

Emotional experiences of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands in relation to (urban) green areas

Master thesis



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Summary

This is an explorative study with the main aim to uncover a broad range of emotional experiences of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands in relation to (urban) green areas. Both policy makers and nature organisations are recognising more and more that the views of immigrants have to be taken into account in policy and management related to green areas. The group of people with a Chinese background is growing quickly in the Netherlands, but their relation with green areas had not been studied at all yet. Studying emotions in relation to green areas is also a new approach, and it was chosen because being in green areas often evokes many emotions for people, and people in general deem their emotions very important. The study has a focus on urban green areas, mainly because most people with a Chinese background live in urban areas and it is known that other groups of immigrants spend more time in urban than non-urban green areas.

The position of green areas in Chinese culture was first explored through a small literature research. The concepts of nature/green areas, ethnicity and especially emotions were first explored theoretically as well. Also emotions and aspects of green areas that from previous studies appeared to be relevant in relation to the topic of this study were looked into. In this research, these emotions and aspects of areas were compared with empirics.

Sixteen in-depth interviews were carried out for this study, partly in parks in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, with a wide range of people with a Chinese background. Both the direct emotional effects of visiting (urban) green areas (during an interview) and previous experiences in green areas were studied, and also how these previous experiences have influenced the current (emotional) relations that people with a Chinese background have with (urban) green areas. Furthermore the effects that different (spatial) aspects of green areas had on people's emotional experiences were explored. There was a focus on the emotional experiences that the participants themselves found important. Finally, connections between people's relations with green areas and their connection to China and Chinese culture were studied.

The participants could be divided into three groups: Nature Blind and Nature Loving, which speak for itself, and Nature Wishing: people who had a strong emotional relation with green areas but did not visit green areas often, while they often wished they could. Often experienced emotions in green areas were calmness, happiness, experience of beauty, fear and activity and also spiritual experiences were reported by the participants. The Nature Wishing and Nature Loving participants usually experienced more and stronger emotions in relation to green areas. Interestingly, these interviewees often also had a stronger relation with China and Chinese culture than the Nature Blind participants, and there were some more (demographic) differences between the different groups. The aspects of green areas that had the largest (positive) influence on people's emotional experiences were the presence of water and of (a variety of) trees.

The basis of knowledge that is gathered in this study about this one aspect (emotions) of the relations with green areas of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands can be a starting point for future research into this topic. Eventually this should lead to a better understanding of how people with a Chinese background experience green areas, which is necessary to be able to take their views into account in policymaking related to green areas. The differences between people with different relations with green areas (like the previously mentioned three groups) could be explored further, and more in-depth naturalistic studies and on the other hand studies of larger groups of people could result in interesting additional information. The connection between people's relations with green areas and their ethnicity also deserves more attention. Furthermore, the focus on emotions in relation to green areas proved to be very appropriate and could be used in future studies as well. A few recommendations to policy makers and designers of green areas can also already be made after this study. Almost all of the participants very much enjoyed the presence of water and (different) trees, and this can be taken into account when designing green areas. However, the participants clearly experienced green areas in very different ways and had different preferences concerning green areas. This can only be accommodated for by offering a diversity of green areas. Furthermore, it proved very appropriate to pay attention to emotional effects of green areas, also in the design of these areas.

Samenvatting (Dutch summary)

Dit is een exploratieve studie met als belangrijkste doel het weergeven van de vele verschillende emotionele ervaringen van mensen met een Chinese achtergrond in Nederland in relatie tot (stedelijke) groene gebieden. Zowel beleidsmakers als natuurorganisaties beseffen steeds meer dat er rekening gehouden moet worden met de zienswijzen van immigranten bij de beleidsvorming en het beheer omtrent groene gebieden. De groep mensen met een Chinese achtergrond groeit snel in Nederland, maar hun relatie met groene gebieden is nog nooit onderzocht. Het onderzoeken van emoties in relatie tot groene gebieden is een nieuwe benadering, en deze is gekozen omdat groene gebieden veel emoties teweegbrengen bij mensen, en omdat mensen hun emoties over het algemeen erg belangrijk achten. De studie richtte zich voornamelijk op stedelijke groene gebieden, vooral omdat de meeste mensen met een Chinese achtergrond in stedelijke gebieden wonen en omdat het bekend is dat andere groepen immigranten meer tijd doorbrengen in stedelijke dan in niet-stedelijke groene gebieden.

De positie van groene gebieden in de Chinese cultuur is eerst verkend door middel van een klein literatuuronderzoek. De concepten natuur/groene gebieden, etniciteit en vooral emoties zijn ook eerst theoretisch onderzocht. Verder is er gekeken naar emoties en aspecten van groene gebieden die in eerdere onderzoeken relevant bleken te zijn in relatie tot het onderwerp van deze studie. In dit onderzoek zijn deze emoties en aspecten van groene gebieden vergeleken met de empirie.

Voor deze studie zijn zestien diepte-interviews afgenomen met mensen met een Chinese achtergrond, deels in parken in Amsterdam en Rotterdam. Zowel de directe emotionele effecten van het bezoeken van een (stedelijk) groen gebied (tijdens een interview) als vroegere ervaringen in groene gebieden zijn onderzocht, alsook de invloed van deze vroegere ervaringen op de huidige (emotionele) relaties van mensen met een Chinese achtergrond met (stedelijke) groene gebieden. Verder zijn de effecten onderzocht die verschillende (ruimtelijke) aspecten van groene gebieden hadden op de emotionele ervaringen van mensen. Dit onderzoek richtte zich steeds vooral op de emotionele ervaringen die de deelnemers zelf belangrijk vonden. Tenslotte zijn de verbanden tussen de relaties van de deelnemers met groene gebieden en hun connecties met China en de Chinese cultuur onderzocht.

De deelnemers konden in drie groepen verdeeld worden: *Nature Blind* en *Nature Loving*, die voor zichzelf spreken, en *Nature Wishing*: mensen die een sterke emotionele relatie hadden met groene gebieden maar die deze niet vaak bezochten, terwijl ze dit vaak wel wilden. Emoties die veel ervaren werden in groene gebieden waren rust, geluk, de ervaring van schoonheid, angst en activiteit en ook spirituele ervaringen werden door de deelnemers gemeld. De deelnemers van de groepen *Nature Wishing* en *Nature Loving* ervoeren meestal meer en sterkere emoties in relatie tot groene gebieden. Interessant genoeg hadden deze deelnemers vaak ook een sterkere relatie met China en de Chinese cultuur dan de deelnemers van de groep *Nature Blind*, en er waren nog enkele (demografische) verschillen tussen de verschillende groepen. De aspecten van groene gebieden die de grootste (positieve) invloed hadden op de emotionele ervaringen van mensen waren de aanwezigheid van water en van (een verscheidenheid aan) bomen.

De basis van kennis die in deze studie is verzameld over dit ene aspect (emoties) van de relatie met groene gebieden van mensen met een Chinese achtergrond in Nederland kan een uitgangspunt vormen voor toekomstig onderzoek omtrent dit onderwerp. Uiteindelijk zou dit moeten leiden tot een vergroot inzicht in het ervaren van groene gebieden door mensen met een Chinese achtergrond, wat noodzakelijk is wanneer men bij de beleidsvorming rekening wil houden met hun zienswijzen. De verschillen tussen mensen met verschillende relaties met groene gebieden (zoals de hiervoor genoemde drie groepen) zouden nog verder onderzocht kunnen worden, en meer diepgaande naturalistische studies en aan de andere kant studies van grotere groepen mensen zouden kunnen

leiden tot interessante extra informatie. De connectie tussen de relaties van mensen met groene gebieden en hun etniciteit verdient ook nog meer aandacht. Verder bleek de focus op emoties in relatie tot groene gebieden zeer geschikt, en deze kan zeker ook in vervolgonderzoeken gebruikt worden.

Er kunnen na dit onderzoek ook al enkele aanbevelingen gemaakt worden aan beleidsmakers en ontwerpers van groene gebieden. Bijna alle deelnemers genoten erg van de aanwezigheid van water en (verschillende soorten) bomen in groene gebieden, en hiermee kan rekening gehouden worden bij het ontwerpen van groene gebieden. De deelnemers ervoeren groene gebieden echter duidelijk op zeer verschillende manieren en hadden verschillende voorkeuren betreffende groene gebieden. Hier kan alleen rekening mee gehouden worden door een verscheidenheid aan groene gebieden aan te bieden. Tenslotte is het zeer nuttig gebleken om aandacht te schenken aan emotionele effecten van groene gebieden, ook in het ontwerp van deze gebieden.



Chapter 1: Introduction

Immigrants

The number of immigrants in the Netherlands has been continuously rising for many decades. According to the *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek* (Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011), at the moment, about 20% of the Dutch population consists of first and second generation immigrants: respectively people who were born in another country or people who have at least one parent originating from another country but who were born in the Netherlands themselves. More than half of the Dutch immigrants originate from non-western countries. The number of immigrants in cities is much larger than in the rest of the country. In the larger cities of the country, there are many neighbourhoods where more than 50% of the population has a non-western background (Latten *et al.*, 2005).

People's backgrounds, like their ethnic backgrounds, influence their lives in many ways. There are often many differences between the native people of a country and several groups of immigrants, for example in terms of their income (*Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*, 2011) and the way they spend their leisure time (Jókövi, 2001), and they also often have different values. A study by Phinney *et al.* (2000) on immigrants in the United States of America has for example shown a significant link between people's place of birth and ethnicity and several values that they may have, especially relating to individualism versus collectivism. Hofstede (2001) has also identified differences in values between different cultures relating to for example masculinity versus femininity, long-term versus short-term orientation and uncertainty avoidance.

Immigrants and green areas

Differences between immigrants and native people can also be seen in their relations with green areas. It is for example known that – especially first generation – Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese immigrants in the Netherlands on average spend significantly less of their leisure time in non-urban green areas than native Dutch people (Jókövi, 2001). Also, according to Buijs *et al.* (2009), immigrants with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds often have very different ideas about nature than the native Dutch: they more often believe that nature is only valuable if it serves man, and therefore support intensive management of green areas. They also more often like green areas to be tidy and clean while most native Dutch prefer that nature is as untouched by man as possible.

Recently, the interest in immigrants' experiences and ideas concerning green areas is growing. It has become clear that recreation in (urban) green areas has many benefits, for example for physical and psychological health and for people's social capital (Bedimo-Rung *et al.*, 2005; Maller *et al.*, 2006). Also, several groups are starting to realise that the views of immigrants will and/or should have an increasing role in the management and protection of green areas in the coming decades. Both Dutch nature organisations (Kloek, 2010) and the Dutch government (Elands and Turnhout, 2009) need support for their nature policy and cannot do without the support of immigrants, since they form such a large part of the Dutch society. The government claims that they want to take the different wishes of different groups (including immigrants) into account in the management of green areas (*Ministerie van Landbouw, Natuurbeheer en Visserij*, 2000). They assume that immigrants will be more supportive of their nature policy, if this policy is adapted to the views and wishes of immigrants (Elands and Turnhout, 2009). However, views of immigrants can only be taken into account if they are well understood.

Chinese immigrants

At the moment, the body of knowledge of Dutch immigrants' experiences and views in relation to green areas is still limited and mainly focused on the few currently largest groups of immigrants in the Netherlands, especially people with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds. However, the composition of the Dutch population is changing, and it is expected that in 2050, the majority of the immigrants in the Netherlands will be of Asian descent, mainly Chinese (*Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*, 2008). Most surprisingly, no research has focused on the relation with green areas of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands so far. If the perspective of this group is to be taken into account in Dutch nature policy, the first step is to explore their current relation with green areas. This thesis hopes to partly fill this knowledge gap.

Urban green areas

In this research, the relation that people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands have with green areas and especially urban green areas is explored. It was chosen to mainly focus on urban green areas, as opposed to larger non-urban green areas, for several reasons. Firstly, recreation in urban parks is interesting because it has been shown to somewhat stimulate social integration, which at least the government would like to see increased (Peters *et al.*, 2010). Secondly, most immigrants, also Chinese, live in urban areas (*Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*, 2010). Thirdly, as mentioned before, Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese immigrants hardly visit non-urban green areas (Jókövi, 2001), but they do often visit urban parks (Jókövi, 2001; Peters *et al.*, 2010). This can be due to the immigrants on average having a lower financial status than the native Dutch and therefore being more dependent on public transport, which causes them to generally spend more of their leisure time close to home (Jókövi, 2001), but it can also be caused by cultural differences between native Dutch people and immigrants. The way in which immigrants spend their leisure time in general has been shown to be influenced by culture and habits in the country of origin (Jacobs, 2006).

Emotions

There are numerous aspects of the relation of Chinese immigrants with (urban) green areas and many ways to investigate these aspects. Since very little is known about this topic yet, it was chosen to perform an open explorative research for this thesis. The qualitative data that is gathered here can later be used for other qualitative and quantitative research. This thesis investigates how people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands experience green areas themselves and which aspects matter to them. Closely associated with people's experiences, are emotions. Green areas can evoke many emotions and emotions are in general deemed very important by people (Larsen and Fredrickson, 2003). Studying immigrants' emotions in relation to green areas is also interesting because this is a new way of looking at people's relations with green areas. Previous studies on this topic have often focused more on cognitive or normative ideas and preferences in relation to green areas (Buijs *et al.*, 2009; Kloek, in process of acceptance; Peters *et al.*, 2010). For the above mentioned reasons, it was chosen to focus on people's emotions in this study.

Research questions

Taken all of the above into account, the main research question is stated as follows:
How do people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands experience (urban) green areas emotionally?

And the sub-questions:

1. Which emotional experiences do people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands have in urban green areas? How could these experiences be related to types of behaviour/activities undertaken and to (design) aspects of urban green areas? How important do the people with a Chinese background deem these experiences?
2. Which past emotional experiences did people with a Chinese background have in green areas in China and in the Netherlands? How could these experiences be related to types of behaviour/activities undertaken and to types of green areas? How important do the people with a Chinese background deem these experiences?
3. Is there a possible connection between past emotional experiences in green areas, and the current emotional experiences in urban green areas of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands?

Both emotional responses evoked by visiting an urban park during an interview (sub-question 1), and emotional experiences in green areas in people's past (sub-question 2) were studied, to be able to explore people's experiences 'in real time' but also study (previous) experiences which were not influenced by the interview. Also possible influences of past experiences in green areas on people's current emotional relation with (urban) green areas were studied (sub-question 3). Furthermore, links with people's general connection with (urban) green areas (e.g. frequency of visits) and with different aspects of the green areas (e.g. calmness and presence of water) were studied. This was done by conducting in-depth interviews with people, partly in parks. The field work took place in Rotterdam and Amsterdam, because these are the cities with the most people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands.

The basis of knowledge that has been gathered in this study about emotions of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands in relation to green areas can be a starting point for future research into this topic. Eventually this should lead to a better understanding of how Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands experience green areas, which is necessary to be able to take their views into account in policymaking related to green areas. This thesis can also be seen as an experimental case study of studying emotional experiences in relation to green areas in general. This was a new approach for this topic and it could be evaluated during the process.

Report

In the next chapter, first some background information will be given about the Chinese culture and its relation with green areas, and about Chinese people in the Netherlands. The theoretical framework discusses the concepts of emotion, ethnicity and nature in general and emotions that could from previous studies be expected to play an important role in this thesis are identified and described. Also factors that could influence the (emotional) relations with green areas of people with a Chinese background are discussed here. The theoretical framework is followed by a description of the methods of the study, then the results, split up in chapters 5, 6 and 7, and finally the discussion and conclusions.



Chapter 2: Nature in Chinese culture and Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands

2.1 Introduction

When studying people with a Chinese background, it is important to know some things about their history and culture, since they are naturally influenced by this to some degree and the difference in cultures is assumed to be an important cause of differences in people's relations with green areas. This background information could help to interpret the results of this study. The 'levels' of Chinese ethnicity were assessed for all participants of this study. This will be described in more detail in the methods section of the report. This chapter starts off with some general information about the Chinese history and culture and the influence of several religions and philosophies. The way in which nature is viewed in these religions and philosophies is discussed in paragraph 2.3. Paragraph 2.4 discusses the available information about landscape preferences and recreation in green areas of Chinese people and paragraph 2.5 is about the place of emotions in the Chinese society. The last paragraph is about the history and some characteristics of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands. When possible and relevant, comparisons with the Dutch people and culture were made in the different paragraphs.

2.2 Chinese culture and influences of religions and philosophies

As described by Keightley (1983), several areas within current China have already been inhabited by civilised people for millennia. Gradually over time, these people have formed something which can be called the Chinese culture: a complex of common history, languages, traditions and more. Like many other cultures, the Chinese culture has since long been very much influenced by religion. This influence was weakened during Mao Zedong's 'Cultural Revolution', when, as described by Yang (2006), all forms of religion were first discouraged and later even banned. This happened in the first thirty years after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. However, the religions did not disappear. Many people kept practicing their religions secretly, by thought or sometimes in organised forms. Around 1979, religion became 'tolerated' again. It then quickly took over many aspects of Chinese culture again. Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism (which is by some considered as a religion and by some as a philosophy) all have large numbers of followers in China, but most people practice 'classical' or 'popular' religion. Yang (1961) described the core of this religion as being the worship of heaven, several deities and ancestors. It includes elements of Buddhism and many other religions and philosophies and there are many local differences. Popular religion is often ignored in statistics and scientific research, since it is not centrally organised in a way comparable to the previously mentioned religions.

2.3 Nature in Chinese religions and philosophies

According to Chen and Ma (2002), the foundation of all Chinese schools of thought is harmony, or equilibrium, or absence of conflicts, and this has also always been a very important concept in Chinese culture. People were traditionally taught that man was a part of nature and should live in harmony with nature. Schouten (2005) has written extensively about the relation with nature in Buddhism and Taoism (and also other religions). Buddhism has a lot of attention for the relatedness of all living beings. This religion prescribes avoiding the causing of any suffering and having equal respect for all life forms. This should come automatically from a deep empathy, not from rational considerations. In China, Buddhism and Taoism influenced each other a lot. Both religions focus on all life coming from one source, returning to it when it dies and coming back to 'life' again. In Chinese Buddhism and Taoism, nature is regarded as a great source of inspiration. Landscapes form an

important object of art works, where the painter tries to capture through the landscape the essence of the *tao*, the source and destination of all life. In the influential school of *Chan/Zen*, no distinctions are made between wild and cultivated nature. This matches the thought of all life having the same source and destination. Confucianism has mostly developed a focus on the person in relation to other people and is less focused on nature (Yao, 2000). No literature could be found describing the relation of popular religion with nature. As stated before, popular religion is influenced by many different religions and philosophies.

When Mao Zedong was in control, the influence of religion and so also the importance of religious views about nature decreased. He made economic growth the most important aim of the country, often sacrificing nature for this cause (Shapiro, 2001). The modern Chinese society is less influenced by the views about nature of the dominant religions than before Mao Zedong, but these views are still of influence (Yencken *et al.*, 2000). Having a harmonious relationship with nature is still an important value in the Chinese society nowadays (Fan, 2000). A study by Yan *et al.* (2008-II) actually showed that mainly the older Chinese are still influenced by Mao Zedong's view on nature and that they more often think that man should dominate nature and use it for man's own sake, whereas the younger Chinese people more strongly think that man should live in harmony with nature.

2.4 Relations with green areas of Chinese people

People from different cultures can have different ideas about and preferences for green areas. In China, not a lot of research has been done about this topic. Below, three examples are given of studies about Chinese people's preferences concerning green areas, two of which make comparisons with western people. At the end of this paragraph, the relation with green areas of native Dutch people is discussed briefly as well. No relevant information could be found about the recreation behaviour in green areas of the Chinese people.

Yu (1995) compared the landscape preferences of several groups of Chinese and western (American) people by asking them to rate photos of several types of landscapes, and he actually did not find a very strong correlation between the respondents' cultures and their landscape preferences. The people of different cultures (Chinese/American) only significantly valued landscapes with much symbolism differently. The Americans did not recognise the symbols and valued these landscapes less. There was a much greater difference in the landscape preferences of people with different levels of education and of people from different living environments. The Chinese farmers were the most divergent group, with the lowest preference of landscapes with wild nature, unsuitable for agricultural production. However, the Chinese participants of this study were very varied, but the American participants were all landscape design experts. Therefore they can't have been representative for all western people. It might only be concluded from this study that relatively well to well-educated Chinese people have landscape preferences similar to American design experts.

A study by Jim and Chen (2006) focused on people's relations with urban green areas in the city of Guangzhou in the south of China. After conducting 340 questionnaires, they concluded that the residents of Guangzhou mainly found it important that the parks were beautiful and looked 'natural' and that they provided opportunities for recreation. They were not very aware of benefits of the parks for species and the environment. The authors compared these findings to studies from western countries and concluded that the Chinese respondents were relatively pragmatic and visually oriented and had relatively little knowledge of ecosystem services.

In 2008 a study was carried out by Yan *et al.* among 616 Chinese people about their preferences for green vacation destinations (Yan *et al.*, 2008-I). This study concluded that most people by far preferred to visit green areas that were very quiet and undisturbed and which had

beautiful/spectacular landscapes and many different animal species. An interesting exception to this was formed by the elderly Chinese. They did not care much about the landscape, species and beauty, but they mainly wanted to visit places where there were very many people together. Their disinterest in nature could be related to the findings of the other study by Yan *et al.* which was mentioned in the previous paragraph, which found that older Chinese people are often still influenced by Mao Zedong's vision that man should control nature (Yan *et al.*, 2008-II).

In the Netherlands and also more generally in the western world, much more research has been done about people's relations with green areas. Van den Born (2008) describes how in the 18th century, the general view about nature was that it had to be conquered and cultivated by man, and people wanted to distance themselves from nature as much as possible. These views have however changed dramatically now that the western world has become very much urbanised and there is little wilderness left. Nowadays, people have some different ideas, preferences and experiences of nature. These are sometimes grouped in several 'images of nature', which will be discussed further in paragraph 3.2. After conducting sixteen in-depth interviews with Dutch people, Van den Born (2008) concludes that most Dutch people now think that nature in some way has an intrinsic value and that humans should not only use nature for their own benefit. Most people also see themselves as part of nature. Green areas are generally preferred to be not too much influenced by man.

This seems quite similar to the traditional Chinese way of thinking about nature and the human-nature relationship, which is becoming more common in China again now as well. All three of the summarised Chinese studies also found that the Chinese respondents had a preference for 'natural' looking green areas. Farmers (first study) and elder people (third study) form an exception to this. Furthermore, recreation opportunities are important to many Chinese people. However, from the previously mentioned studies about the Chinese and Dutch relations with green areas, no conclusions can be drawn about general (dis)similarities between relations with green areas of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands and the native Dutch. Complicating factors are that the people with a Chinese background, or their parents or further ancestors, moved from China during different times, and some of them grew up not in China or the Netherlands but in for example a former Dutch colony (see paragraph 2.6). They are also influenced by the Dutch culture in different degrees. Furthermore, hardly any information could be found about recreation behaviour of Chinese people in green areas and this cannot be compared to recreation in green areas of Dutch people.

2.5 Emotions in Chinese culture

Emotions are not given the same attention in all cultures and people even experience different emotions because of cultural differences. The western society is highly individualised and people's uniqueness is often emphasised, while in more collectivist cultures, including the traditional Chinese culture, there is more emphasis on group culture and relationships between people (Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 2002). Individual emotions are given more attention in individualistic cultures than in collectivist cultures, while in collectivist cultures the well-being and harmony of a group and fitting into a group are more important (Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 2002). Wu (1982) also describes that in the traditional Chinese culture, extreme emotions are seen as something negative and as the cause of many diseases. Many Chinese people therefore try to avoid extreme emotions and strive for a balance in their emotions.

These different attitudes in the different types of cultures actually results in people being more or less sensitive to certain emotions. In collectivist cultures, people are more focused on emotions such as pride, happiness, frustration and anger and actually experience these more, whereas people in individualistic cultures report more and stronger feelings of empathy, peacefulness, indebtedness and shame and find these more important (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). These differences have

repeatedly been shown empirically, for example by Matsumoto *et al.* (1988, in Markus and Kitayama, 1991), who showed that American students reported experiencing the more individual emotions much longer and more strongly than Japanese students, and that the American students more often thought that a certain action was necessary when experiencing one of these emotions.

2.6 People with a Chinese background in the Netherlands

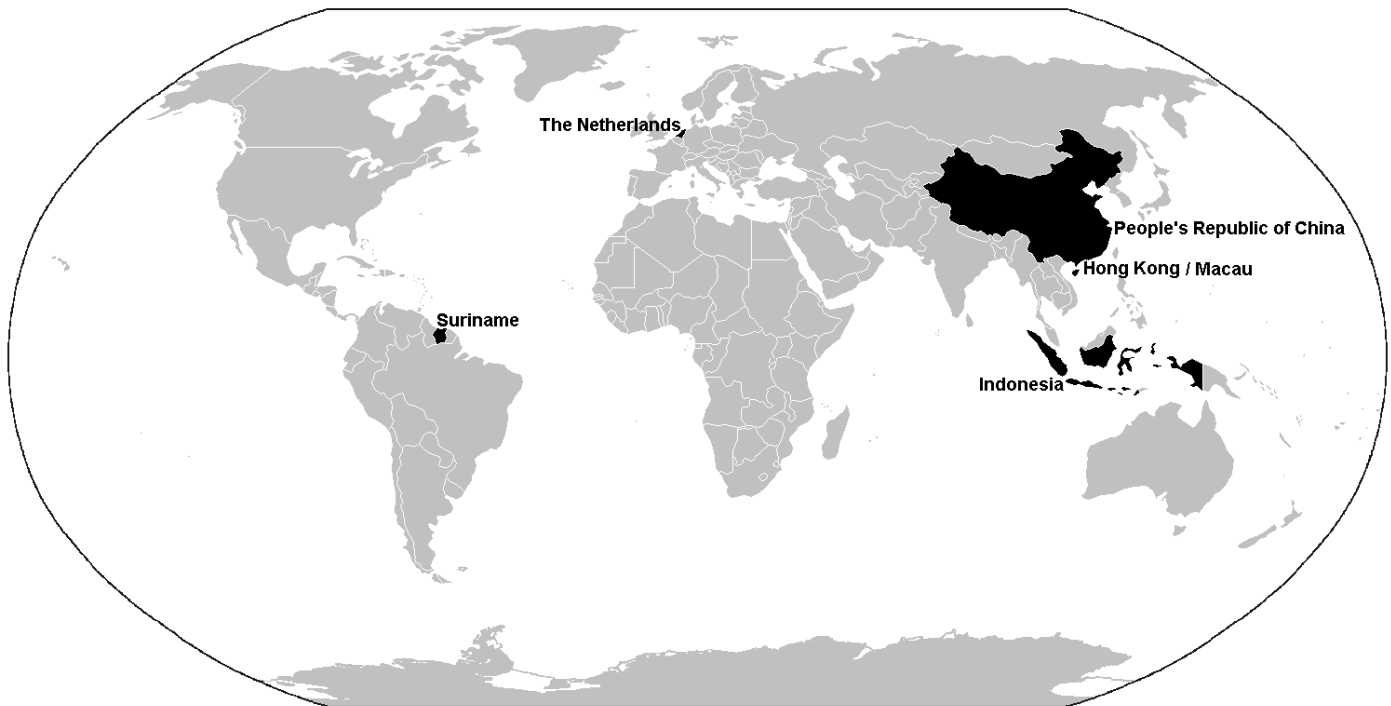
People with a Chinese background in the Netherlands have a long history. Much of this history has been described in the dissertation of Rijkschroeff (1998) and a book by Vogels *et al.* (1999). Unless mentioned otherwise, the following information is derived from these authors. The first Chinese arrived in the country as sailors in the beginning of the twentieth century. After the Second World War, more and more Chinese people settled in the Netherlands, for several reasons. The Chinese community in the Netherlands is quite a heterogeneous group, speaking different languages, having different religions and coming from different countries – people from the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong and Macao are usually considered Chinese, but also many people from Suriname and Indonesia consider themselves Chinese, as their ancestors came from China to these countries in the eighteenth (Indonesia) or nineteenth (Suriname) century to work on plantations owned by the Dutch. The locations of these different countries are shown in figure 1. Immigrants from Hong Kong have often been living here for a relatively long time. Many immigrants from the People's Republic of China are university students or graduates who stayed in the Netherlands after studying here (Ergun and Bik, 2006). There are no reliable exact data available about the amount of people with a Chinese background, because it is believed that many people are residing in the Netherlands illegally and the people from for example Suriname and Indonesia with a Chinese background are usually not taken into account when estimating the number of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands. The Dutch *Inspraakorgaan Chinezen* (Participation Body Chinese) made a rough estimation of 100.000 people in 2010, including the people with Chinese backgrounds from former colonies and other countries.

Even though the people with Chinese backgrounds in the Netherlands have many different backgrounds, there are still some common factors in the Chinese-Dutch community. Rijkschroeff (1998) and Vogels *et al.* (1999) have studied and described this community and their findings are summarised in this paragraph. Generally, people with a Chinese background strongly value spending time with people of the same ethnic background, especially with family members, and they often have strong family ties. Resulting from this, many people with a Chinese background are not very much integrated in the Dutch society. They for example often do not speak the Dutch language well and especially many elder people have hardly any sustainable relations with non-Chinese people. The elder people are often very lowly educated, younger people's education levels vary a lot. Most people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands live in cities, mainly Rotterdam and Amsterdam. Very many work in the Chinese restaurant sector or have other private businesses related to their ethnic background. These are often family businesses and also the minor children often help in their family's shops or restaurants. Rijkschroeff (1998) mentions solidarity, uniformity, hierarchy and a competitive spirit as generally important terms for people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands.

This research is about anyone of Chinese ethnicity in the Netherlands who still identifies with or is still influenced by Chinese culture to any degree. These can be first or second or even later generation immigrants. An "ethnic group" refers to "a subgroup of persons distinguished by common customs, characteristics, language, and history" (Tinsley *et al.*, 2002). The concept of ethnicity will be further elaborated on in paragraph 3.3. Mainly the term 'people with a Chinese background' is used in this proposal. This is different from the usual concepts of immigrants or the Dutch word '*allochtonen*'. It was chosen on purpose to use a broad definition and to interview people with a broad range of levels of Chinese ethnicity, because of the exploratory character of this study.

Figure 1: Map indicating the countries where most people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands originate from (and the Netherlands itself).

This figure is an adaptation of an image from www.commonswikimedia.com.





Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter mainly discusses the concept of emotion. People generally deem their emotions as very important. According to Larsen and Fredrickson (2003), people's emotions determine for a large part how they judge the quality of their lives, and which choices they make. In addition, emotions are also strongly linked to green areas. To get to understand the research subjects well and find out what they find important themselves in relation to green areas, it was therefore chosen to focus on their emotions. (Also see paragraph 4.2 about the ontological/epistemological basis of this study.) As already mentioned in the general introduction of the report, this focus is also interesting because previous studies about people's relations with green areas have not given a lot of attention to emotions yet.

Before discussing the concept of emotion, first two other relevant concepts are discussed in the following two paragraphs: nature and ethnicity. In paragraph 3.4, the different scientific debates about the nature of emotions and ways to investigate emotions are discussed. Emotions that from previous research appear to be strongly linked to green areas are discussed in paragraph 3.5, together with some emotions specifically relevant for people with a foreign background. Finally, some factors which can influence the emotional response to (urban) green areas of Chinese people in the Netherlands are theorised. These factors and the theoretically relevant emotions are summarised in figure 3 at the end of this chapter.

3.2 Nature

This is a study about people's relations with (urban) green areas. It was decided on purpose to use the term 'green areas' as opposed to the term 'nature', for different reasons. There is actually much discussion about the concept of nature. Often a distinction is made between nature and the man-built environment or between nature and culture, but this is seen by some as unnatural and undesirable. Descola and Pálsson (1996) draw attention to the fact that in many cultures, people do not make these distinctions. This dichotomy can be seen as being socially constructed according to cultural and historical determinations. Hartig (1993) even argues that the person-environment relation should be seen as a holistic entity in which the person and her or his environment are inseparable and define each other. In practice, (lay) people also have different ideas about what constitutes as nature and what nature should ideally be like and they also experience nature in different ways. People's ideas, preferences and possibly their emotions in relation to nature can be grouped into several 'images of nature' (Buijs, 2009). Buijs (2009) compared 59 interviews with (Dutch) people about this issue, and describes that some people only see real wilderness areas which are untouched by man as nature, while others consider everything alive as nature, so including green road verges, a plant in a pot and people. Yet others have an opinion somewhere in between. Also, some people mostly appreciate nature's beauty, some think that nature should be functional for man and others think that the intrinsic value of nature is most important. Taking these and some other differences between people into account, Buijs (2009) distinguishes five images of nature of the Dutch lay public. As mentioned in paragraph 2.4, Van den Born (2008) does think that the majority of the Dutch or western people actually have similar ideas about nature.

Because there is so much discussion about the concept of nature and because (also lay) people have different opinions about nature, it was decided to use the broader term '(urban) green areas' instead of (urban) nature. In this way, at least also urban parks would be included but furthermore the participants were free to fill in what they considered to be green or nature and their experiences could

be captured as much as possible through their eyes, without imposing boundaries that they might not agree upon.

3.3 Ethnicity

The participants had different levels of connection with China and Chinese culture, and their 'Chinese ethnicity' had to be explored to be able to look for connections with their relations with green areas. Different aspects of the participants' ethnicity were studied thoroughly. One's ethnicity is not just determined by someone's place of birth, but by many different factors. One way to look at the concept of ethnicity is to divide it into four dimensions, as has similarly been done by Fishman (1980) and Phinney (1990) (both in Verkuyten, 2005): being, feeling, doing and knowing. Being of a certain ethnicity has simply to do with one's place of birth and race, but also to some extent with how important these aspects are to someone. This can be influenced by other people's opinions of someone's ethnicity. Feeling an ethnicity is of course important for this thesis, since this study is focused on feelings. This part of people's ethnicity constitutes of how important they find their ethnicity, how they appreciate it and how strongly they perceive it. Knowing refers to interest in and knowledge about the culture and history of the ethnic group. Doing, finally, has to do with participating in ethnic-specific activities like following traditions, speaking a certain language and eating certain food. These activities are very specific for each ethnic group.

According to Verkuyten (2005), these four aspects of a person's ethnicity have some overlaps and relations but still do not always have to be much related. Also especially later generation immigrants may still strongly claim to be of a certain ethnicity, while they do not do any 'authentic' activities belonging to their culture anymore, but instead have adopted new activities as a group. Ethnicity is therefore a complex issue and really has to be split up into the previously mentioned dimensions to be studied. All four dimensions of ethnicity were covered in the interviews with the participants (see the semi-structured interview guide in appendix I).

3.4 The concept of emotion

We all have a notion of what the word 'emotion' means. There are however many different definitions in use and there are several ways to order the different emotions. Choices concerning the definition and the ordering of emotions also have methodological consequences. All of these issues will be discussed in this paragraph and when applicable, the author's views and choices are described and motivated.

3.4.1 Definition and components of emotions

A definition of 'emotion' as given by Kleinginna and Kleinginna (1981), developed after studying over ninety definitions by other scientists, goes: "Emotion is a complex set of interactions among subjective and objective factors, mediated by neural/hormonal systems, which can give rise to affective experiences such as feelings of arousal, pleasure/displeasure; generate cognitive processes such as emotionally relevant perceptual effects, appraisals, labelling processes; activate widespread physiological adjustments to the arousing conditions; and lead to behaviour that is often, but not always, expressive, goal-directed and adaptive." Similarly, Larsen and Fredrickson (2003) divided the concept of emotions into five components: subjective experience, facial expression, central and peripheral nervous system activation, cognitive or information-processing changes and behavioural tendencies. These five components interact in complex ways. Frijda (1999) identifies similar categories, but does not identify the subjective experience as one of the components of emotion, but as 'combined awareness of all components'. These two views are actually not really different, as the

subjective experience of emotions in both cases includes the subjective experience of all of the (other) components of the emotions.

Studying components of emotions

Each of the components that together make up 'emotions' can be studied individually. However, most of these components cannot possibly be studied and understood in detail by scientists as they are very complex and not always translatable into words effectively. Also, according to Larsen and Fredrickson (2003), even if all five components of emotion would simultaneously be studied in a person in detail, this would not result in a complete picture of this person's emotional experience. The components interact and the concept of emotion is simply too complex. Therefore Larsen and Fredrickson (2003) argue that scientists studying emotions should focus on one or a few of these components of emotions, and should not even begin to try to get the whole picture. They do also say that looking at a few components simultaneously leads to a higher validity and accuracy of the results. Below, methodologies for studying different components of emotions will be described. These are mostly following from Larsen and Fredrickson (2003); when information from other authors is used, this is mentioned.

Behavioural tendencies caused by emotions can be studied by observing people or by asking them about previous behaviour. Human behaviour is however influenced by a multitude of factors, not just by people's emotions, and it is difficult to distinguish between these different factors. Facial expressions naturally say a lot about a person's emotions. Facial expressions connected to joy and sadness can be distinguished easily, but other emotions can be more difficult to distinguish and facial expressions can also be 'faked', like smiling out of politeness. Still, there are fairly reliable methods available for assessing one's emotions by studying facial expressions. They can be studied by visual observation, which is usually done with the use of a camera. Several coding methods are in use to code facial movements, but an intensive course is needed to be able to use such a method reliably (Ekman and Friesen, 1975). One can also measure facial action using electrodes placed on the face of the participant. Emotions also often cause reactions of the body that are not immediately visible, like sweating and an increased heart rate when someone is afraid. These reactions can be measured in several ways. However, solely looking at these reactions does not give reliable information about which emotions someone is experiencing, since the changes can also be caused by other factors and emotions cannot be distinguished well with this method (Cacioppo and Tassinary, 1990). An even less visible component of emotions, are the changes in someone's brain and nervous system while experiencing emotions. There are methods available for studying this. However, most of these and other measurement methods named above are quite difficult, time-consuming and costly to carry out. Also very important is that they often have a large influence on someone's emotions. People are likely to respond differently to a stimulus in a lab setting than in a 'natural' setting.

Since this research studies people's conscious experiences of (urban) green areas and what they think is important (see paragraph 4.2), it was decided to mainly focus on people's subjective experiences of emotions. This is also an appropriate approach because the study is partly about experiences in people's pasts. Participants can simply be asked about their subjective experiences of emotions, possibly using a checklist of emotions or scales for each emotion. This method is less difficult and costly than most of the methods that are needed for studying the previously mentioned other components of emotions. The approach of asking people about their subjective experiences of emotions assumes that the participants are in the best position to describe their own emotions, but it does rely on people's ability and willingness to put their emotions into words. In chapter 4, the practice of researching subjective emotional experiences is discussed in more detail.

3.4.2 Categorisation of emotions

The different emotions that people can experience (e.g. joy, anger and sadness) can be ordered in multiple ways and there is still no consensus about how this should be done. Some scientists order the emotions along a few dimensions. One popular approach, described by Frijda (1999), believes that all emotions can be placed on a two-dimensional scale consisting of pleasantness and activation. Emotions closer together on this scale are more similar to each other than to emotions further away on the scale. Other scientists believe that one or more extra dimensions are needed to account for all emotions. As has been discussed by Frijda (1999) as well, there is also critique on the whole method, mainly because a specific place on the scale does not clearly tell you which emotion belongs there; some places can accommodate several different emotions. Adding more dimensions could solve this, but adds other problems.

Because of these disadvantages, this thesis was based on another classification, in which emotions are ordered in different exclusive categories. The most pure form of this approach can be found in the 'basic emotions' theory as described by Ekman (1992). This theory assumes a biological foundation for a set of basic emotions, which can be combined. These emotions are recognised throughout the world, in different cultures. There is a lot of discussion on the exact list of basic emotions, but there is also much overlap. Joy, sadness, fear, anger and disgust are usually distinguished (Ortony and Turner, 1990). There is evidence that indicates that these emotions are innate reactions of the body, evolved because they are useful for survival (Ekman, 1992; Ekman and Friesen, 1986).

Nevertheless, there is significant variance in history and in different cultures in the way in which people think about and experience emotions. There are also emotions which are not simply innate reactions, but which are influenced greatly by external factors such as culture. These can be called sentiments (Gordon, 1981). Examples are sorrow, pride, loyalty and envy. Many of these feelings are linked to relationships with people. Although there does not seem to be a clear, strong link with nature, these sentiments could definitely also be experienced in green areas and could be influenced by green areas. They are also very relevant for this research because they show a lot of variation between cultures and they are generally more important in collectivist cultures such as the Chinese culture than in more individualistic cultures (Aaker and Williams, 1998). This study could therefore not be limited to the basic emotions alone; sentiments were taken into account as well. In addition, there are also some emotions that are connected to spiritual experiences, which are not completely covered by the authors mentioned above. As will be discussed in the next paragraph, there is a link between green areas and spiritual experiences, and spiritual experiences involve emotions. The main missing emotion from the previously mentioned classifications in relation to spiritual experiences is awe. Awe is a strong emotion related to pleasure, admiration and elevation but also to fear (Keltner and Haidt, 2003). It was studied in this research as well.

Categorisation of emotions used in this study

This thesis does not have the aim to mingle in the debate about categorisation of different emotions. All emotions that the participants distinguished and consciously experienced were investigated, focusing on the emotions that they found important. The ontological reasons behind this focus will be elaborated on in paragraph 4.2. A certain checklist of emotions was used in this research (this will be explained further in the methods), and this list had to be as complete as possible to try to accommodate for all the emotions that the research subjects could be experiencing. This emotion checklist was created based on two lists of basic emotions by Parrot (2001) and by Osgood *et al.* (1975). It also includes some sentiments as mentioned by Kitayama *et al.* (2000) and Aaker and Williams (1998), which are not usually included in the basic emotions, and the emotion of awe, which is related to spiritual experiences (Keltner and Haidt, 2003). The checklist is shown in appendix I.

There are some slight differences between the Dutch and the English version, because many words for emotions do not have literal translations in other languages. An example are the words *amazement* and *astonishment*, these have the same translation in Dutch, namely *verbazing*. The use of the checklist in this study is elaborated on in chapter 4 about the methods.

3.5 Relevant emotions

In this paragraph, some specific emotions and concepts related to emotions are investigated that are strongly linked to green areas and recreation in green areas, and some that are specifically relevant in relation to people with a foreign background and their relation with green areas. As mentioned before, this research attempted to study all of the emotions that the participants experienced, especially those emotions that the participants themselves deemed most important. However, it is still important to first identify emotions which can be expected from previous studies to be specifically relevant in this research because they have a certain connection with either green areas or people with foreign backgrounds. The emotions discussed in this paragraph were all given extra attention in the interviews with the participants, while still being open to other emotions that they might have been experiencing or had experienced in previous visits to green areas. At the end of the next paragraph a figure is presented (figure 3) which shows the relations between the discussed (concepts related to) emotions.

Restoration

Many people visit green areas to get away from the chaos of their everyday-lives for a while. This often helps people to reduce their stress levels and get their attention more focused. It can also increase their positive affect and decrease feelings of anger. This set of phenomena has been called restoration, for example by Davis *et al.* (2003). Restoration in a green environment has been proven to be more effective than in a non-green urban environment (Davis *et al.*, 2003). There are several theories which try to explain this. Kaplan (1995) argues that certain factors which can make (an activity in) an environment restoring, like distance from routines and fascination, simply usually have relatively high levels in green areas. Ulrich (1983, in Hartig *et al.*, 2003) sees an evolutionary basis for the positive effects of green environments, since people tend to have a preference for environmental aspects which promote survival. The restorative effects of green areas on people with a Chinese background were studied by looking at emotions such as anger, positive affect and feeling of stress. People's attention focus is a good indicator of restoration as well, but it is not an emotion and therefore does not fall under the scope of this study.

Experience of beauty

Another reason for visiting green areas can be to enjoy the beauty of nature. This aesthetic appreciation is a complex concept. There are theories about aesthetic experiences of art which say that there are some specific properties that a piece of art may have, which in general induce aesthetic appreciation by all people (Ramachandran and Hirstein, 1999). Green areas are also often assumed to give pleasant aesthetic experiences, and this has also been studied empirically. Chenoweth and Gobster (1990) mention that an aesthetic experience of nature involves complete attention to a natural object, without any judgment, and while being completely in the present. They have empirically studied aesthetic experiences and found that these varied a lot. In their study, some people reported experiencing very positive emotions, while others reported emotions like fear and sadness, also induced by the beauty of green areas. Aesthetic experiences are obviously very closely linked to emotions. They cannot be defined narrowly since they vary so much. The many emotions which can be part of an aesthetic experience were all studied to some extent in this research.

Spiritual experience

The aesthetic experience of green areas is related to many emotions that are also related to spiritual experiences. Spiritual experiences may also involve strong, mostly positive, emotions, a feeling of unity with everything and a feeling of timelessness, according to several authors (Van den Berg, 1995, in Kloek, 2009; Fredrickson and Anderson, 1999; Ter Haar, 2005, in De Pater, 2006; Van Trigt, 2002; Williams and Harvey, 2001). According to Walach and Reich (2005), spiritual experiences can be induced by nature 'as nature', nature symbolising something else or nature as a setting for an activity that induces a spiritual experience. They also describe that the spiritual experience has both an emotional and a cognitive component. In this study, attention was mainly paid to the emotional side of the spiritual experience. Some emotions that are characteristic of a spiritual experience in green areas are quietness, peace, silence, serenity, wholeness, unity with others and the universe, wonder, awesomeness and humbleness (Fredrickson and Anderson, 1999; Kaplan and Talbot, 1983; Kaplan and Talbot, 1986).

Place attachment and place identity

Place attachment and place identity are two concepts that are both related to a person's connection to a specific place. According to Hidalgo and Hernández (2001), place attachment can be seen as a positive emotional bond between individuals and their environment. It also involves the desire to be at this particular place. Place identity can be considered as the place-related aspects of one's identity, an external memory (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Proshansky *et al.*, 1983). Place identity develops and stabilises one's identity, an identity which is influenced by social interactions and internal changes and which is very changeable (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). Both concepts, place attachment and place identity, in general become stronger when people visit a place more often (Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Proshansky *et al.*, 1983). Urban green areas have a strong place identification potential (Jay and Schraml, 2009). Place attachment is also relevant for this study because it is closely related to emotions. Place attachment was studied by investigating people's positive emotions towards a place and their desire to be there. Place identity was sometimes investigated by asking participants about their feelings of belonging to a place, but this does not cover the concept of place identity completely. This was not possible within the scope of this study, because place identity involves more than emotions and is very complex.

Group identity

Many immigrants like to spend a large part of their time with people from the same country. One reason for this is to be in a position where they can be themselves and where they are not mainly seen as immigrants, as they are or perceive to be often seen by the native people in the country they live in now (Farrer, 2004). Also, immigrants often want to confirm their group identity by doing activities together (Farrer, 2004). This might be particularly important for people with a Chinese background, because there is a much stronger group culture in China than in the western culture: it is deemed very important by many Chinese people to undertake activities with family members and in other groups (Tinsley *et al.*, 2002).

Visiting (urban) green areas is one of the things which can be done by a group of people with a Chinese background to increase the feeling of belonging together. An American study also showed that of four ethnic groups of elder people studied, the Chinese on average visited parks with the largest groups, often with family members (Tinsley *et al.*, 2002). It was therefore expected that group identity could also be relevant for people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands and that they might also enjoy visiting green areas in groups. It was attempted to investigate the concept of group identity by inviting small groups of people to participate in the research and by asking people about

their recreation behaviour in green areas with other people with a Chinese background, focusing on emotions of connectedness and safety.

Both the concept of group identity and place identity partly overlap with the concept of restoration. Both involve a calmness and 'returning to oneself', and emphasising group identity can actually be seen as a form of restoration.

Novelty

Rishbeth and Finney (2006) discovered that two concepts that are very important in relation to nature experiences of asylum seekers and refugees when visiting an urban green area for the first time, are novelty and nostalgia. In their research, in which they brought a group of asylum seekers and refugees to several green urban areas and asked them to take photos, it stood out that a first visit to a green area usually brought many surprises, which were considered by the participants to be very positive. They also enjoyed learning new things about the area (through their visits to green areas). This is part of the concept of novelty. Asylum seekers and refugees have in general not lived in their new country for a long time and do not know this country well yet. For immigrants who have been living in a country for a longer time, novelty can be expected to be less important. Novelty influences the emotional experiences in relation to of being in a green area, and this was indirectly taken into account in the research.

Nostalgia

The other concept that Rishbeth and Finney (2006) discovered to be important to asylum seekers and refugees visiting new green areas, is nostalgia. Nostalgia was induced by places reminding the participants of their past in their home countries. They usually enjoyed recalling these memories and talking about them, but the memories also sometimes brought up feelings of loss. According to Rishbeth and Finney, a landscape only needs to have little similarity to a landscape from someone's past, to bring back memories of this past. Landscapes are often 'open for interpretation': people can see different things in them. Experiences of nostalgia can be simply reflective, looking back at the past, or restorative, integrating the past within a new future (Boym, 2001, in Rishbeth and Finney, 2006). Restorative nostalgia was only expressed a few times within the study of Rishbeth and Finney. Nostalgia could be a relevant concept for people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands as well, with the strength of nostalgic feelings depending on the attachment that the immigrants feel with their mother country, and possibly on the similarity of the landscape with landscapes they have known in the past. Nostalgia can be expected to be more pronounced for first generation immigrants than for later generation immigrants.

Fear

Parks and non-urban green areas have several aspects that can evoke fear in both native Dutch people and people with foreign backgrounds. Green areas harbour many more insects and other animals that some people are afraid of than non-green urban areas. Also, green areas are often more quiet than urban areas and they may contain parts that are secluded and where there is little overview because of for example the presence of bushes or the absence of lighting. These are typical places where people can fear crime. Children who are easily scared or disgusted were found to often prefer indoor activities over outdoor activities and to have a preference for urban parks that are intensively maintained (Bixler and Floyd, 1997). Immigrants may have additional fears of assaults specifically aimed at foreigners, for racist reasons. A study in Leicester in Great Britain showed that fear in general was an important limiting factor for visiting urban parks there for over 40% of the interviewees (Madge, 1997). Of the interviewees with an Asian or African-Caribbean background, over 40%

indicated that fear of racial attacks was important to them. To conclude, both fear for natural aspects and fear for people are relevant for this study.

Harmony

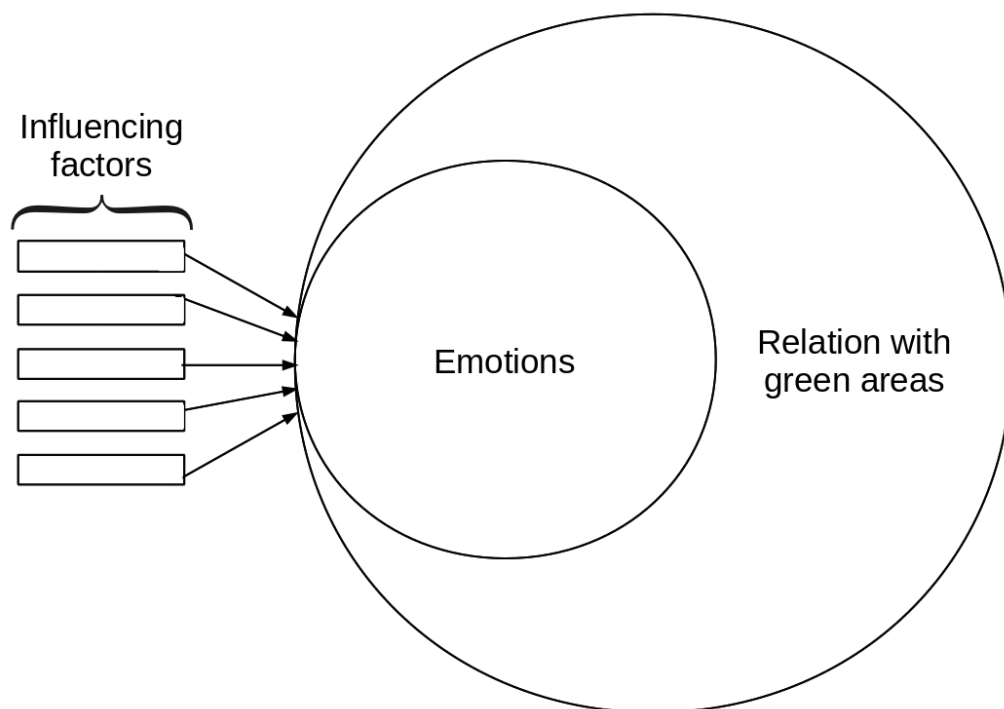
The Chinese society is more collectivist than the Dutch society, and harmony between people is a great value in collectivist societies. As mentioned in paragraph 2.3, harmony in general is even the basis of all Chinese religions and philosophies. Part – but not all – of experiencing harmony is feeling it, as an emotion (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). Harmony was not studied as an independent emotion, but emotions related to it such as calmness, peacefulness and satisfaction were.

3.6 Factors influencing (emotional) relation with green areas

This paragraph explores different relevant factors which can influence people's (emotional) relations with (urban) green areas. There is a focus on factors influencing people's emotions in relation to green areas, but most of these factors also in general influence how people think about nature/green areas, how often they visit green areas and what they do there. This is visualised in figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Schematic representation of the relations between people's relation with green areas, their emotions in relation to green areas and factors influencing these.

This study mostly focused on people's emotions in relation to green areas and the factors influencing these.



Most scientists nowadays believe that emotions are influenced in complex ways by many factors, both biological and sociological/cultural factors (Milton and Svašek, 2005). This means that there are also many factors that influence someone's emotional response to seeing or visiting (urban) green areas. The emotional experience of green areas is similar to the concept of landscape experience. Jacobs (2006) sees landscape experiences as being influenced by three groups of factors, namely personal factors (previous experiences), cultural factors (learning from others) and evolutionary or biological factors. Below, some factors are mentioned that have been shown in previous studies to influence

immigrants' or anyone's (emotional) relation with green areas. An adaptation of Jacobs' three groups of factors was used here, with a focus on the factors that are especially relevant for people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands (or for immigrants in general). Evolutionary differences between Chinese immigrants and native Dutch (Jacobs' third group of factors) were not taken into account because they were assumed to be irrelevant for the topic of this study.

Previous experiences and culture

The effect of experiences in one's childhood is very important. According to Thompson (2007), there is a strong link between the frequency of visiting green areas during one's childhood and the frequency later in life. People with childhood experiences in green areas are more open to positive experiences of green areas in their later lives. Also, people who spent a lot of time in green areas when they were young are more likely to associate green areas with feeling energetic and to see nature as something magical. First generation immigrants grew up in a different country and their childhood experiences related to green areas are influenced greatly by the culture in their mother country (and by the different environment there). People in different countries have different habits and traditions concerning the frequency of visiting green areas, activities undertaken in green areas and the way nature/green areas are thought about. In Turkey, for example, people meet in parks in groups very often, and they generally think that nature should serve man and be controlled by man, which is a very different view from that of most native Dutch people (Buijs *et al.*, 2009; Peters *et al.*, 2010). Some information about the Chinese culture and the relation of the Chinese with green areas was presented in chapter 2. Later generation immigrants can also still be influenced by their (grand)parents'/(ancestors') culture a lot, by being brought up by people with a foreign background, teaching them things which differ from the Dutch habits and ideas (Jókövi, 2001). People with a foreign background in the Netherlands are of course also influenced by the Dutch culture and the habits and ideas in this culture concerning green areas. The Chinese and Dutch cultures fall under Jacobs' cultural factors influencing landscape experiences. Past experiences, which are often influenced by culture, fall under personal factors. This shows that Jacobs' categories are not independent from each other.

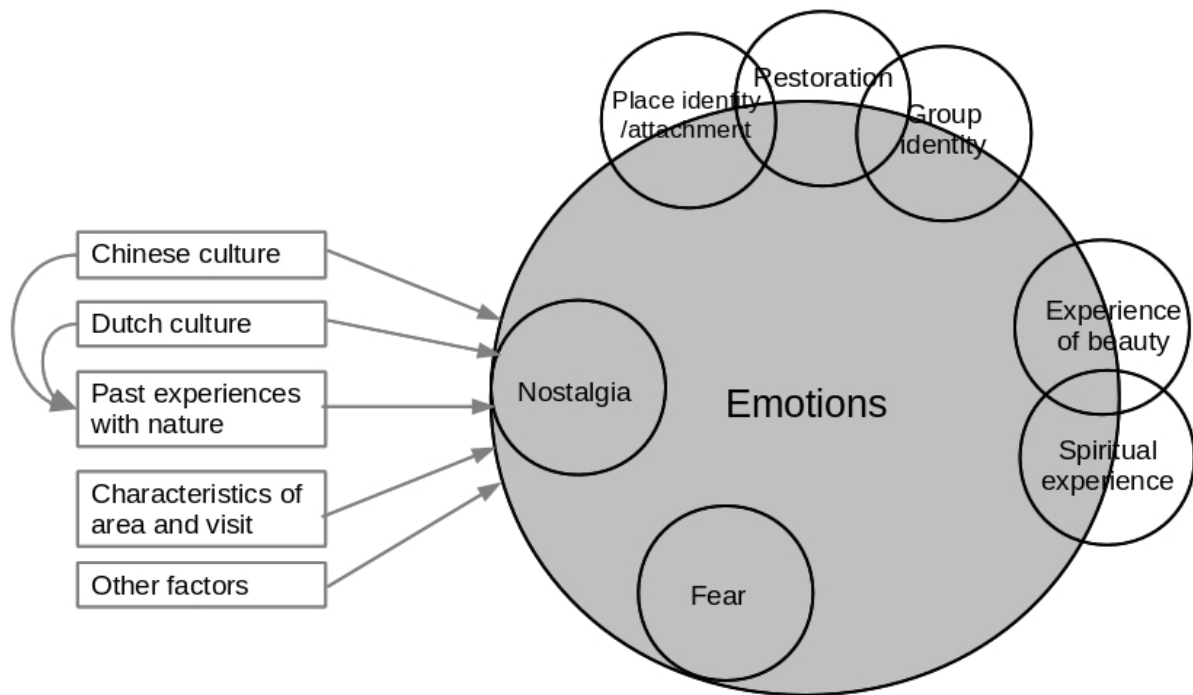
Characteristics of visit and area

People's emotional responses to green areas naturally differ per area and per visit. People have a certain emotional status before the visit, it also matters whether they go alone or in a group and which activities they undertake in the area, and for example the weather has a large influence on people's emotions. The design of a green area also has an influence on how people (emotionally) experience the area. Peters *et al.* (2010) studied the effects of social interactions in several urban parks on social cohesion, and found that especially a smaller park designed as a neighbourhood park led to visitors having many (though superficial) interactions and meeting many acquaintances from the neighbourhood in the park, which made them feel comfortable. The openness of a park (open spaces as opposed to many trees and bushes), the presence of water and the cleanliness could also be factors that can cause different emotional responses of people to parks. A study on spiritual experiences in a museum park (Kloek, 2009) also found that people can experience different emotions in different parts of a park. In this thesis, attention was paid to the different (spatial) factors mentioned above which can influence people's emotional experiences while visiting a green urban area. But above all, the interviewer was open towards the aspects of the parks that were important to the participants. Also, the heterogeneity of green areas was taken into account and it was not attempted to find a single emotional response for an area as a whole.

All of the factors mentioned in this paragraph were studied in the field and they are summarised in figure 3 on the next page, as well as the emotions that were expected from the theory to be relevant.

Figure 3: Overview of theoretically relevant emotions and influencing factors.

Schematic representation of theoretically relevant factors (mentioned in paragraph 3.6) influencing the emotional response of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands to (urban) green areas and their perceived importance of this emotional response, and the theoretically relevant (concepts related to) emotions that are discussed in paragraph 3.5. The large circle represents all emotions and overlaps of the concepts with this circle indicate that (parts of) these concepts consist of emotions. The concepts which do not completely overlap with the main circle also contain non-emotional aspects such as thoughts or actions. Overlaps of concepts with each other mean that these concepts partly overlap, mainly in the emotions involved. Only the largest and most relevant (according to the theory) overlaps are depicted here. Also just the main interactions between the factors influencing emotional responses are indicated (by arrows on the left side of the factors). The sizes in the diagram (e.g. of arrows and circles) do not have a meaning. All of the grey areas were studied in this thesis, so all emotions that the participants might experience (the large circle) and the factors influencing these. All of this was covered in the research questions and methods.





Chapter 4: Methods

4.1 Introduction

This study was a qualitative research in which the ethnicity, recreation behaviour in green areas, and especially the emotions in relation to green areas of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands were explored. The ontological and epistemological bases of the research are described and justified in paragraph 4.2. The methodology of studying people's emotions, recreation behaviour in green areas and ethnicity are discussed in paragraph 4.3. The actual execution of the field work (selecting participants, conducting interviews, data analysis) is described in paragraph 4.4, including information about the participants of the study.

4.2 Ontological/epistemological basis

Interpretivism

The social reality is constructed in complex ways, people's thoughts and behaviours are influenced by everything around them: for example their culture, friends, experiences and surroundings. Humans and society are too complex to explain in a way you can explain for example biological processes. You can only try to explore how people interpret reality. This is also a relevant approach since what matters to people is not the exact nature of phenomena (if these would be knowable), but people's interpretations of these. The above explained way of reasoning is called an interpretive approach (Green and Thorogood, 2004) and it is followed in this thesis. It is opposed to positivism, in which universal laws are assumed to exist, which can and should be unraveled by science (Green and Thorogood, 2004). In studies focusing on ideas and experiences concerning green areas, interpretivism is often employed, as this is a very complex issue and, as mentioned in the previous chapter, one's relation with green areas is influenced by her/his culture(s), friends, family members, past experiences and more. It cannot be simply explained by looking at a few factors.

Qualitative research

This thesis has the aim to explore people's subjective experiences of their emotions. The only feasible way to get near these experiences is to have people tell you about them. As explained by Larsen and Fredrickson (2003), subjective emotional experiences are often researched in a quantitative way, through surveys. Participants may be asked to rate the occurrence of several emotions on scales, or to tick a box if an emotion occurs in any intensity. This can be done in real-time, or afterwards. There are many drawbacks of these quantitative methods (also described by Larsen and Fredrickson (2003)), certainly for the topic of this study. The surveys are not easy to complete for everyone and they do not say anything about how important all emotions are to people. People will also experience different emotions during different parts of their visits to green areas and these things can never become clear from a questionnaire. Rishbeth and Finney (2006) also emphasise that the use of quantitative methods in studies about relations with green areas of immigrants usually results in superficial data. Furthermore, no research has been done concerning the topic of this study before. This means that there is not enough basic information available to base a quantitative research on. For all of the above mentioned reasons, it was chosen to perform an exploratory qualitative research.

Once there is enough qualitative information available about the topic, it would be more appropriate to conduct quantitative researches as well, based on qualitative information. Quantitative studies can more easily be conducted among large groups of participants, and this is necessary to be able to make generalisations of research outcomes (Larsen and Fredrickson, 2003).

Naturalism

A concept related to interpretivism is naturalism. Naturalism entails that the social world is studied in a 'natural' setting and should not be influenced by the researcher. Hartig argued in 1993 that naturalism should be employed in research focusing on forms of nature experiences, since this approach allows you to see everything in perspective, and the context is very important when studying nature experiences, since these experiences are never isolated events. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), naturalism is widely seen by social scientists as an ideal for data collection, but also as an approach that is hardly ever completely feasible. In naturalistic studies, the researcher usually tries to become an accepted participant in the group that she or he is studying and learns to understand their way of thinking. In this way, the group's behaviour is disrupted as little as possible and this should make it possible to study their relatively 'natural' behaviour. However, studying people (or interacting with people in any way) will always influence them, and it remains a question what exactly is 'natural' behaviour. (Also, even if a researcher were to experience what she or he is researching directly, this can never be translated into words and a report completely accurately.) Furthermore, the approach of naturalism is very time consuming. This makes the approach unsuitable for this study, as it would have allowed the author to just follow one group or a few groups of people, while this research aimed to explore a broad range of emotional relations with green areas and therefore more people had to be interviewed.

The naturalistic way of doing field work was however kept in mind as an ideal. Naturalism emphasises the complexity of social life. It therefore focuses on the description of social phenomena, rather than the explanation thereof (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). This thesis is also focused on descriptions of emotional responses and only speculates about causal relations. Another advice that was taken from naturalism is that it is important to reflect well on the interview(er)'s influence on the participants (Green and Thorogood, 2004). This has been done in the discussion and conclusions section of this report.

Ethics

The goal of any scientific research is to produce knowledge that is in some way useful to science or society. Even though this is a good purpose, it cannot be pursued at all costs. There are always ethical issues to be taken into consideration. Some relevant issues for this study are discussed below. They were taken from Green and Thorogood (2004) and Hammersley and Atkinson (2007).

Most researchers believe that (possible) participants in a scientific study should be given the choice whether or not to participate and should be truthfully informed about the aims of a research, even though this information might influence their reaction. This is called informed consent. All participants of this research were verbally informed about the aims of the study. Also, since there is no need to disclose people's identities and there could be negative consequences of this, fictive names are used in this report and no information is disclosed that could uncover people's identities. Anonymity could also make the interviewees talk more freely, which is positive for the research.

People were approached for the interviews based on their appearance and their ethnic background. Some people could in theory be offended by this. However, this reaction was not encountered during the fieldwork, and it can probably be largely avoided by simply having a friendly attitude. It was not possible to pay the participants or to give them something else material, except for cookies. Most participants did seem to enjoy the interviews. It was therefore probably not an ethical problem that they were not given something monetary/material in return for their help.

Truth seeking is the major goal of science and, as formulated by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), truth can be seen as the only intrinsic value to the activity of research. For science in general it is important to only write truthful reports. Untrue researches may be followed up by other scientists, who then also incorporate false information in their research. Also, if the truth comes out, it gives science a bad image.

4.3 Interview methodology

In this paragraph, some methodological issues are discussed concerning the measurement of emotions, then about measuring recreation behaviour in green areas and finally about people's ethnicity. The actual execution of the fieldwork is discussed in paragraph 4.4.

4.3.1 Measuring emotions

To get as close to the participants' emotional reactions to green areas as possible (aspiring naturalism but within the limits of this thesis), part of each interview took place in a park, where the interviewee could experience a green area 'in real time'. Following from interpretivism and the qualitative approach of this study, it was important to try to pose questions neutrally and to especially be open to anything the participants had to say about the topics of the research, especially what they found important. The participants were therefore asked openly about their emotions at several times before and during the park visit, and about their emotions during previous experiences in green areas. Special attention was paid to the emotions mentioned in paragraph 3.5 which are especially linked to nature experiences or to people with foreign backgrounds, like nostalgia, feeling at home, serenity and wholeness. After an open inquiry of the person's emotions, she or he was asked to indicate on a list of about fifty emotions (see appendix II) whether or not these were being experienced. This list mainly served to help the participant think and talk about her/his emotions and the results were not meant to be used in a quantitative way. The emotions included in this checklist followed directly from the theory (basic emotions, sentiments and emotions related to spiritual experiences), as described in paragraph 3.4.2.

As mentioned by Larsen and Fredrickson (2003), when exploring people's subjective experience it is important to take into account the 'emotional context', like a depression or the amount of coffee they drank. This 'noise' cannot be removed from the research and should be taken into account. Interviewees were asked about their emotions in general and at the start of the interview, to get an impression of this.

Efforts were made to conduct group interviews with people who knew each other, because people might answer differently in a group; they might remind each other of things or they might feel more comfortable and therefore talk more openly (Green and Thorogood, 2004). It was also intended to study group identity in relation to green areas (see paragraph 3.5). Unfortunately only one appointment could be made with two people at the same time.

4.3.2 Measuring recreation behaviour in green areas

The participants were asked about their recreation behaviour in green areas when they were young children (below twelve years old), when they were teenagers and currently, and they were asked to describe some previous experiences in green areas (if possible some that were special to them). The accuracy with which people are able to describe the frequency of a certain activity is dependent on the (ir)regularity of the activity and the (dis)similarity between the different times that the activity is done (Menon, 1993). It is easier to remember and describe the frequency of making a walk with the same person in the same park every weekend, than to remember and describe the frequency of making walks when someone visits different green areas with different people, without a regular schedule.

Menon (1993) described different strategies for studying behaviour that is either regular or irregular and with similar or dissimilar activities. Asking people to recall and count activities is for example appropriate when they occur infrequently, but otherwise it is better to ask for an estimate per a certain time period, the length of this period (day/month/year) depending on the frequency as well.

For the interviewees of this study, there was often no information available in advance about the regularity and similarity of their activities in green areas. Therefore when starting to inquire about these topics, first very open questions were asked, like 'How often do you visit parks/nature areas?'. If this was very infrequently or if the interviewee was very unsure, then the interviewer usually asked if the participants could recall the past few visits to green areas (in line with Menon (1993)), to be able to deduce the frequency in that way. If participants seemed to visit green areas more frequently, they were asked to estimate the frequency per week, month or year. Sometimes their answers were 'checked' by also asking them how often they had visited green areas in the past weeks or months. Often, especially when participants were unsure, examples were given of activities they might have done in green areas or types of areas they might have visited.

4.3.3 Measuring ethnicity

As discussed in paragraph 3.3, the participants' connection to Chinese (and Dutch) culture was studied as well, using the concept of ethnicity. This concept was divided into being, feeling, knowing and doing, following Fishman (1980) and Phinney (1990) (both in Verkuyten (2005)). Several questions were asked to the participants about all four of these topics. A guideline for these questions can be found in the interview guide in appendix I.

4.4 Execution of fieldwork

In this paragraph, the fieldwork of this thesis is described, split into three parts: the selection of participants, the interviews and the data analysis. Paragraph 4.4.2 about the interviews discusses both the course of the interviews, the backgrounds of the participants and the locations that were visited during the interviews.

4.4.1 Selecting participants

To find a diverse group of participants, multiple methods were used to approach people. Several dozens of both local and national organisations connected to people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands were approached through e-mail, by telephone or by visiting the organisation. Of these organisations, only the *Chinese School Nederland* and the Buddhist *He Hua* temple reacted positively. Most participants were found by approaching people with Asian physical appearances in the street in the Chinatowns of Rotterdam and Amsterdam. Furthermore, some personal contacts were approached, and some of the first participants told their friends about the research, which resulted in a few more participants. Two interviewees reacted on a call on an internet forum for youth with a Chinese background, and four were found through the website www.couchsurfing.org, a hospitality sharing website. In almost all cases when people were first approached in person in the street, another appointment was made for the interview, so it did not take place immediately. While selecting people or organisations to approach, it was attempted to create variation in age, gender and place of birth of the participants.

4.4.2 Interviews

4.4.2.1 Course of the interviews

The interviews had six topics: (1) the participants' emotions in general, (2) background information about the participants (e.g. employment, hobbies and family), (3) their relation with Chinese and with Dutch culture, (4) their recreation behaviour in green areas and specific experiences in green areas in their past and in the present, (5) their current emotional status and (6) their opinion about and experiences of different aspects of the park that was visited during the interview. Also, first some general information about the interview and the research were given. The order in which the other topics were discussed varied, depending on practical issues and the atmosphere. A semi-structured interview guide can be found in appendix I.

The interviews started at a (non-green) square, a cafe or at the house of the participant. Here usually some questions were asked about the participants' emotions at that moment and in general (1 and 5), their relation with Chinese and Dutch culture (3) and their recreation behaviour in green areas and specific experiences in green areas in their past and in the present (4). Before the visit to the park, the interviewees were also asked how they were feeling at that moment and they were asked to fill out the emotion checklist (part of number 5). They were also asked to do this for a visit to a green area in the past (part of number 4), but several of the participants said that they did not have clear memories about previous experiences in green areas. When the park was relatively far away from the location where the interview started, often part of the previously mentioned topics were discussed while traveling to the park.

In the park, usually while walking, first some more general questions were asked (background information, general topics that came up and sometimes more information about previously discussed topics) (2), and then the participants' emotions at that time in the park were discussed, first very openly and then also with the use of the emotion checklist (5). This was compared with how they felt before the park visit. Several (spatial) aspects of the park were discussed as well, usually partly in relation to the participants' emotions (6). Depending on the variation within the parks and the amount of time that the participants had, sometimes they were asked to fill out the emotion checklist at several locations in the park, again after first inquiring about their emotions more openly (5).

All interviews were conducted by the author of this thesis. They were recorded using a voice recorder and notes were made on paper about people's body language, facial expressions and other notable things. Interviews lasted between one hour and two hours. Seven were conducted in English, the other nine in Dutch. One interviewee (Lilian) who was very aware of her emotions and very willing to talk, was asked some additional questions by e-mail after the interview had taken place. She also wrote a small report about the interview and her relation with nature on Facebook, from which a quotation is used in this report.

4.4.2.2 Backgrounds of participants

Sixteen people with a Chinese background were interviewed in-depth for this study. There was a lot of variation between the participants on many levels. Some basic information about them is shown in table 1. It proved relatively difficult to find participants from mainland China (People's Republic of China) and Hong Kong, since many people from these countries who were approached for this study, did not speak Dutch or English well enough to participate. Seven out of the sixteen participants originated from other countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Suriname and Taiwan), but had Chinese roots. The countries of birth of the participants are indicated on a map in figure 4. Age seemed to be correlated to people's abilities of speaking Dutch or English as well. This resulted in a

relatively young group of participants, but with still some variation in age. Most participants were between twenty and forty years of age. Three participants (none of them from mainland China or Hong Kong) were older: between fifty and sixty years old. Table 2 gives an overview of the age distribution of the participants. The names are fictive. The first letters have a meaning, which will be explained later on in the report (chapter 5). Lawrence and Lilian were interviewed together, the others were all interviewed separately.

Table 1: Basic information about the participants.

Fictive name	Gender	Age	Place of birth	Place(s) of birth of parents
Benjamin	Male	25*	Hong Kong	Hong Kong
Betty	Female	38	Singapore	Singapore
Bill	Male	39	Hong Kong	Hong Kong
Bob	Male	40*	Netherlands	Mainland China
Bruce	Male	60	Suriname	Hong Kong/Suriname
Bryan	Male	21	Mainland China	Mainland China
Laura	Female	39	Singapore	Singapore
Lawrence	Male	24*	Mainland China	Mainland China
Leo	Male	30	Netherlands	Mainland China
Lilian	Female	37	Singapore	Mainland China/unknown (Asia)
Lois	Female	60	Malaysia	Malaysia
Wanda	Female	30	Netherlands	Hong Kong
Wendy	Male	22*	Mainland China	Mainland China
Whitney	Female	52	Indonesia	Indonesia
William	Female	24	Mainland China	Mainland China
Willow	Female	31	Taiwan	Taiwan

*: Approximate age, this was not asked.

Table 2: Age distribution of the participants.

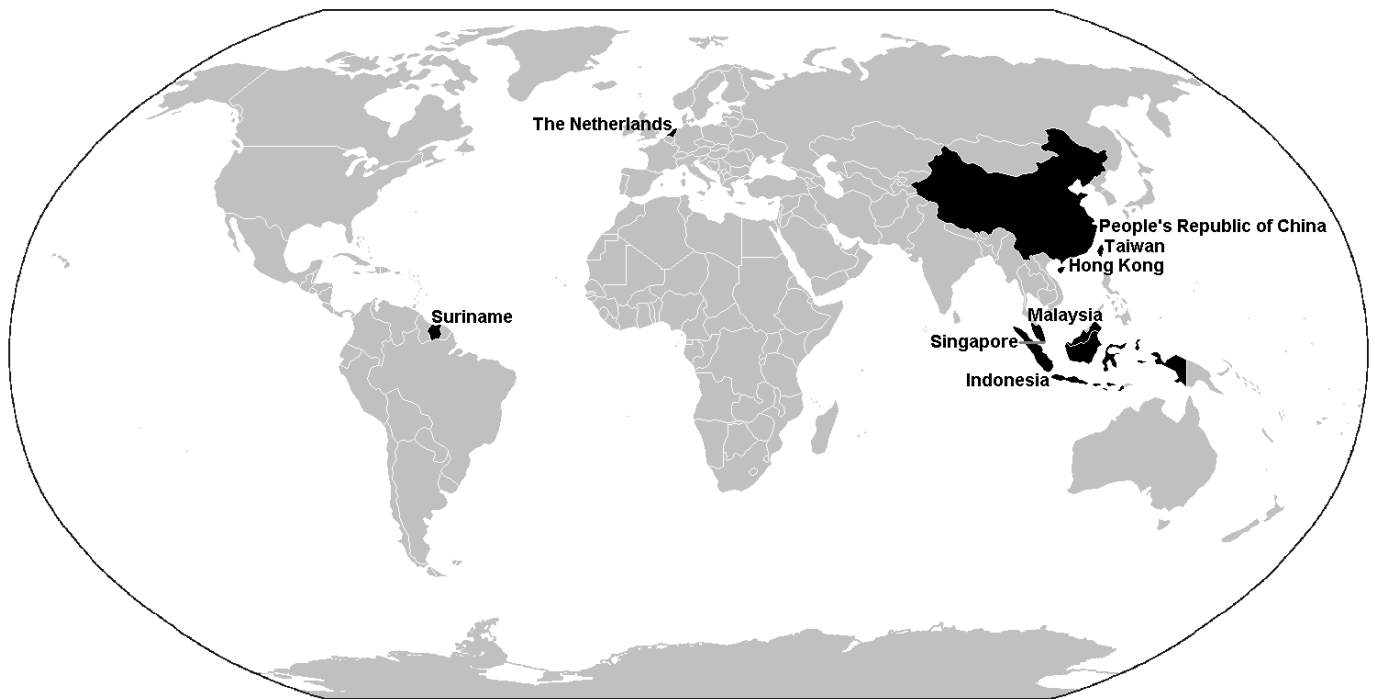
	Age range (years)					
	<21	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	>60
Number of participants	0	7	6	0	3	0

Ethnicity

The interviewees had very different levels of connection with China and Chinese culture. Available information about different aspects of people's Chinese (and Dutch) ethnicity, clustered in the categories of being, feeling, knowing and doing (see paragraph 3.3) have been summarised in table 3 on page 38. The aspects of 'place of birth', 'place(s) of birth of parents' and 'percentage of life years in the Netherlands' together make up the category of being. People's 'percentage of life years in the Netherlands' was calculated by dividing the (approximate) number of years they had spent in the Netherlands by the time they lived elsewhere (times 100%). This calculation makes it easy to compare the times that the different participants had been living in the Netherlands. Simply looking at the number of years they had spent here would be too much of a simplification since the participants varied in age. A sixty-year-old who moved from China to the Netherlands twenty years ago has only spent one-third of her/his life here, while a twenty-year old who was born here spent all of her/his life here, something which will probably make a difference to these participants. The colours in the table indicate the level of Chinese ethnicity. A darker colour stands for a relatively strong connection with China and Chinese culture, compared to the average of the participants.

Figure 4: Map indicating the countries of birth of the participants.

This figure is an adaptation of an image from www.commonswikimedia.com.



The table is ordered according to the participants' levels of feeling Chinese, with the ones feeling the least Chinese first. This was done because this thesis in general has a focus on people's own perceptions and feelings and therefore their perceptions of how Chinese the participants feel is more relevant than how Chinese they 'are' or 'do'. It was often difficult for the participants to describe their connection to Chinese and Dutch culture. The question 'How Chinese do you feel?' was however answered by giving percentages several times, after which the following interviewees were also asked to rate their feeling of being Chinese with a percentage, if they could. The majority of the participants felt about half Chinese and half Dutch, but some felt (almost) completely Chinese or belonging to another country, and a few felt (almost) completely Dutch. They also had different ratios of Chinese and Dutch friends and diverse levels of interest in and knowledge of Chinese languages, history and culture.

As the colours indicate, there seem to be some connections between the different aspects of ethnicity. Of the people who feel very Chinese, almost all also scored high on 'being' and 'doing' Chinese, on average much higher than the other two groups. The differences between the people who felt very little connection to China and Chinese culture and those who were in between, are less clear. But perhaps the group of people who felt very little connection to Chinese culture is too small (three people) to say anything about this with much certainty. There is not enough information available about the participants' connections to the Dutch culture to do a similar analysis of this as of their Chinese ethnicity.

Table 3: Information about the participants' Chinese ethnicity.

A darker colour indicates a higher level of Chinese ethnicity. Grey squares indicate that no information is available about something.

Percentage of life years in the Netherlands – calculated as: time spent in the Netherlands / age * 100%. 100% means that someone was born in the Netherlands.

Feeling – ‘important’ means that the participant’s Chinese background is important to her/him, ‘happy’ means that the participant is happy about her/his Chinese background

Doing – ‘Chinese friends’, ‘Chinese holidays’, ‘associations’, etc. means that the participant has Chinese friends, celebrates Chinese holidays, is active in Chinese associations, etc.

Fictive name	Feeling	Being			Knowing	Doing
		Place of birth	Place(s) of birth of parents	Percentage of life years in the Netherlands (%)		
Bruce	Feels almost completely Dutch and finds it important to adapt to Dutch culture entirely.	Suriname	Hong Kong / Suriname	70	Knows a lot about Chinese and Dutch culture and history.	Mostly Dutch friends, strong family relations, some Chinese holidays and traditions, does not visit home country/countries anymore, speaks Chinese and Dutch.
Leo	Feels mostly Dutch, a bit important, a bit happy.	Netherlands	Mainland China	55	Knows a bit about Chinese culture.	Mostly Dutch friends, no Chinese holidays and traditions, no associations, visits home country every other year, speaks Dutch.
Bob	Feels mostly Dutch, a bit important, a bit happy.	Netherlands	Mainland China	100	Knows little about Chinese history and culture.	No friends, strong family relations, no associations, some Chinese holidays, no traditions, yearly visits home country, speaks Chinese and Dutch.
Whitney	Sometimes feels more Indonesian, sometimes more Dutch, occasionally Chinese.	Indonesia	Indonesia	85	Knows a lot about Chinese history and culture, very interested.	Mostly Indonesian/Chinese friends, some associations, few Chinese holidays and traditions, yearly visits home country and will return to home country soon, is learning Chinese, speaks Dutch.
Bryan	Feels 60% Dutch, 40% Chinese. A bit important, a bit happy.	Mainland China	Mainland China	45	Unclear.	Mixed friends, few associations, hasn't visited home country since he migrated, speaks Chinese and Dutch.
Betty	Feels both, more Chinese in the Netherlands, more Dutch in other countries. Important, happy.	Singapore	Singapore	80	Knows little about Chinese history and culture.	No friends, no associations, few Chinese holidays, no traditions, does not visit home country anymore, speaks Dutch.
Wanda	Feels 50% Chinese and 50% Dutch, a bit important, happy.	Netherlands	Hong Kong	100	Knows a lot about Chinese culture and history, a bit about Dutch culture and history.	Mixed friends, no associations, some Chinese holidays and traditions, rarely visits home country, speaks Dutch.
Lilian	Feels 50% Singaporean-Chinese, 50% Dutch. Prefers Dutch culture.	Singapore	Mainland China / unknown (Asia)	15	Unclear.	Mixed friends, some associations, few Chinese holidays, sometimes visits home country, is learning Dutch.
Benjamin	Feels 50% Chinese and 50% Dutch, a bit important.	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	85	Knows a bit about Chinese culture and history.	Mixed friends, few associations, sometimes visits home country, speaks Chinese and Dutch.
Bill	Chinese background is very important to him.	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	85	Knows a lot about Chinese culture and history, very interested.	Mixed friends, strong family relations, many associations, some Chinese holidays and traditions, yearly visits home country and will probably remigrate, speaks Chinese and Dutch.
Lois	Feels mostly Chinese, important.	Malaysia	Malaysia	50	Knows a bit about Chinese culture and history.	Mixed friends, Austrian husband, strong family relations, practises Chinese Buddhism and volunteers in temple, lives in home country half of the year, will remigrate there soon, speaks Chinese and Dutch.
Willow	Feels mostly Taiwanese.	Taiwan	Taiwan	15	Knows a lot about Chinese culture.	Mixed friends, speaks Chinese, no Dutch.
Laura	Feels Singaporean and Chinese, not Dutch. Not very important.	Singapore	Singapore	10	Knows a lot about Chinese history and culture.	Mixed friends, Dutch husband, many associations, few Chinese holidays, some traditions, sometimes visits home country, speaks Chinese, is learning Dutch.
Lawrence	Feels 90% Chinese, 10% Dutch.	Mainland China	Mainland China	5	Unclear.	Practises Chinese Buddhism and volunteers in temple, will return to home country in a few years, speaks Chinese, no Dutch.
Wendy	Feels 100% Chinese.	Mainland China	Mainland China	1	Interested in Dutch culture.	Mostly Chinese friends, will remigrate to home country soon, speaks Chinese, no Dutch.
William	Feels 100% Chinese and does not feel much at home in the Netherlands. Happy.	Mainland China	Mainland China	5	Unclear.	Mostly Chinese friends, many Chinese and some Dutch holidays, will remigrate to home country in a few years, speaks Chinese, no Dutch.

4.4.2.3 Locations

The field work took place in the two Dutch cities with the largest numbers of people with a Chinese background: Rotterdam and Amsterdam (see figure 5 for a map). In Rotterdam, there are officially 8130 people who are first or second generation immigrants from China or Hong Kong, in Amsterdam 6464 (numbers from January 1st, 2010, from the *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*). About two thirds of the interviews took place in Rotterdam and one third in Amsterdam. The parks that were visited with the participants varied in size and style. A few times a very small park in the middle of the Rotterdam Chinatown was visited, *Wijkpark Oude Westen*. One interview took place in the *Kralingse Bos*, a forest area in Rotterdam, but this was the only non-urban place that was visited. Figures 6 and 7 and table 4 show which interviews took place in which parks. While choosing a park, practical reasons for the participant were usually most important, together with the relationship that the participant had with certain parks. Approximately one third of the interviews took place in a park with which the interviewee was somewhat or very familiar.

Figure 5: Map of the Netherlands with Amsterdam and Rotterdam.

This figure is an adaptation of an image from www.commonswiki.com.



Figure 6: Map of Amsterdam with the parks that were visited during the interviews for this study.

In table 4 on the next page, the names of the parks and of the participants who visited these parks during the interviews are given. This figure is an adaptation of an image from www.maps.google.com.



Figure 7: Map of Rotterdam with the parks that were visited during the interviews for this study.

In table 4 on the next page, the names of the parks and of the participants who visited these parks during the interviews are given. For the *Kralingse Bos* and the *Zuiderpark*, the circle indicates the part of the park that was visited. This figure is an adaptation of an image from www.maps.google.com.

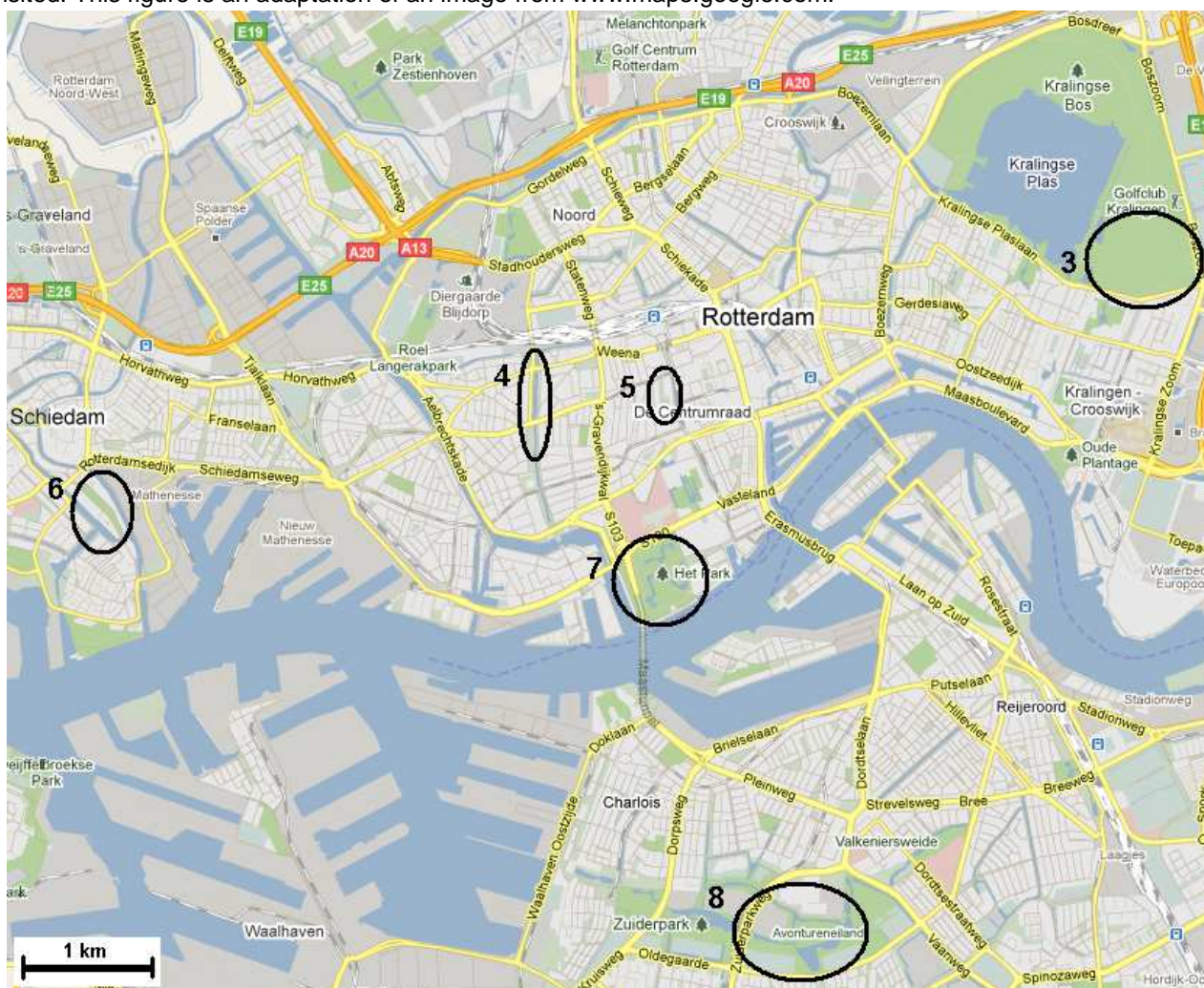


Table 4: Names of the parks and of the participants who were interviewed there.

Park number	Park name	City	Participants who were interviewed here
1	Westerpark	Amsterdam	Leo
2	Vondelpark	Amsterdam	Bill, Lawrence, Lois, Wanda
3	Kralingse Bos	Rotterdam	Wendy
4	Heemraadssingel	Rotterdam	Laura
5	Wijkpark Oude Westen	Rotterdam	Benjamin, Bob, Bruce, William
6	Plantage	Rotterdam	Lilian
7	Het Park	Rotterdam	Betty, Whitney
8	Zuiderpark	Rotterdam	Bryan, Willow

4.4.3 Data analysis

All interviews were transcribed as soon as possible after conducting them, so that the author was able to recall everything as clearly as possible while transcribing. Usually this was within two days, but when many interviews took place in a short period of time, it sometimes took up to one week. Notes about body language and other notable facts were also transcribed. After the first five interviews had been transcribed, they were coded and the process so far was evaluated. The other interviews were coded after all interviews had taken place. 245 codes were used in total, and they were grouped in seven categories: emotions, activities in green areas, characteristics of green areas, culture, personal relation with/ideas about green areas, personal characteristics and interview (e.g. comments about the interview and influence of the interview). These categories were partly defined by the research questions but mostly by the data itself, so inductively.

Everything that the participants said about emotions, aspects of green areas and visits to green areas was gathered in the form of quotations in a large Excel-file. Per topic (e.g. a certain emotion or a certain aspect of green areas), these quotations were then grouped or summarised to be able to process the information into the report. Many of these quotations are used in the results section and they were kept as literal as possible. The participants' current relations with green areas were also summarised by the author to be able to compare them with each other. During this analysis, the participants could be divided into three groups, which are described in the next chapter. Available information about previous relations with green areas and also demographic information and information about the levels of Chinese ethnicity of the participants were summarised in tables (also shown in the report), to be able to make comparisons between the (three groups of) participants and to look for possible relations between these different topics. These comparisons were always made in a qualitative way and the participants were always compared to each other and not to for example national averages. The results were put in a broader context in the discussion and conclusions section.



Chapter 5: Results - Current relation with green areas

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the participants' current relations with green areas are described. The sixteen interviewees covered a very broad range of current relations with green areas. Some hadn't visited a green area in years and didn't care about nature, others walked in parks almost daily and said that nature was very important to them. For this chapter, the participants were divided into three categories, taking into account how often they visited green areas in recent years, and how important visiting green areas was for them (table 5). Six people did not care much about nature and therefore hardly visited green areas. This category is called Nature Blind, and the participants belonging to this group all have fictive names starting with a 'B'. The second category consists of people who do quite like green areas, but who do not visit them very often. All of them said that they wanted to visit green areas more often. Therefore this group is called Nature Wishing and the participants' fictive names start with 'W's. All of the participants with names starting with an 'L' belong to the Nature Loving group and visited green areas at least a few times per month. Naturally, the participants within a category do vary from each other, and there is actually a continuum, or even two continua: one of practical (visiting) relation and one emotional relation with green areas. The categories were chosen to clearly show the variety in relations with green areas that the participants had. It will also become clear later on in the report that the people within the groups had some more things in common

Of all categories, first a short description of the participants' relations with green areas is given. The second paragraph gives some background information about the participants. Then their relationships with several relevant aspects of green areas is discussed, and finally their emotions in relation to green areas. These topics together cover the research questions. The exact emotions and aspects of green areas that are discussed vary between the three different groups, since not all topics were relevant to each of the groups. Quotations of the participants are used as examples and to clarify statements.

Table 5: Categories of relations with green areas.

Category name	Description	Participants		
		Fictive name	Age	Gender
Nature Blind	Rarely visit green areas, not important to them.	Benjamin	25*	Male
		Betty	38	Female
		Bill	39	Male
		Bob	40*	Male
		Bruce	60	Male
		Bryan	21	Male
Nature Wishing	Do not visit green areas very often but would like to do it more often.	Wanda	30	Female
		Wendy	22*	Female
		Whitney	52	Female
		William	24	Male
		Willow	31	Female
Nature Loving	Visit green areas often (at least a few times per month), important to them.	Laura	39	Female
		Lawrence	24*	Male
		Leo	30	Male
		Lilian	37	Female
		Lois	60	Female

*: Approximate age, this was not asked.

5.2 Group Nature Blind

5.2.1 Relation with green areas

Visiting green areas was not important to this group of participants and none of them usually gave nature much thought. Betty, Bob and Bill hadn't visited a green area for years, except perhaps while passing it to get to another location. Benjamin, Bruce and Bryan did visit green areas several times a year, but considered these areas mostly as convenient locations for their activities. Benjamin and Bryan had also often been on vacation in green areas. Bruce is on the border of the Nature Blind and the Nature Wishing categories. He seemed more aware of nature in general and he also complained about the lack of small urban green areas, but he hardly ever visited green areas. He mentioned that he was not able of visiting green areas because he did not have a car, but it was not clear whether he would like to go to green areas more often, if he would have the chance. Betty mentioned the cold and wet climate in the Netherlands as one of the reasons why she never visited green areas. She also said that the air in smaller green areas in the city was too dirty. But mainly, the thought of visiting green areas just did not occur to her often. The other participants of this group also just never or very rarely thought about (visiting) green areas. This is why they are called 'Nature Blind'.

5.2.2 Background information

As can be seen in table 6 below, the group of Nature Blind participants is quite mixed in terms of age and place(s) of birth of the participants' parents. There are a few aspects in which the group stands out from the other groups: there are relatively many males in this group (5 out of 6), the employment rate is higher (5 out of 6), but the education level lower (2 out of 6 high) than average, and the participants have been living in the Netherlands for a relatively large part of their lives (on average 78% of their life years). Also, half of them lived in villages or small towns (all in the west of the Netherlands), whereas all of the other participants (also from the other groups) lived in large cities.

Table 6: Demographic information of participants of the Nature Blind group.

Fictive name	Age	Gender	Place of residence	Place(s) of birth of parents	Percentage of life years in the Netherlands	Employment	Education level
Benjamin	25*	Male	Rotterdam	Hong Kong	85	Employed	High
Betty	38	Female	Rotterdam	Singapore	80	Unemployed	Low or medium
Bill	39	Male	Purmerend	Hong Kong	85	Employed	Low or medium
Bob	40*	Male	Hardinxveld-Giessendam	Mainland China	100	Employed	Low or medium
Bruce	60	Male	Numansdorp	Hong Kong / Suriname	70	Employed	Low or medium
Bryan	21	Male	Rotterdam	Mainland China	45	Studying	High

*: Approximate age, this was not asked.

Benjamin and Bryan were both males in their twenties, Benjamin graduated from university a few years ago and Bryan was still a university student. Benjamin lived in the Netherlands since he was four years old, Bryan since he was twelve. Bruce was sixty years old and had lived first in Suriname and then in Hong Kong until he was seventeen. He had always been working in bakeries. Betty and Bob were both around forty years old. Betty was from Singapore and moved to the Netherlands when she was nine years old, Bob was born here. They both in general lead relatively inactive lives, without

for example hobbies or many social contacts. Betty was also unemployed. Bob and Bruce lived in villages, Bill in a small city, the other three lived in Rotterdam.

Bob, Bryan and Bill all said that they in general did not experience many emotions. Bruce said that his emotions were very constant. Betty was actually quite emotional and often not very cheerful. These aspects are unique for this group of participants.

5.2.3 Aspects of green areas

In this paragraph, a few different aspects of green areas are discussed that appeared to be particularly relevant to the participants of this group, namely the openness of areas, the influence of man and the presence of water. Also their associations with and some ideas about nature/green areas are discussed briefly, since these were sometimes quite divergent from the participants of the other groups.

Water

Four of the participants of this group talked positively about water in green areas. Bruce said that he liked water in green areas a lot, especially when it was flowing or had fish in it. Benjamin was interested in design in general and also paid attention to the way parks were designed. He liked water in parks when it was in balance with the other elements. Bryan also mentioned that he liked to see water in parks, but he could not explain why. Betty wanted to visit large waterfalls in Canada one day and also talked enthusiastically about a very large pond with fish she had seen in a park in Singapore when she was on vacation there. Bob and Bill did not have an opinion about water.

Influence of man

In all six interviews with these participants, wilder nature was discussed. Bruce and Bryan grew up in the vicinity of wild nature, Benjamin talked about a visit to the mountains in Luxembourg and visits to hilly areas in the Netherlands and Bill talked about a wildlife park he had visited a few years ago. Benjamin and Bill were quite impressed by these areas. Betty and Bob both had a wish of visiting a wild, impressive nature area one day. Betty mainly wanted to visit large waterfalls in Canada. Only Bryan said that he was not easily impressed any more by wild, spectacular green areas, since he grew up in a mountainous area in China. Overall it seemed that this group of participants had a larger appreciation of impressive wild green areas than the other groups, but they were not very much acquainted with it. It is possible that they had somewhat romanticised ideas of these places. They were much less interested in green areas that were more influenced by people, such as urban parks.

Openness

One other aspect of green areas that was relatively important to the interviewees of this category was openness (large open spaces as opposed to spaces with many trees and bushes). Benjamin and Bryan both mentioned liking open areas in urban parks, and Bryan also talked about the openness of the mountainous area in Luxembourg that he visited. The waterfall area that Betty wanted to visit, is also a very open area. Betty and Bruce said that they liked parks to be half-open (and not more closed), mainly for safety reasons.

Associations with nature

During the interviews with Betty, Bob and Bill, the three who visited green areas the least, they all asked for a clarification of what was meant by the terms 'nature' or 'green areas'. They all mainly

associated the term 'nature' with forest areas. There were more indications that they all probably did not have a lot of knowledge about nature and that they had some unusual thoughts about green areas. Betty for example seemed quite shocked when she heard that there were people who thought that green areas should not always be managed intensively. She did have a strong opinion about nature management. A small part of the interview with her is featured below, and it shows several unusual thoughts about green areas:

Betty: *Look, you can preserve nature areas. But you shouldn't say like, everything that happens there – yeah, it's not Amazon area, where you really cannot do anything about it. You know, those trees... There [in the Amazon area] is really, there you should leave it. Really can't do anything about it. But, if there is a nature area where you can do something to make it even more beautiful or to make it flower, then you should do something about that. Do you understand what I mean?*

Interviewer: *Yes... But so you think that the nature here in the Netherlands is there... for the people, to be beautiful?*

Betty: *Yes, more beautiful, yes, look, you have to maintain it. Yeah, suppose those trees get ill, suppose half of the trees in the forest get ill... [looks the interviewer in the eyes for a while] Look, it's not easy to make a tree grow until they are so big, it takes many years, that's quite costly, such an old tree. You have to maintain that. But well, you never know, suppose there will be a bacteria and half your forest dies, and why? Because you don't maintain it.*

Interviewer: *Okay, that is clear.*

Betty: *And those people who-who cut trees for furniture and such, yeah, you have to reach it, and planted nature, there is no other way, it's a cycle. [...] There has to be circulation and you have to maintain it, that is important.*

5.2.4 Emotions

Below, the emotions that the participants of this group mentioned experiencing the most in relation to green areas are discussed: rest, excitement and the experience of beauty. As will become clear in the paragraphs about the other groups of participants, this group reported relatively few emotions in relation to green areas. This will at least partly have been due to the fact that they did not visit green areas often.

Experience of beauty

The last quotation of the previous paragraph shows that for Betty, the beauty of green areas was important. A few other Nature Blind participants talked about the beauty of green areas as well. Bob mentioned that he thought that green areas were often beautiful. Bruce thought that it was very important to have many (small) green areas in the city, as he was used from Hong Kong. When asked why, he answered that it would be more beautiful. Later he explained that beautiful green gave him a happy feeling. He also mentioned the smell of green areas.

Bruce: *I think it's more beautiful, no, it would also be a more pleasant feeling, nice. Look, such a large piece of thing, is all bare and concrete. [points at the direction of a large concrete square above an underground parking lot] It will stay like that anyway, well, why [wouldn't] you throw a lawn above it and a few large trees in containers(?) I think it would look beautiful. [...]*

Interviewer: *When you are in nature where you really think it's beautiful, what kind of feelings does that give you?*

Bruce: *Yes, a sort of satisfied, happy, I mean, the smell alone, eh(?)*

Rest

Four of the participants who fall into this category (spontaneously) mentioned not needing or even not liking rest and quietness. Bill repeatedly mentioned the restful aspects of green areas, but he also said that he did not need all that quietness. Bob said something similar. Benjamin mentioned that he was in general very tolerant towards (city) noise. Betty actually said that she was a bit afraid of quietness, because without distractions she was forced to think about things that she did not want to think about. Bruce and Bryan did enjoy calmness. Several of these interviewees did experience calmness in the park during the interview (see paragraph 7.2.1).

Excitement

A few of the participants of this group who talked about liking (large) open spaces in green areas, mentioned that this openness gave them feelings of excitement. With Benjamin, this experience was discussed in some more detail. He mostly experienced it when he was in a mountainous area, but also in urban parks. He thought it was a pleasant feeling:

Benjamin: *I was in Luxembourg once, wi-with mountains, that I do think is impressive, yes. And also in er, the south of Limburg, yes, yes... And also sometimes, Veluwe, Betuwe. You do have something of an impressive feeling. [...] Perhaps also in the Zuiderpark. [...] In Rotterdam there's a Zuiderpark and in The Hague as well, I've been in both. So you do have a, a little bit of a... impressive feeling there, yes... And exciting feeling.*
[...]

K: *Do you think that is a pleasant feeling?*

Benjamin: *Yeah, is a good feeling. Yes.*

5.3 Group Nature Wishing

5.3.1 Relation with green areas

William, Wendy, Whitney, Willow and Wanda all had a special relationship with nature and liked to visit green areas, but for certain reasons they did not do this often. They all wanted to visit green areas more frequently. Some of the interviewees had a spiritual connection with nature, as will be described in paragraph 5.3.4.

William and Wendy were exchange students, and for Wendy this was the main reason why she couldn't visit green areas as often as she wanted, because she was very busy with studying. William seemed to have more spare time, but he said he just did not know where to find parks in his city (Delft). Both of them had not visited green areas in the Netherlands at all since they came to live here. Whitney did sometimes visit green areas in and around Rotterdam to walk there alone or with others, but according to her it was not enough. Perhaps this was because she had a preference for more tropical green areas. She was also planning to move back to Indonesia, where she grew up.

Willow probably visited green areas the most often of this group, both urban parks and larger green areas. She made walks alone or with friends or sometimes did more adventurous 'explorations', comparable to what many of the participants, herself included, did as children (see chapter 6). She was an artist and she also got a lot of inspiration from nature for her artwork. Her main reason for not visiting green areas more often was that she did not have a car. Willow liked many aspects of (visiting) green areas:

I think [nature] is very... inspiring also, because I, I like to observe all the subtle... changing, in the environments. And I like to... I think I like everything, I like to see everything, I like to just be there and, enjoy the moment, in the moment is... is very important, and sometimes you, you

see very unexpected... thing, at least now you look at this [looks at a ditch with leafs in it and we stop walking], and it is really... just coming from the nature, is just, not somebody who make it, I like to see just anything happening, but it's er, especially in the nature elements.

Wanda, finally, often cycled through the *Vondelpark* and sometimes walked there or in other parks. Nature was only becoming more important to her since a few years, as the following quotation shows. Several other of the Nature Wishing participants said that their relation with nature was becoming stronger or had become stronger during their lives.

I think that when you get older, that then you become more aware of nature, I think, and I only have that since a couple of years or so... [In the past years I did sometimes visit green areas] to meet with friends or something like that, but not... really aware that I'm going there or something. I would like to [visit green areas] more often, now, at least, now I would like to [go] more often.

Wanda never visited non-urban green areas, although she would like to do this. She thought the bustle of city life was an important cause of this, as the following quotation shows. Similar statements were made by other members of this group.

But I for example also like to walk through a forest. Even though I don't do it often... Then sometimes I do think like, yeah, I should do it more often, but, yeah, I don't know, I think it's just the bustle of city life, that just makes you not, er, at least I don't go outside so much, but I do enjoy going to a park of course, yes.

5.3.2 Background information

Table 7 below shows some demographic information of the Nature Wishing participants. This group consists mostly of females (4 out of 5) and is 5 to 6 years younger than the other groups (on average 32 years compared to 37 and 38 years). The percentage of life years that the participants of this group had spent in the Netherlands is very mixed, with three participants who had only been living here for a maximum of a few years (Wendy, William and Willow). Wanda was born in Amsterdam and had been living there for all of her life. Whitney moved from Indonesia to the Netherlands when she was nine years old. Wendy and Willow were both exchange students. All of the Nature Wishing participants were highly educated. Whitney and Willow had both studied arts, and Willow, who was from Taiwan, was working as an artist as well.

Table 7: Demographic information of participants of the Nature Wishing group.

Fictive name	Age	Gender	Place of residence	Place(s) of birth of parents	Percentage of life years in the Netherlands	Employment	Education level
Wanda	30	Female	Amsterdam	Hong Kong	100	Unemployed	High
Wendy	22*	Female	Rotterdam	Mainland China	1	Studying	High
Whitney	52	Female	Rotterdam	Indonesia	85	Unemployed	High
William	24	Male	Delft	Mainland China	5	Studying	High
Willow	31	Female	Rotterdam	Taiwan	15	Employed	High

*: Approximate age, this was not asked.

William and Whitney were both relatively emotional and their moods could fluctuate. Willow was also very aware of her emotions, but was usually very optimistic. Wanda said that she would sometimes like to 'turn off the emotion switch' when her emotions were bothering her. Wendy was a bit unclear about whether her mood was really stable, or whether she just did not express extreme emotions. Overall, these interviewees were a lot more aware of their emotions than the Nature Blind participants.

5.3.3 Aspects of green areas

As in paragraph 5.2.3, the aspects of green areas that were relevant for the participants of this group (calmness, influence of man, openness, presence of water and animals) are described below. Part of the aspects overlap with those that were relevant to the previous group.

Calmness

All of these interviewees enjoyed the relative calmness of (also urban) green areas, and this was their main reason for going there. In green areas, they could get away from the city life for a while. Willow actually said that she did not like living in a city a lot.

Influence of man and openness

The participants of this group had different, but quite strong opinions about the influence of man in green areas and the openness of green areas. Willow and Whitney had grown up in the vicinity of mountains and were very fond of these wild areas. Willow in general preferred wilder green areas. She for example did not like to have to follow paths, as she preferred to explore an area in the way she wanted to:

*Yeah, yeah just er, I don't really like, like too organised, like er you have to follow the sign, and finish a route. I'm more like, just unorganised and the tree is crazy-growing or so. [laughs] [...]
Yeah, actually I prefer mountain, or.. wild area, more than the park. But now, the practical reason, so it's hard [to visit wilder nature areas], but park also nice actually sometimes.*

Wanda also said that she did not like parks to be too organised and clean. Whitney did prefer parks over wild nature, but did not speak of the level of organisation and cleanliness. William did not have a preference for wilder or more man-made green areas, and Wendy actually preferred the man-made green areas a lot, because it had fewer insects, she thought. The participants' preferences for the level of human influence in landscapes corresponded to their preferences concerning the openness of areas. The more they liked wild nature, the more they liked closed areas, so with many trees. The participants often mentioned this link themselves. Whitney often liked to see a combination of natural and human-influenced aspects, and she liked to look at the sky. William and Willow also both mentioned liking to look at the (open) skies, at nicely coloured clouds or at stars.

Water

Except for Wanda, all of the participants of this group expressed a strong affection towards water in green areas. Wanda said that she had no opinion about it, but she perhaps seemed to find it a bit dirty. William was very enthusiastic about water:

Yeah-yeah-yeah-yeah-yeah, I like water, yeah. How to say, if there's water, it's not boring. So, so some thing's in motion, so... so it's er, I like that.

Wendy mentioned a symbolic value of water.

I just think water is powerful and is... clean, and somehow, yeah... It looks that water can do nothing, but it actually can do everything. [laughs] You know what I mean?

Animals

Again with the exception of Wanda, everyone in this category liked to see animals in (urban) green areas. Wanda was allergic to many animals and thought this was the reason why she had developed a general disliking towards animals. Wendy was very afraid of insects but she very much liked many

other animals. She and William also sometimes fed birds. Whitney also liked to see animals in (urban) green areas and she said that it amazed her to see that animals could survive in the city:

[I like to see animals in green areas,] er... because it's more nature. [laughs] It also sometimes amazes me how animals can live, I mean, in the middle of the city you also sometimes see very many birds, or that you still encounter hares or something.

5.3.4 Emotions

The Nature Wishing participants reported experiencing more and stronger emotions in relation to green areas than the Nature Blind group. The emotions rest and fear and spiritual and aesthetic experiences were mentioned the most often and seemed the most important to the participants. These are discussed below.

Rest

As was already mentioned, these interviewees enjoyed visiting calm green areas; they sought rest here. They all thought that urban and non-urban green areas were good places to become more calm. William explained that he really needed to go to green areas sometimes to relax. He also thought it was healthy and it made him feel that he was part of nature:

European people like parties a lot. I prefer nature. [...] For me it's... relax, right(?) Maybe some people feel relax in the parties, but, I mean, it's er, the strong music, and the air force, I don't, I don't think it's healthy. But nature is er, is close to the environment, and you feel that you are part of the environment. And you feel calm... And maybe you can have... some... you have time to think about yourself.

Experience of beauty and inspiration

The participants of this group also all appreciated the beauty of green areas and this was also a reason for them to visit green areas. They seemed to enjoy looking at many different things in green areas, often both on a landscape level and more at details like individual trees or flowers. The artist Willow also visited green areas with the aim to be inspired by unexpected things:

Yeah, when you're in a city, everything is organised, everything is, er... human made, and then, it's just... designed. And in the nature you have a lot of possibilities. You can see how the life can be, with all those things.

Fear

Three of the participants of this group sometimes experienced fear in green areas or could imagine being afraid in green areas. This was a reason for them for preferring green areas not to be too closed. Wendy was only afraid of insects, Whitney and Wanda were more wary of mischievous persons. Willow and William both could not imagine being afraid in green areas at all. Wanda explained why she preferred half-open green areas over closed areas:

Er, I think I would [be scared in more closed green areas], at least, it does give you a bit of an unsafe [feeling] because then you have no overview, eh? You never know which idiot is sitting behind a bush, who can shoot out like that.

Spiritual experiences

Except for William, everyone in this group said they had somewhat of a spiritual connection with nature – and actually William's quote above under 'Rest' about him feeling connected to nature also links to spirituality. Wanda did not experience nature-related spirituality very strongly. Willow was

probably the interviewee who most actively sought spirituality in nature, because she sometimes went to green areas to meditate, alone or with a friend. For Wendy and Whitney, two quotations about spirituality are given below.

Wendy, when asked to describe a special feeling she mentioned having when she was in a small boat during a recent vacation:

Wendy: [laughs] Well, I don't know what I'm thinking at that time, maybe... I just see the water and I think, wow, it's really beautiful, and, er, actually it's a lake, you know, a round lake with mountains, and erm, I don't know, erm... I think I didn't think anything at the moment, hm, I just think it's really good. [laughs]

Interviewer: [...] do you think it is maybe like a spiritual feeling, that you have with water?

Wendy: Yeah, even while I don't know how to swim [laughs], I like water a lot. I just feel comfortable when I feel water.

Whitney mainly experienced spiritual feelings towards spectacular green areas. She also felt gratitude in relation to these places. Just as most of the other candidates she found it difficult to describe her spiritual connection with nature, but she really made an effort to do this:

It's a, erm... feeling, as if er... anything can happen with you, and you are okay with it... Something like that. Then er, nothing really has value any more... Other things, I mean, material things, or, something like that. Yes, it's hard to explain. [laughs]

5.4 Group Nature Loving

5.4.1 Relation with green areas

Five out of the sixteen interviewees were very conscious of nature and visited green areas very often, some almost daily. The three women Laura, Lilian and Lois all made walks in parks or other green urban areas several times a week and also often visited green areas during vacations. Laura and Lilian usually went with their husbands. Lois had been living next to the *Vondelpark* for many years and visited this park or other parks in Amsterdam almost daily. Lawrence had a very strong emotional connection to green areas and also visited urban and non-urban green areas in the Netherlands regularly, often alone. Leo had a son of fourteen months old, and was visiting parks with him usually twice a week since his son was very young. He said that a park was a safe and convenient place to go to with a young child. He hardly visited non-urban green areas. Leo actually had the least strong emotional relation with green areas of the participants of this group and could even form a separate category on his own, as someone with not that much emotional attachment to green areas but who did visit green areas a lot. He did say that he was becoming more and more aware of nature as he was getting older. He was now thirty years old. Leo:

I am not that aware of nature. I do seek her. I just know that this is more pleasant for me right now. Just green and er, and er... Yeah, I'm not very conscious of er... But I do, yeah, you do make that you just feel comfortable with it.

5.4.2 Background information

Table 8 on the next page again shows some demographic information of the participants of this group. The Nature Loving participants had on average only lived in the Netherlands for 27% of their life years, which is much less than the averages of the other two groups. Three out of five of them were female (and the females of this group were the most 'nature loving'). The level of education of this group is relatively high (4/5 high), but Laura, Lawrence and Lois were all unemployed. They however did do a lot of voluntary work and other activities and except for Lois they were all looking for a job. Lois had had a burnout about five years ago and her voluntary work in the Buddhist temple was now enough for

her. Leo and Lilian were self-employed. This means that this group of participants had at least relatively flexible agendas and perhaps also more spare time than most of the participants of the other groups. This might have made it easier for them to visit green areas often.

Table 8: Demographic information of participants of the Nature Loving group.

Fictive name	Age	Gender	Place of residence	Place(s) of birth of parents	Percentage of life years in the Netherlands	Employment	Employment /education level
Laura	39	Female	Rotterdam	Singapore	10	Unemployed	High
Lawrence	24*	Male	Amsterdam	Mainland China	5	Unemployed	High
Leo	30	Male	Amsterdam	Mainland China	55	Employed	High
Lilian	37	Female	Schiedam	Mainland China / unknown (Asia)	15	Employed	High
Lois	60	Female	Amsterdam	Malaysia	50	Unemployed	High

*: Approximate age, this was not asked.

Laura and Lilian were both from Singapore and knew each other, and they had both been living here for less than five years. They were in their thirties. Lilian lived in Schiedam, which is a city very near to Rotterdam. Lois moved from Malaysia to the Netherlands forty years ago, but she still went back to her home country for half a year each year. Lawrence was a recently graduated exchange student from China. Leo had lived in the Netherlands since he was fourteen years old. He mainly grew up without his parents and he had moved quite often.

Lawrence and Lois were Buddhists, Lilian was a Catholic and Laura was interested in multiple religions. For all of them this was a very important part of their lives and Lilian, Lawrence and Lois saw links between their religion and nature. A few of the other participants were also religious, but they all seemed less concerned with this.

Laura, Lilian, Lois and Leo all talked about how their emotions had become more balanced during their lives. They were very aware of this. Lilian was a therapist and had had to go through a lot of therapy herself for this, during which she learned a lot about herself. Lois said that her mood had become a lot more stable since she started to actively practise Buddhism and meditation. Laura also said that her emotions were very stable and that they were hardly influenced by things around her, but her body often gave her signals of stress and she also made a bit of a tensed impression during the interview. The youngest participant, Lawrence (24 years old), was the most troubled by mood fluctuations of this group. The weather for example influenced his mood a lot.

5.4.3 Aspects of green areas

This paragraph is somewhat longer than the paragraphs about aspects of green areas that were important for the other two groups of participants. The participants of the Nature Loving category were on average more aware of different (also perhaps smaller) aspects of green areas and sometimes had stronger opinions about things. This is not surprising, since they had the strongest relation with green areas and simply came into contact with green areas the most.

Calmness

All of the participants in this group seemed to have a preference for more quiet green areas, with not too many people. As mentioned before, Lois lived next to the *Vondelpark* and walked here very often, but this was not her favourite park. She preferred the more quiet *Amstelpark*:

[...] when I have time I also go to another one, the Amstelpark. Because, there is much more quiet, you see that it's different atmosphere, in the Vondelpark you always see a lot of people, it's very international, and er, in the Amstelpark you really go for your peace and your quiet.

Lilian even moved to the Netherlands because she liked the relative quietness here (also even in the city) compared to Singapore:

[...] friends who come from overseas always wanna come back to Singapore, but for me, I say no, I don't think I will ever want to move back to Singapore. Because I'm more drawn to the, er, quietness, the, er... er... I'm not a city - I'm not a city person. Singapore is a very-very modern city area, but erm, no, I have never always been attracted to - I don't know why. I prefer the countryside, the nature, the, ja.

Influence of man and openness

Just as the other participants, the Nature Loving participants had different preferences concerning the openness of green areas. Lawrence and Leo both said that they felt much more comfortable in open areas. Closed parks gave both of them an oppressive feeling. Laura preferred half-open parks, and Lilian and Lois could enjoy both open and closed parks or landscapes. Again, this seemed quite consistent with their preferences for the intensity of human influence in green areas. Most of them could enjoy both tidy parks and wilder green areas, also Lawrence, although he did not like closed green areas. Only Laura said that she did not like very wild green areas at all, but she still enjoyed the forests in the Netherlands, which she called 'quite organised'. These forests can actually be considered relatively 'wild' by many Dutch people, and this shows that the participants probably had some different criteria for calling an area 'wild' or 'man-made'. This actually makes it a bit hard to compare their statements on this issue. About 'really wild' green areas, Laura mainly said that she didn't like it that you need a lot more effort to find (beautiful) things there.

Cleanliness

With most of the participants of this group, the topic of cleanliness of green areas came up during the interview. They had different opinions about this. Laura thought that it was very important that green areas were clean, and she mentioned this several times during the interview. Just like Laura, Lilian grew up in Singapore and she described an obsession of Singaporeans with cleanliness, also of green spaces. She herself had almost completely 'overcome' this. She and Lois seemed satisfied when there was no dog poop. Leo said that parks in China were usually more dirty than in the Netherlands. Open spaces gave him a clean feeling. Lawrence and Lois also mentioned the clean air in green areas.

Water

Also with these interviewees, the aspect of water in green areas was often discussed. For Lois and Leo, water was very important. Lois had even moved so she could live in front of a canal. Lilian also lived in front of a canal and enjoyed this a lot. Leo grew up near a large river and had recreated near oceans and lakes for all of his life. He said that he did not like all types of water in urban parks, but was not clear about this. For Laura, water was an essential part of a park. Of two certain small park-like areas she knew near her house, she only considered one a park, probably because it had water, she thought. Lilian had a very strong affection towards waterfalls and less so towards ponds, but she still liked water in general.

Animals

Lilian, Lawrence and Lois much liked animals in green areas, Laura also liked most of them and only Leo was neutral about animals. Some of the participants enjoyed looking at ducks or swans in the water or listening to birds singing.

Weather

The weather hardly seemed to influence the recreation behaviour in green areas of this group of participants, even though for many of them it did often influence their emotions (see next paragraph). Some of them could also enjoy 'bad' weather. Only Laura complained about the climate in Singapore being too hot and humid and the climate here being too cold, but she still made walks almost daily.

Art

The topic of artworks in green areas was discussed with four of the interviewees in this group, while it was hardly discussed with the people from the other groups. This is at least partly by coincidence because there were pieces of art in most of the parks that were visited with the Nature Loving participants. Laura, Lilian and Lawrence all liked to see pieces of art in green areas. For Laura it was very important that the artwork matched with the surrounding area. With Leo this topic was not discussed. During the interview with participants Lawrence and Lois, they showed different opinions about the art present in the *Vondelpark*, which seemed to represent their opinions about art in green areas in general:

Lois: *I don't really appreciate all this, I think they are ugly.*

Lawrence: *I think it's okay because they are something different in the park, we should not always see the true... trees, lakes, yeah, I can see some... artworks, yeah. Maybe we can not understand, but we will try to think something about this, yeah, I think it's also, yeah, okay.*

5.4.4 Emotions

Rest

Like many of the previously mentioned participants, these participants also mainly sought and found calmness in green areas. Lilian gave a very enthusiastic description of this. She also mentioned that the effects that nature had on her had become stronger over the years:

For me I really feel that nature bring a balance in life, in emotions. And I always feel very, er, serene, very calm, peaceful, whenever I go to the woods, or er, yeah, for the cycling or walk, and er, you really literally feel in your body. [...] When I first went to the Black Woods, oh God, when the [sigh] internal peace [laughs] yeah, so I-I-I-I recognise that. Because I'm letting myself be at the moment. 'Cause in the past, I can be really busy in my head even though I am in nature. But now it's being in the presence, enjoying what is here, yeah.

Lilian seemed to especially experience calmness in forest areas, whereas more open areas could also give her feelings of great excitement. For some participants, water could intensify the calmness they experienced in green areas. Laura, Lilian and Lois all spoke about this. Leo did not seem as aware as the others of this group of how being in a green area influenced his emotions. He did experience some more calmness in green areas, but this was not very important to him.

Experience of beauty

This group of interviewees seemed to be the most sensitive to the beauty of green areas. Most of them mentioned things they had seen in green areas that they thought were beautiful, and they enjoyed this beauty. Laura, Lilian and Lawrence all spoke enthusiastically about botanical gardens in their home countries, where they enjoyed looking at beautiful flowers. All five of the participants seemed to have somewhat of an eye for details like flowers. Leo did not mention many beautiful things but was mainly negative about things that did not look nice, he for example did not like the Oosterpark because the gravel paths there did not look decent, according to him. He did think that trees and open spaces were beautiful. The beauty of green areas often gave the participants positive feelings. Lois gave a nice example of this:

Last year I went to the Keukenhof, then you have the idea, the world can't be that bad, because there are such beautiful things in the world.

Fear

Lawrence, Lois and Leo said that they never felt or could feel afraid in a green area. Lois, who was a woman of sixty years old, had actually cycled through the *Vondelpark* by night very often until a few years ago, but had never felt any fear there. She said that she considered this park as her home. Laura and Lilian were both a bit afraid of insects and some other animals, mainly Laura. Lilian was also easily scared in the dark (in green areas), Laura avoided being in green areas after sunset. Lilian's fears did not stop her from going to green areas at all, and her fear of insects was becoming a lot less since she started gardening on her balcony a few years ago.

Spiritual experiences

Mainly Laura, Lilian, Lawrence and Lois had strong spiritual connections with green areas. This was important to all of them. They mainly had spiritual experiences when they were in quiet green areas and they connected these experiences with feelings of calmness, happiness, gratefulness, humbleness and feeling one with nature. Lois mentioned almost all of these aspects when she talked about walking in the Austrian mountains, which she did with her (Austrian) husband for a month each year:

In the mountains you really, er, feel very humble. It's so big, it's so quiet and you see the beauty of nature because, there are so many different berries, cranberries, blueberries, er, you ate mushrooms, then er, yeah, then you realise to be happy, to be one with nature, life is very simple. You are away from the hustle and bustle of everyday.

Leo had not thought about spirituality in relation to nature before, but he did see some links. Lilian, Lawrence and Lois, who were all religious, saw connections between their religion and nature. Lilian, being very aware of her own emotions, told the most elaborate and clear stories about this topic. She was a Catholic and she enthusiastically talked about how she experienced God in green areas:

I always - because I'm a Catholic - when I saw nature I really see God. [laughs] I see the beauty of nature is like so amazing, he actually created all this, you know, every little thing, so, it just bring me, bring me back to God, and love, especially, yeah.[...] I really felt the presence of God, I don't know why, it's, I guess I just sense it, yeah. I guess it's... even in the wind, even in-in... animals, yeah, I-I, ja. Actually in the waterfalls, along the road we came in the Black Woods was a waterfall, wow, it's like: woowww! [laughs]

This participant was also asked some questions by e-mail after the interview. When the author asked her whether spiritual experiences in green areas often had a lasting impact, she replied:

[...] yes, it does. The experience will leave an impact, impression emotionally and [spiritually]. Somehow the body was restored during the visit and healed. I also recall a friend telling me of his experience in Germany and until today it has a lasting impression on him. It goes the same for me.

In addition, she said that she had felt very calm and grounded after the interview for at least the rest of the day. Lilian also wrote an enthusiastic note about the interview and her relation with green areas on her Facebook page, stressing the importance of visiting green areas for emotional stability and general groundedness. A quotation:

I share with Jeroen that it is good to take a stroll in the park regularly, to be present with nature and just enjoy that moment and be in the presence. Nature heals and it brings the equilibrium of the state of mind, feeling in the body if we are in presence with nature. I always feel happy when I am in the Nature. It reminds me constantly of God in my life. I'm grateful that there is nature.



Chapter 6: Results - Relation with green areas during childhood

6.1 Introduction

All participants were asked to describe their recreation behaviour in green areas in their youth, including the activities they did in green areas when they were young and how this made them feel. For some participants this was a more distant past than for others, and not all participants could tell much about this. During the interviews, usually a distinction was made either by the interviewer or the interviewee between the period before approximately the tenth or twelfth life year, and the period as a teenager until eighteen or twenty, and if relevant also between periods in different countries. These periods in someone's life often differ from each other in many ways, due to for example different levels of independence, different (age-related) interests and different environments. Most people had more memories about (their relation with green areas during) their teenage years than before that.

This chapter is split up accordingly into a part about the participants' relations with green areas during their early childhoods (paragraph 6.2) and during their teenage years (paragraph 6.3). Furthermore, these two parts are built up in another way than the previous chapter about relations with green areas in the present. Both paragraphs 6.2 and 6.3 discuss the participants' recreation behaviour in green areas (in either their early childhoods or in their teenage years), relevant aspects of green areas and emotions in relation to green areas. These topics are discussed for the whole group of participants, so they are not split up per group (e.g. Nature Blind), as opposed to what was done in the previous chapter, because the differences between the groups were not that clear for the participants' childhoods. Furthermore, the participants' former places of residence are discussed, since they appeared to strongly influence their relations with green areas when they were young. The participants' relations with green areas in their early childhoods, in their teenage years and in the present are compared at the end of paragraphs 6.2 and 6.3.

6.2 Early childhood

6.2.1 Recreation behaviour in green areas

Table 9: Participants' recreation behaviour in green areas in their early childhoods.

A darker colour indicates a higher frequency of visits to green areas.

Fictive name	Recreation behaviour in green areas in early childhood						
Benjamin	Several activities with parents or alone.						
Betty	Never or rarely.						
Bill	Never or rarely.						
Bob	Several activities with parents, only when very young.						
Bruce	Several activities.						
Bryan	Playing without parents, adventure.						
Wanda	Playing with parents.						
Wendy	Never or rarely.						
Whitney	Several activities with parents.						
William	Playing without parents.						
Willow	Playing without parents, adventure.						
Laura	Rarely.						
Lawrence	Walking in mountains alone.						
Leo	Playing without parents, adventure, sometimes several activities with parents.						
Lilian	Never or rarely.						
Lois	Unclear.						

As young children under the age of twelve, many participants visited (urban) green areas to play there with friends, some went with their parents (usually not for playing) and a few others never visited green areas or did not remember. Many of the participants who visited green areas to play there, usually went alone or with friends, without parents. The participants' activities in green areas in their early youths are summarised in table 9 on the previous page. The darker colours indicate a more frequent visiting of green areas. The different types of activities that the participants did in green areas are discussed in this paragraph. The influence of their parents is discussed as well.

Playing and adventure without parents

The participants told the most and the most enthusiastic stories about playing in green areas without their parents. About one third of the participants had often done this, some in urban parks and some in non-urban green areas. Benjamin sometimes explored parks in China by bicycle, and William often played in a large park in China with his friends before he was twelve. Many of the other participants visited even wilder areas with friends when they were young, and they often described adventurous activities. Bruce for example sometimes went walking or fishing in the jungles of Suriname. Leo and Willow both explored different non-urban types of green areas with their friends, already when they were very young. Bryan lived in a village near a mountain in the south-east of China until he was twelve years old, and he often secretly climbed this mountain with friends and his older siblings. Just as almost all other participants, he was at this age not very aware of being in nature, but mainly of the activities he did there:

Yes, I think... you were not aware of those mountains when you were young. Yeah, it's just... wild, challenge, yes, trying new things, just doing something without your parents knowing it, yeah. Like er... picking fruits, yes, you can do that in the mountains, yes. [...] O yeah, I was often not allowed to join, because I was too young.

Activities with parents

Again about one third of the participants sometimes or often visited green areas with their parents before they were twelve years old. A few of them went for playing games and the others for other activities. Wanda had very positive memories about playing in green areas with her parents and siblings. They went to parks in Amsterdam almost weekly when she was young, where they played games and cycled. Bob mentioned several other activities with his parents in green areas. When he was very young, he frequently fed ducks with his brother and mother in a park in Amsterdam. Whitney remembered visiting mountains, a zoo and a pristine beach area with her parents when she was little. Most of the other participants did not have clear memories about the other activities (not playing) that they did with their parents. Some had negative memories about this. Leo for example did not speak about this very enthusiastically:

It's not really that I consciously, er, gladly, or er, or er, like I really want it, to go to a park or something, but it's rather that you go with your parents sometimes, and er...

Busy parents

Children's recreation behaviour in green areas is usually dependent on or at least influenced by their parents. However, as mentioned before, a large part of the interviewees often visited green areas when they were young without their parents. In the interviews with these participants, it was not discussed why they did not go with their parents. Of the participants who did not visit green areas often as a child, many (spontaneously) mentioned that this was because their parents were too busy to take them to green areas. A few participants did not remember ever having visited a park or nature area when they were young. Betty said that this was because her parents worked in a restaurant and

therefore had little leisure time. She thought this was the case for most people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands in the 1980s. Bob often visited an urban park in Amsterdam with his family until he was about five years old. They then moved and his parents started a business:

And when they, so to speak, in the village where I still lives now, then, yeah, then they actually have a business themselves, and then it had actually always become much less. [...] So during the vacation most... Dutch go to either an amusement park, or to a bungalow-like thing, or abroad, but because of the business we usually had to stay home. Maybe... once to the beach to Scheveningen, and er... maybe twice a year, once to the Efteling [laughs] and that's about it. [laughs] And what I hear from Dutch people, that is actually rather boring, I don't know if you mind. [laughs]

Wendy and Bill grew up in respectively a large city in China and a village near Hong Kong, and they too never or hardly ever visited green areas when they were young. Lilian only started to explore parks in Singapore when she was encouraged by a friend (see paragraph 6.3.3). All of them, just like Betty and Bob, mentioned their parents being very busy as a reason for this. Wendy also mentioned that most Chinese children did not have brothers or sisters and so could not go to parks with them. Lilian thought that many Chinese/Singaporean people were very busy and that this was related to their (old) culture:

Lilian: Actually [my friend] was the very first one who introduced this park to me... and it's through him I got to like nature, through him I got exposed to nature, because my parents [...] didn't bring us to parks, yeah, they were very traditional parents, so...

Interviewer: What do you mean they were very traditional? [...] Is it untraditional to go to nature, in Singapore?

Lilian: Nee nee nee, they, my parents they were the... old mind thinking, so for them it's er, work, and money, that sort of stuff, and er, then, only on the Chinese new year as kids they will bring us to the... how is that place... [...] I guess it is because they are so caught up in work, to earn a living, that there is no time, to do this kind of stuff, yeah.

6.2.2 Aspects of green areas

As already mentioned, the interviewees mainly remembered and talked about the activities they did in green areas when they were young, but they could not tell much about the areas they visited. There were still three aspects of green areas that were often discussed with the participants in relation to areas they had visited in their early childhoods: the presence of mountains, the influence of man and the presence of animals. These topics are discussed in this paragraph.

Mountains

One natural aspect that was often mentioned, and perhaps also big enough not to be possibly overlooked by children, was the presence of hills or mountains. At least four of the participants (Lawrence, Bryan, Willow and Leo) had lived near hills or mountains and mentioned playing in the mountains with friends when they were young, always without their parents. William also mentioned the hilliness of a park on the edge of the city in which he used to play. Whitney sometimes visited a mountainous area in Indonesia with her family, because they had a vacation house there. She was the only one of the interviewees to mention going to the mountains with her parents for leisure activities. Bryan only went into the mountains with his parents to bury people. Lawrence had had rather special nature experiences when he was still very young, as he often made long walks through mountainous areas all alone then.

Influence of man

Since most of the participants who (often) visited green areas when they were very young grew up in non-urban or half-urban areas, they were mostly in contact with relatively wild green areas, not much influenced by man. This aspect was often mentioned when the interviewees talked about their activities in these areas. Wilder green areas are perhaps more interesting for children because they offer more opportunities for playing and exploring than urban areas. Wanda also mentioned the park in Amsterdam she often visited being relatively 'wild', which according to her made it more suitable for playing.

Animals

Four of the participants talked about some memories from their early childhood relating to animals in green areas. In the previous paragraph, some memories of Bob and Whitney about visiting green areas with their parents were mentioned, which both involved animals (for Bob it was feeding ducks, for Whitney the animals on the pristine beach and in the zoo). Bob also remembered visiting a petting zoo. Bruce and Leo caught fish or frogs when they were still very young.

6.2.3 Place of residence

Table 10: Participants' recreation behaviour in green areas and (type of) place of residence in their early childhoods.

In the middle column, a darker colour indicates a higher frequency of visits to green areas. In the right column, a darker colour indicates a lesser urban environment.

Fictive name	(Type of) place of residence in early childhood	Recreation behaviour in green areas in early childhood
Benjamin	Urban area in China.	Several activities with parents or alone.
Betty	Urban area in Singapore.	Never or rarely.
Wanda	Urban area in the Netherlands.	Playing with parents.
Wendy	Urban area in China.	Never or rarely.
Laura	Urban area in Singapore.	Rarely.
Lilian	Urban area in Singapore.	Never or rarely.
Bob	Urban and half-urban areas in the Netherlands.	Several activities with parents, only when very young.
Bruce	Half-urban area in Suriname.	Several activities.
Whitney	Half-urban area in Indonesia.	Several activities with parents.
Willow	Half-urban area in Taiwan.	Playing without parents, adventure.
Leo	Urban and non-urban areas in China.	Playing without parents, adventure, sometimes several activities with parents.
Bill	Non-urban area in Hong Kong.	Never or rarely.
Bryan	Non-urban area in China.	Playing without parents, adventure.
William	Non-urban area in China.	Playing without parents.
Lawrence	Non-urban area in China.	Walking in mountains alone.
Lois	Non-urban area in Malaysia.	Unclear.

Most of the interviewees only remembered visiting green areas near their homes when they were young. Since many of them usually went to green areas to play with friends (often without parents), only areas near their homes were accessible to them. This makes their former places of residence very relevant. Many of the participants lived in China or another country before they were twelve years old. Most participants lived in cities when they were young. Whitney, Bruce, Willow and Leo lived in

cities outside the Netherlands, but still near relatively wild green areas, often hills or mountains close to their city. William, Lois, Lawrence, Bryan and Bill lived in more rural areas for at least part of their early youths. This information is summarised and compared with the participants' early recreation behaviour in green areas in table 10 on the previous page. The table is ordered by the type of area in which the participants grew up (urban, half-urban or non-urban, secondly it was ordered alphabetically by the names of the participants). Quite noticeably, four out of the five participants who never or rarely visited green areas before they were twelve years old, all lived in urban areas then. The participants from less urban areas on average visited green areas more often.

6.2.4 Emotions

The participants did not remember as many emotions from visits to green areas in their childhoods as from more recent visits. Below, the emotions that they did remember having are grouped in positive and active emotions and negative emotions.

Positive and active emotions

When asked to describe how playing in green areas as a child made the interviewees feel, using the emotion checklist, they often checked activity, surprise, cheerfulness, excitement and challenge. The participants mostly remembered emotions caused by active activities that they did in green areas. Both the participants who were accompanied by their parents when they were playing in green areas and those who went without parents, often recalled positive and active emotions.

William often played in a large park in China with his friends before he was twelve. When asked about his experience of these activities, he mainly mentioned excitement:

I think excitement, because when you are a kid, and you enter a beautiful park, you feel excited. And also, we went there with more kids and we played hide and seek and it also... enhances your friendship. [pauses] Yeah... yeah... And of course... you go there and there is already activity and you have good times, so...

Bryan, who often secretly climbed a mountain with friends, also said:

Yeah, it's just... wild, challenge, yes, trying new things, just doing something without your parents knowing it, yeah.

Wanda visited urban parks in Amsterdam with her parents almost weekly when she was young. She did mention this being relaxing, but she mainly described positive and active emotions:

*Oh, that was fun. Yeah, it was just relaxation for the whole family, actually. And at the time, yeah, the Westerpark has been pimped not very long ago, you know the Westerpark, right? [...]
Well, only now it has become like... a Vondelpark, to put it like that, but previously it was-you could cycle further, and it was one big... a big, wild green or something like that, with many mountains and things like that, so it's, there is always fun, yes. Yeah, I don't know, being a child you are always very creative, right, with things in nature...? I do remember that, yes.*

If a participant had clear memories of what a certain green area looked like that she or he visited during early childhood, then this was usually in some way an exceptional area. Whitney was the only one to mention (experiencing) the beauty of a green area she visited as a child. She later said that this area had mainly made her feel active and enthusiastic.

And what I remember of vacations is the beach. But it is really, er, pristine, er, then you have many colourful fish and also snakes, and – I still remember, yes - all kinds of anemones, and, gorgeous, very beautiful...

Neutral or negative emotions

The participants seemed to have less vivid memories of the times spent in green areas with their parents, but while not playing, and they did not often describe how they felt then. Whitney's last quotation is an exception. Leo's quotation in the paragraph about activities was quite negative about visiting green areas with his parents.

Lawrence had some divergent emotional experiences as a young child in green areas, as he often walked through the mountains all by himself. This made him feel calm, but also often somewhat sad, lonely and scared.

6.2.5 Comparison with current relation with green areas

In table 11 below, the participants' recreation behaviour in green areas in their early childhoods can be compared with their current relations with green areas. The Nature Blind participants visited green areas the least in their early childhoods, but Bruce and Bryan did often do activities in green areas when they were young children. Four of the Nature Wishing participants also already visited green areas very often before they were twelve years old. The Nature Loving participants had mixed relations with green areas as young children. In table 11, the (colours of the) categories indicate the frequency of visits to green areas in the present, combined with the participants' emotional relations with green areas, while the last column only indicates the frequency of visits to green areas (in the participants' early childhoods), because the participants did not have a very strong emotional relation with green areas when they were children.

Table 11: Overview of participants' relations with green areas in their early childhoods and currently.
The (colours of the) categories indicate the frequency of visits to green areas in the present combined with the participants' emotional relations with green areas. A darker colour in the last column indicates a higher frequency of visits to green areas.

Fictive name	Category (current relation with green areas)	Recreation behaviour in green areas in early childhood					
Benjamin	Nature Blind						
Betty							
Bill							
Bob							
Bruce							
Bryan							
Wanda	Nature Wishing						
Wendy							
Whitney							
William							
Willow							
Laura	Nature Loving						
Lawrence							
Leo							
Lilian							
Lois							

6.3 Teenage years

6.3.1 Recreation behaviour in green areas

Table 12: Participants' recreation behaviour in green areas in their teenage years.
A darker colour indicates a higher frequency of visits to green areas.

Fictive name	Recreation behaviour in green areas in teenage years
Benjamin	Several activities, sometimes hanging out with friends.
Betty	Never or rarely.
Bill	Rarely.
Bob	Never or rarely.
Bruce	Several activities, doing sports.
Bryan	Rarely.
Wanda	Never or rarely.
Wendy	Hanging out with friends, several activities with parents.
Whitney	Several activities, playing with friends.
William	Several activities.
Willow	Playing without parents, adventure, doing sports.
Laura	Hanging out with friends, doing sports.
Lawrence	Hanging out with friends, otherwise unclear.
Leo	Hanging out with friends.
Lilian	Playing with friends, adventure.
Lois	Several activities with friends, not completely clear.

For almost all of the participants, their relation with green areas was very different during their teenage years than during their early childhood. A few of them often went to parks to hang out with friends and perhaps play soccer or have a barbecue. Others did individual sports in parks. William and Bryan mentioned having visited a park during one or several dates as a teenager, the first one in China, the second in the Netherlands. A few of the participants started or continued to seek adventure in green areas as teenagers. Betty, Bob, Bill, Bryan and Wanda hardly or never visited green areas in their teenage years. The participants' recreation in green areas in their teenage years is summarised in table 12 above and the different (categories of) activities they did are discussed below.

Hanging around

Wendy, Benjamin, Leo and Lawrence sometimes hung around in urban parks with friends to chat. Leo did this at least weekly for a very long time, and he also hung around on the beach often, which was near the house where he lived as a teenager. Just like in the interviewees' early childhoods, most – but not all – of them were as teenagers still not yet very aware of the natural aspects, but more of the activities they did in green areas. Also Leo mostly considered green areas as locations for activities and was not much aware of nature. As one of the only ones he also mentioned the weather being of influence for visiting parks:

And er, I also lived in Rotterdam for some time, eh. Eight years. There I also, er, let me think... er... There I did not consciously seek nature or something like that, but I did lay in the park a whole lot, yes. [laughs] If it was bit nice weather, so from about May, you know. Because er, my school was, just lay next to it. And then if the weather is a bit nice, you just went to lay in the park, chilling, hanging out with friends...

Sports

At least five of the participants did sports in green areas when they were teenagers. Benjamin sometimes played soccer or caught fish with friends in a park. Bruce took self defence classes in a very large urban park in Hong Kong. Laura and Willow both jogged in green areas, and Laura also sometimes cycled through parks. Bill sometimes went fishing in a park in Purmerend.

Nature trips

As opposed to in their early youth, as a teenager some of the interviewees were (becoming) somewhat more aware of the natural elements of green areas and also visited these areas because of this. Wendy liked to join her parents on 'nature cruises' in China, where they went to a nature area with many people, just to admire the nature and take photos. She also sometimes walked through a small urban park with her parents. Whitney sometimes cycled to a small village nearby her house on the coast of Noord-Holland, and she had a lot of attention for the natural elements that she passed on her way, mainly the trees. Lois sometimes visited a botanical garden as a teenager, but she perhaps experienced this more like an amusement park at the time, since she said not to be very aware of nature yet then.

Adventure

Finally, there were some participants who sought adventure in green areas, perhaps similar to what many of them did as younger children. Willow continued to explore the mountains near her city in Taiwan with friends or alone. Whitney sometimes made walks on the beach in Noord-Holland with her friends when it was raining and storming. Benjamin often explored urban parks. Lilian, who grew up in Singapore, was influenced by one friend to explore parks when they were teenagers:

I think it was during a time, much older [16-19 years old], we actually explored parks. [laughs] Yeah, explore parks in Singapore, I don't know what, what came to my mind, but we just: hey, that's good, let's go to that park, you know, just yeah. [...] [We] did a lot of funny things. [laughs] It was quite adventurous. What... people usually, joggers and strollers, I mean the pedestrians, they would normally stroll on the normal path. For us, we went through the unconventional way, it's like a big slope, with lots of bush area to cut through and er, we came out of the blue. [laughs]

6.3.2 Aspects of green areas / place of residence

As teenagers, the participants sometimes travelled a bit further to visit green areas than when they were very young, but most of them still mostly visited green areas in their own neighbourhoods. William, Bryan and Leo had moved to more urban areas in the meantime. Most of the participants who went to green areas to hang out with friends or to do sports, lived in urban areas and went to urban parks. This can also be seen in table 13 on the next page, which is again ordered by the type of area in which the participants grew up. The 'hanging around' usually took place in open areas in parks, like greens. Whitney and Leo lived near the ocean and often visited the beach. The exploring of green areas could take place in more wild areas (the beach for Whitney, a mountainous area for Willow) or in urban parks (Lilian in urban parks in Singapore). Besides the general types of the green areas that the participants had visited (e.g. urban park or mountainous area), they did not talk a lot about different aspects of these areas. The weather was mentioned twice as an important factor for doing activities in green areas as a teenager.

Table 13: Participants' recreation behaviour in green areas and (type of) place of residence in their teenage years.

In the middle column, a darker colour indicates a higher frequency of visits to green areas. In the right column, a darker colour indicates a lesser urban environment.

Fictive name	(Type of) place of residence in teenage years	Recreation behaviour in green areas in teenage years
Benjamin	Urban area in China.	Several activities, sometimes hanging out with friends.
Betty	Urban area in Singapore.	Never or rarely.
Wanda	Urban area in the Netherlands.	Never or rarely.
Wendy	Urban area in China	Hanging out with friends, several activities with parents.
Laura	Urban area in Singapore.	Hanging out with friends, doing sports.
Lilian	Urban area in Singapore.	Playing with friends, adventure.
Bob	Urban and half-urban areas in the Netherlands.	Never or rarely.
Bruce	Half-urban area in Suriname.	Several activities, doing sports.
Whitney	Half-urban area in Indonesia.	Several activities, playing with friends.
Willow	Half-urban area in Taiwan.	Playing without parents, adventure, doing sports.
Leo	Urban and non-urban areas in China.	Hanging out with friends.
Bill	Non-urban area in Hong Kong.	Rarely.
Bryan	Non-urban area in China.	Rarely.
William	Non-urban area in China.	Several activities.
Lawrence	Non-urban area in China.	Hanging out with friends, otherwise unclear.
Lois	Non-urban area in Malaysia.	Several activities with friends, not completely clear.

6.3.3 Emotions

Some of the participants were now more aware of the natural aspects of green areas than when they were younger. They generally experienced more calmer emotions than when they visited green areas as younger children. The emotions that the participants remembered from their teenage years will be discussed below, grouped as positive and active and positive and calm emotions. None of the participants specifically mentioned experiencing negative emotions related to green areas when they were teenagers, but the ones who did not visit green areas (often) when they were teenagers were mostly indifferent about green areas.

Positive and active emotions

The interviewees who did sports or adventurous activities in green areas, mostly experienced surprise (especially with the adventurous activities), excitement, activity and cheerfulness, the same emotions as the participants experienced when doing adventurous activities as younger children. Benjamin, who explored urban parks by bicycle, also experienced optimism and hope there:

I'm just always, I always want to see new things, and, yeah, when I saw that [park], that's a kind of surprise, I think. [pauses and looks at emotion checklist] Er... Yeah, also a bit optimism. [...] Yes... So, er, yeah, bit at the beginning of the week, Monday or so, you do have a bit optimistic, and hope, so to say, the feeling. And when you're in a park, you have that as well. Yes. Maybe when you're sometimes, erm... a bit sad, and you go to the park, then... yeah, then you do become, er, you get some more hope, yes.

Positive and calm emotions

Something new for the teenagers was the experience of general calmness and peacefulness in green areas. Wendy, Benjamin, Willow and Bill specifically mentioned this, but there were also a few others who performed quite restful activities in green areas and who might have experienced calm emotions as well. Wendy talked about how she felt when she visited a small urban park with her parents, as a teenager:

Erm, I think it's a good feeling 'cause I will feel relaxed, and it's peaceful, 'cause I'm not the kind of girl who likes really noisy places, so I think that's really... nice.

Leo always liked to hang around and relax in green areas. He gave a description of how he experienced this (he spoke about past experiences in the present tense):

And in Vlissingen I also go, as a matter of fact very often to Versermeer. [...] Yes, a lake, just above Vlissingen, er... Yes, very large lake, and we always so to say near Armuiden somewhere, we hang around a bit, have barbecues, during summer with friends, we had also both gotten our driver's license then, and yeah, you're just hanging in the whirl of er, yeah, you know, you're twenty and, you just do not have anything to do, you're going to school and you just have enough money and then you just – and enough time to do things, and then you just... [...] enjoy, yes.

A few of the participants mentioned enjoying the beauty of an area when they were teenagers. Wendy went on 'nature cruises' especially to experience the beauty of green areas. Wendy and William both told about 'elegant' small urban parks they had visited as teenagers. William:

It was not a big park, [...] but elegant, small. The things there is so very organised. In autumn, how to say, the leaves have, er... colours. [...] and you sit on a bench and you watch the leaves falling down... and the sky turns pink... very beautiful...

Whitney spoke enthusiastically about the beauty of the trees she always passed while cycling to a nearby village:

Those trees alone, I thought they were very beautiful, especially when the sun falls through, then you get all those shadows, that is very beautiful. And then also, yeah, the streets is, er, boulders, yes, boulders, is very beautiful, that part.

6.3.4 Comparison with current relation with green areas and with recreation behaviour in green areas in early childhoods

In table 14 on the next page, the participants' recreation behaviour in green areas in their teenage years can be compared with their recreation behaviour in green areas in their early childhoods and with their current relation with green areas. Most of the participants spent about the same amount of time or less in green areas when they were teenagers compared to when they were younger, except for two Nature Lovers (Laura and Lilian) and one Nature Wisher (Wendy), who as teenagers spent more time in green areas than before. The recreation behaviour in green areas of the participants in their teenage years already seems more similar to their current relation with green areas. For example, four out of the five participants who never or rarely visited green areas when they were teenagers, fall into the Nature Blind category.

Table 14: Overview of participants' relations with green areas in their childhoods and currently.

The (colours of the) categories indicate the frequency of visits to green areas in the present combined with the participants' emotional relations with green areas. A darker colour in the last two columns indicates a higher frequency of visits to green areas.

Fictive name	Category (current relation with green areas)	Recreation behaviour in green areas in early childhood						Recreation behaviour in green areas in teenage years
Benjamin	Nature Blind							
Betty								
Bill								
Bob								
Bruce								
Bryan								
Wanda	Nature Wishing							
Wendy								
Whitney								
William								
Willow								
Laura	Nature Loving							
Lawrence								
Leo								
Lilian								
Lois								



Chapter 7: Results - (Emotional) experiences in parks during the interviews

7.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the experiences of the participants during the interviews in the parks. It is structured around the emotions that the interviewees experienced during the interviews, and available information concerning people's behaviour in the parks and relating to different aspects of parks is discussed in relation to these emotions. Many emotions were experienced both before going to the park and in the park, but in different intensities. When information about this is available, it is mentioned. Noticeable differences between different groups of participants (Nature Blind, Nature Wishing and Nature Loving) or people of for example different ages or genders are discussed here as well.

This chapter has again a different build-up than the previous chapters, as people's behaviour and relevant aspects of green areas are not discussed separately because these topics were less relevant here. During the walks in the parks during the interviews, it was attempted to give the participants some say in where exactly to go (within the park) and what to do, like sitting, walking or pausing to look at something. Most of them however seemed to prefer to be guided by the interviewer, and even when for example asked directly which of two directions in a park they would prefer to go, many interviewees said they did not care. Therefore not a lot can be said about the participants' behaviour during the interviews in the parks, since their behaviour was mostly guided by the interviewer. Aspects of green areas were also somewhat less relevant because each park only had some certain aspects and the participants could not compare many different aspects. Their emotions could however be studied quite well during the visits to the parks because they were really experienced at that moment. The ten emotions that were experienced the most often or that seemed the most important to the participants are discussed in this chapter.

7.2 Emotional experiences in parks during the interviews

7.2.1 Calmness

Almost all of the participants felt calmer in the park than at the beginning of the interview and before the interview. Becoming calmer is part of 'restoration', a concept already discussed in the theory. When the participants were asked how they felt during the interview in a park, calmness was very often the first thing they mentioned. When Lilian was asked how she felt, she answered:

Hm... Calm, really calm... [...] because when I am home, I know I have work to do, so I will start doing my work [laughs], whereas being here with – yeah being here just with the environment and with nature and just enjoy, yeah, yeah.

This calmness often arose very quickly when the participant entered the park. In the *Vondelpark*, Wanda said:

It brings calmness, yeah, you already notice it, as soon as you walk in here – okay, except for that rumble (construction work) – it's just, er... yeah, it gives you rest, it calms you... Almost a bit – sometimes a bit a zen moment.

Some interviewees said that the calmness went together with satisfaction and happiness (also see Lilian's quotation above). A few others actually reported less feelings of satisfaction when they were in the park and were calmer, because they simply had fewer thoughts and less feelings then. For several

people, the presence of water could intensify the calmness. Bruce stood still for a while when he noticed a small pond in the park. When asked how looking at the water made him feel, he replied:

Yeah, when you see that, and especially when it's moving with those fish in it, it is also a bit relaxed, eh(?) Rest...full, it is... Beautiful...

Betty was the only one who spoke negatively about the calmness she experienced in the park. It forced her to think about things, which she did not appreciate. Laura did not feel calmer in the park, but she said that she already felt calm at the start of the interview, in her house. Also, the green area that was visited during the interview was quite small (Heemraadssingel in Rotterdam) and she mentioned still feeling like she was in the city, when she was there. Bill did not feel calmer in the park either, but he said that his emotions were very constant, and he also did not seem very aware of or interested in his emotions. Furthermore, he seemed a bit nervous because of the interview. The Nature Blind participants on average reported the least calm feelings in the park.

Often, the participants did not only say that they felt calmer, but they also clearly acted more calm when they were in the green area. Many talked slower and walked slower or sat in a more relaxed way than before. Some of the interviewees were possibly a bit nervous because of the interview, especially at the start, but this was definitely not the case for all of them. Lilian was a good example of someone who showed much more relaxed behaviour when she was in a green area, and actually already a bit when she was outside, on her way to the green area. She was extremely aware of and open about her emotions, and was not at all nervous for the interview. The interview started at her house, and here she was very busy, talked very fast and a lot and often made hand gestures and moved around on her chair. In the park, she talked and moved much slower and less and looked around her in a calm way. She did seem very alert.

7.2.2 Fear

Just a few interviewees experienced some fear during the interviews in the parks. All of the interviews took place during daytime and the interviewees were of course not alone, so it is not surprising that not many of them were afraid in the parks. Furthermore, most of the visited parks were located in the middle of urban areas and there were continually some other people around. When asked whether they felt any fear at that moment, many participants replied that they did not, because it was daytime and there were people around. A few, mainly the males and the Nature Lovers, could not imagine being afraid in green areas.

The interview with Whitney took place in a relatively quiet park, *Het Park* in Rotterdam. The emotion checklist was also filled out at a place that was somewhat secluded. She experienced some 'alarm' there. She explained:

[...] I think it has [...] to do with parks, with-with trees, and bushes, and closed batches, and, and then... If I was alone I would not feel very much, er, at ease. Yes, during the day it's not so bad, but at night I would definitely not do that.

Lawrence felt very uneasy at a closed part of the *Vondelpark*, but he had trouble explaining this well. He probably felt some claustrophobic feelings. Wendy was very scared of insects, and in a part of the *Kralingse Bos* – where the interview took place – with relatively high vegetation, she was constantly a bit uneasy because of the risk of encountering insects. In more open parts of the park, with short grass, she did not experience this fear. Laura, Lilian and Bryan were also somewhat scared of insects, but while just walking through a park during the interview, they did not think about this at all.

7.2.3 Experience of beauty

Most of the interviewees said that they found the park in general beautiful, often without this being asked. Many participants also mentioned specific aspects of the parks that were according to them beautiful. Many participants (Betty, Wendy, Benjamin, Laura, Whitney, Lilian, Bruce, Lawrence, Lois, Willow and Leo) mentioned the beauty of trees, sometimes in relation to their variety or to their impressiveness. Wendy was very much impressed by the size and beauty of some trees in a lane, as mentioned in paragraph 7.2.5 about spirituality. Benjamin said that a weeping willow gave him sentimental feelings. If there was water present in a park, then this was also thought to be beautiful and was much appreciated by most interviewees. Bruce thought that the small park *Wijkpark Oude Westen* in Rotterdam was very beautiful, partly because it was well maintained. Bryan and Leo found the openness of the parks beautiful. Some participants seemed to find everything in the parks beautiful, or least very pleasant to look at, mainly William, Lilian, Lawrence, Lois and Willow. These were all people with strong relations with green areas. Strong experiences of beauty often gave rise to feelings of gratefulness and happiness and also seemed to be linked to spiritual experiences. William quite dreamily said, while looking around him in the park:

Grateful. Er, grateful... for the things we have... the clean air, the beautiful... er, the beautiful landscape...

Figure 8: Autumn colours in Het Park in Rotterdam.

Some of the participants were much impressed by the autumn colours. This photo was taken by the author.



Because the interviews took place in autumn, the different autumn colours could be seen during part of the interviews. Especially Whitney was much impressed by this:

I think this part is very beautiful! [...] Because of the colours... Also contrasts of those trunks and then there's those small... leaves... And isn't that a piece of art! [looking at a pile of wood stumps and twigs] [pauses] Yes, I think this is very beautiful.

The photo shown as figure 8 on the previous page was taken a few days after the interview with Whitney at the same park, *Het Park* in Rotterdam, and shows the autumn colours at that time.

There was artwork, mainly statues, present in about two-thirds of the parks that were visited during this study. Many of the participants noticed this and when they did, or when they were made aware of this by the interviewer, they were often neutral or mildly positive about it. A few participants however said that they thought that the artwork was quite beautiful. These were Laura, Lilian and Lawrence, remarkably all from the Nature Loving group. Surprisingly, Lois, from the same group, thought that the artwork in the *Vondelpark* was ugly.

Otherwise, the interviewees hardly mentioned finding anything ugly. Laura and Bill however did not think that the parks they visited were particularly beautiful. Bill did not think that any parks in the Netherlands were very special. Laura, as mentioned before, visited quite a small park and could not really see it as nature.

7.2.4 Happiness

Most of the interviewees said that they felt pleasant in the park, often more pleasant than before being there or before the start of the interview. This was often connected to the calmness of the park and feelings of calmness, or to the beauty of the park. When they were asked how they felt in the park, or sometimes without this being asked, many participants said something like “I feel pleasant here, it's much calmer.” or “I feel pleasant here, it's very beautiful.”. They also often indicated feeling more cheerful or optimistic and hopeful, and sometimes even euphoric. It is difficult to know and to describe how much happier the participants felt in the park. For some, one of the just mentioned short quotations (‘I feel pleasant here [...]’) was about all they said and could say about it. Others could sometimes identify things that caused the positive feelings. William said that the pigeons and seagulls in the park made him happy and there were more interviewees who seemed more cheerful when they saw animals in the park. Bruce felt happier because of the presence of a small pond. Several of the participants mentioned liking the fresh air in the park. However, most of the participants could not pinpoint what exactly made them feel happier.

Most of the interviewees were sometimes quite busy and enthusiastic and sometimes more serene. Whether the interviewees were happy in a more excited or in a more serene way, seemed mostly connected to whether they were walking or sitting and less so to the things they saw. They often became calmer when they sat down and looked around calmly. Lois was the only one who constantly seemed excited about everything she saw in the park. She also continually mentioned out loud what she saw and said that she liked it (e.g. plants, animals and people). On the emotion checklist, she did however also check emotions of calmness and peacefulness. Wendy was very excited about a lane with tall trees in the *Kralingse Bos* (see next paragraph, 7.2.5), but became very serene when she got to a large lake. There, while she watched the water, she dreamily said:

Erm, yes, [it makes me feel happier,] but... I want to be silent... not to think about...

For a few interviewees, especially some who did not visit green areas often, the pleasant feelings they experienced in the park seemed to be a surprise. The interview with Bob actually started in a small park (*Wijkpark Oude Westen*) and then quickly moved to underneath a shelter in a shopping street because of rain. When it got dry again, the interview moved back to the small park. When the

interviewee sat down there, he immediately noticed some pleasant feelings. He was not sure what caused this, perhaps it was the calmness in the park:

Bob: *Well, I have to say very honestly, I do think it is more pleasant than er, than just before there those interview, maybe because you can sit with it or something [laughs] but... I do find it more pleasant now, when you compare it like that a bit with er, with then, er...*

Interviewer: *Okay, okay. And er, what do you find more pleasant here then?*

Bob: *Yeah... It's calmer...*

Interviewer: *Okay. Mainly that, that it's calmer?*

Bob: *Yeah... I actually don't know...*

Interviewer: *But it does give a pleasant feeling?*

Bob: *It does give a pleasant feeling, yes. And I actually did not really realise that before.*

Two of the participants mentioned feeling less pleasant during (part of) the interviews than before. Lawrence was not dressed very warmly and there was a fierce wind during the interview. He also had a starting cold. This made him feel less pleasant in the park than at the start of the interview, which was somewhere inside. He furthermore said that he felt fewer emotions during the interview than before, because he was very concentrated on the interview and did not pay as much attention to the surroundings as he usually would. Bryan felt a bit lonely during part of the interview. He also said that he was in a more serious mood because of the interview. This was at a very quiet open area near a small beach and a (deserted) playground in the *Zuiderpark* in Rotterdam, and while there was some drizzling rain. This was thus quite a typically lonely and somewhat depressive environment/moment.

7.2.5 Spirituality

As already became apparent from the chapter about people's current relation with green areas, many of them had a spiritual connection with green areas, and this was usually quite important to them. During the interviews, only a few of the participants experienced something that could be regarded as spiritual. None of the interviewees who were not familiar with spiritual experiences, had these during the interviews. It is not surprising that only few participants had spiritual experiences during the interviews, because all interviews took place in urban parks and with the previously unfamiliar interviewer. The visits were also not very long and the participants were asked questions all the time. These are not circumstances in which spiritual experiences easily occur.

But still, even during the interviews, some of the participants showed signs of having spiritual experiences. This was sometimes hard to judge, since the interviewees often did not name it as such and many of them had difficulties describing their (mainly strong) emotions. In general, the Nature Wishing and Nature Loving participants displayed much more emotions with a link to spirituality than the Nature Blind participants. Lilian was the only one who literally said that she had spiritual experiences during the interview. She strongly experienced the presence of God in the natural elements of the park. This gave her feelings of happiness, euphoria, love, awe, calmness, gratefulness and humbleness.

Wendy also seemed very much affected by the park where the interview took place, the *Kralingse Bos*. She showed signs of having some spiritual experiences in the park. She was very enthusiastic because of beautiful scenes there several times. The green environment also made her feel grateful and peaceful. She especially liked a certain lane with tall trees on both sides. The photo shown as figure 9 on the next page is taken at this location. She said she really enjoyed looking at the trees and at the sky, after which she also did this and was silent for a while. She later tried to explain why she liked this location and how it made her feel. It made her feel comfortable and actually gave her a feeling of being in a movie:

Wendy: *Erm, if there was a hotel in it, I'd like to live in it. [laughs] I don't know, I just think: oh, [those trees] are really... really big and really tall. [...] Yeah, I think trees are really great, especially tall trees. [...] You know sometimes you just - when you look at the trees you just feel like you are in the movie. [laughs] Yeah, 'cause we don't have this kind of feeling in real life. We just see it in a movie and we think, wow, that is really cool, you really want to see this place, and you er, feel like you are shooting a movie. [laughs]*

Interviewer: *So it's kind of a... romantic feeling(?)*

Wendy: *Yeah, yeah.*

Interviewer: *[...] do you have that feeling now also a bit, like you are in a movie?*

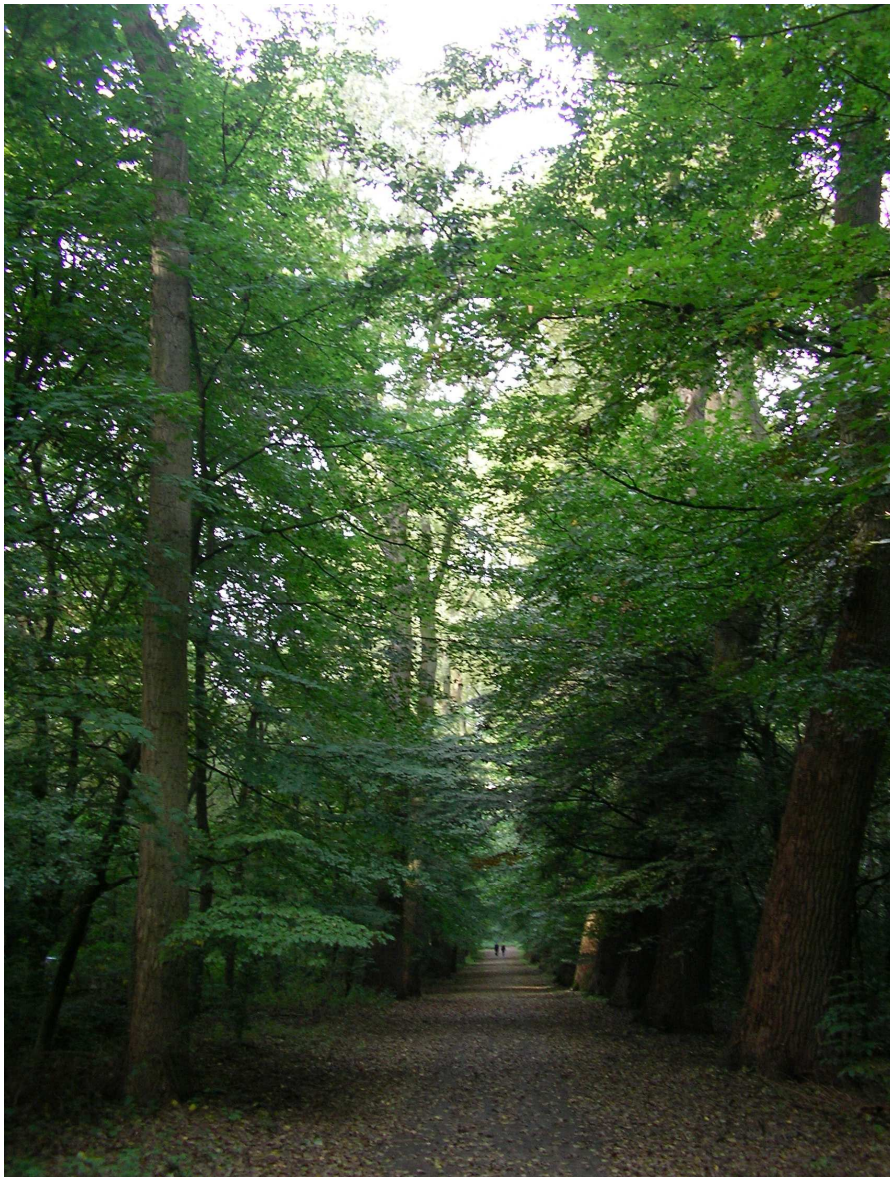
Wendy: *Yeah.*

K: *Is it like... a bit surreal, or something...?*

Wendy: *I don't know what... yeah, I don't know. But I just feel very comfortable.*

Figure 9: Lane with tall trees in the Kralingse Bos in Rotterdam.

Wendy showed signs of having a spiritual experience here. This photo was taken by the author.



William, Whitney, Lawrence and Lois were also experiencing several emotions connected to spirituality, like gratefulness, love and humbleness and they were very enthusiastic about the beauty of the parks. Lawrence felt tenderness and felt strongly connected to the green environment:

Interviewer: *Tenderness... do you think it's connected to nature, that you feel that now?*

Lawrence: *Er, I think yeah, because I guess it's, really... many nature scenes, I can feel their growth, maybe like the leaves are falling down, yeah.*

Wendy and Whitney had their spiritual experiences while they were in relatively impressive parts of the parks, the lane with very tall trees for Wendy and a place with large trees and many coloured leaves for Lilian. The interviews with Lawrence and Lois took place (simultaneously) at the *Vondelpark*, which is also a large park with some 'impressive' aspects. William and Lilian were interviewed in much smaller parks.

7.2.6 Nostalgia

It was theorised earlier that nostalgia might be a relevant emotion for immigrants, also in relation to visits to green areas. Nostalgia was however hardly experienced by the participants during the interviews and did not seem to be important to them. The parks visited during the interviews did remind a few of the participants of parks they had visited in their youths (in the Netherlands, China or another country), but often only when they were asked about this. Whitney and Lilian were reminded by the park visited during the interview of green areas they had visited earlier, but not in their youths. These memories were mainly pleasant, but Whitney also experienced some melancholia. She thought this had to do with the autumn and the decay that she associated with it. It was actually for a large part these *feelings* that reminded her of past visits to green areas, more than the physical surroundings.

Laura was asked in general if being in parks or nature areas in the Netherlands ever reminded her of visits to green areas in her home country Singapore. She was very clear in her answer, and her answer was quite typical for most of the participants:

Laura: *No.*

Interviewer: *Not at all?*

Laura: *No, it's so different, it's tropical.*

Interviewer: *Yeah, I know... But also not just the being in nature, doesn't really bring -*

Laura: *- No. Because erm, physically you feel different, in Singapore it's usually warm, very warm, the climate, and you are also in [laughs] easier clothes, lighter, so you also feel lighter. It's totally very different feeling.*

Three participants (Bruce, Lawrence and Leo) were reminded of green areas from their youths probably spontaneously (not just because they were asked about it). Two of them said that these memories were pleasant, for Leo they were neutral. He was reminded of China by weeping willows, but that was not very important to him. Bruce was the only one who displayed some feelings of nostalgia connected to his home country (China), triggered by the park he visited for the interview. This park (*Wijkpark Oude Westen* in Rotterdam) reminded him of a park in Hong Kong that he had special memories about, even though it looked quite different. This also gave rise to some feelings of desire, but in a pleasant way.

Bruce: *It reminds me a little bit of Hong Kong. Because that is also an urban park, well, is also something like this, with different trees... But then you have a pond, you have a foot-, yeah, it could, it is for example larger. [...] you try to compare, basically it cannot be compared. But well. [laughs a bit]*

Interviewer: *But is that mainly a pleasant feeling, or -*

Bruce: *Yes, safe feeling.*

Interviewer: *No, pleasant?*

Bruce: *Pleasant, yes.*

Interviewer: *Not that you just miss it there, it is pleasant to -*

Bruce: *- No no no no no, not that I miss it.*

We later go through the emotion checklist (in the park):

Bruce: *Desire? Desire, yes [laughs], that's what I was just saying, it does resemble, little bit Hong Kong does it resemble. That urban park back then.*

Interviewer: *Yes, yes, so that does bring a bit of desire(?)*

Bruce: *Yes.*

7.2.7 Place identity and place attachment

Place identity and attachment could not be studied well in this research, since for practical reasons most of the interviews took place in parks that the participants usually did not visit often. In the first interviews, all participants were asked how much they felt at home at the park, to test their place identity and attachment, but they often did not know how to answer this and they sometimes mentioned that they thought this was a strange question. The question was therefore not asked consistently in the later interviews. Another part of place attachment is simply liking to be at a certain place and many of the participants did mention that they thought that the park was a pleasant place to be in. No one mentioned not liking to be in the park.

There was just one participant (Lois) who very frequently visited the park in which the interview took place, the *Vondelpark*. She lived very near to the park and cycled or walked through it almost daily, and claimed to know it very well. She repeatedly mentioned considering the park as her home. For her this was strongly connected to a feeling of safety. She also said that she took the park a bit for granted. Some quotations:

[...] I always think that, when I'm here, I'm at home. Because I know every... square metre here. And I will sit at a certain place, at a certain mood, I have never sat here because I have all my favourite spots.

[...] And I take with the Vondelpark is er, grown like that through the years, so you feel at home there, but many of the beautiful, you take... as habit.

Also Wendy and Whitney mentioned feeling at home in the parks where the interviews took place, while they were not very familiar with these parks yet. They actually both mentioned that they would like to live right there. This caused a feeling of desire for Whitney.

7.2.8 Group identity

Group identity could not be studied well either, because only one interview was carried out with more than one participant simultaneously (the interview with Lawrence and Lois) and these participants were not of the same nationality and did not have a very close relationship with each other.

7.2.9 Activity

Activity may seem to be the opposite of calmness, but this is not necessarily so. It can also mean feeling energetic and ready for doing activities. Some of the participants said that they experienced an increase of active feelings in the park, some a decrease. This was not discussed with everyone so it is not certain how many of the participants experienced this. Wanda said that she felt 'as if her batteries were being recharged', which seems related to the concept of restoration (see paragraph 3.5). She naturally considered this to be something positive. The participants who experienced less activity in the park actually also usually considered this to be something positive. Perhaps for them it just meant feeling calm.

7.2.10 Annoyance

Annoyance was actually not studied in-depth, but several of the participants did mention experiencing some annoyance. None of them however checked this emotion on the emotion checklist, but it is possible that they only experienced annoyance for a short period of time and not while filling out the checklist. Laura was easily annoyed by untidiness of green areas, and also did not seem completely satisfied by the cleanliness of the Heemraadssingel, where the interview took place, but she did not literally say that this annoyed her. During the interviews with Bob, Lawrence and Bryan the weather was not very pleasant (drizzling rain and with Lawrence also strong wind). They all mentioned not liking this, although without literally mentioning the word annoyance. William was a bit annoyed by some children who were playing loudly nearby. He was the only one who mentioned annoyance because of noises. During the interviews with Wendy, Benjamin and Laura, the interviewer herself was a bit annoyed by (car) noises, and after a while asked the participants whether they experienced this as well or tried to find out in a subtle way. None of them however experienced annoyance by this or minded this for other reasons.



Chapter 8: Discussion and conclusions

8.1 Introduction

In the first three paragraphs of this chapter, the three research sub-questions will be answered, together answering the main research question. These questions are stated below once more:

Main research question:

How do people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands experience (urban) green areas emotionally?

Sub-questions:

1. Which emotional experiences do people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands have in urban green areas? How could these experiences be related to types of behaviour/activities undertaken and to (design) aspects of urban green areas? How important do the people with a Chinese background deem these experiences?
2. Which past emotional experiences did people with a Chinese background have in green areas in China and in the Netherlands? How could these experiences be related to types of behaviour/activities undertaken and to types of green areas? How important do the people with a Chinese background deem these experiences?
3. Is there a possible connection between past emotional experiences in green areas, and the current emotional experiences in urban green areas of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands?

After the answering of the research questions, the limitations of the research are discussed, evaluating the applied theory and methods and focusing on the representativeness of the study and on the influence of the interview process on the results. In paragraph 8.6, the results are put in a broader context by comparing them to the theory. Finally, recommendations are made for policy, design and future research.

8.2 Current (emotional) relation with green areas

The first sub-question was about the current (emotional) relations of the participants with green areas: “Which emotional experiences do people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands have in urban green areas? How could these experiences be related to types of behaviour/activities undertaken and to (design) aspects of urban green areas? How important do the people with a Chinese background deem these experiences?” These topics were investigated by interviewing people about their current relation with green areas and about their experiences while visiting a park during the interview.

The sixteen participants could be divided in three groups of similar sizes according to their current emotional relation with green areas and the frequency of their visits to green areas: the Nature Blind participants did not care much about green areas and hardly visited them, the Nature Wishing and Nature Loving participants all had a stronger emotional relation with green areas, but the Nature Wishing people for several reasons did not visit green areas as often as they would like to, while the Nature Loving participants did. Most of the participants who sometimes visited green areas went there to make walks, alone or with a partner or friend. Below, first the emotions that seemed to be experienced the most and to be regarded as the most important by the participants are discussed, and then some important aspects of green areas and visits to green areas which seemed to influence the participants’ (emotional) experiences in green areas the most.

Emotions

The participants reported experiencing many different emotions in green areas. The interviewees from the Nature Wishing and Nature Loving categories often experienced more and stronger emotions in. Their emotions also seemed to be more important to them than to the participants of the Nature Blind category, since several members of the Nature Blind category (and none of the other groups) said that they did not care much about their emotions. There was a particularly large difference in the level of experience and appreciation of rest and calm feelings in green areas or in general. Rest, or restoration, was the most important reason for the participants for visiting green areas (in the present) and they often said that being in green areas indeed made them feel calmer. Many of the Nature Blind participants however said that they did not need or even did not like calmness.

The participants also enjoyed going to green areas to experience beauty. This often made them happy. Both the experience of beauty and happiness were also connected to spiritual experiences, which were far more important to the participants than expected, especially to the people who had a strong relation with green areas. Spirituality and happiness also seemed connected to feelings of gratefulness, humbleness, euphoria, love and awe. Some of the interviewees felt more active in green areas.

Place attachment was experienced a bit during the interviews by almost all of the participants, but only in the sense that they liked being at that location. Some of the interviewees sometimes experienced fear in green areas. Some were afraid of insects, some of people with bad intentions. Occasionally, the participants were annoyed by some noise or untidiness.

Aspects of green areas and visits

The interviewees' experiences of green areas were influenced by several aspects of the area and the visit. Some aspects had a larger effect on people than others. Many of the participants were very fond of trees, and several participants mentioned liking to see a variety of trees in green areas. The presence of water was appreciated almost unanimously. For some, this brought calmness, for others a bit more excitement. Some of the participants even stated that water had provoked spiritual experiences for them. The presence of animals and art in parks was also important to several of the participants, and had different effects on them. Furthermore, some participants had a strong preference for relatively open green areas, with few trees, while others liked more forest-like landscapes, and there were also different opinions about the level of human influence in parks and nature areas. Most of the interviewees preferred green areas to be calm, with few other people, and some found it very important that green areas were kept clean.

Sometimes the people who had a stronger relation with green areas (Nature Loving and Nature Wishing) reacted more strongly to the spatial aspects of a green area. Also, the members of the Nature Blind category seemed to prefer (large) open areas a bit more than the other interviewees, and they liked green areas to have some impressive elements, while the people from the Nature Wishing and the Nature Loving categories had perhaps more eye for details (although they often also enjoyed spectacular green areas). The (emotional) effects that different aspects of green areas had on people with Chinese backgrounds could not be unravelled completely with this limited number of interviewees.

Besides spatial characteristics of green areas, also the activities done there influenced how people experienced their visit. Most notably, many people seemed to relax when they sat down. More active activities in green areas brought more feelings of excitement. Furthermore the participants' experiences were naturally also influenced by the company with whom they went and the weather.

8.3 Past (emotional) relation with green areas

The second research sub-question was about past experiences in green areas: “Which past emotional experiences did people with a Chinese background have in green areas in China and in the Netherlands? How could these experiences be related to types of behaviour/activities undertaken and to types of green areas? How important do the people with a Chinese background deem these experiences?” To answer these questions, the participants were asked about their relations with and experiences in green areas in their youth. In this paragraph, the participants’ past recreation behaviour in green areas, their emotions and the aspects of green areas and visits that were relevant in their youths are discussed together, because there is less information available about past experiences. This is both because the participants did not remember everything of their childhood, and because green areas were in general less important to them when they were children.

As young children, under the age of twelve, most of the participants only visited green areas to play there with their friends, with or without their parents. Some of them played in urban parks but most played in non-urban green areas. From these active activities with friends, they mainly remembered feelings of excitement and cheerfulness. As teenagers, many participants went to parks to hang out with friends or to do sports, and they mostly considered green areas as convenient locations for these activities. The participants did not remember many characteristics of the green areas they visited during their early childhood or while hanging around and doing sports as teenagers, they mainly remembered ‘spectacular’ aspects such as mountains. Some of the participants however became more interested in nature itself when they were teenagers and they enjoyed the calmness and the beauty of green areas. These were mostly people from the Nature Wishing and Nature Loving groups.

In people’s (especially early) childhoods, the accessibility of green areas was a very important factor influencing the participants’ recreation behaviour in green areas, as they could usually not travel far to go to green areas. Their parents and the area in which they grew up had a large influence. Part of the interviewees never or hardly ever visited green areas when they were young because their parents were always working. Furthermore, the participants who grew up in non-urban areas played outside in green areas more often. They also visited these areas more often without their parents.

8.4 Connection between past and current (emotional) relation with green areas

The third research sub-question was: “Is there a possible connection between past emotional experiences in green areas, and the current emotional experiences in urban green areas of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands?” In table 15 on the next page, also previously shown as table 14 in paragraph 6.3.4, the participants’ relations with green areas in their early childhoods, teenage years and in the present are summarised. For almost all of the participants, their relation with green areas changed a lot during their lives. Some of the Nature Blind participants had visited green areas very often when they were children, while a few of the Nature Loving participants never visited green areas when they were young. However, there does seem to be a correlation between especially the participants’ relations with green areas as teenagers and their current relations with green areas. Four out of six of the Nature Blind participants never or hardly ever visited green areas as teenagers, whereas all the Nature Loving participants already had some relation with green areas as teenagers, two of them even very strong relations, and the Nature Wishing participants ‘scored’ in between the other two groups when they were teenagers as well. These results are compared with the theory in paragraph 8.6.

Also linked to people’s childhoods and where they grew up is their ethnicity. The connection between ethnicity and relation with green areas is discussed in paragraph 8.6.2.

Table 15: Overview of participants' relations with green areas in their childhoods and currently.

The (colours of the) categories indicate the frequency of visits to green areas in the present combined with the participants' emotional relations with green areas. A darker colour in the last two columns indicates a higher frequency of visits to green areas.

Fictive name	Category (current relation with green areas)	Recreation behaviour in green areas in early childhood						Recreation behaviour in green areas in teenage years
Benjamin	Nature Blind							
Betty								
Bill								
Bob								
Bruce								
Bryan								
Wanda	Nature Wishing							
Wendy								
Whitney								
William								
Willow								
Laura	Nature Loving							
Lawrence								
Leo								
Lilian								
Lois								

8.5 Limitations of this research

In this paragraph, some of the limitations of this research will be discussed. The applied theory and methods are first evaluated in general. The second paragraph focuses on the effects that the interviews had on the results of the study and the last paragraph is about the representativeness of the study.

8.5.1 General evaluation of theory and methods

Overall, the theoretical approach and the methods of this thesis resulted in a satisfactory answering of the stated research questions, as has been discussed in the previous paragraphs. The broad and open definitions of nature, ethnicity and emotions that were used proved to be appropriate for this exploratory study, since they resulted in a broad range of data, which was the aim. In the theoretical section of the report, a focus on several specific emotions and factors influencing people's (emotional) relations with green areas was argued for, following previous literature. This theoretical basis provided useful guidance to the research. The emotions and influencing factors that were found to be important in this study are compared to the theory in paragraph 8.6. Next to having these theoretical expectations, it proved very important to interview the participants in a very open way, and this resulted in the finding of many more relevant emotions and aspects. It was also very useful to conduct the interviews partly in parks, so that the participants could experience being in a green area during the interview and could report their experiences 'in real time'. The influence of the interviews/method of interviewing is discussed in more detail in paragraph 8.5.2.

In this thesis, relations of people with green areas were explored in an uncommon way, namely by focusing on emotional experiences in relation to green areas. This proved to be a useful approach. The participants reported many emotional reactions to visiting green areas and often valued these emotions highly. Experiences in green areas could therefore be explored extensively by focusing on

emotions, and experiences and aspects of green areas that were important to people could be identified. Both emotions characteristic of individualistic and of collectivist culture were reported. A focus on emotions could complement approaches of studying people's relations with green areas which are more directed at cognitive or normative ideas and preferences concerning green areas. In addition, there seems to be a surprising connection between people's awareness of their emotions and their relation with green areas: the participants of this study who were most aware of their emotions, valued visiting green areas more.

8.5.2 Influence of interview

Clearly, when the participants visited a park during the interview with the interviewer, this was different from their usual visits to green areas (if they normally visited green areas as well). As already discussed in the methods, a researcher will always influence the participants of a study and this, together with the researcher's interpretation, will colour the results of any study (Green and Thorogood, 2004). Effects on the participants' (descriptions of) present and past experiences in green areas and measures taken to minimise these effects are discussed below.

Effects on (descriptions of) current experiences

Except for one participant (Bill), all of the interviewees reported having clearly different emotional experiences in the park than at the beginning of the interview. Obviously, these differences can't all be attributed to the change from a non-green to a green environment. Some participants might have felt more nervous at the beginning of the interviews. Some might have become more cheerful at the end, because they enjoyed the company of the interviewer and enjoyed talking about themselves. Being interviewed might have distracted some of the participants from the green area but it might have also made some of them more aware of the environment and also of their emotions. Furthermore, the move to the park was sometimes also a change from inside to outside, and very often from a crowded to a calmer environment. Finally, the weather sometimes changed during the interviews. All of these factors could have influenced how the participants felt, together with the change from an urban environment to a park. The exact effects of these factors cannot be known.

The interviewer was the writer of this thesis: a native Dutch dark-blond female student of 23 years old. Some of the participants might have felt more at ease with someone of their own ethnicity, age or gender, and this could have influenced their experiences and their answers. It could have made them less talkative in general or about certain issues, like cultural differences and personal issues like emotions. Almost all of the participants did *seem* to feel at ease and to talk quite openly.

The effects of the interview on how people felt were minimised by making them as informal as possible and by in general trying to make the participant feel at ease. The participants could also choose which park they wanted to visit, preferably one they already knew, and while walking there, they were as much as possible given the choice of which way to go and which places in the park to visit. It was also attempted not to steer their answers and to let them talk as openly as possible and as much as possible about the things they found important. In the analysis of their answers (naturally also about past experiences), the possible effects of the interviews were always kept in mind, and it was attempted not to draw conclusions too quickly.

Effects on descriptions of past experiences

The fact that people's experiences in green areas during the interviews were often not very 'natural', could be partly compensated for because the participants were also asked to describe previous experiences in green areas, both in the recent past and longer ago. Their stories about past and

present experiences in green areas together give a more complete and accurate picture of how they are 'naturally' affected by being in a green area. However, experiences can never be described 100% accurately, and people's memories about previous experiences in green areas are naturally to some degree distorted over time. To make people recall memories and make them remember them more precisely, the participants were often given hints about things they might have done in green areas, or they were for example asked what they did in their spare time (while still trying not to steer their answers). They were also stimulated to take their time to think about their answers. To help the participants to describe the frequency with which they (had) visited green areas, the methods described by Menon (1993) were used, as discussed in paragraph 4.3.2. Although the participants probably did not recall all of their previous experiences in green areas accurately, they most likely had the strongest memories of the experiences that were most important to them, and these were also the most relevant for this research. It was therefore not a problem that the participants did not remember everything accurately.

Some of the interviewees also noticed that their memory of previous visits to green areas, especially those in their childhood, was not precise. A funny quote about this from Bryan:

[...] because it's so long ago, I really can't make an estimation of how long ago it is. You know, just like when the Big Mac was really large, it just suddenly became very small. [laughs]

8.5.3 Representativeness

Even though this study did not have the aim to be completely representative of the Chinese-Dutch community, it is interesting for for example future research to look at the representativeness of this research. In paragraph 4.4.2.2 and also in chapter 5, some background information has been given about all of the participants, which gives an idea of their representativeness. They were quite a varied group, but probably not completely representative. Most noticeably, all of them spoke Dutch or English, which is already an indication that they were on average probably more integrated into Dutch society than the average people with a Chinese background. The participants were also relatively highly educated, and this could have influenced the results, because, as will be discussed in paragraph 8.6.2 as well, more highly educated people on average have a stronger relation with green areas. People with a stronger relation with green areas might have actually been more inclined to participate in the study, because people are perhaps more interested to participate in a study when the topic interests them. Furthermore, no people working in the very large Chinese restaurant sector participated in this study, because of language barriers and because they were often very busy. A language barrier also made it difficult to find older participants.

Although the participants were not a completely representative group, they were definitely very diverse, with varying ages, occupations, places of birth and relations with green areas. This diversity of the participants was an even more important goal for this study than their representativeness, since it is an exploratory study with the aim to portray the range of different (emotional) relations that people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands have with green areas.

The eight urban parks that were visited were quite varied in terms of sizes and styles but they were probably not completely representative for all Dutch urban parks. They were for example all located in the two largest cities of the country. Furthermore all interviews took place during autumn, as there was no time to conduct interviews over the period of a whole year. Parks are naturally very different during different times of the year.

8.6 Results in a broader context

In the theory section of this report, some expectations were stated about factors influencing the relations with green areas of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands, and about some relevant emotions that they could experience in green areas. Expectations were also stated about the effects of previous experiences in green areas on people's current (emotional) relations with green areas. In this paragraph, the results of this study will be compared with these expectations from the theory. Figure 3 from the theory section, which summarised all expectations concerning relevant emotions and factors influencing these, will be revised in this paragraph, taking the results into account.

8.6.1 Relevant emotions compared with theory

In this paragraph, the emotions that were found to be experienced often and to be regarded as important by the participants are compared with the theory. Many of the empirically encountered emotions were already expected to be important, some emotions were not yet expected and some others that were expected, were not found in this study. The emotions that from the literature seemed relevant in relation to experiences in green areas of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands were discussed in paragraph 3.5 and are visualised in figure 10 on page 84 once more. During the course of this study, the theory could be compared with reality and the picture could be refined. The emotions that were found in this study to be relevant, that were already discussed in the results and summarised in paragraphs 8.2 and 8.3, have been visualised in figure 11 on page 84. The figures represent both people's past and present emotions in green areas, but as mentioned before, there were large differences between the past and present emotional experiences in green areas of the participants. Both in figure 10 and figure 11, the main circle represents all emotions (in relation to green areas) and the concepts which do not completely overlap with this main circle also contain non-emotional aspects such as thoughts or actions. The emotions represented in small circles seemed to occur the most frequently and to be considered as the most important by the participants. The not encircled emotions were all closely related to other emotions. In the picture, only the relations that were most clear are indicated, by overlaps and by connector lines, but there are probably more relations.

Overall, most of the emotions that were theorised to be important earlier, were also found empirically to play a role in the participants' experiences in green areas. A few were less important than expected or could not be studied well. Some emotions were also added to the picture, and more relations between emotions were found. As expected (see paragraph 3.5), the participants reported often experiencing restoration (mostly in the form of becoming calmer) and finding something beautiful when they visited green areas. These were also their main reasons for visiting green areas. Place attachment was also encountered to some degree, as was fear, of both people and animals. About half of the participants sometimes had spiritual experiences in green areas, and this was very important to them. All of these emotions or concepts related to emotions were already predicted to be relevant in the theory section of this report. Differences between the theory and the empiric results are discussed below.

Emotions that were encountered less than expected

In contrast to what was theorised, nostalgia did not seem to be an important emotion for the people who were interviewed. The green areas in the Netherlands did not often remind them of green areas in their home countries, and if they did, then the interviewees did not usually find this very important. At least two of the participants who were strongly reminded by the park they visited during the interview of a green area they visited long ago, said that these areas were actually quite different. This matches

with the theory of Boym (2001, in Rishbeth and Finney, 2006) which says that landscapes are often 'open for interpretation' and that they can bring back memories of people's pasts without being very similar to the previously visited places. However, many participants said that green areas in the Netherlands were much too different from green areas in their home countries to remind them of these.

Also group identity was not as relevant an emotion as was thought beforehand, since none of the participants usually went to green areas with people of the same cultural background. Place identity in relation to green areas was hardly encountered, partly because most of the interviews took place in parks where the participants did not usually go. Place identity was not studied much in relation to recreation in green areas in the participants' pasts, because this was too complex.

Emotions that were encountered more than expected

Important emotions added to the picture were activity, calmness and annoyance. Activity and calmness were both much related to restoration and were considered by the participants to be something positive. The annoyance that was encountered in the study was caused by untidiness of green areas or by noise, and was important to some of the participants. According to Gabriel (1990), annoyance to noise is very common in (urban) green areas, and also annoyance caused by untidiness of green areas occurs frequently (Talbot and Kaplan, 1984). The positive emotions of excitement, euphoria, love, awe, humbleness and gratefulness were added as well, and also general happiness, which was linked to many other emotions and concepts. Furthermore mainly the spiritual experiences could empirically be linked to many of these emotions. This matches with the theory about spiritual experiences, which also recognises connections with many different emotions (Fredrickson and Anderson, 1999; Kaplan and Talbot, 1983; Kaplan and Talbot, 1986).

8.6.2 Factors influencing (emotional) relation with green areas compared with theory

In the theory section of this report, a very basic categorisation of factors influencing the (emotional) relations with green areas of people with a Chinese background was given, and this can be seen in figure 10 again. This picture could be refined during the study, although naturally, the exact effects of different factors could not be identified with certainty. Only most of the (spatial) characteristics of green areas and visits could be studied 'in real-time', during the interviews in the parks. They could therefore be explored the most precisely. The aspects of green areas that seemed the most important to the participants of this study were the presence of water, animals and art, and the levels of openness, the influence of man and the tidiness and cleanliness. Characteristics of the visits themselves that appeared relevant to the participants were the weather, the activities they did and the company with whom they went. All of these characteristics of green areas and visits had (somewhat to extremely) different effects on people. The effects were already discussed in paragraphs 8.2 and 8.3. The theorised connection between past and present relations with green areas was indeed found in this study as well, as will be discussed in more detail in paragraph 8.6.3. The relations between personal traits and ethnicity and the participants' (emotional) relations with green areas are given some extra attention below.

Personal traits

Personal traits were not yet taken into account in the theoretical framework as a possible factor influencing how people experience green areas. However, there seemed to be correlations between the participants' (emotional) relations with green areas and their age, gender, education level, whether or not they were religious and their opportunities for visiting green areas. These topics will be discussed on the following pages.

Figure 10: Overview of theoretically relevant emotions and influencing factors.

Schematic representation of theoretically relevant factors (mentioned in paragraph 3.6) influencing the emotional response of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands to (urban) green areas and their perceived importance of this emotional response, and the theoretically relevant concepts related to emotions that are discussed in paragraph 3.5. The large circle represents all emotions and overlaps of the concepts with this circle indicate that (parts of) these concepts consist of emotions. The concepts which do not completely overlap with the main circle also contain non-emotional aspects such as thoughts or actions. Overlaps of concepts with each other mean that these concepts partly overlap, mainly in the emotions involved. Only the largest and most relevant (according to the theory) overlaps are depicted here. Also just some of the main interactions between the factors influencing emotional responses are indicated (by arrows on the left side of the factors). The sizes in the diagram (e.g. of arrows and circles) do not have a meaning.

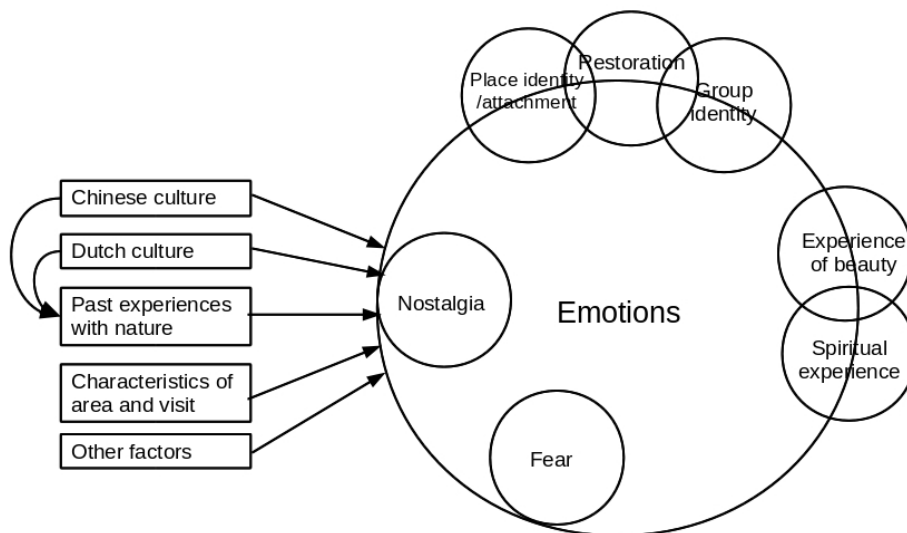
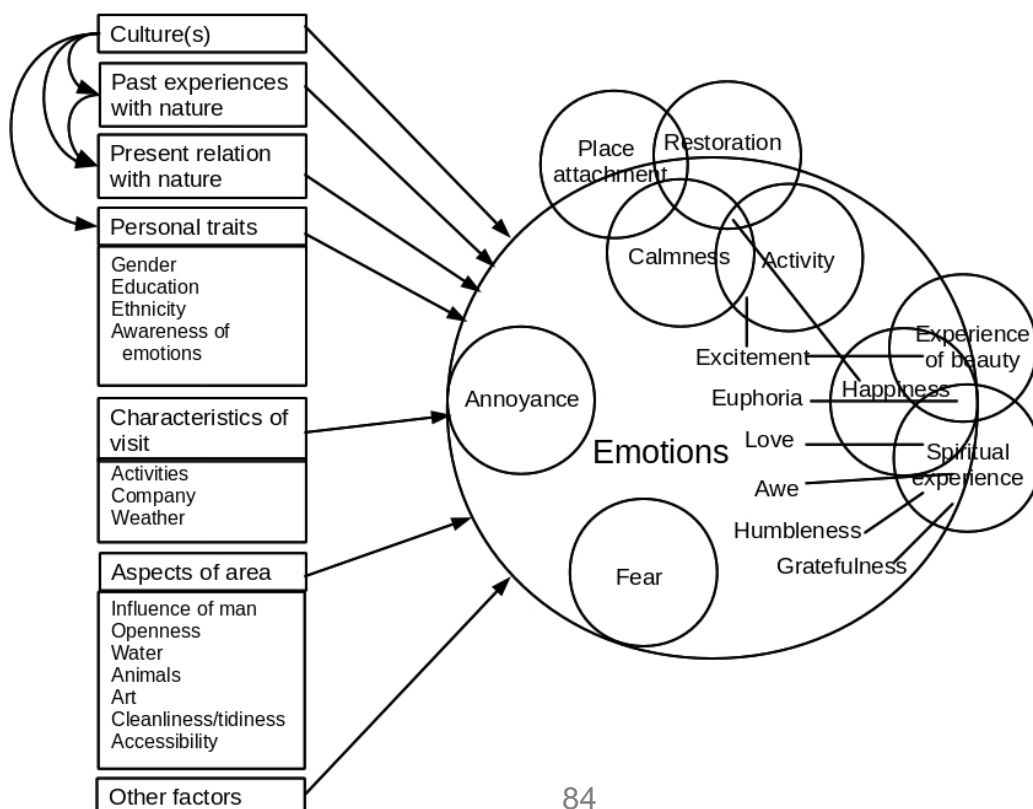


Figure 11: Overview of empirically found relevant emotions and influencing factors.

Schematic representation of relevant factors influencing the emotional response of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands to (urban) green areas and their perceived importance of this emotional response, and the relevant concepts related to emotions, adjusted after this study. The large circle represents all emotions and overlaps of the concepts with this circle indicate that (parts of) these concepts consist of emotions. The (concepts related to) emotions that seemed to occur the most and to be the most important to the participants are indicated with circles. Only the clearest and most relevant overlaps of/relations between the (concepts related to) emotions are indicated in this figure (by overlaps or by straight lines connecting the emotions). Also just some of the main interactions between the factors influencing emotional responses are indicated (by arrows on the left side of the factors). The sizes in the diagram (e.g. of arrows and circles) do not have a meaning.



Many of the participants stated that their emotional connection with nature had grown over the years, and as children they only saw green areas as locations for activities. However, there was not a clear correlation between the participants' ages and the groups (Nature Blind, Nature Wishing and Nature Loving) to which they belonged. Part of the participants of the Nature Blind group were already a bit older, but for many of them it did not seem as if they would ever develop a stronger affection towards green areas. However, the Nature Loving participants were on average six years older than the Nature Wishing participants, and since the Nature Wishing participants all wanted to visit green areas more often, it can be expected that many of them will one day fit in the Nature Loving category. Many of the Nature Wishing participants also did not have enough time to go to green areas, and this is something that often changes over time as well, since people are often busiest in their twenties and thirties.

Remarkably, there was only one female in the Nature Blind group, and only three males in total in the Nature Wishing and Nature Loving group. With a few exceptions, the female interviewees seemed to appreciate green areas more than the males, and their emotional reactions to green areas were often stronger. The differences between men and women in emotional experiences and certainly also in the acceptance of feeling and expressing emotions may be an influencing factor here. However, there is much discussion about the relation between gender and emotions (Banaji and LaFrance, 1992, in Clark, 1992; Fischer *et al.*, 2004; Simon and Nath, 2004).

The Nature Loving and Nature Wishing groups were both very highly educated, whereas only two out of six of the Nature Blind participants were highly educated. Previous research has shown a correlation between level of education and the level of intrinsic valuation of nature (Van den Born *et al.*, 2001).

Not all of the participants had equal opportunities to visit green areas. The members of the Nature Loving group had on average by far the most spare time, and time availability can be assumed to be an important factor influencing how often people visit green areas. A lack of transportation measures was also mentioned by a few participants as something holding them back from visiting green areas more.

Ethnicity

The effects of Chinese and Dutch (and other) cultures could not be identified exactly, but the strength of people's Chinese ethnicity, which can be seen as a personal trait influenced by cultures, was given much attention in this study, and it showed an interesting correlation with the participants' (emotional) relations with green areas. Table 16 shown on the next page shows the participants' current relations with green areas (as in the three categories) and also how they scored on the four different scales of Chinese ethnicity (see paragraph 4.4.2.2). The Nature Blind participants show a clearly lower level of especially 'being' Chinese, mainly because almost all of them had been living in the Netherlands for a relatively long time. The Nature Wishing group is very varied in this respect: a few of these participants were very new to the Netherlands, a few others had been living here for all or most of their lives. It could be that the people who were new to this country still had to find their way around, and at least one of the exchange students (Wendy) was also very busy with her study, so this the most important reason for her why she did not visit green areas more often. The Nature Lovers had been living here on average for the shortest time and they also scored the highest on 'feeling', 'knowing' and 'doing' Chinese. This is quite remarkable and a possible explanation could be that this group was still the most influenced by Chinese culture and that the relation with green areas is more important in Chinese than in Dutch culture. However, as described in chapter 2, the relation with nature in Chinese (or any) culture is a complex issue and cannot be simplified to such a statement. The data from this study are also limited and there could be other factors that could explain the seeming correlation between ethnicity and relation with green areas. A complicating factor when studying the ethnicity of

the participants, is that many of them grew up in another country than China or the Netherlands and were therefore influenced by at least three different cultures.

Table 16: Overview of participants' levels of Chinese ethnicity and their current relations with green areas.

The (colours of the) categories indicate the frequency of visits to green areas in the present combined with the participants' emotional relations with green areas. For the different components of Chinese ethnicity, a darker colour indicates a higher level of Chinese ethnicity.

Fictive name	Category	Chinese ethnicity			
		Being	Feeling	Knowing	Doing
Benjamin	Nature Blind				
Betty					
Bill					
Bob					
Bruce					
Bryan					
Wanda	Nature Wishing				
Wendy					
Whitney					
William					
Willow					
Laura	Nature Loving				
Lawrence					
Leo					
Lilian					
Lois					

8.6.3 Relation between past and present experiences in green areas

As mentioned in the theoretical framework, a relation was assumed between experiences in green areas in one's past and one's present. According to Thompson (2007), there is a strong relation between the frequency of visiting green areas during childhood and the frequency later in life. He also described that people with childhood experiences in green areas are more open to positive experiences of green areas in their later lives and are more likely to associate nature with feeling energetic and to see nature as something magical. Indeed, in this study the frequency of visiting green areas in the present was somewhat correlated with the frequency of visiting green areas when the participants were young. The Nature Wishing and Nature Loving participants also had a stronger spiritual relation with green areas, which is probably related to what Thompson calls seeing nature as something 'magical'. The participants with a stronger relation with green areas did not report significantly more often that green areas made them feel more active, but they were more positively affected by green areas than the Nature Blind participants. The results of this study are therefore quite in line with the theory on the point of relations between past and current relations with and experiences in green areas.

8.7 Recommendations for policy, design and research

As already mentioned in the introduction of this report, this is an exploratory study, which can hopefully be of use for future research. After this study, several recommendations can be made for future research. This study did not have the aim of directly resulting in recommendations for policy makers or for designers of green areas, but there are a few clear recommendations that can be made that are relevant for these two groups.

8.7.1 Recommendations for policy and design

This study had a lot of attention for the (emotional) effects that different spatial aspects of green areas had on people with a Chinese background. This information can of course be used in the planning and maintenance of green areas. A few things stood out. First of all, almost all of the participants very much enjoyed the presence of water in green areas. They were often clearly emotionally affected by ponds in parks, also during the interviews, and some people even described (earlier) spiritual experiences connected to water in green areas. Secondly, the presence of trees was much appreciated by most of the participants, mainly if there were many different kinds. But if there is one thing that became clear from this report, it is that people experience green areas in very different ways and that they have very different preferences concerning green areas. This can only be accommodated for by offering a diversity of green areas.

Furthermore, this study confirmed a correlation between people's relations with green areas in their childhood, especially as teenagers, and as adults. This could be a relevant fact to take into account for policy makers who want to stimulate recreation in green areas. If people's recreation behaviour in green areas is influenced during their childhood (mainly teenage years), it might have lasting effects.

More generally, this thesis has confirmed that green areas often have strong emotional effects on people, and that most people find their emotions (in relation to green areas) very important. Emotional effects of (design aspects of) green areas should therefore definitely be taken into account by policy makers and designers.

8.7.2 Recommendations for future research

Some interesting facts were discovered in this study which could be explored more in future studies. The research also had some limitations, and these can be taken into account in other studies as well. Recommendations about these issues are made in this paragraph.

The influence of different cultures (Dutch and Chinese culture but also others, since many people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands grew up in different countries) on people's relations with green areas was explored to some extent in this study but still deserves a lot more attention of science, since it is a very complex issue. Also links between people's relations with green areas and their ethnicity, age, gender and education level were found in this research and were partly explained by comparison with literature, but could still be studied more in-depth in general and also specifically in relation to people with a Chinese background. Another finding of this study that might be a coincidence, but could also be interesting to investigate further, is that all of the participants lived in big cities, except for half of the people from the Nature Blind group. It was also noteworthy that the most religious people all fell into the Nature Loving category.

Furthermore a surprising correlation was found between people's awareness of their emotions and their relation with green areas. The participants who had the strongest (emotional) relations with green areas and who visited green areas the most often were also in general the most aware of their emotions. This also deserves some more attention of future research.

The interviews took place during autumn. Several of the participants referred positively to the typical autumn colours during the interviews, but others did not like the starting autumn cold. Other seasons have different characteristics and will certainly provoke different reactions of participants. Some of the interviewees for example mentioned liking flowers, but they were hardly present during this season. The interviewees who liked flowers, could have liked the parks much more during spring or summer.

Even though many Chinese people in the Netherlands work in the restaurant sector, it was very difficult to approach them for this study, because of a language barrier and because most of them were simply too busy with their jobs. This study has however shown that working in a restaurant influences people's relation with green areas, since the parents of many of the interviewees worked in restaurants and because of this had very little leisure time and could not take their children to green areas. It would be very interesting to interview people who are employed in Chinese restaurants (or other Chinese shops), but a translator will be indispensable for this. It might be even better if a researcher with a Chinese background did a follow-up study.

The focus on emotions proved very appropriate for this topic (see paragraph 8.5.1) and could be used in future studies as well, possibly combined with other methods to get an even more complete picture of people's relations with green areas. It was already mentioned in the methods section of this report that the author would have liked to conduct a naturalistic study into this topic, to get a more detailed image of the culture of people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands and of their experiences in green areas. Because of time constraints, this was not possible for this thesis, but it could be very interesting for another study. When more qualitative research has been done and there is enough knowledge available about this topic, also quantitative studies can be done, based on this knowledge. These studies can sample larger groups and be more representative.

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Appendix I: Semi-structured interview and observation guide

The interviewee has already received information about the study and the interview by e-mail, telephone or face-to-face contact. The first part of the interview will preferably take place at the interviewee's house or another urban location. The second part will take place in a park.

Part I – outside of the park

Introduction

- Hello, etc.
- Study for a thesis at the Wageningen University
- About how people with a Chinese background in the Netherlands experience (urban) nature
- Eventual goal is to be able to adapt nature policy to everyone's wishes, you can make an important contribution to this
- Questions about experiences with nature in the past and in the present, and thoughts and feelings with these
- If no objections, interview will be recorded so that I can listen to it again later
- I will also make notes
- The conversation will take about one to one-and-a-half hours
- I might interrupt you sometimes, this is nothing personal, but I am responsible for keeping track of the time
- First questions about emotions, then general background, then past nature experiences, then experiences in the park (+ say when we go to the park, differs)
- Questions about experiences, no wrong answers possible
- It is no problem if you do not want to answer a question because it is too personal or because of a different reason, please tell me
- Answers are anonymous, no names in the report
- I can send you the report later if you want to
- Thank you in advance

Offer some cookies during the interview, several times

Questions about the interviewee's emotional status/background

- How are you feeling at the moment?
- Ask the participant to fill out the emotion checklist. Tell her/him you will ask them again in the park and will then compare a bit. Only discuss their answers now if it seems relevant.
- Are your emotions in general quite stable, or do they often fluctuate? (Do you often have strong emotions, like being very happy or very sad or scared? / Have your emotions been stable recently?)
- Does the weather often influence how you feel? (A lot?) Does the weather at this moment influence how you feel?
- Do you sometimes feel stressed? (Often?)
- Are your emotions important to you? / How conscious are you generally of your emotions?
- What do you usually do when you are not feeling very happy? (Do you try to do something about it or do you just wait or try to ignore it?)

Questions about the interviewee's ethnicity (can also be asked later)

- For how long did you or your parents live in China or another country, and where exactly was this? How long have you been living in the Netherlands?
- Do you have many acquaintances and friends with Chinese backgrounds? And Dutch?
- Are you active in any Chinese organisations?
- Do you celebrate any Chinese holidays?
- Do you follow any Chinese traditions?
- Do you have a certain religion or philosophy?
- How Chinese do you feel? (Perhaps you can put in percentages how Chinese and how Dutch (and how ...) you feel?)
- How important is your Chinese background for you?
- How happy are you with your Chinese background?
- Are you interested in Chinese history and culture? Is it important to you to know a lot about this?
- If enough time: Do you celebrate Dutch holidays? Are you interested in Dutch history and culture?

Questions about the interviewee's past nature experiences

- Did you sometimes visit parks or nature areas when you were young/in China/in ... ? (Asking about parks and nature areas can also be separated. If the participant does not immediately have an answer, ask about green areas in their past neighbourhoods, or what they did in their spare time or during vacations.)
 - Ask about differences during early childhood and teenage years.
 - What did you do there? (Walking? Playing? With whom?)
 - What did those areas look like?
 - How often did you visit those areas?
- Is there a certain visit to a park or nature area from your youth that you remember well for a certain reason?
 - Can you tell some more about that? (Where was it? Why was it memorable?)
 - How did being in this area make you feel? (This can also be asked about another area that was not necessarily very special for the participant.)
- Ask the participant to fill out the emotion checklist for this area, or another green area from their youth, and ask (some) questions of part II, questions connected to concepts of paragraph 3.4

Questions about the interviewee's current relationship to nature

- Do you sometimes visit parks? Or real nature areas?
 - Which area(s)? What do they look like? How often? Etc.
 - What do you do there? (Walking/sitting/...? With whom?)
- Is there a certain visit to a park or nature area from the past years that you remember well for a certain reason?
 - Can you tell some more about that? (Where was it? Why was it memorable?)
 - How did being in this area make you feel? (This can also be asked about another area that was not necessarily very special for the participant.)
- Possibly, if enough time: Ask the participant to fill out the emotion checklist for this area, or another green area from their youth, and ask (some) questions of part II, questions connected to concepts of paragraph 3.4
- How important is sometimes visiting nature for you?

Part II – in the park

At several locations in the park, ask the participant how she/he is feeling at the moment, which emotions she/he is experiencing, what effect the park has on her/him. Specifically try to investigate the concepts that were discussed in paragraph 3.4 (see below). This part of the interview can be started with talking about some more general things, so that the interviewee can get used to being in the park.

General questions

- Do you have children? Etc.
- Do you have a job? Etc.
- What do you do in your spare time? Do you have any hobbies? Etc.
- Can you tell some more about... (the place where you grew up/your hobby/...)?
- Etc.

Questions connected to concepts of paragraph 3.4

- What do you think of this place?
- How do you feel now? (Do you feel any different than at the start of this interview?)
- Ask the participant to fill out the emotion checklist. Then discuss this, also prepare with previous answers. Ask why things changed, if they did.
- Do you like to be here? (And do you feel at home here?)
- (If not clear from the emotion checklist:) Does this place make you feel calmer?
- (If not clear from the emotion checklist:) Does this place make you feel happier?
- Do you feel more connected to/one with nature here?
- Does the beauty of nature here affect you in some way? (Possibly first: Do you think this place is beautiful?)
- Do you experience any humbleness (in relation to nature) here?
- Do you experience any fear right now? (Why? Or: Could you imagine being afraid here?)
- Does this visit remind you of any nature visits you have made in the past? Or to China/...?
 - Can you tell more about that? What exactly gives you these memories? Etc.
 - What kind of feelings does that give you?
- Do you experience anything now that you could call spiritual?
- What do you think of the water in this park? (Or in general)
- What do you think about the openness of this park? - Give examples: here it's more forest-like, there it's more open, does that give you different feelings? Etc.
- What do you think about the level of human influence in this park? And in general? Do you prefer when green areas are a bit wild or when they are more human influenced and more tidy?
- What do you think of animals here/in nature? Etc.

Possible questions connected to group identity, probably only relevant in a group interview:

- Do you enjoy walking here with other people with Chinese backgrounds?
- Does it do anything to your feeling of being Chinese? (Do you feel more or less Chinese now?)
- Does it perhaps make you feel safer to walk here with other people with Chinese backgrounds?
- Do you perhaps feel that you can more be yourself now that you are here with other people with Chinese backgrounds?

Thanking the participant

Observations

- During the interview, I should pay attention to:
- Facial expressions (smiling/frowning/dreaming/...)
- Body language (active/gestures/...)
- Way of speaking (soft/insecure/excited/fast/...)
- Anything else that stands out

Appendix II: Checklist emotions

Vrolijkheid	Gaiety	
Tevredenheid	Satisfaction	
Euforie	Euphoria	
Optimisme	Optimism	
Opwinding	Excitement	
Enthousiasme	Enthusiasm	
Verlangen	Desire	
Liefde	Love	
Tederheid	Tenderness	
Passie	Passion	
Sentimentaliteit	Sentimentality	
Lust	Lust	
Hoop	Hope	
Activiteit – energie	Activity - energy	
Potentie – kracht	Potency – power	
Vredigheid	Peacefulness	
Rust	Calmness	
Verrassing	Surprise	
Verwondering	Wonder	
Irritatie – ergernis	Irritation - anger	
Brommerigheid	Grouchiness	
Verontwaardiging	Indignation	
Woede	Rage	
Walging	Disgust	
Belediging	Insult	
Vijandigheid	Hostility	
Verbittering	Bitterness	
Lijden	Suffering	
Angst	Fear	
Verdriet	Grief	
Ongelukkigheid	Unhappiness	
Somberheid	Gloom	
Rouw	Mourning	

	Melancholie	Melancholia	
	Wanhooop - hopeloosheid	Despair - hopelessness	
	Teleurstelling	Disappointment	
	Schande - schaamte	Shame	
	Spijt	Regret	
	Vernedering - belediging	Humiliation - insult	
	Eenzaamheid	Loneliness	
	Vervreemding	Alienation	
	Onzekerheid	Uncertainty	
	Medeleven	Sympathy	
	Schrik	Fright	
	Angst	Fear	
	Verontrusting – ongerustheid	Alarm	
	Ontzetting	Dismay - shock	
	Paniek	Panic	
	Zenuwachtigheid	Nervousness	
	Gespannenheid	Tension	
	Zorgen	Worry	
	Benardheid	Distress	
	Ontzag - eerbied	Awe - respect	
	Trots	Pride	
	Jaloezie	Jealousy	
	Schuldgevoel	Guilt	
	Loyaliteit	Loyalty	
	Vriendschap	Friendship	
	Patriotisme	Patriotism	
	Dankbaarheid	Gratitude	

