de voorgaande drie maanden, terwijl dat slechts gold voor 56% van de autochtone respondenten en 30% van de Chinese allochtone respondenten. Chinese en Turkse allochtonen die binnenstedelijk groen hadden bezocht, deden dat gemiddeld iets vaker dan autochtonen.

Als we inzoomen op specifieke activiteiten wordt het nog wat complexer. Meer Turkse allochtonen dan autochtonen blijken te hebben gewandeld in de drie maanden voorafgaand aan de enquête. Ook gingen meer Turkse allochtonen de groene ruimte in om te zitten en praten of mensen te kijken, terwijl gelijke aantallen Turkse allochtonen en autochtonen fietsten, barbecueden en picknickten. Activiteiten als hardlopen, fotograferen, kamperen en voedsel verzamelen werden juist door meer autochtonen dan Turkse allochtonen ondernomen. Bijna alle activiteiten die ik heb onderzocht werden minder verricht door Chinese allochtonen dan door autochtonen. In vergelijking met Turkse allochtonen ondernamen echter meer Chinese allochtonen individuele activiteiten als hardlopen en fotograferen. Verder verschilden de motieven voor recreatie en de groepsgrootte sterk tussen etnische groepen. Turkse allochtonen bezochten het groen relatief vaak om sociale redenen, om samen te komen met familie of vrienden of nieuwe mensen te ontmoeten. Hun bezoeken waren relatief vaak in grote groepen. Chinese allochtonen hadden vergelijkbare motieven als autochtonen, maar bezochten de groene ruimte vaker individueel dan autochtonen deden. Zoals blijkt uit een clusteranalyse waren naast etniciteit ook andere factoren zoals religiositeit, woonplaats, opleidingsniveau en leeftijd gerelateerd aan recreatief gedrag. Respondenten gaven bovendien zelf aan dat ze hun gedrag niet alleen typisch vinden voor mensen met dezelfde afkomst, maar bijvoorbeeld ook voor leeftijdsgenoten. Hieruit concludeer ik dat de aanname dat allochtonen 'onder-participeren' in recreatie in de groene ruimte enigszins misleidend is. Het gaat namelijk voorbij aan de verschillen tussen en binnen etnische groepen. Bovendien impliceert de term 'onder-participatie' dat autochtonen de norm zijn waar allochtonen niet aan voldoen. Je kunt je afvragen of het nodig of wenselijk is dat allochtonen hetzelfde recreatief gedrag vertonen als autochtonen. Helemaal omdat de veronderstelde positieve effecten van recreatie in de groene ruimte twijfelachtig zijn met name betreffende draagvlak voor natuurbeheer, zoals ik betoog in het laatste hoofdstuk.

Van de groene ruimte richt ik mijn blik in *Chapter 6* op natuur. Dit hoofdstuk gaat over natuurbeelden van allochtonen en autochtonen; over wat zij verstaan onder natuur, hoe ze natuur waarderen en hoe ze zich met natuur verbonden voelen. In zowel de groepsinterviews als de enquête bleken autochtonen het begrip natuur het meest scherp af te bakenen. Zij beschouwden zelfs beschermde Nederlandse gebieden buiten de stad zoals heide en bossen nogal eens als niet natuurlijk. Chinese allochtonen hadden het meest brede beeld van natuur. Zo zagen zij ook binnenstedelijk groen relatief vaak als natuur. Over de waardering van natuur was wel grote consensus: 65% van de respondenten vond het (erg) belangrijk om natuur te beschermen. Vooral respondenten van Turkse komaf vonden dit belangrijk. De motieven om natuur te beschermen verschilden dan weer behoorlijk tussen etnische groepen. Ecocentrische redenen om natuur te beschermen, dat wil zeggen vanwege de waarde van natuur zelf of van specifieke planten en dieren, werden het meest genoemd door Turkse allochtonen. Ook gaven zij relatief vaak religieuze motieven om natuur te beschermen.

Antropocentrische redenen, dat wil zeggen vanwege het nut voor de mens of om het voortbestaan van de mens niet in gevaar te brengen, werden het meest genoemd door Chinese allochtonen. Ten slotte was de emotionele band die respondenten met natuur hadden in alle etnische groepen neutraal tot licht positief.

Deze resultaten weerspiegelen een aantal traditionele culturele natuurbeelden. Dat autochtonen het begrip natuur scherp afbakenen, sluit bijvoorbeeld aan bij de westerse traditie om natuur te definiëren als tegengesteld aan cultuur. Het past ook binnen de recente aandacht voor wildernis in het Nederlandse publieke debat. De bredere definitie van natuur van Chinese allochtonen weerspiegelt waarschijnlijk het traditionele Taoïstische/ Confucianistische beeld van natuur. Daarin wordt natuur niet zozeer gezien als tegengesteld aan cultuur, maar worden de hemel, aarde (natuur) en mens beschouwd als een samenhangend geheel. In het natuurbeeld van Turkse allochtonen speelde de islam een aanzienlijk rol; zij gaven nogal eens religieuze motieven voor de bescherming van natuur. Niet alle resultaten kunnen echter verklaard worden door traditionele verschillen tussen de westerse, Turkse (islamitische) en Chinese cultuur. Zo past de antropocentrische houding van Chinese allochtonen niet zo goed binnen de traditionele Chinese cultuur. Deze houding houdt wellicht verband met ideeën die opkwamen tijdens de Maoïstische revolutie of met de sterk op werk en carrière gerichte houding van Chinese immigranten. Verder waren in de westerse culturele traditie antropocentrische of utilitaire denkbeelden juist dominant, terwijl de autochtone respondenten in dit onderzoek nogal eens ecocentrische denkbeelden hadden. Dat onderschrijft, zoals ook in andere studies is beargumenteerd, dat in het westen ecocentrische ideeën in opkomst zijn. Naast etniciteit hadden ook andere factoren als woonplaats en leeftijd relaties met natuurbeelden. Uit deze resultaten kun je concluderen dat er draagvlak is voor natuurbescherming in alle etnische groepen. Dit hoeft echter niet te leiden tot actieve betrokkenheid van allochtonen bij natuurbescherming, onder andere doordat wat in het westen wordt verstaan onder natuur niet altijd overeenkomt met wat allochtonen hieronder verstaan.

Het laatste hoofdstuk van dit boek – *Chapter 7* – geeft een synthese van de belangrijkste resultaten. Ik betoog hierin dat het belangrijk is bij onderzoek en beleid gericht op participatie van allochtonen in recreatie in de groene ruimte een onderscheid te maken tussen etnische groepen, tussen participatieratio en participatiefrequentie en tussen binnenstedelijke en buitenstedelijke groene ruimte. Ook is het van belang om te kijken naar verschillende activiteiten en naar de heterogeniteit binnen etnische groepen. Een manier om dat laatste te doen is door meerdere identiteiten in ogenschouw te nemen evenals de manier waarop deze samenspelen in specifieke situaties. Identiteitstheorieën uit de sociologie en sociale psychologie kunnen naar mijn mening handvatten bieden bij belangrijke uitdagingen in vrijetijd- en recreatiestudies wat betreft complexiteit van gedrag. Vervolgens richt ik me in dit laatste hoofdstuk op natuurbescherming en geef ik hierover nog een aantal nieuwe inzichten uit het kwantitatieve onderzoek. Zo bleek uit de enquête dat slechts 4% van de autochtone

respondenten, 2% van de respondenten van Chinese komaf en geen enkele respondent van Turkse komaf in het voorgaande jaar als natuurvrijwilliger had gewerkt. 14% van de autochtonen was lid van één of meerdere natuurorganisaties, terwijl dit gold voor 7% van de Chinese allochtonen en voor minder dan 1% van de Turkse allochtonen in mijn onderzoek. Dit suggereert dat er geen sterke relatie is, vooral voor Turkse allochtonen, tussen enerzijds deelname aan (buitenstedelijke) recreatie en anderzijds actieve betrokkenheid bij natuurbescherming, gemeten als lidmaatschappen en deelname aan vrijwilligerswerk. Het lijkt mij waarschijnlijk dat dit onder andere verband houdt met de motieven die mensen hebben voor recreatie, hun natuurbeelden, en hun kennis van natuurorganisaties. Zo bleek bijna de helft van de Turkse allochtonen geen enkele natuurorganisatie te kunnen noemen, terwijl dit gold voor ongeveer een vijfde van de Chinese allochtonen en een tiende van de autochtonen. Meer in het algemeen zijn lidmaatschappen en vrijwilligerswerk wellicht niet de meest geëigende manieren voor jongvolwassenen om zich in te zetten voor natuur. Ik eindig dit hoofdstuk met een vijftal aanbevelingen voor natuurorganisaties, beleidsmakers en planners: 1) Reflecteer op de reden(en) waarom je je wilt richten op allochtonen, want elke reden vraagt een andere aanpak, 2) Wees je bewust van de diversiteit tussen etnische groepen en ga niet uit van 'allochtonen' als een homogene groep, 3) Richt je niet alleen op etniciteit, maar vergeet etniciteit ook zeker niet, 4) Wees je bewust van de contextualiteit van recreatief gedrag en 5) Ga kritisch na of de Nederlandse/westerse manier van recreatie en natuurbescherming de beste is en sta open voor andere manieren.

Dit alles voor meer *kleurrijk groen.*

Curriculum Vitae

Marjolein Kloek was born in Enschede, the Netherlands, on 10 March 1983. She grew up in a house bordering fields and farms. She liked to play outside; creating, for example, little houses for the elves between the roots of big trees on her grandparents' woodlands. However, most often you could find her indoors, reading books, playing board games or spending time in the theatre. In 2004 she obtained her Gymnasium degree at Jacobus College in Enschede, after which she took a gap year. In her gap year she worked as a volunteer coaching asylum seekers, presenting at the local radio and teaching swimming classes, and she travelled to various countries.

As she was interested in many topics and issues, Marjolein had difficulties choosing a scientific study. Eventually she decided to study forest and nature conservation at Wageningen University. For her BSc thesis, she researched the phenomenon of LandArt, as she looked into LandArtists' images of nature. After completing her BSc, she enrolled in two MSc programmes: Forest and Nature Conservation; and Leisure, Tourism and Environment. During her Masters she studied six months at University College Cork, Ireland, wrote two theses and conducted an internship. Her first Master thesis focused on images of nature in contemporary Dutch literature. Therefore she compared novels written by native Dutch authors with those written by immigrant Moroccan authors. This thesis was awarded the Wageningen University-KLV Thesis Prize. Her second thesis concerned the (spiritual) experience of the landscape of Museumpark Orientalis, Heilig Landstichting. For her internship, which she conducted at the Social Spatial Analysis Group in Wageningen, she edited five ATLAS Africa Conference Proceedings on tourism in Africa and she organised an international expert meeting. She obtained her BSc and MSc degrees with distinction.

In December 2009 Marjolein started as a PhD candidate at the Nature Conservation and Plant Ecology Group at Wageningen University. In this project she studied the recreational use of greenspace and images of nature of various ethnic groups in the Netherlands, of which the results can be found in this thesis. She also gave lectures in several courses, assisted in field trips and supervised various BSc en MSc thesis students. During her PhD she broadened her horizons by participating in the think tank *Panorama Natuur*. The Young Professionals in this think tank wrote a vision on the future of nature (policy) and developed various projects connecting nature conservation with healthcare, such as the 'Green doctor's office' and the 'Nature prescription'. Furthermore, she became a member of the board of the *Heimans en Thijsse Stichting*. Currently, Marjolein is working as a researcher at *Staatsbosbeheer* (National Forest Service of the Netherlands).

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Socio-Economic and Natural Sciences of the Environment

D I P L O M A

For specialised PhD training

The Netherlands Research School for the
Socio-Economic and Natural Sciences of the Environment
(SENSE) declares that

Marjolein Eva Kloek

born on 10 March 1983 in Enschede, The Netherlands
has successfully fulfilled all requirements of the
Educational Programme of SENSE.

Wageningen, 28 August 2015

the Chairman of the SENSE board

Prof. dr. Huub Rijnaarts

the SENSE Director of Education

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The SENSE Research School declares that **Ms Marjolein Kloek** has successfully fulfilled all requirements of the Educational PhD Programme of SENSE with a work load of 55.6 EC, including the following activities:

SENSE PhD Courses

- Environmental Research in Context (2010)
- Research in Context Activity: Participating in think tank 'Panorama Natuur', and realising vision document (in Dutch): 'A vision of nature by Young Professionals' (2011)

Other PhD Courses

- PhD competence assessment, Wageningen University (2010)
- Acculturatie en identiteit, Tilburg University (2010)
- Interviewing techniques, Wageningen University (2010)
- Cognitive issues in survey response, Wageningen University (2010)
- Supervising MSc thesis students, Wageningen University (2011)
- Biocultural diversity of local peoples and migrants in Europe: Concepts and interdisciplinary methods, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (2011)
- Qualitative data research with Atlas.ti, a hands-on practical, Wageningen University (2012)
- Career orientation, Wageningen University (2014)

Management and Didactic Skills Training

- Teaching in BSc course Scientific Writing (2010-2011)
- Supervising four MSc thesis students and one BSc thesis student (2010-2014)
- Teaching in BSc course Human Geography (2010-2012)
- Teaching in MSc course Restoration Ecology (2011-2013)
- Co-organising workshop 'Social diversity in Urban Forestry', at the 17th International Conference of the European Forum on Urban Forestry (2014)

Oral Presentations

- *Images of nature in contemporary literature*. International Conference on Monitoring and Management of Visitor Flows in Recreational and Protected Areas (MMV 2010), 30 May - 3 June 2010, Wageningen, The Netherlands
- *Colourful recreation in green: Review of research on immigrants, greenspace and society*. International Conference on Monitoring and Management of Visitor Flows in Recreational and Protected Areas (MMV 2012), 21-24 August 2012, Stockholm, Sweden
- *Colourful recreation in green: Identity-in-context as a starting point to study outdoor recreation o immigrants*. IUFRO Conference on 'Forest for People', 22-25 May 2012, Alpbach, Austria
- *Immigrants are not a homogeneous group: Outdoor recreation by Turkish and Chinese immigrants and Dutch non-immigrants*. 17th International Conference of the European Forum on Urban Forestry (EFUF 2014), 3-7 June 2014, Lausanne, Switzerland

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