

**Pride and Shame of Place:**  
*an exploration and examination of  
antecedents and consequences*

**PhD Dissertation**

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**Final Version 15-02-2022**





**SAPIENZA**  
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

**Pride and Shame of Place:**  
*an exploration and examination of antecedents  
and consequences*

**Tesi di dottorato**

**Facoltà di Medicina e Psicologia**  
**Dipartimento di Psicologia dei Processi de Sviluppo e Socializzazione**  
**Corso di laurea in**

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**33° ciclo, A.A. 2020-2021**  
Versione: 15-02-2022

# Abstract

**Introduction.** In environmental psychology, and more specifically in the research field of people-place bonds, the role of pride and shame of place have received very little attention. This PhD research project aimed to fill the gap in the scientific field regarding the two concepts by exploring and examining them and their antecedents and consequence. Three studies were conducted in order to answer the general research question of this thesis: *“What are the antecedents and consequences of pride and shame of place and how do these relate to existing concepts in the study of people-place bonds?”*.

**Methods.** The research question was answered through a series of three consecutive studies. At first, a qualitative study was done interviewing a total of 17 residents from Italy and the Netherlands from rural and urban settings. Through thematic analysis both pride and place’s antecedents and consequences were explored and identified. The second study was done within in a small Irish school student sample (n = 24). A one-group pre-experimental study was conducted in which an innovative intervention aiming to promote (authentic) pride of place was tested on its efficacy and some correlations were explored. Lastly, a third study was conducted in which the same intervention was tested using a two-condition experimental design on a larger sample (n = 134) at high schools in Portugal and Italy. The effect of the intervention was measured and an explorative mediation analysis was done in order to assess the direction of interrelatedness of several people-place constructs and their outcomes. The thesis is finalised with a general discussion and reflection on the entire research process.

**Results.** *In study 1*, from the 17 interviews a total of 64 themes were identified that give a first attempt in creating insight in what these two place-based emotions are, what elements of a place they are based on, how they develop and what possible consequences arise when they are experienced. The 23 themes for the antecedents of pride of place, and the 10 themes for the antecedents of shame of place were categorised according to the tripartite framework of people place-bonds by Scannell & Gifford (2010). For the consequences, 22 themes were identified for the pride of place consequences and 9 themes for shame of place ones. Study 1 lead to inform a quantitative study testing the effect of a place based educational curriculum.

*Study 2* showed that the scales included in the questionnaire were reliable for the use in the context of studying people-place bonds and for an adolescent population. The correlation analyses showed that the pride scales were correlating with some other variables, as expected. The paired sample t-test results showed that the intervention did not have the expected impact on students.

*Study 3* showed that all the alternative hypotheses related to the effectiveness of the intervention were rejected. However, 18 mediation models were tested of which four showed to be significant. Authentic pride positively mediates the relationship of place identity, place connectedness and place attachment on individual self-esteem. Shame of place negatively mediates the relationship of place connectedness on individual self-esteem.

**Conclusion.** In general, the PhD study can be called successful as it managed to provide some first data on the antecedents and consequences of pride and shame of place filling the identified gap in state-of-art research. Furthermore, it was explored how these pride and shame of place emotions relate to other place-based constructs. More research is now needed and it is suggested to develop new pride and shame of place measuring instruments, as well as deepening the issue of how to intervene, if possible, on such psychological experiences.

# Foreword

This thesis is the final opera of a PhD project that started in autumn 2017. Over the past four years I dedicated a major part of my time studying people-place bonds and in particular the role pride and shame play in these. As a Dutch man living in a rural area in Northern-Italy, I came to realise how places can be a huge source of pride and a driving force behind several behaviours. I saw how people in the area I live in speak with pride of how their ancestors kept the land, managed to maintain their families by working with what the place offered and above all how much they understood and respected the land. This pride of being part of that same place seemed to give them meaning. Even in such a way that many returned to live in the place, after having been away for many years, in order to feel connected with their ancestors.

I grew up in a rural part in the east of the Netherlands (Achterhoek) and I never enjoyed speaking dialect until I settled in Italy. It made me feel connected when I went to visit my former place and gave me a sense of belonging to a group that speaks this peculiar language. These experiences made me curious to explore how our identities are linked with the places we inhabit(ed) and how pride can be a binding force with and within places. The scientific journey leading this exploration is now concluded with this thesis.

The report consists of five main chapters. Chapter 1 is an introductory literature study creating the context in which the research has taken place. It explains the two topic of the study and how it can be placed in other place-based concepts. Chapter 2 describes a first qualitative exploratory study that examines what antecedents and consequences of pride and shame of place can be. Chapters 3 and 4 report on two quantitative studies that were conducted as part of an EU funded Erasmus+ project for which an innovative school curriculum was tested in its impact. These two chapters explore the quantitative relationships pride and shame of place have with other relevant constructs in the realm of people-place bonds. Chapter 5 finalises the thesis with an overall reflection and discussion of the entire research project.

## **Words of gratitude**

I think any PhD project has ups and downs and also in mine the 'flow' of the process had fast and slow episode, like the tides of an ocean. It was an incredible learning experiences that I came to see as a sort of rite of passage into systematical inquiry and curiosity in things. I am grateful that I have had the possibility.

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisors, Prof. Dr. Marino Bonaiuto, Dr. Silvia Ariccio and Prof. Dr. Ferdinando Fornara for guiding me along the way. Your support and insights were of a priceless value. The Sapienza University of Rome and in particular the Dipartimento di Psicologia dei Processi di Sviluppo e Socializzazione, gave support in the methodological, administrative and technical aspects of the whole PhD course. I am grateful to the two external reviewers, Prof. Dr. Silvia Collado Salas and Prof. Dr. Fabio Sani, who dedicated their time and experience to the improvement of the dissertation. My employer Stichting Anatta Foundation from the Netherlands offered me the possibility to do this project, for which I will be forever grateful. Lastly and most importantly, I would like to express my eternal gratitude to Laura, for being my resource, my love and for having given me a family.

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# **Chapter 1: a Literature Study**



## **1.1 Introduction to the literature study**

In environmental psychology, and more specifically in the research field of people-place bonds, the role of pride has received very little attention. Pride of place (PoP) is the emotion that people can have for the place they identify or associate themselves with (Bonaiuto, et al., 2020). Twigger-Ross & Uzzell (1996) have made some notion of pride in their marking research, and Brown, Perkins, & Brown (2003) and Bonaiuto, Breakwell and Cano (1996) too; but no one has systematically researched the working mechanisms of pride in relation to place and other place-based constructs. As a consequence, there is hardly any empirical evidence or theories of what pride of place is, how it develops and what its consequences are for people-place bonds and for people's individual wellbeing. This thesis aims to make a start filling that gap. Exploring pride of place and its dynamics may be important as understanding how pride of place can be fostered may offer a key aspect in the promotion of healthy people-place relationships and people's wellbeing. Recent research shows how having a positive relationship with the place people live in has positive benefits on residents' physical and psychological health (Counted et al., 2020; Lewicka, 2011). Moreover, people with strong bonds with their place of residence are likely to perform several kinds of behaviors that benefit the place itself, for example, the more residents are attached to their places, the more they usually perform pro-environmental and pro-social behaviors contributing to local collective wellbeing and the more they are likely to remain in the place of attachment for longer periods of time, rather than moving elsewhere (Lewicka, 2010a; Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2014; Scannell & Gifford, 2010a).

In this chapter I will review the literature regarding existing theories on general pride and the functioning of positive emotions. Next, I will research how pride of place relates to main concepts such as place identity and place attachment. Following this, I will look at some possible consequences this emotion has in relation to people's wellbeing. Lastly, I will also briefly report on the concept of shame of place, which is conceptually closely related to pride of place one. The thesis will cover both pride and shame of place, however the main focus will be on pride of place, and therefore this literature study will examine the latter in more detail.

This literature study aims to create a scientific foundation for the study of pride and shame of place and to put these in the perspective of existing literature regarding general pride and shame, and main people-place concepts. By the end of this chapter a main study aim and research question will be provided.

## **1.2 Introduction to Pride of Place**

Pride of Place (PoP) is the positive emotion that people can have for the place they identify or associate themselves with (Bonaiuto et al., 2020). It is rooted in one's place identity and shaped by the attachment to their place or local area. Positive pride of where one comes from can elicit a series of behaviour that are of pro-social and caring character, however a pride that is too extreme, can result in nationalism and antisocial behaviours.

Place can be defined as any environmental locus in and through which individuals or group actions, experiences,

intentions, and meanings are drawn together spatially (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2013; Relph, 1976). Place can also refer to a variety of geographical levels such as a bedroom house, a workplace, a neighbourhood, a city, a village, a landscape, an area or a region. Whatever the geographical level, place does not solely consist of the physical features of the place but just as much of the social and cultural dynamics that are present in the place (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). Where the physical characteristics consists of factors such as natural or built environment or proximity to nature, the social aspects of place are social relationships or cultural heritage of the place.

In environmental psychology and more specifically in the research field of place attachment the role of pride has received very little attention. Twigger-Ross & Uzzell (1996) have made some notion of the pride in their marking research and also Brown, Perkins, & Brown (2003) and Bonaiuto, Breakwell and Cano (1996), but apart from that no one has systematically researched the working mechanisms of pride in relation to place.

### **1.3 Pride as an emotion**

In the Western world, pride is regarded as both a vice and a virtue. As much as it's seen as the opposite of humility (Tracy & Robins, 2007b) it is also regarded as a great motivator for achievement (Williams & DeSteno, 2008). It is often described in its 'negative' aspects of 'self-praising' and it has been linked to social rejection, narcissism and aggression (Carver et al., 2010; Cheng et al., 2010; Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007a). At the same time pride is praised for its positive effects on human functioning like motivating and stimulating to perseverance (Gable et al., 2004; Michie, 2009; Williams & DeSteno, 2008).

Pride is defined as a positive emotion that results from self-governed events that are *congruent* and *relevant* to the initial objectives of the event and these objectives need to be important and meaningful to the person (Hart & Matsuba, 2007). Like other self-conscious emotions (e.g., guilt and shame), pride is traditionally labelled as a self-focussed (intrapersonal) emotion instead of other-focussed (Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2007b, 2007a). When a person experiences a non-self-conscious emotion (interpersonal) like gratitude the emotion is directed towards something or someone else and it does not particularly reflect on one's own role in the process, but when pride is being experienced the person becomes aware that s/he has lived up to some ideal self-representation. Pride does, thus, require self-awareness and self-evaluation (Tracy & Robins, 2004).

Pride is maybe the least understood of all emotions (Tracy & Robins, 2007a) with the most antagonistic effect on peoples' behaviour. Several researchers, like Tracy and her colleagues have therefore stated that pride is probably a multifaceted emotion and propose to make a distinction in at least two different sides of the same emotion. They differentiate between 'authentic' and 'hubristic' pride (Tracy & Prehn, 2012; Tracy & Robins, 2007a). Authentic pride is a specific emotion being characterized by a proportionate sense of self-esteem (Tracy et al., 2009), social acceptance (Cheng et al., 2010), motivating us to achieve (Williams & DeSteno, 2008) and to fill our

lives with meaning (Nakamura, 2013). Also, authentic pride derives from achievements and goal accomplishments (Williams & DeSteno, 2008). Hubristic pride, however, is more related to self-views, abilities and character strengths (Tracy et al., 2009). Or as (Carver et al., 2010) put it: authentic pride is more about the “doing” whereas hubristic pride arises from a self-evaluation of “being”. The self-identification aspect of hubristic pride appears to be correlated with negative personality outcomes such as being defensive and neurotic in nature, experiencing social rejection, creating interpersonal problems, having a low self-esteem and its associated with aggression and narcissism (Carver et al., 2010; Cheng et al., 2010; McGregor et al., 2005; Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2007b).

In regard to pride of place there are some limitations to the extent to which it fits in the dual faceted theories of Tracy and colleagues (Tracy & Robins, 2007b). In general pride is mostly regarded in respect to achievements and to one’s abilities (Gaines et al., 2005; Webster et al., 2003), but rarely to extra personal characteristics such as that of place that have been absorbed into one’s self-construct. Pride of place could within this two-sided model be considered both as hubristic pride when its related to being proud of being born in a place. As well people from a place can be proud of collective achievements, such as organising a local event, as is typical for authentic pride. Most likely, a self-identification process where aspects of a place are absorbed into one’s ideas of the self is a precursor to the development of pride of place. There is as far as I know no notion of positive effects of hubristic pride in scientific literature, however it is imaginable that the experiencing of it could elicit behaviour that is of a caring nature for the place or its society. Whether pride can result in healthy or unhealthy outcomes could also depend on its intensity and there could be a tipping-point where pride as a result of identification shifts from the healthy to the unhealthy. At this tipping point pride (of place) can shift from a positive to a negative emotion; shifting from caring and wanting to share what one is proud of into self-enhancing and other diminishing behaviour. Pride could evoke other’s dominating behaviour and extreme nationalism, but despite these ‘dangers’ of self-identification or self-association, pride could also promote prosocial and pro-environmental behaviour. More about this in section 1.4.

In general, pride has still been a poorly studied positive emotion (Nakamura, 2013). The two facets that have been proposed by Tracy and Robins (2007b) make an attempt to refine the different outings of the antagonistic emotion of pride. Nakamura (2013) suggests making several more subdivisions based on her research on pride and detected meaning. She recommends extending the taxonomy and differentiated analysis on positive forms of pride (authentic). For instance, to add another subset of pride that accounts for an identification of self and one with others (Aron et al., 2004). and more interestingly she recommends reviewing the assumption that pride is a self-focussed and self-praising emotion that mainly serves to socially dominate others. In her research on pride and meaning Nakamura found that pride can actually evoke prosocial behaviour and can be a source for experiencing meaning in daily life.

Another huge limitation of the existing body of research regarding pride is that most research has been done on student populations, especially the research from Tracy and colleagues (e.g., Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Prehn,

2012; Tracy & Robins, 2007b) and this can give a biased perspective on the nature of pride because especially students are in a particular phase of life that is that's not representative for one's complete life span. Interestingly Tracy and colleagues labelled pride as a self-focussed emotion (e.g., Tracy & Robins, 2004) based on their research findings in students' populations, but some studies (Michie, 2009; Nakamura, 2013) that suggest that pride can also promote prosocial behaviours have retrieved their data from non-student populations.

#### **1.4 Positive vs. negative emotions**

In the field of positive psychology (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2014) where positive emotions play an essential role, there is a growing body of interest in the function of positive emotions for human thriving. Remarkably little research however has been done on the emotion of pride in this field, let alone the poor body of research on pride in relation to place. Outside of the field of positive psychology especially Tracy and colleagues (Tracy & Prehn, 2012; Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2007b) have paid a developing body of attention to pride, but mainly about achievement related outcomes and physical and non-verbal expression, much less so to its added value for human flourishing.

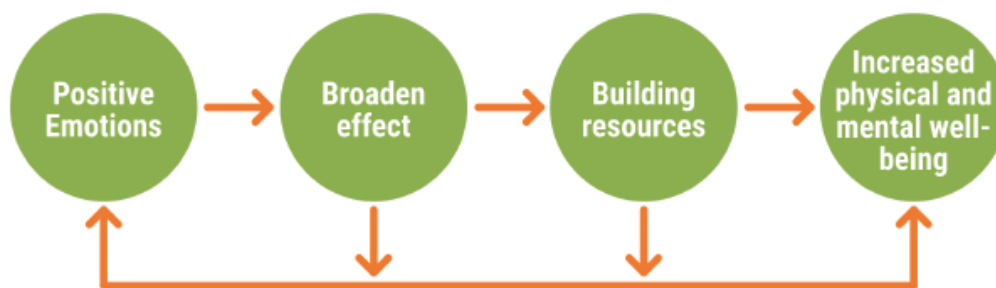
Contrasting to positive emotions, negative emotions (Frijda, 1986) such as shame, anger, sadness, anxiety and guilt evoke emotion-specific and adaptive responses within the individual to a 'threatening' situation. The response can be a 'fight' or 'flight' reaction that triggers the person to ensure its emotional or physical safety and wellbeing. Typically, negative emotions narrow our attention and cognitive abilities and evoke heightened levels of physical arousal. Experiencing these emotions has helped our ancestors survive and respond quickly and adequately to life threatening situation. These emotions can thus be important for human survival.

To the function of positive emotions much less research has been done than for negative emotions. In contrast to negative emotions, positive emotions do not evoke specific adaptive responses to the experienced emotion, are very broad and there is no direct link with survival (Fredrickson & Levenson, 1998). Barbara Fredrickson, one of the pioneers of positive psychology, has written extensively about the 'broaden-and-build model' (see figure 1.1) of positive emotions (Fredrickson, 1998, 2001; Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002, 2018). Positive emotions such as pride, joy, satisfaction, awe, gratitude, love, serenity, compassion, do much more than just make us feel good. In her model, Fredrickson explains that positive emotions do not narrow – as with negative emotions- but broaden our attention, cognition and behavioural repertoire. Every positive emotion has its unique contribution to this 'broadening effect'. For example, experiencing (authentic) pride can stimulate caring, sharing (Nakamura, 2013; Tangney & Fischer, 1995), altruism (Michie, 2009) motivation (Williams & DeSteno, 2008), engagement and a sense of connection with others (Gable et al., 2004). In general, positive emotions promote social engagement.

Where negative emotions are of value for short term responses to (life) threatening situations, positive emotions build up long term resources. Through the broadening of attention, cognition and behaviour people build up resources that sustain the presence of positive emotions (the 'build effect'). When people for example experience (authentic) pride, they build up, amongst others, perseverance (Williams & DeSteno, 2008), stronger social ties (Gable et al., 2004), and higher self-esteem (Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007a). People can tap

into these resources that have been build up in future to deal with difficult or challenging situations. As a consequence of the broadening and building up of resources, positive emotions initiate an upward spiral towards physical and mental well-being (Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002, 2018).

Even though pride has been mentioned in literature on positive emotions (e.g., Fredrickson, 1998), pride is not a purely “positive emotion” in the sense that it doesn't unambiguously contribute to an individual's wellbeing (Tracy et al., 2014). It does however deserve to be regarded as a positive emotion because it is often pleasurable to experience and has, especially in the case of authentic pride, positive effects on human functioning. The broaden-and-build model therefore could be used as a model to understand pride (of place) and its upward spiralling towards a person's wellbeing.



**Figure 1.1**  
*Broaden-and-build Model (Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002)*

## 1.5 Pride in place identity processes

Pride has traditionally been labelled and studied as a self-conscious emotion (Zahavi, 2012; Tracy & Robins, 2007; Salice & Montes Sánchez, 2016), which is an emotion that intentionally focuses on the subject who feels them. These self-conscious emotions have, by some researchers, also been labelled as *self-assessment emotions* (Taylor, 1985), as they imply a self-evaluation by the subject that induces the emotions: in the case of pride, I assess myself positively and negatively in the case of shame. However, these emotions are not exclusively the results of a conscious process of self-evaluation; pride is highly situation-dependent and people are sometimes taken by surprise to feel this emotion (Salice et al., 2016). Pride can however also be felt for other people or places, as in the case of pride of place, which implies the presence of a group identification process (Salice & Montes Sánchez, 2016). In fact, pride is one of the typical outcomes of the social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel et al., 1979). In the SIT, after the initial process of social categorisation, a process of social identification follows. A third process is the social comparison, in which the in-group is compared with the out-group (i.e., in-place vs. out-place), which can lead to the experiencing of pride in case of a positive assessment and shame in case of a negative assessment.

An important distinction is to be made between group-based pride as experienced by individuals (Lickel et al., 2011) and collective pride, as emotions felt by a group or collective (Neville & Reicher, 2011; Sullivan, 2014,

2018). Group-based emotions, also called 'hetero-induced' emotions (Lickel et al., 2011), are experienced by the individual based on aspects or events associated to a group that the individual identifies herself with. It should be noticed that the sheer belonging to a group does not necessarily imply identification (Bennett & Sani, 2008), as a psychological process of group (or place) identification should be involved. Collective emotions on the other hand, are studied and, allegedly, experienced on a collective level, as for example in the case of pride for national achievements during major sport events (Sullivan, 2018).

Pride is an emotion in which self-identification and association plays an essential element. An identity linked to place can serve as a source of pride (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) and can have strong influences on people's perceptions and behaviour (Bonaiuto et al., 1996). Pride has also been used in studies as a single research item for place identity and therefore pride seems to be closely linked to one's self-construct related to place (Bonaiuto et al., 1996; Bonaiuto et al., 2016). It is therefore important to explore how pride (of place) relates to theories of the process of place identity.

The term place identity was first coined by Proshansky (1978) and it has been defined as "memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas, and related feelings toward specific physical environments as well as types of settings" (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983). Where Proshansky defines place identity more as a state, David Seamon (2013, p. 14) defines place identity as a process "whereby people living in or otherwise associated with a place take up that place as a significant part of their world". Place identity is a sub-concept of self-identity and refers to "the component of identity that is associated with feelings about a particular locale." (Clayton & Myers, 2015, p. 172). Place identity can exist next to social, professional or personal identity; all are subsets of the same self-concept whose salience may change throughout a lifetime and across situations. Since the place where the identity process is emerging from is made up of physical and social elements (Scannell & Gifford, 2010), place identity is also partly made up of a social/group identity (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). The place element (physical and social) usually refers to place of residence, but it can be used in regard to the place where one grew up in but does not currently live in. Place can manifest itself on a variety of geographical scales such as specific neighbourhood, a city or a broader (rural) area.

The process of how the sense of identity is being established starts in early childhood and becomes a lifetime process. Many theorists have written about how this process takes place (e.g., Erikson, 1993; McAdams et al., 2009) and most important for this review is that environment, and place more specifically, play an essential role in the formation of the self-concept, already at an early age. Several researchers have demonstrated that meaningful relationships with natural environments and places are of significant importance for the development of identity in childhood (Bruni & Schultz, 2010; Chawla, 1986). It's mainly through strong emotions, in particular feelings of privacy, control and security that these environments evoke that relationships are being established (Clayton & Myers, 2015). More recently, researchers (Bonaiuto et al., 2016) showed a link between flow experiences (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990) during self-defining activities (Coatsworth et al., 2005) in the dynamics of place identity. In their research they even measured place identity through a one single item of pride of place.

Twigger-Ross & Uzzell (1996) have identified four principles that are important in the process of developing place identity: *distinctiveness*, *continuity*, *self-esteem* and *self-efficacy*. Under the principle of *distinctiveness* they understand that people have a natural desire to perceive distinctiveness from others associated to places. Lalli (1992) writes that "The bond to a particular part of town also contributes to one's differentiation from residents in other town areas". According to the *continuity principle* of place identity process people have the desire to maintain continuity to their self-construct. There are two subtypes of this principle: *self-referent continuity*, which refers to the places as referents to past selves and actions (e.g., Lalli, 1992), and *place-congruent continuity*, which means that people are motivated in their behaviour to maintain continuity based on places that have emotional significance to the person. Examples of the self-referent continuity are that landscapes can be used as memorials to a person's past (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996), when people for instance choose to maintain their residency in a certain place as a means to stay connected to their ancestors. Regarding the place-congruent continuity, the principle can also act as a motivator for people to move out of a certain place if they think that their identity no longer meets the emotional significance of a place. An example of this is that in the city of Amsterdam many young parents move their residency out of the city as they no longer feel that this meets their family needs because of the high levels of tourists that visit the city which changes the dynamics in the city (Statistics Netherlands, (CBS), 2017).

The third principle of place identity process is *self-esteem* where the authors describe that self-esteem can be a result of a positive association of one's identity with a place. Pride of place can be a mediator of this association (Lalli, 1992; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996), as self-esteem is known to be a potential positive outcome of feelings of (authentic) pride (Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007a).

The fourth principle is the need for *self-efficacy* (Bandura, 1977), which in context to place identity refers to the manageability of and sense of agency over one's environment. In case of lack of sense of agency related to one's place of residence, for instance due to high levels of crime, people could lose their motivation to remain their residency and to move out.

The developed self-concept (including place identity) can have a strong impact on how we perceive and interact with the world and with places throughout our lives, both emotionally and cognitively. It can especially influence how we are motivated in our interaction with the places we inhabit. As a consequence of this self-identification, we can be more strongly motivated to protect as well as to present in the best possible way whatever we see as part of our self (Ryan & Deci, 2001). As Ryan and Deci have described in their model of the Self-Determination Theory (SDT), people have intrinsic needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence as a basis for their personality integration. The relatedness need can refer to building coherent relationships (and secure attachment) with others, but as well to places or the natural world in general (Clayton & Myers, 2015). Building meaningful relations leads to increased care and concern for those others and for environments such as places. Autonomy can relate to the need for self-efficacy as described before, where people feel a need to have a sense of agency over their place. The need for competency relates to the desire to feel competent in mastering certain competences. Regarding to places we may safely assume that this function the same for when a place is part of

one's self-identification, and that pride of place can be a way to express this motivation to protect and present the best of place.

One significant question that arises in the development of place identities as part of one's self-construct is how modern-day life (of young people) interferes in this process. As we can safely assume, in the past (pre-digital era) physical interaction with the natural environment (and indirectly with the non-physical aspects of place) may have been much more frequent and of a different quality than nowadays. Current society is characterized by high levels of migration, mobility and digitalization and this makes one wonder how this alteration in human place interaction influences the identity process and in particular place identity. Relph (1976) argued that the historical lack of experiencing of place has led to the decline of significance of places and a rise in meaningless places in modern day society.

## **1.6 The role of pride in place attachment theories**

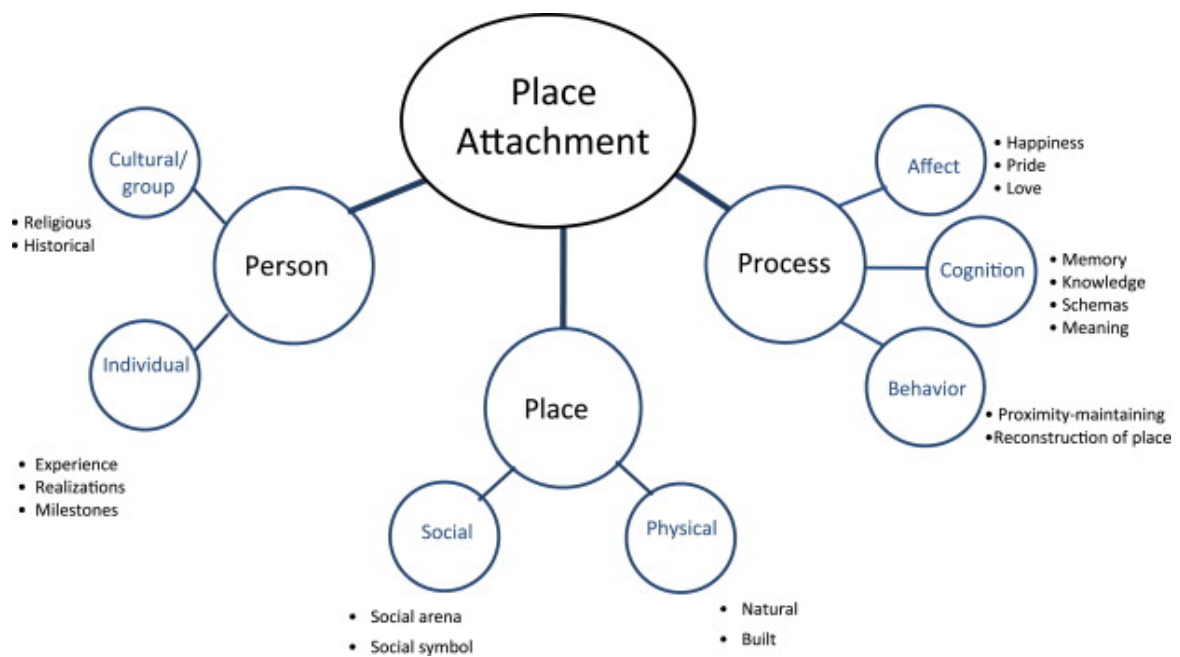
Researchers have for long time disagreed on how place identity and place attachment are related (Bonnes et al., 2003): place identity is claimed to be interchangeable with place attachment (Brown & Werner, 1985; Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2013) and some see place identity as a subcomponent of place attachment together with place dependence (e.g., [Kyle et al., 2004](#)). Certainly, place identity and place attachment are related.

Place attachment has been defined as a concept that integrates several interrelated and inseparable aspects of people place bonds ([Alman & Low, 1992](#)). Many more definitions have been made as a result of the diverse field of application of place attachments (e.g., environmental psychology, landscape architecture, urban planning, social geography). Scannell and Gifford (2010) have presented a very practical framework (see figure 1.2) for place attachment wherein most of the different theories and models are represented. In their tripartite framework the three dimensions of place, people and process synthesize how people are tied to their important places. The person dimension deals with the subject that is attached to the place and there is a distinction of meaning at both the individual and group level, that are interdependent. At the group level the attachment can be based on symbolic meanings derived from historical or religious context that are shared by the group. At the individual level the bond involves the personal experiences one has with the place.

The place dimension relates to the object that the attachment is directed at and the model separates the social from the physical attachment (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001) that are interconnected (Clayton & Myers, 2015).

The physical aspect of place is measured on different geographical scales and the extent to which people find the place meaningful depends on a variety of aspects ranging from built features such as presence or absence of sidewalks, malls, streets, houses, to more natural features such as lakes, forests, rivers, parks or green in general. These features are the most visible aspects of the place dimension, however the less visible aspects of the social level are just as or even more important; "people are attached to places that facilitate social relationships and group identity" (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).





**Figure 1.2**

*Tripartite Model of Place Attachment (Scannell & Gifford, 2010)*

The third dimension, process, concerns with the psychological interactions between people and place and separates in an affective, cognitive and behavioural level. As well, on this dimension the three levels are interrelated and together make up for the psychological process of people place bonding. About the cognitive level Scannell & Gifford (2010) explain that “memories, beliefs, meaning and knowledge that individuals associate with their central settings make them personally important”. People can also grow attached to a place because of important events that have occurred, its historical importance or its (unique) cultural heritage (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Since the process of place identity (Bonaiuto et al., 1996; Bonaiuto et al., 2016; Proshansky, 1978; Proshansky et al., 1983; Twigger-Ross et al., 2003; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) is mainly a cognitive process where the self-construct is being formed in relationship to a specific physical and social environment, this falls under the cognitive level of place attachment as well. The affective level relates to the emotional bonds people have with their environment (e.g., Giuliani, 2003; Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). These emotions are varying from positive emotions such as pride (Brown et al., 2003; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996), gratitude and love, to more negative emotions such as fear (Brown et al., 2003) or boredom (Russell, 1992).

The behavioural level deals with how people act in relation to their place bond, for example when people feel securely attached, they may want to keep proximity to their special place (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). It may be possible that people who have strong feelings of pride of place would want to present their place in the best possible way or even protect it against deterioration.

On the psychological dimension, obviously all three levels are interrelated and interdependent: emotions towards a place aren't independent of thought, perspectives or memories related to it and behaviour is for a major part the outcome of the interplay between the cognitive and affective. For pride of place this could mean

that feelings of pride are rooted in one's place identity (cognitive level) and that behaviour such as presenting the place in the best possible way or taking care of the place are based on the two antecedents.

Place attachments seem to serve several functions and Scannell and Gifford (2010) sum up several theories that aim to explain why people form these psychological bonds with their environment: for survival and security (Giuliani, 2003), for goal support and self-regulation (e.g., Proshansky et al., 1983), distinctiveness (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) and for 'place-congruent continuity' of the self (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996).

Scannell & Gifford (2017a) have made an overview of existing literature on the overlap between interpersonal attachment and place attachment and they gave four principles that are of importance to both processes. The first is that the person (infant) needs a safe haven to where s/he can maintain a physical and symbolical proximity (Bowlby, 1969, 1973). For place attachment this could mean that a person should have a residency in the geographical area of the place, or that they return to the place of concern each year during a holiday. The second key aspect is that the place (attachment) should provide a sense of safety and security (Bowlby, 1969). Places are for example perceived as less dangerous for those who are attached to them than for those who are less attached (Billig, 2006). The third aspect of proximity maintenance, is that secure place attachment like interpersonal attachment should provide for a sense of exploration, but the person maintains a connection so a greater autonomy can be developed. In case of secure attachment people are willing to explore with the notion that there is always a possibility to return to the safe place. The fourth overlapping principle is that people will feel distressed when the attachment is broken due to loss of the object of attachment, and that grief, alienation and disorientation occur following to the loss of the figure (Fullilove, 1996).

Especially interesting in relation to the emotion of pride are the suggestions that place attachments can lead to increased levels of self-esteem (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) and belongingness (Giuliani, 2003). These two consequences of strong people place bonds touch upon basic human psychological needs and are important for human thriving.

## **1.7 Pride of place and the effect on wellbeing**

Research on place attachment has mainly focussed on the several dimensions of the construct and definitions and quite a small body of research has aimed at mapping its several psychological consequences. In general, the *process* dimension of the tripartite framework (Scannell & Gifford, 2010) discussed in the previous chapter is somewhat understudied, even though for human functioning it can be very interesting to see how a well-established place attachment can be beneficial to human flourishing (Ryff, 1989; Seligman, 2012). How positive emotions such as pride related to place can have a direct or indirect impact on an individual's wellbeing is of particular interest within the aim of this literature review, especially since the broaden-and-build theory (Fredrickson, 1998; Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002, 2018) suggests that positive emotions trigger an upward spiral towards wellbeing. Since there is no existing literature (to my knowing) on the psychological benefits of pride of place, I will have a look on how place attachment, place identity and pride in general can influence wellbeing.

Within the framework of the broaden-and-build theory, pride as a positive emotion has not been systematically studied. There is however some evidence that pride can have positive impact on individual's mental health. Nakamura (2013) showed a relationship between pride and detected meaning in daily life and strong relationship between levels of pride and prosocial behaviour. Meaning in life is a well backed element of one's psychological wellbeing (Ryff, 1989). Other important research findings have showed that authentic pride is positively correlated to levels of self-esteem (Tracy et al., 2009) and that higher levels of pride correspond to stronger social ties (Gable et al., 2004), both factors being important elements of psychological wellbeing (Delle Fave et al., 2011); Ryan & Deci, 2001; Ryff, 1989).

The existing literature on the psychological benefits of well-established place attachment has showed links with global measures of wellbeing such as quality of life (Bonaiuto et al., 2006; Marcheschi et al., 2015), but it has mostly focussed on single items of wellbeing. Place attachment can, for example, elicit a sense of belonging (Billig, 2006; Scannell & Gifford, 2017b), enhance experiences of meaning in life (Scannell & Gifford, 2017a) and improve levels of self-esteem (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010). In the place identity process theory, self-esteem is an important principle of it (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996), which is an important predictor of all sorts of wellbeing indicators (Paradise & Kernis, 2002). Scannell and Gifford (2017b) have done an explorative study on the broad psychological benefits of place attachment and found thirteen categories of benefits among their participants: memories, belonging, relaxation, positive emotions, activity support, comfort-security, personal growth, freedom, entertainment, connection to nature, practical benefits, privacy and aesthetics. 69% of the participants in their research mentioned that the benefit of their place attachment was having memories that connects them to the past cognitively, ancestrally and historically. About half of the respondents (52%) argued that place offered them a sense of belonging. Relaxation and stress-relief was the third most mentioned benefit of place attachment with 49% and providing the respondent with positive emotions such as pride, joy, happiness and hope was the fourth most mentioned dimension with 39% of all respondents. This exploratory study is however somewhat limited in its comprehensiveness as there is some overlap and also the list was produced based on the open responses of the respondents with the risk of missing out on benefits that the respondents weren't aware of such as offering meaning in life or enhancing one's self-esteem.

Another relevant research (Scannell & Gifford, 2017a) that taps into the benefits of healthy people place bonds showed that well established place attachment serves the satisfaction of basic human needs of belongingness, self-esteem and meaning in life. In their study the researchers used an experimental design where they asked the participants to visualise a place of attachment and use pre- and post-testing to assess to which extent the place could satisfy basic human needs. In their study the participants showed an increase in sense of belonging, higher self-esteem and more experienced meaning when they visualised their place of attachment. This is also in line with other research findings (Giuliani, 2003; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). Their research was also one of the few studies that used different geographical scales (Freundschuh & Egenhofer, 1997) in one study and used place attachment as a single independent variable. The importance of a satisfaction of basic human needs is that it will help to promote psychological wellbeing (Ryan et al., 2008; Ryan & Deci, 2001). Interesting to the study of

pride of place is that general pride is also linked to experiencing meaning in daily life (Nakamura, 2013) and to foster self-esteem (Tracy et al., 2009). For the study of pride of place, it would be interesting to see how feelings of pride of place can contribute to basic human needs and promote wellbeing.

The question of what defines psychological wellbeing has had a long history in science and never have expert been able to find a common ground of agreement (Dodge et al., 2012). However, many scientists have focused on descriptions and dimensions of wellbeing, rather than on defining it. Especially in the more recent past in the field of positive psychology researchers have developed models and theories that contribute to human 'flourishing' (Keyes, 2002, 2013; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Ryff, 1989; Ryff & Singer, 2008; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2014). and the ultimate aim of wellbeing should be the flourishing of human beings (Seligman, 2012).

One of the most well researched theories and models on psychological wellbeing and happiness is the six-factor model of Carol Ryff (Keyes et al., 2002; Ryff, 1989, 2014, 2018). In her model she defines six key-factors that make up for *eudaimonic wellbeing*. According to this tradition of psychological wellbeing the aim of life is to obtain a flourishing, fulfilling and meaningful life (Huta & Waterman, 2014). Another important definition of wellbeing next to eudaimonic wellbeing comes from the hedonic tradition on wellbeing where happiness and subjective wellbeing are seen as the result of an optimizing of positive affect and the minimizing of negative affect. Hedonic wellbeing can be seen as the good life, where a maximization of pleasure is the ultimate goal. Both the eudaimonic and hedonic tradition lead back to the ancient Greek philosophers. In her original work, Ryff (1989) described that wellbeing is comprised of meaning, self-actualization and personal growth at the individual level. Later other scientists (Keyes et al., 2002; Massimini & Delle Fave, 2000; Ryff & Keyes, 1995) stressed out the importance of adding the social component of wellbeing to the description of human flourishing: making a positive commitment and contribution to the wellbeing and proper functioning of society. This model of wellbeing may offer a good framework to assess the impact of the experience of pride of place on an individual's wellbeing.

## **1.8 Shame of place**

When studying pride of place, it may also be worthwhile to simultaneously explore the concept of shame of place, as pride and shame have often been described to be closely related and even to be opposites (Tracy & Robins, 2007a). In line with the definition of pride of place (Bonaiuto et al., 2020), shame of place can be defined as the emotion that people can have for the place they identify or associate themselves with. The dynamics of how shame of place develops may be very similar to the place identity processes described for pride of place. In fact, the shame of place is also considered a self-conscious emotions (Zahavi, 2012; Salice & Montes Sánchez, 2016) and like pride of place, shame can also be felt for other people which implies the presence of a group identification process (Harder & Zalma, 1990), or in the case of shame of place, a place identification process. In the social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), after the social identification process, a social

comparison process takes place in which the in-group is compared with the out-group (i.e., in-place vs. out-place), leading to feelings of pride in case of a positive assessment and, in case of a negative assessment, to shame of place feelings. In the literature, shame of place has minimally and exclusively been studied in the social context of places, such as with transgression of social norms by in-group members (e.g., Piff et al., 2012), or a kind of social injustice that characterizes the place (Peacock, 2012), such as a diaspora (Filipovic, 2020).

Where general pride is classified as a dual facet emotion, shame seems to be a unidimensional construct (Harder, 1990). Although shame can have positive implications for the individual (Turner & Husman, 2009), most studies show that shame has a detrimental impact to the individual's functioning and wellbeing, such as personal motivation (Turner & Waugh, 2007) or low self-esteem (Budiarto & Helmi, 2021a), physical aggression and poor self-regulation (Velotti et al., 2017).

### **1.9 Can pride and shame of place be altered through an intervention?**

There are no specific interventions that aim to moderate people's pride and shame of place, nor are there, as far as known to the author, any evaluations of interventions that specifically aim to alter emotions people feel towards their place. There is however plentiful information available on 'Place-based education' (PBE) as a more general approach, which aims to foster people's sense of place and to promote their ecological and social sustainability over competitiveness and other practices that negatively influence people's quality of life in a place (Gruenewald & Smith, 2014; Sedawi et al., 2021; Semken & Freeman, 2008; Smith & Sobel, 2014). PBE, also known as 'pedagogy of place' (Orr, 1992) has a specific effect on altering someone's consciousness in relation to place whereby the 'learners' "become part of the community, rather than a passive observer of it" (Sobel, 2004, p. iii). It is a dynamic approach referring to changes occurring in a place (Sobel, 2004), such as exploring how its aspects such as landscape, infrastructure, human tradition and culture and its inhabitants shape each other mutually. Essential to the quality of the impact of these interventions, PBE actively uses the local community as a setting for its learners with the place's characteristics, values, and resources as active ingredients of the learning process (Powers, 2004). Van Eijk and Roth (2010) argue that PBE is a bidirectional, dialogic exchange between learners and the place itself, resulting in a different place both in tangible and intangible aspects. PBE thus takes place in and with the place, not only its physical aspects, but also its community. Indeed, the first design principle of high quality PBE interventions is, according to Vanderark and colleagues (2020), that the local community serves as the extended learning environment where local experts and, social, cultural and physical aspects of the place become part of the learning process. The second design principle states that the intervention should be 'learner-centered', making the topic of interest personally relevant and allowing for personal agency. Third, a PBE intervention should be inquiry based and stimulating the learners to ask questions and follow a research cycle. Fourth, the interventions will stimulate learners to understand global issues through learning locally, making the local environment as a model for the global. Fifth, interventions have a systemic approach with the use of design thinking, in order to make a meaningful impact

in local communities. Lastly, high quality PBE interventions are interdisciplinary, with the traditional subject area content and skills development integrated in the project-based approach.

PBE interventions have shown to not only enhance someone's sense of place (e.g., Sedawi et al., 2019), but also to particularly enhance someone's place attachment (Jensen, 2015; Stefaniak et al., 2017) and civic engagement intentions (Stefaniak et al., 2017). More generally, significant experiences carried out within a place are related to place identity strengthening (Bonaiuto et al., 2016). It can therefore be suggested that PBE interventions will also enhance one's pride of place, and as shame can be seen as the opposite of pride (Tracy & Robins, 2004), also a reduction of experienced shame of place.

### **1.10 Study aim and research question**

As elaborated above, the concepts of pride and shame of place seem to be relevant constructs in the realm of people-place studies, but both have received little attention. This PhD research project aims to fill the gap in the scientific field regarding the two concepts by exploring and examining them and their antecedents and consequences. Three consecutive studies will be conducted in order to answer the general research question of this thesis: *"What are the antecedents and consequences of pride and shame of place and how do these relate to existing concepts in the study of people-place bonds?"*.

At first, a quantitative study will be done in which both concepts' antecedents and consequences will be explored. Next a small sample size pre-experimental study will take place in which an innovative intervention aiming to promote (authentic) pride of place is tested on its efficacy and some correlations will be explored. Lastly, a third study is conducted in which the same intervention is tested on a bigger sample at high schools in two countries and explorative mediation analysis are done in order to assess the direction of interrelatedness of several people-place constructs. The thesis will be finalised with a general discussion and reflection on the entire research process.

For the qualitative study an adult sample will be used as it is assumed that adults, in comparison to a non-adult sample, are easier to reach and that they can more easily provide qualitative inputs about pride and shame of place than non-adult participants, as the topic might be a too abstract topic for a qualitative interview with children. Studies 2 and 3 will include adolescent participants as this was pre-determined by an EU funded project (see next section) for which the Sapienza University of Rome was involved as a scientific partner. For the experimental methodology of these two studies, the school offers a valuable setting for testing an intervention on pride and shame of place.

## 1.11 The context of this PhD study

This PhD study, more specifically study 2 and 3, has been done within the context of an Erasmus+ project<sup>1</sup>, funded by the European Union. This project took place from October 2018 to May 2021 and aimed to (re)connect young people with their rural areas, which often are subject to depopulation.

Studies 2 and 3 were part of a pilot phase of a 'Pride of Place curriculum' that was specifically developed as part of this Erasmus+ project. This Pride of Place curriculum aims at (1) promoting a healthy (authentic) sense of pride of place, and (2) promoting the development of 21<sup>st</sup> century competencies. The curriculum (Albers (Ed.), 2021) was based on a theoretical framework on the promotion of pride of place (Bonaiuto et al., 2020) and made use of the methodology *Inquiry Based Learning* (e.g. Pedaste et al., 2015). The curriculum is responsive to the unique qualities of the places that were subject to inquiry as there are 14 modules covering typical tangible and intangible place characteristics, such as archaeology, biodiversity, language, and norms & values. The curriculum has a general introduction and a final phase where the learned competencies are evaluated and integrated into the individual's relationship with the place.

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<sup>1</sup>The Erasmus+ project ID: 2018-1-NL01-KA201-039020

**Chapter 2:** Study 1 - *an explorative qualitative study of pride and shame of place's antecedents and consequences*



## 2.1 Introduction

As set out in chapter 1 of this thesis, pride and shame as general emotions have received a vast amount of attention, the study of these two emotions in relation to places have however been scarcely investigated. To fill this existing gap in scientific literature, the current study aims to explore the antecedents and consequences of both pride and shame of place in a qualitative way. This aim will be pursued within a purely descriptive and qualitative approach, given the paucity of existing state of the art regarding pride of place: there is the priority need to have a proper description of the phenomenon and the present study addresses this aim, namely describing the pride and shame of place phenomena by highlighting their antecedents and consequences too.

The general research question that will be answered in this study is: “what are the important antecedents and consequences of the pride and shame emotions as experienced in relation to places?”. In order to study and answer this question in a comprehensible manner, four sub-questions have been formulated in order to be qualitatively addressed by this study.

**Research Question 1 (RQ1):** What are the important *antecedents* of pride of place?

**Research Question 2 (RQ2):** What are the important *consequences* of pride of place?

**Research Question 3 (RQ3):** What are the important *antecedents* of shame of place?

**Research Question 4 (RQ4):** What are the important *consequences* of shame of place?

## 2.2 Methods

### 2.2.1 Design

This exploratory qualitative study took place through a series of semi-structured interviews with the overall aim to identify the antecedents and consequences of the experiencing of the emotions of pride and shame in relation to places.

### 2.2.2 Respondents

A total of 17 respondents were interviewed during the period September 2019 until April 2020. The respondents had a mean age of 47 years (SD 18,3 y), with the youngest being 21 years old and the oldest 72 years old. Nine of the 17 participants were female (53%). 10 participants came equally divided from rural areas in the Netherlands (Achterhoek) and Italy (Alta Langa), while all other respondents (N=7) came from urban areas (respectively, Amsterdam and Genoa). Table 2.1 provides a schematic overview of some of the demographics of the participants. Each participant was assigned a unique code (see table 2.1) revealing their country (NL/IT) and urban or rural residency (U/R). Furthermore, the table indicates the age of the participant at the time of the interview, gender, the highest level of education finished, current employment, mode of interview (online/presential) and duration in minutes.

**Table 2.1**

*Overview of Participants' Demographics.*

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Highest Education</b>	<b>Current Employment</b>	<b>Mode of interview</b>	<b>Duration (minutes)</b>
NLU1	47	Female	Academic	Psychologist	Online	53
NLU2	30	Male	Academic	Educator	Online	28
NLU3	34	Female	Academic	Lifestyle advisor	Online	33
NLU4	35	Male	Academic	Tourguide	Online	53
NLR1	72	Female	Academic	Retired	Presential	38
NLR2	37	Male	Academic	Private banking	Presential	41
NLR3	62	Female	Vocational	Shop owner	Presential	26
NLR4	33	Male	Academic	IT specialist	Presential	30
NLR5	70	Male	Vocational	Retired	Presential	23
ITU1	28	Female	Academic	Osteopath	Online	48
ITU2	67	Male	Vocational	Retired	Online	37
ITU3	29	Female	Academic	Psychologist	Online	48
ITR1	29	Male	High school	Self-employed	Offline	53
ITR2	21	Female	High school	Student	Presential	50
ITR3	72	Female	High school	Retired	Presential	93
ITR4	72	Female	Academic	Retired	Presential	66
ITR5	61	Male	Academic	Educator	Presential	70

Participants were selected through the social network of the researcher, with some interviewees proposing someone from their social network. The selection criterium was that the participants were identified by the researcher or a referring interviewee to have medium to strong feelings of pride toward the place.

Participants were invited by email or social media to participate in the interview with a full description of the interview procedure. Respondents were asked to read and sign the written consent form that was prepared for this study prior to the interviews (see Appendix 1).

### **2.2.3 Procedure**

The interviews took place both in vivo and online. The first 10 interviews were conducted in vivo with the participants from the rural areas in the Netherlands and Italy in the period September 2019 until December 2019. The 7 interviews with respondents coming from urban areas were conducted online using Skype in the period March until April 2020, due to the governmental restrictions of meeting in person in respect to the Covid-19 pandemic.

The data collection happened in agreement with the EU laws on privacy protection (EU 2016/679) and the design of the study was approved by the ethical commission of the Department of Psychology of Developmental and Socialization Processes, of the Sapienza University of Rome (Protocol nr. 757 – Pos VII/15).

Participants received a written consent form with instructions about the purpose of the interview, the anonymous data processing and analysis and their rights regarding their involvement in the study. The consent forms were presented in both Italian and Dutch (see Appendix 1). All 17 participants signed the consent forms either in paper format or in digital format.

At the start of each interview, the rights of the participants and the anonymous handling of the data were orally repeated.

The interviews were recorded with an audio recorder for the in vivo meetings and by video recording (as a function offered by Skype) for the online meetings. On average the interviews took 46 minutes ( $SD=18,4$  minutes).

The interviews were conducted by one interviewer in Dutch ( $N=10$ ), Italian ( $N=6$ ) and English ( $N=1$ ).

### **2.2.4 Instruments**

The interview consisted of 17 questions (see Appendix 2 for the English, Italian and Dutch version of the interview questions) divided over three main blocks asking about the antecedents and consequences of both experienced feelings of pride and shame in regard to the place of reference. Table 2.2 provides example questions.

Nine questions focussed at retrieving data regarding the antecedents of pride and shame of place. Four interview questions were directed at finding themes for the consequences of pride and shame of place. Participants were for example asked to describe a situation in which they felt very proud/ashamed of the place and then describe the thoughts, emotions and behavioural (intentions) that they associated to this memory. The last question of the interview asked the participants to described what they thought that the emotion of pride (hypothetically) served for.

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Example question</b>
Pride Antecedents (RQ1)	<i>What do you think is the origin of your PoP?</i>
Pride Consequence (RQ2)	<i>Could you share a memory of a moment you felt proud of your place?</i>
Shame Antecedent (RQ3)	<i>Are there some specific spots, locations, etc. that you associate to your Shame of Place?</i>
Shame Consequence (RQ4)	<i>What do you say your Shame of Place is useful for?</i>

**Table 2.2**

*Example Questions per Domain of the Interview*

The interview questions were semi-structured and self-developed by the interviewer (Thomas Albers), Professor Dr. Marino Bonaiuto and Dr. Silvia Ariccio. The interviewer was trained in conducting interviews and a competent speaker of Dutch, English and Italian.

In order to test the quality of the interview questions, a pilot interview was conducted after which minor changes to the phrasing of the questions were applied. The full list of interview questions can be found in Appendix 2.

### **2.2.5 Analysis**

All recordings of the interviews were transcribed verbatim (all transcriptions can be found in Appendix 3), except for names and other personal information, and analysed via NVivo in their original language. A hybrid form of inductive and deductive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was conducted in order to explore and categorise the data in relationship to the aim of the study. Thematic analysis “is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.79). The analysis applied in this study aimed to provide a rich description of the entire data set (the 17 interviews) in order to get a sense of the predominant or important themes of antecedents and consequences of pride and shame of place. The analysis contained both an inductive and a deductive aspect (see description below). Themes were retrieved in an inductive approach – without trying to fit the data into a pre-existing coding frame – as well as with a deductive approach using existing theoretical models to identify themes. All in all, the dominant paradigm through which the study was conducted was a constructivist perspective, believing that what is being said or expressed by

participants is socially constructed (Burr, 2015), rather than an essentialist perspective, believing that what is being expressed has a natural, inevitable and predetermined biological sense (Berg-Sørensen et al., 2010)

### *Description of the process of data analysis*

The thematic analysis consisted of several phases that have been followed (table 2.3; Braun & Clarke, 2006). This process of analysis was recursive as it was moving back and forth between the different phases, rather than in a strict linear order where the phases followed up on each other only when the previous was fully finished.

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

**Table 2.3**

*The Six Phases of Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006)*

Steps 1 to 5 were conducted by the PhD candidate; and Silvia Ariccio and Marino Bonaiuto were involved in step 4 and 5.

### **Phase 1: Familiarisation with the data**

The interviews were verbatim transcribed and read by the PhD student who previously acted as the interviewer.

### **Phase 2: Generating initial codes**

Meaningful fragments of the raw data (transcriptions) were manually assigned an initial code that identified either a semantic or a latent feature of the data. Codes refer to “the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data that can be assessed in a meaningful way” (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 63). For example, an extract of the interview in which a participant expressed the affective connection with the place was coded in a semantic way (“It’s a nice place to live” was coded as ‘Nice to live there’ [NLR2]). An example of coding a latent feature was when a participant said, “When a friend comes and says, “what a beautiful view there is here” one feels very proud...” [ITR5], this was labelled as ‘pride through external recognition’.

An inductive approach was used for the first round of coding: no theoretical framework was used for the coding and the codes were identified as important by the analyst from the text.

The data set was worked through systematically using NVivo, tagging and naming fragments of text, until all the 17 interviews were initially coded.

### Phase 3: searching for themes

A theme is a further categorisation of the data and “captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). In this phase the initial codes were sorted into potential themes and merged all relevant coded fragments within the identified theme. This phase where themes were searched for, was done in both a deductive and an inductive approach, as described in more detail below.

The following steps were followed in this phase.

1. **Reorganisation of the codes.** The entire collection of codes was organised into two main categories that differentiated between codes related to pride and to shame. For both emotions, there was a second round of reorganisation into categories of codes that related to antecedents and to consequences. At this point the codes were organised in four main categories, however no themes were created yet.

For the *antecedents* of both pride and shame, there was a further organisation into three categories ‘Person’, ‘Place’ and ‘Process’ as in the *tripartite* model of place attachment, frequently used to structure people place bonds (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

For the *consequences* of both emotions a categorisation of codes into a *behavioural, affective and cognitive* group was made.

2. **Defining themes.** The codes that were categorised into the several groups as described in the previous step, were read and grouped into themes.

Themes were both retrieved in a deductive approach – without trying to fit the data into a pre-existing coding frame – as well as in an inductive way. For this step both a priori themes were used as well as new themes were identified in the set of codes. For example, for the category Pride-Antecedent-Process-Cognitive, *place identity* was deducted as a theme from the codes, as it was expected by the theory (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

The themes were identified based on both the semantic as the latent level coding. For example, when participants spoke of emotions as a consequence of feeling pride (e.g., joy or happiness), the themes were identified based on the semantic meaning and there was no deeper interpretation made of what was said. On the other hand, themes were also identified on a latent level when participants spoke of, for example, how the experiencing of pride made them feeling good, which was consequently interpreted as “increase in self-esteem”.

Prevalence of the different themes within the data set was calculated by NVivo. The outcome of phase 3 was a selection of candidate themes and sub-themes.

### Phase 4: Reviewing themes

The initial set of themes from the previous phase was reviewed and revised: some themes were merged with similar themes, some themes became subthemes of other themes. This phase consisted of two levels of

reviewing (Braun & Clarke, 2006): reviewing the themes at the level of the coded fragments, and reviewing the themes at the level of the entire data set. In the first level, the codes and fragments were re-read and the themes were assessed on their *internal homogeneity* and *external heterogeneity* (Patton, 1990), meaning that the internal consistency and external distinctiveness of the themes was judged. At the second level of reviewing the set of themes was reviewed against the entire data set in order to assess its validity. The entire data set was re-read as well at this level to ascertain its representativeness with the actual data and to code any fragments that have been left uncoded.

Phase 5 happened in three cycles, where the results of the themes were discussed between the PhD candidate, Dr. Silvia Ariccio and Prof. Dr. Marino Bonaiuto. Throughout the cycles, a set of themes was mainly simplified: themes were merged and a hierarchy was assigned between sub and main themes.

#### **Phase 5: defining and naming themes**

The organised set of themes from the previous phases was refined, labelled and described. To each theme and subtheme, a label was assigned, describing the content and meaning in a short and coherent way. Each label was further described in more detail, identifying their meaning and the story that each theme tells in relation to the main research question. In the results section of this report for each theme its meaning, relevance to the research question and how the themes relate to each other is described in more detail.

## 2.3 Results

In this section the results of the interviews will be discussed. The section is subdivided according to the topics of the four aims of this study. The result, hence, will be discussed separately for pride and for shame, and for both emotions the antecedents and the consequences will be discussed separately.

For each subsection that addressed the results per one of the four aims (i.e., identifying the (1) antecedents and (2) consequences of pride of place, and the (3) antecedents and (4) consequences of shame of place), the themes and their prevalence will be described, as well as the example quotes from the interviews will be discussed. The example quotes will give evidence for each theme and will allow the reader to understand the context and nuances of each theme. The example quotes have been selected on their quality in relation to the theme, i.e., the selection criteria were that they should help in telling the 'story' of the theme and bringing nuances (i.e., facets of that theme). The number of quotes selected and published depended on how homogenic the quotes were in relation to the theme. Some themes were rather straightforward, easy to 'grasp' and required little interpretation of what was said, for which fewer quotes were selected than for themes that needed more elaboration as the theme was more ambiguous.

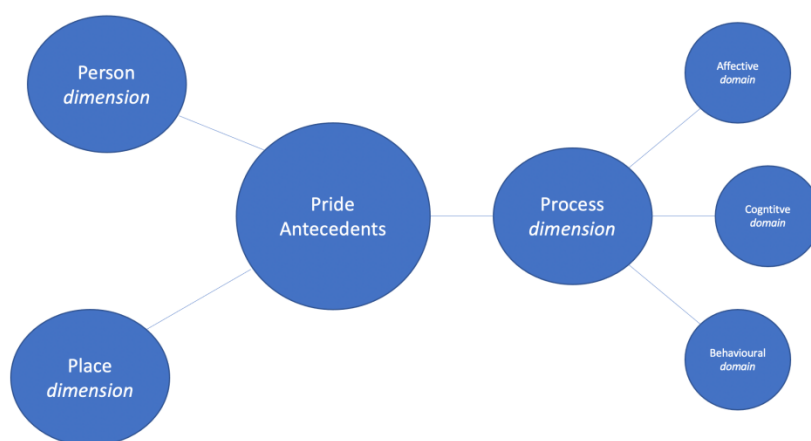
For some themes, subthemes have been found in the data. These subthemes were of such relevance or importance that they 'deserved' to be separate subthemes as part of the main theme.

*Reading instruction to the tables in this chapter.* The tables with the interview results show the themes and subthemes, the number of interviews the theme has been found in (column 'Nr. of Interview'), the number of fragments that have been coded under this theme (column 'Nr. of References'), example quotes in the original language, and a translation of these quotes into English. After each example quote in the tables a unique anonymous code for each interview has been added between brackets (e.g. [NLR1]) in order for the fragment to be traced back in the full transcription in the appendix. The themes are presented in the tables in the order of prevalence, i.e., the highest number of coded fragments for each theme ('References') are on top of the table.



### 2.3.1 Pride of Place Antecedents

The themes related to the antecedents of the emotion of pride of place are subdivided into the three categories of people-place bonds as described in the tripartite model of place attachment by Scannell and Gifford (2010). In their tripartite framework, the three dimensions of place, people and process synthesize how people are tied to their important places. They identified three dimensions that also seemed to be relevant for the division of antecedents of the experiencing of pride: **Person**, **Place** and **Process** (see figure 2.1). The results of the data analysis of the antecedents of pride will be described and presented on the basis of this tripartite division.

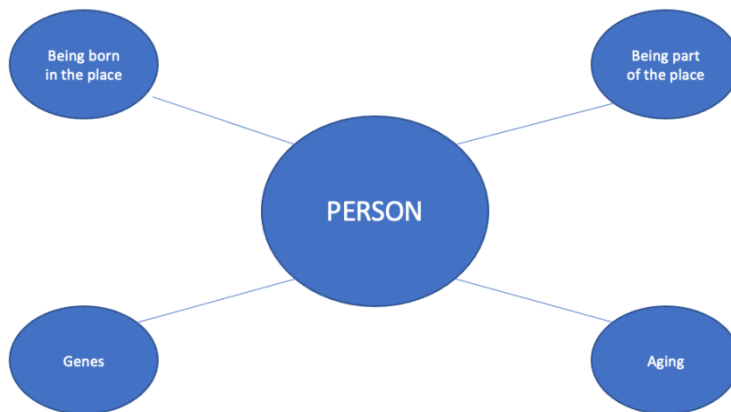


**Figure 2.1**

*Pride Antecedents with Three Dimensions.*

#### 2.3.1.1. Person Dimension

The person dimension deals with the subject that is related to the place. Scannell and Gifford (2010) make a distinction in the meaning a place can have at the individual and group level, although the two are interdependent. At the group level, place attachment can be based on symbolic meanings derived from historical or religious context that are shared by the group; on an individual level, the bond involves the direct personal experiences one has with the place. The themes retrieved from the interviews seem to have slightly different characteristic as they do not speak of the meaning a place can have but mainly about the characteristics of the individual that influences the development and dynamics of pride of place. Four themes have been identified being related to the personal experience with the place. Table 2.4 gives an overview of the results of the *people* dimension of the antecedents for pride whereas figure 2.2 gives a visual presentation of the themes related to the person dimension.



**Figure 2.2**

*Visual Presentation of the Themes for the Person dimension of Pride Antecedents.*

**Theme 1: ‘Being born in the place.’**

This theme was mentioned by 3 people and the theme refers to people feeling proud of the place due to the fact that they were born there. One participant for example mentioned “... being born there I obviously created a strong bond with it.” [ITU3]. This participant spoke of a bond as a consequence of being born there. Another participant spoke directly of being proud because of being born in the place: “...because you’re born and raised there, and that’s why you are automatically proud of it.” [NLR4]. Interestingly in both extracts the link between the emotional bond (or pride) and the place seems to be rather automatic (‘obviously’ and ‘automatically’). This theme is separate from being raised in the place as this is found to be a separate theme.

**Theme 2: ‘Being part of the place’**

This theme was mentioned by 5 people and 5 fragments were coded. The theme covers that people see themselves as part of the place. It relates to a general aspect of place and also more specifically to the cultural and social dimension of the place.

This theme can refer to a general aspect of place of just being in the place. One Dutch participant described how she felt when she lived in Ghana for a longer period of time and that the realization of living there made her feel good (“When I was there for a long time, I really felt like ‘I live here, I am here’...” [NLU3]). Another participant from Amsterdam shared that in her neighbourhood there is a Surinam outdoor market and when she thinks about it, she feels proud to be part of that neighbourhood (“... and that’s what I am proud of, that’s what I am part of.” [NLU1]). She referred that due to a cultural aspect of place she was proud to be part of the place, where others referred to social aspects, such as having relevant relationships in order to feel part of the place (“... but it also means important relationships with people.” [ITU3]). Seeing oneself as part of the place also contains an

element of thinking that one is accepted by the people of the place as a member of the community or society (“I like to be in contact with people to which I don't have to prove anything to.” [IT1]).

**Theme 3: ‘Aging’**

Becoming older plays a role in the development of pride as the older people get, the prouder they may feel of the place. This could be because people simply experience more appreciation for the place (“When you are young you don’t realise it. When you get older and are older, you can appreciate the place more.” [NLR2]), or due to the fact that needs change as one gets older (“When you’re 18, you would like to say that there is nothing to do here. And maybe that’s also true for someone of 18 years old. That person just would like to party every day.” [NLR2]). Interestingly throughout age, what one was ashamed of when younger, one could become proud of when older. Two participants mentioned that they became proud of something they used to be ashamed of when they were younger (“Then with time I became more mature and the dimension changed, that what shame for me had become pride.” [ITR5]).

**Theme 4: ‘Genes’**

When discussing the origins of pride, and why people feel it, two participants mentioned that pride is part of our ‘DNA’. They described that because their ancestors as well lived in the place they thought that their feelings of pride have been passed on through a genetic inheritance (“I think it is something ancestral, it’s in the DNA.” [ITR5]). Participants spoke of how they perceived this and whether this is true or not on a biological level, cannot be concluded.

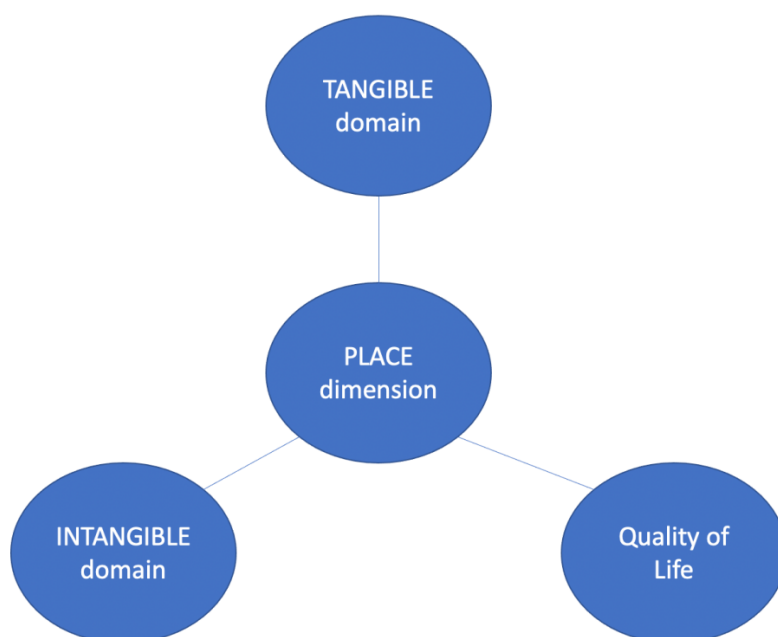
**Table 2.4**

*Schematic Overview of the Results of the Person Dimension of the Pride of Place Antecedents.*

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes (original language)	Example quotes (English translation)
Being born in the place	Feeling proud of the place due to being born there.	3	6	<p>“... essendoci nata ovviamente ho creato poi un grande legame con essa.” [ITU3]</p> <p>“...omdat je daar dan geboren en getogen bent, en dat je daardoor wat automatisch trots op bent dan” [NLR4]</p>	<p>“... being born there I obviously created a strong bond with it.” [ITU3]</p> <p>“...because you’re born and raised there, and that’s why you are automatically proud of it.” [NLR4]</p>
Being part of the place	Feeling proud due to seeing oneself as part of the place.	5	5	<p>“...en daar ben ik dan trots op, daar maak ik ook onderdeel van uit.” [NLU1]</p> <p>“Toen ik daar lang was, toen ik ook echt voelde van ‘ik woon hier, ik ben hier’....”[NLU3]</p> <p>“...ma significa anche rapporti importanti con le persone.” [ITU3]</p> <p>“I like to be in contact with people to which I don't have to prove anything to.” [IT1]</p>	<p>“... and that’s what I am proud of, that’s what I am part of.” [NLU1]</p> <p>“When I was there for a long time, I really felt like ‘I live here, I am here’...” [NLU3]</p> <p>“... but it also means important relationships with people.” [ITU3]</p>
Aging	Feelings of pride develop or grow as one gets older.	3	4	<p>“Poi nel tempo sono maturato ed è cambiata la dimensione, cioè quello che era vergogna per me è diventato orgoglio.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Als je jong bent heb je het niet in de gaten. Als je ouder wordt en ouder bent, dan kun je de plek meer waarderen.” [NLR2]</p>	<p>“Then with time I became more mature and the dimension changed, that what shame for me had become pride.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“When you are young you don’t realise it. When you get older and are older, you can appreciate the place more.” [NLR2]</p>
Genes	Pride is experienced as something genetic, inherited from ancestors.	2	2	<p>“Io penso che sia proprio ancestrale, è nel Dna.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Dan blijkt het dus eigenlijk in de jeugd al wel een beetje in de genen zitten. Ook omdat dus je voorouders ook allemaal Achterhoekers komen.” [NLR1]</p>	<p>“I think it is something ancestral, it’s in the DNA.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Then in our youth it actually already appears to be in our genes. Also because your ancestors all come from the Achterhoek.” [NLR1]</p>

### 2.3.1.2 Place Dimension

The place dimension relates to the object(s) that the pride is based on, and the results are separated between tangible and intangible aspects of a place, in line to UNESCO's two classifications of cultural heritage<sup>2</sup>. Similarly, in place-based literature it is common to separate the material from the immaterial domain (or tangible from intangible) of a place (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001), which however are interconnected (Clayton & Myers, 2015). Tangible aspects refer to built and natural aspects, while intangible aspects include the social and cultural aspects of a place. In the analysis, a third domain – i.e., quality of life – was found to be a theme (see Figure 2.3). The features of the tangible domain are the most visible aspects of the dimension of place, yet the features of the two other less visible domains are just as important.



**Figure 2.3**

*The Three Domains of the Place Dimension.*

#### 2.3.1.2.1 Tangible domain

The data analysis of the tangible domain was mainly on a semantic level, where fragments of the text were coded on the basis of the semantic meaning. The themes that were found in the data of tangible aspects of the place are therefore quite straightforward. Three main themes were found for the tangible domain (*Natural*, *Built* and *Beauty*), and for two themes there were subthemes identified. Figure 2.4 gives a visual overview of the found (sub)themes and how they relate to each other.

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<sup>2</sup>UNESCO. *What is meant by "cultural heritage"?*, viewed on 5 July 2020. <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/unesco-database-of-national-cultural-heritage-laws/frequently-asked-questions/definition-of-the-cultural-heritage/>



**Figure 2.4**

*Visual Presentation of the Three Main Themes and Their Subthemes for the Tangible Domain of the Place Dimension of Pride Antecedents.*

In total 41 fragments were coded with labels related to the tangible domain, mentioned by 13 participants. The 41 codes are cumulative of the three main themes found under the entire tangible domain. Similarly, the number of codes for the 'natural' and 'built' themes are a cumulation of their subthemes. Table 2.5 provides a schematic overview of the results of the analysis of the tangible aspects of the place domain.

**Table 2.5**

*Schematic Overview of the Results of the Tangible Domain of the Place Dimension of Pride Antecedents*

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
<b>Tangible domain</b>	Tangible aspects of a place that people experience pride for.	13	41		
<b>Natural</b>	The natural domain of tangible aspects of a place.	8	20		
Nature	Feeling proud of the nature present in the place.	5	14	<p>“Un altro momento è stato vedere la natura riuscire a recuperare, a chiudere le ferite che si erano create dopo l’alluvione e gli incendi. Sono cose che sono motivo di orgoglio e di felicità...” [ITR5]</p> <p>“il loro essere selvaggio.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Anche dal punto di vista botanico abbiamo ... una grandissima varietà di piante, l’orto botanico di via balbi è bellissimo...” [ITU1]</p> <p>“Het is zo'n mooi gebied en het woold in Winterswijk is een prachtig natuurgebied” [NLR2]</p> <p>“...dat hier de flora en fauna fantastisch in balans is.”[NLR2]</p>	<p>“Another moment was seeing nature recover, to close its wounds that were created after the flood and the forest fires. Those things are a reason for pride and happiness...” [ITR5]</p> <p>“their wilderness.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Also from the botanical point of view we have ... a huge variety of plants, the botanical garden in Via Balbi is beautiful...” [ITU1]</p> <p>“It’s such a beautiful area and ‘the Woold’ in Winterswijk is a gorgeous nature reserve.” [NLR2]</p> <p>“...that here the flora and fauna is balanced.”[NLR2]</p>
Landscape	Feeling proud of the landscape of the place.	4	4	<p>“...le colline della Langa con i loro paesaggi...” [ITR5]</p> <p>“... ik vind het glooiend landschap binnen dat coulisselandschap dat we hier hebben prachtig. ... Prachtig, ik vind het allemaal wel heel erg mooi.” [NLR3]</p>	<p>“... the hills of ‘the Langa area’ with their landscapes...” [ITR5]</p> <p>“... I think the sloping landscape within that bocage landscape that we have here is gorgeous. ... Gorgeous, I think it’s all very beautiful.” [NLR3]</p>
Geography	Feeling proud of the geographical characteristics of the place.	2	2	<p>“Un altro aspetto é la geografia. Abbiamo mari, monti...” [ITU2]</p> <p>“...a Santa Chiara, che è un punto panoramico di Genova dove puoi vedere la riviera di Levante fino al monte di Portofino, mi sedevo lì e guardavo l'alba...” [ITU1]</p>	<p>“Another aspect is the geography. We have seas, mountains...” [ITU2]</p> <p>“...at Santa Chiara, which is a panoramic point of Genoa where you can see the riviera of Levante until the mountain of Portofino. I sat down there and watched the sunrise...” [ITU1]</p>

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
<b>Beauty</b>	The experienced beauty of the tangible aspects of the place as a source of pride.	8	12	<p>“... sono orgogliosa della bellezza della terra, delle persone che ci tengono, la continuano a lavorare, la trattano bene e cercano di mantenerla sempre con la stessa immagine.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“Un tramonto la sera, quando guardo il verde smeraldo delle nostre colline sono emozionato, ma devi amarlo sempre, anche quando c’è la neve, anche quando non ci sono le foglie sugli alberi, devi sempre trovare qualcosa di bello in qualsiasi momento del tempo. In qualsiasi stagione qualcosa di bello ce l’ha sicuramente.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Sono fiera di dire “vengo da Genova “ perché ci sono molte cose belle, quando vengono a trovarmi degli amici da fuori ho tantissimi posti da mostrar loro...” [ITU1]</p> <p>“... le rovine del Castello Antico di Cortemilia, la Cascina Monte Oliveto, da cui puoi vedere tutta Cortemilia e tutte le altre colline, questi posti per me sono belli e mi rendono orgogliosa del paese.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“Come ti dicevo prima essendo più legata ai luoghi che alle persone, quando parlo di bellezza mi riferisco di più a guardare l’orizzonte, il mare o salire su una montagna e guardare il panorama dall’alto.” [ITU3]</p>	<p>“I am proud of the beauty of the land, the people who care for it, who continue to work, they treat it well and always seek to maintain it with the same image.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“A sunset in the evening, when I look at the emerald green of our hills, I am excited, but you must always love it, even when there is snow, even when there are no leaves on the trees, you must always find something beautiful at any moment of time. In any season, there is certainly something beautiful. ” [ITR5]</p> <p>“I am proud to say “I come from Genoa” because there are many beautiful things, when friends from outside come to visit me I have many places to show them...” [ITU1]</p> <p>“...the ruins of the Ancient Castle of Cortemilia, the Cascina Monte Oliveto, from which you can see all of Cortemilia and all the other hills, these places are beautiful to me and make me proud of the town.” [IT2]</p> <p>“As I said before, being more attached to places than to people, when I speak of beauty, I refer mainly to watching the horizon, the sea or going up a mountain and watch the view from above.” [ITU3]</p>
<b>Built</b>	The built domain of tangible aspects of a place.	7	9		
Architecture	Feeling proud of the typical architecture of the place.	6	6	<p>“Io quando vedo le case in pietra vedo la mano dell’uomo, mi immagino la fatica e la soddisfazione di chi le ha fatte, e quando guardo le case moderne mi chiedo dove sia l’apporto umano.” [ITR3]</p> <p>“...de architectuur, die vind ik gewoon echt prachtig.” [NLU1]</p> <p>“Colori. Nella provincia di Genova ed in Liguria in generale,</p>	<p>“When I see the stone houses, I see the hand of men, I imagine the hardship and the satisfaction that it gave them, and when I look modern houses I wonder where the human contribution is.” [ITR3]</p> <p>“... the architecture, I find that just really gorgeous.” [NLU1]</p>



Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				<p>le case vengono dipinte con i tipici colori pastello, verde, giallo, rosa.” [ITU2]</p> <p>“...history about the walls and the building that for many years have been like that and are well made and still, maybe, they are better than other things that are now build in other places.” [ITR1]</p>	<p>“Colours. In the Genova province and in Liguria in general, the houses are being painted in typical pastel colours, green, yellow, pink.” [ITU2]</p>
Historical centre	Feeling proud of the historical centre.	1	1	“Il centro storico.” [ITU1]	“The historical centre.” [ITU1]
Own house	Feeling proud of one’s own house.	1	1	“La mia casa vecchia è per me motivo di orgoglio” [ITR3]	“My old house is a source of pride.” [ITR3]
City Architecture	Feeling proud of the city architecture of the place.	1	1	“La parte marittima, il porto.” [ITU1]	“The maritime part, the port.” [ITU1]

### **Theme 1: 'Natural features'**

The main theme with natural features was mentioned in eight interviews and twenty fragments were coded, which are an accumulation of the three subthemes that fall under the theme 'natural features'. In contrast to the built features of the place, the natural features are generally non-human made, however parks or botanical gardens can also be considered as natural features.

#### **Subtheme 1.1: 'Nature'**

However the definition of nature is always food for debate, in the analysis a broad definition has been maintained and anything related to ecosystems, plants or green/blue spaces in general has been considered as nature (e.g., [White et al., 2021](#)). In this subtheme people did for example show to be proud of nature in general, such as to be proud of the flora and fauna of the place ("...that here the flora and fauna is balanced." [NLR2]), but as well more specific characteristics of nature were mentioned. For example, the resilience of the place's nature after disasters can be seen as a source of pride ("Another moment was seeing nature recover, to close its wounds that were created after the flood and the forest fires. Those things are a reason for pride and happiness..." [ITR5]).

Both the wild kinds of nature ("their wilderness." [ITR5]), protected designated areas ("It's such a beautiful area and 'the Woold' in Winterswijk is a gorgeous nature reserve." [NLR2]), as the controlled kinds were found to be a source pride ("Also from the botanical point of view we have ... a huge variety of plants, the botanical garden in Via Balbi is beautiful..." [ITU1]). The kind of nature as a source of pride obviously relates to the urban or rural context of the place, and to whether the kind of nature that is present in the place (botanical gardens), or that the place is present in the kind of nature (in the case of wilderness).

#### **Subtheme 1.2: 'Landscape'**

Mentioned less than nature as a natural feature of the place, four participants showed to be proud of landscapes which relates to the parts of the place that can be viewed at one time within the place and that are characteristically for the place ("... the hills of 'the Langa area' with their landscapes..." [ITR5]), and these offer often beautiful views ("... I think the sloping landscape within that bocage landscape that we have here is gorgeous. ... Gorgeous, I think it's all very beautiful." [NLR3]).

#### **Subtheme 1.3: 'Geography'**

People can also take pride in the geographical features of the place ("Another aspect is the geography. We have seas, mountains..." [ITU2]), which is closely linked to landscapes as the geographical features define the landscapes and hence views ("...at Santa Chiara, which is a panoramic point of Genoa where you can see the riviera of Levante until the mountain of Portofino. I sat down there and watched the sunrise..." [ITU1]). It is however a separate theme from landscapes as it relates more to the geographical set-up the place finds itself in and the services that the geographical characteristics offer to the inhabitants of the place.

## **Theme 2: 'Beauty'**

Even though beauty can be found in both natural and built aspects, the experienced beauty of the place was extracted as a separate theme as it was a very prevalent and recurring theme. Eight of the participants mentioned beauty of the place and its tangible aspects as a source of pride, in twelve fragments. Of the eight participants who referred to beauty as a source of pride, six were Italian, in ten of the twelve fragments.

Participants referred to the beauty as a source of pride of their place in general ("I am proud to say "I come from Genoa" because there are many beautiful things, when friends from outside come to visit me I have many places to show them..." [ITU1]), but also more to more specific built aspects of the place ("...the ruins of the Ancient Castle of Cortemilia, the Cascina Monte Oliveto, from which you can see all of Cortemilia and all the other hills, these places are beautiful to me and make me proud of the town." [IT2]) and natural aspects ("As I said before, being more attached to places than to people, when I speak of beauty, I refer mainly to the watching the horizon, the sea or going up a mountain and watch the view from above." [ITU3]). In this latter example both the geographical and the landscape subthemes can be identified as a source of beauty.

In conclusion, the theme of beauty was relatively prevalent as a source of pride that it deserves to be a separate theme, however it does show overlap with built and natural themes.

## **Theme 3: 'Built features'**

This theme refers to the human made features of a place, which can be remains from the (long) past or from the current times. The theme was found in nine fragments in seven interviews. For the built features, four subthemes were identified with the most prevalent being the architectural features of a place.

### **Subtheme 3.1: 'Architecture'**

The architectural features of a place can refer to the basic visual physical aspects of the buildings such as colours (".. In the Genova province and in Liguria in general, the houses are being painted in typical pastel colours, green, yellow, pink." [ITU2]), which can be generally appreciated for their beauty ("... the architecture, I find that just really gorgeous." [NLU1]), but more often they were regarded in the human and historical context in which the architecture relates to the place. For example one female Italian participant from a rural area where typical stone houses are part of the cultural heritage, mentioned how the buildings reminded her of how they were man made which comes with sacrifice, suffering and satisfaction, which was something she felt proud of to be part of her place ("When I see the stone houses, I see the hand of men, I imagine the hardship and the satisfaction that it gave them, and when I look modern houses I wonder where the human contribution is." [ITR3]). A male participant from the same Italian rural area placed the architecture in a historical context ("...history about the walls and the building that for many years have been like that and are well made and still, maybe, they are better than other things that are now build in other places." [ITR1]). In general, the architecture was the most prevalent subtheme of the architecture theme and was found in six interviews in six fragments.

**Subtheme 3.2: 'Historical centre'**

This subtheme was identified only in one interview in one fragment and it refers to the historical centre of the place, which typically contains many characteristically architectural features. These historical centres are of have been of historical, cultural and social importance to the place and around and are therefore more than its plain physical features present within the historical centre.

**Subtheme 3.3: 'Own house'**

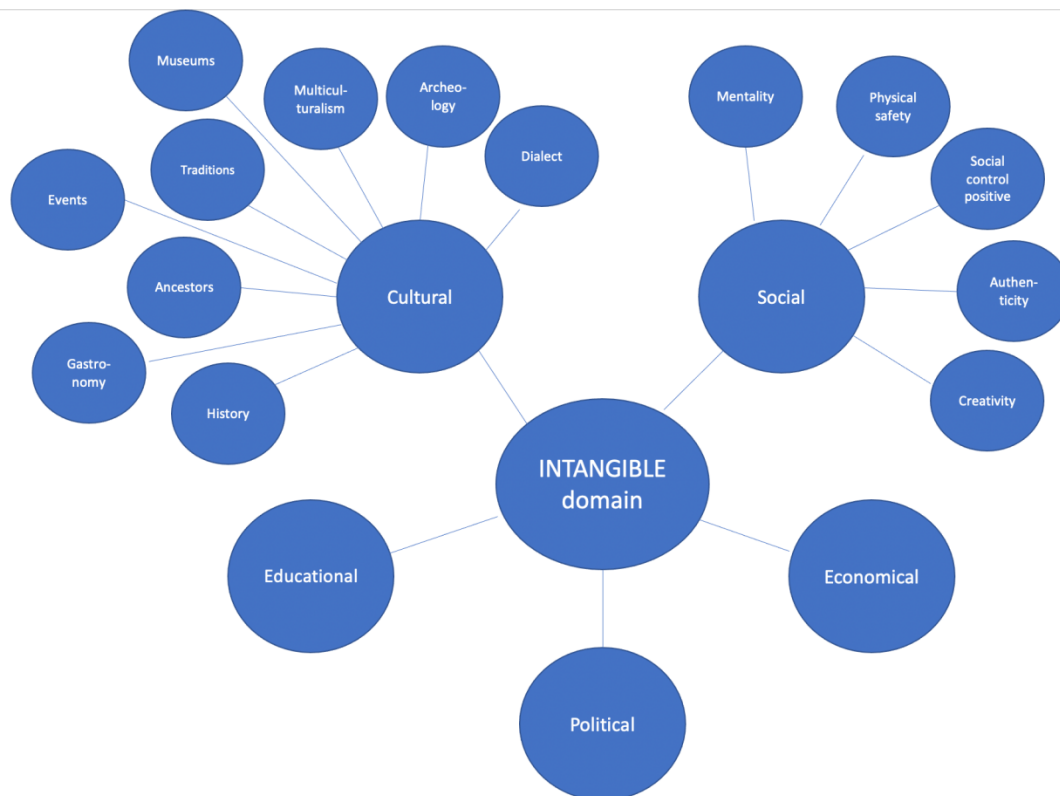
On a smaller geographical level, the source of pride of the place can also just refer to one's own house, rather than something of more collective relevance ("My old house is a source of pride." [ITR3]).

**Subtheme 3.4: 'City Architecture'**

Different from subtheme 3.1 that refers to architecture of buildings, the city architecture refers to the how the city is planned, build and organised on a more general level. A participant from the city of Genoa referred to how the city was built around a port, that was of historical relevance, was a source of pride ("The maritime part, the port." [ITU1]). This subtheme covers the more general lay-out and design of the city (or village).

### 2.3.1.2.2 Intangible domain

The data analysis of the intangible domain was, as the tangible domain, mainly on a semantic level, where fragments of the text were coded based on the semantic meaning. The themes that were found in the data of intangible aspects of the place are therefore quite straightforward. Five main themes were found for the intangible domain (*Social, Cultural, Economical, Educational and Political*), and for the three most prevalent themes subthemes were identified. Figure 2.5 gives a visual overview of the (sub)themes found and how they relate to each other.



**Figure 2.5**

*Visual Presentation of the Five Main Themes and Their Subthemes for the Intangible Domain of the Place Dimension of Pride Antecedents.*

A total of 93 fragments were coded under the intangible domain in all of the 17 interviews. These 93 codes are cumulative of the five main themes identified under the intangible domain. The most prevalent themes were the social and cultural aspects of place, as they were found in respectively 15 and 14 interviews, accounting for 46 and 36 fragments of the total under this intangible domain. The other three themes (Economical, Educational and Political) were found to be much less prevalent but deserved to be separate themes due to their distinctive nature. Tables 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8 provide schematic overviews of the results of the analysis of the intangible aspects of the place domain.

**Table 2.6**

*Schematic Overview of the Results of the Social Themes of the Intangible Domain of the Place Dimension of Pride Antecedents*

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
<b>Intangible aspects</b>	Intangible aspects of a place that people experience pride for.	17	93		
<b>Social</b>	The social domain of intangible aspects of a place.	15	46		
Mentality	Feeling proud of the generally dominant norms and values of the place.	10	27	<p>“Bij de meeste mensen waar ik mee omga, die zijn betrouwbaar hier. Als je daar wat mee afspreekt, dan komen ze het ook na.” [NLR5]</p> <p>“Er zijn wel incidenten geweest van menselijkheid waarin de Amsterdammers juist die waarden waar we het steeds over hebben, waarin dat heel zichtbaar werd...Met de gaypride heb ik dat ook wel. Dat ik ook wel trots ben.” [NLU4]</p> <p>“Io cerco nella vita di essere coerente con questa radice che era una radice di semplicità dove non era importante il cosa ma il come, non era importante l'avere ma l'essere.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“Dus ik ben er trots op vanwege de vrijheid, de tolerantie ... van de stad.” [NLU1]</p> <p>“Maar ik ben ook zeker trots op Amsterdam. Ik denk ook wel vanwege de geschiedenis, dan val ik toch weer terug op die waarde van vrijheid” [NLU2]</p> <p>“Dus in Nederland ben ik het meest trots op Amsterdam denk ik, omdat het nog het beste past bij mijn normen en waarden.” [NLU3]</p>	<p>“Most of the people I am involved with, they are reliable here. If you agree on something, they comply with that.” [NLR5]</p> <p>“There have been occasions of humanity in which the people of Amsterdam showed those values we are talking about, it became very clear... With the gaypride I see that as well. That's when I am very proud too.” [NLU4]</p> <p>“In life I try to be coherent with this root which was a root of simplicity where the <i>what</i> was not important but the <i>how</i>, the <i>having</i> wasn't important but the <i>being</i>.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“So I am proud of it because of the freedom, the tolerance ... of the city” [NLU1]</p> <p>“But for sure I am proud of Amsterdam. I think as well because of its rich history, but I fall back on the that value of freedom”. [NLU2]</p> <p>“In the Netherlands I am most proud of Amsterdam I think, because it fits best with my norms and values.” [NLU3]</p>
Physical safety	Feeling proud of the experienced physical safety of the place and the consequences it has.	4	10	<p>“veilig over straat kunnen” [NLR2]</p> <p>“Spesso mi capita di andare in città e sapere che ci sono zone pericolose, zone tranquille e dover decidere dove andare, non è bello. Qua invece posso tornare a casa alle</p>	<p>“..being able to walk safely on the street” [NLR2]</p> <p>“It often happens to me go to the city and know that there are dangerous areas, quiet areas and having to decide where to go, it's not nice. But here I can go home at 4 in</p>

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				4 del mattino e sono sicura che non mi succede niente perché mi fido di tutte le persone che ci sono e sento di non essere in pericolo." [ITR2]	the morning and I'm sure nothing happens to me because I trust all the people who are there and I feel I'm not in danger." [ITR2]
Social control Positive	Living in the rural place has social control which is regarded as something positive.	3	6	<p>"Het was een bepaalde sociale controle en sociale controle heeft altijd een beetje zo'n negatieve sluier over zich heen, terwijl het juist iets heel moois kan zijn." [NLR2]</p> <p>"... ik denk dat we met name natuurlijk trots op de Achterhoek moeten zijn. Dat we toch nog een beetje het noaberschap hebben en kijken om naar de mensen van de groep." [NLR3]</p> <p>"Ook omdat je weet dat er niks gebeurt, omdat je weet dat anderen een oogje in het zeil houden omdat je weet met wie ze zijn en met wie ze omgaan." [NLR2]</p>	<p>"It was a certain kind of social control and social control always has a negative connotation about it, while it actually can be something really nice." [NLR2]</p> <p>"... I think we have to be especially proud of the Achterhoek. We've got this 'noaberschap' and people take care of each other." [NLR3]</p> <p>"Also because you know nothing will happen, because you know other are keeping an eye out and you know who they are with and who they associate with." [NLR2]</p>
Authenticity	Feeling proud because it has remained authentic and kept its unique characteristics.	2	2	<p>"E' un territorio che ha tenuto fede alla propria tradizione, è rimasto naturale, selvaggio e queste caratteristiche che sono presenti anche nelle persone che hanno voluto mantenere le loro tradizioni ed hanno sempre la stessa fierezza di vivere su queste colline." [ITR5]</p> <p>"Vernazzola che è questa spiaggia che conoscono solo i genovesi, non è stata invasa dai turisti e quindi rimane un luogo molto autoctono, molto vero, sembra che negli anni non sia mai cambiato ma sia rimasto sempre uguale a se stesso." [ITU3]</p>	<p>"It is a territory that has kept faith with its tradition, has remained natural, wild and these characteristics are also present in the people who have wanted to keep their traditions and always have the same pride in living on these hills." [ITR5]</p> <p>"Vernazzola, which is this little beach that only the Genoese know, has not been overrun by tourists and therefore remains a very native place, very real, it seems that over the years it has never changed but has always remained the same." [ITU3]</p>
Creativity	Feeling proud of the creativity of people inhabiting the place to resolve social conflicts.	1	1	"En dat vind ik trots, die creativiteit, het gevoel van: 'Hé maar dit klopt niet en we doen het gewoon zo.' ... Dus dat je gewoon zegt: 'Oké dit past niet, we doen we iets anders...' Nou prima, helemaal geen discussie! Het is zoals het is, en dat vind ik heel mooi. Ik ben super trots!" [NLU1]	"And I find that pride, that creativity, the feeling of," Hey, but this isn't right and we just do it like that. "... So that you just say, "Okay, this doesn't fit, we'll do something else ..." Well fine, no discussion at all! It is the way it is, and I like that very much. I am very proud!" [NLU1]

### **Theme 1: 'Social features'**

Under theme 1, 'Social features', all intangible social aspects of the place to which people expressed pride are included. It includes what defines the group in terms of how people relate to each other, how they are engaged in the group processes, how the group dynamics work and how people socially relate to each other. Theme 1 was identified in 15 interviews in 46 fragments, which are an accumulation of the five subthemes of the social domain. Table 2.6 shows the themes, subthemes, their prevalence and selected extracts of the interviews.

#### **Subtheme 1.1: 'Mentality'**

The 'mentality' subtheme was found in 27 fragments and was the most prevalent subtheme of the social features of a place people are proud of. The mentality subtheme refers to the norms and values that are according to the participants unique and characteristic for the place. The mentality domain refers to their personal fit people experience with these norms and values, identify with these norms and values and take pride in it. One participant expressed this literally: "In the Netherlands I am most proud of Amsterdam I think, because it fits best with my norms and values." [NLU3]. What these norms and values exactly are that are unique for the place can be of diverse characteristics and participants expressed what they perceived as characteristic for their place in the interviews. They expressed their affective relation to these norms and values ranging from appreciation to pride. An example of a norm that people can be proud of is people of the place being reliable ("Most of the people I am involved with, they are reliable here. If you agree on something, they comply with that." [NLR5]). An example of a social value, which is a more general domain or a characteristic belief of how people relate to each other in the place, are freedom and tolerance ("So I am proud of it because of the freedom, the tolerance ... of the city" [NLU1]; "But for sure I am proud of Amsterdam. I think as well because of its rich history, but I fall back on the that value of freedom". [NLU2]).

People can be proud of their place when not only because of the experienced latent presence of the norms and values, but also when they are expressed in events. One participant from Amsterdam spoke about how he appreciated the human values of tolerance and freedom of individual expression, and that during events when these values were publicly shown, he felt proud of his place (There have been occasions of humanity in which the people of Amsterdam showed those values we are talking about, it became very clear... With the gaypride I see that as well. That's when I am very proud too." [NLU4])

Another participant expressed that as a consequence of her pride of certain values of the place are guiding principles of how she would like to relate to others. She tried to be coherent with her 'roots' she has in the place through being coherent in her behaviour with the values of the place that she feels proud of ("In life I try to be coherent with this root which was a root of simplicity where the *what* was not important but the *how*, the *having* wasn't important but the *being*." [ITR4])



### **Subtheme 1.2: 'Physical Safety'**

This subtheme refers to feeling proud of the experienced physical safety of the place and being able to walk safely in the street (“..being able to walk safely on the street” [NLR2]) without having to fear something unpleasant will happen to them. When being in another place that has unsafe parts, people can recognize how they appreciate that in their own place is experienced as safe because they know because they know everybody (“It often happens to me go to the city and know that there are dangerous areas, quiet areas and having to decide where to go, it's not nice. But here I can go home at 4 in the morning and I'm sure nothing happens to me because I trust all the people who are there and I feel I'm not in danger.” [ITR2]). In this last example the participant recognized her own place as safe when she was in another bigger place with unsafe areas that she knew she wanted to avoid. This perceived physical safety that the place offers to its inhabitants can therefore be recognized in comparison with experiences of being in other unsafe places or stories of unsafety of the other place as heard in the media for example.

### **Subtheme 1.3: 'Social Control Positive'**

Social control refers to a certain set of standards in the place that keep individuals bound to dominant norms and values as well as the imposition of mechanisms to maintain these dynamics and mechanisms in place, including punishments and sanctions<sup>3</sup>. Three participants spoke of how in their rural areas social control was, in particular, positively perceived. “It was a certain kind of social control and social control always has a negative connotation about it, while it actually can be something really nice.” [NLR2].

Social control can be experienced as both positive and negative. In the interviews, social control was only identified in interviews with participants from rural areas and they perceived it as something positive to their quality of life. One participant referred to that through the social control, as he knew other people from the place and who they relate with, that , the physical safety of his children is guaranteed (“Also because you know nothing will happen, because you know others are keeping an eye out and you know who they are with and who they associate with.” [NLR2])

In particular, when social control keeps social dynamics in place and when it means that people help each other it can be a source of pride. In area of the Achterhoek in the Netherlands, the dialect word ‘Noaberschap’ refers to a system of social control where particularly neighbours are in support of each other’s wellbeing. This mechanism of social control, which was considered a social obligation, was born in times when rural areas were logistically disconnected from public services and neighbours relied on each other for survival and wellbeing. This ‘noaberschap’ is still characteristic for the ‘Achterhoek’ today and was a source of pride as it was considered positively (“... I think we have to be especially proud of the Achterhoek. We’ve got this ‘noaberschap’ and people take care of each other.” [NLR3]).

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<sup>3</sup>From <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/social%20control>: Merriam Webster online dictionary Inc. Retrieved 18 February 2021

**Subtheme 1.4: 'Authenticity'**

Two participants experienced pride because the place and its people had remained authentic, i.e. true to the unique conventional identity of the place. One participant expressed how the characteristics of the place can be present in people and that preserving this authenticity can be a source of pride ("It is a territory that has kept faith with its tradition, has remained natural, wild and these characteristics are also present in the people who have wanted to keep their traditions and always have the same pride in living on these hills." [ITR5]). Another participant referred to how on a social level the place remained authentic through the absence of tourist who, according to the participant, who have changed the characteristic of the place ("Vernazzola, which is this little beach that only the Genoese know, has not been overrun by tourists and therefore remains a very native place, very real, it seems that over the years it has never changed but has always remained the same." [ITU3]).

The authenticity can thus be achieved or maintained, for example through integrating or keeping the characteristics of a place into one's sense of identity, or through the absence of a potential threats to the authenticity.

**Subtheme 1.5: 'Creativity'**

This subtheme was identified only in one fragment. This participant from Amsterdam lived in a multicultural area of the city and she spoke of a situation in the past in which there was a clash between a Dutch tradition that was considered as racist by a major part of the inhabitants of the area. In this tradition (Saint Nicolas), a white saint with helpers with a black painted skin would come every year to the Netherlands to bring gifts. This tradition was considered racist due to the fact that the helpers are positioned as the bad guys in this tradition. In the interview the participant shared how in her area people spoke out against this tradition and as a solution they decided to paint the skin of the helpers in the colours of the rainbow. This creative solution was for her a source of pride ("And I find that pride, that creativity, the feeling of," Hey, but this isn't right and we just do it like that. "... So that you just say, "Okay, this doesn't fit, we'll do something else ..." Well fine, no discussion at all! It is the way it is, and I like that very much. I am very proud! "[NLU1])

**Table 2.7**

*Schematic Overview of the Results of the Cultural Intangible Domain of the Place Dimension of Pride Antecedents*

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
<b>Intangible aspects continued</b>	Intangible aspects of a place that people experience pride for.	17	104		
<b>Cultural</b>	The cultural domain of intangible aspects of a place.	14	36		
History	Feeling proud of the historical aspects of the place.	8	9	<p>“Io ho un orgoglio sicuramente da un bel po' di anni per questa casa, perché so che è il risultato di molta sofferenza ma è anche il risultato di una dignità molto forte.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“In Spagna, ma anche in altri stati, mi è capitato di dire di essere di Genova e mi la risposta è stata "Ah, la città di Cristoforo Colombo che ha scoperto l'America", tralasciando il fatto che Colombo non si comportò bene con i nativi americani, comunque scoprì un nuovo continente, e questa è una cosa che inorgoglisce perché ti senti parte della storia mondiale.” [ITU2]</p> <p>“De trots is denk ik de voortrekkersrol op de positieve dingen die Amsterdam gehad heeft. Het avontuurlijke, de meest welvarende, machtige stad ter wereld gedurende een periode, de hele wereld over gaan“ [NLU4]</p> <p>“...als je dan kijkt dat in Aalten en ook wel in de Achterhoek best wel veel mensen hebben ondergedoken gezeten, omdat ze zijn geholpen door mensen uit Aalten of deze regio... Dat is ook wel iets waar ik trots op ben..” [NLR2]</p>	<p>"I have certainly been proud of this house for quite a few years, because I know it is the result of much suffering but it is also the result of a very strong dignity." [ITR4]</p> <p>"In Spain, but also in other states, I happened to say that I was from Genoa and the answer was " Ah, the city of Christopher Columbus who discovered America ", ignoring the fact that Columbus did not behave well with the Native Americans, however, he discovered a new continent, and this is something that makes us proud because you feel part of world history. " [ITU2]</p> <p>"I think pride is in the pioneering role, in the positive things Amsterdam has had. The adventurous, the world's most prosperous, powerful city for a period, going all over the world "[NLU4]</p> <p>"...if you see that in Aalten and also in the Achterhoek, quite a lot of people went into hiding (WW2), because they were helped by people from Aalten or this region... That is also something that I am proud of .." [NLR2]</p>
Gastronomy	Feeling proud of the gastronomical aspects of the place.	5	7	<p>“Sono orgogliosa del ruolo della cucina nell’alta Langa. Non solo come amore per la nostra cucina ricca, salutare e buona , ma anche proprio come strumento di comunità.” [ITR3]</p>	<p>"I am proud of the role of cuisine in the Alta Langa. Not only as a love for our rich, healthy and good cuisine, but also as a community tool. "[ITR3]</p>

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				“la nostra tradizione era che quando entrava in casa qualcuno la prima cosa che si faceva era aprire la bottiglia del vino e prendere il salame ed il formaggio, tutto fatto in casa, questi prodotti erano assolutamente da assaggiare perché erano fatti dal padrone di casa e così si entrava nel suo mondo ed erano espressione di orgoglio.” [ITR5]	"Our tradition was that when someone came into the house the first thing we did was open a bottle of wine and get salami and cheese, all homemade, these products were absolutely worth tasting because they were made by the owner and so you entered his world and they were an expression of pride. " [ITR5]
Ancestors	Feeling proud of the ancestors that lived in the place.	2	5	<p>“I nostri terrazzamenti, la vigna dove sto lavorando l’ha ricavata il mio papà con tanti sacrifici, l’ha costruita lui, ci ha lavorato per anni, mi spiace lasciarla.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“parlo di persone anziane perchè sono quelle che ti trasmettono i valori, le testimonianze, sono tutte da rispettare e soprattutto tutte da ascoltare, loro hanno il vero valore perché l’hanno vissuto per tanto tempo.” [ITR5]</p>	<p>"Our terraces, the vineyard where I am working, was obtained by my father with many sacrifices, he built it, he worked on it for years, I'm sorry to leave it." [ITR5]</p> <p>"I am talking about elderly people because they are the ones who transmit to you the values, the testimonies, they are all to be respected and above all, all to be listened to, they have the true value because they have lived it for so long." [ITR5]</p>
Events	Feeling proud of cultural events organized in the place	4	4	<p>“De Zwarte Cross: dat het allemaal zo leuk kan dat mensen van heinde en ver komen van hoe krijgen jullie dat voor mekaar? Ja, dat geeft mij daar wel een gevoel van trots van.”[NLR3]</p> <p>“En wat heel belangrijk is de muziek, de concerten. Ziggo Dome, Paradiso en de Melkweg. Ja, Amsterdam is zo’n rijke stad. Gewoon alles is er gewoon. Voor iedereen.” [NLU1]</p>	<p>“De Zwarte Cross (festival): that it can all be so much fun that people come from far and wide. How do you manage to do that? Yes, that gives me a sense of pride. "[NLR3]</p> <p>“And what is very important is the music, the concerts. Ziggo Dome, Paradiso and the Melkweg. Yes, Amsterdam is such a rich city. Just everything is there. For everyone.” [NLU1]</p>
Traditions	Feeling proud of maintaining cultural traditions from the place.	2	4	<p>“Io sento la tradizione in modo molto molto forte perché è un modo per rivedere tutti quelli che sono passati in quel luogo e che, in qualche modo, lo hanno trasformato.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“anche per il pesto o per il panettone genovese, che da qualche anno preparo per Natale, che è un dolce tipico. ... cerco di portare avanti le tradizioni della città in cui vivo.” [ITU2]</p>	<p>"I feel the tradition very very strongly because it is a way to review all those who have passed through that place and who, in some way, have transformed it." [ITR5]</p> <p>“Also for the pesto or the Genoese panettone, which for some years I have been preparing for Christmas, which is a typical dessert. ... I try to carry on the traditions of the city where I live. " [ITU2]</p>
Museum	Feeling proud of a typical museum of the place.	2	3	“het museum dat we in Aalten hebben en wij werken daar toevallig ook, maar dat vind ik wel mooi van Aalten dat ze heel veel dingen laten zien over het verleden. De oorlogstijd, hoe de mensen toen	“The museum we have in Aalten and we happen to work there too, but I like that about Aalten that they show a lot of things about the past. The wartime, how people acted in Aalten then. "[NLR3]

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Multiculturalism	Feeling proud due to the multicultural character of the place.	1	2	<p>gehandeld hebben in Aalten.”[NLR3]</p> <p>“Daar kom je met mensen uit heel veel verschillende culturen. Dan komen we daar allemaal samen en de één spreekt de taal goed en de ander niet. Maar je wilt ook communiceren en wat ons verbindt is ook daar wonen en dat we daar samen die boodschappen doen.” [NLU1]</p> <p>“En je komt langs de moskee en langs de synagoge en dan denk ik, ‘dat vind ik mooi.’ Dat staat hier allemaal, dan ben ik trots. Dat het allemaal gewoon naast elkaar kan bestaan, in verbinding met elkaar.” [NLU1]</p>	<p>“You come there with people from many different cultures. Then we all come together there and one speaks the language well and the other does not. But you also want to communicate and what connects us is also living there and that we do the shopping there together.” [NLU1]</p> <p>“And you pass by the mosque and the synagogue and then I think, I like that. “It exists all here, then I am proud. That it can all simply coexist, in connection with each other.” [NLU1]</p>
Archaeology	Feeling proud of the archaeology present in the place.	1	1	<p>“le rovine del Castello Antico di Cortemilia ... questi posti per me sono belli e mi rendono orgogliosa del paese.” [ITR2]</p>	<p>"The ruins of the Ancient Castle of Cortemilia ... these places are beautiful to me and make me proud of the town." [ITR2]</p>
Dialect	Feeling proud of the dialect spoken in the place.	1	1	<p>“È sempre stato per me un motivo di orgoglio quello del dialetto.” [ITR4]</p>	<p>"The dialect has always been a source of pride for me." [ITR4]</p>

## **Theme 2: 'Cultural features'**

Under this theme cultural features were identified in the interviews in a semantic way, as there was little interpretation as to what the participants said they were proud of when speaking of the features of the place. In 14 interviews, 36 fragments were found and identified as expressing a pride for features that are related to the unique cultural heritage of the place. There are 8 subthemes and the two most prevalent are features related to the history and the gastronomy of the place. Table 2.7 presents the theme, subtheme, prevalence and some key quotes from the interviews.

### **Subtheme 2.1: 'History'**

Historical features of the place were mentioned by 8 participants in the study. They referred to the unique historical facts or roles related to the place. For example, it was mentioned that a participant was proud of the behaviour of people from the place in the second world war and that people helped people under threat survive ("...if you see that in Aalten and also in the Achterhoek, quite a lot of people went into hiding (WW2), because they were helped by people from Aalten or this region... That is also something that I am proud of .." [NLR2]). Another participant referred to how the fame the place had in historical context ("I think pride is in the pioneering role, in the positive things Amsterdam has had. The adventurous, the world's most prosperous, powerful city for a period, going all over the world "[NLU4]).

Pride of the place in regard to its history can be found both when being in the place ("I have certainly been proud of this house for quite a few years, because I know it is the result of much suffering, but it is also the result of a very strong dignity." [ITR4]) or being out of the place when there is external recognition of the historical relevance of the place "In Spain, but also in other states, I happened to say that I was from Genoa and the answer was" Ah, the city of Christopher Columbus who discovered America ", ignoring the fact that Columbus did not behave well with the Native Americans, however, he discovered a new continent, and this is something that makes us proud because you feel part of world history. " [ITU2].)

### **Subtheme 2.2: 'Gastronomy'**

The gastronomy subtheme can relate to the simple products and produce, such a Genovese Pesto, but also to the role the gastronomy plays in the social and cultural dynamics of the place. One participant was particularly proud of the role the cuisine of the place had as it was very hospitable and therefore had an important community function ("I am proud of the role of cuisine in the Alta Langa. Not only as a love for our rich, healthy and good cuisine, but also as a community tool. "[ITR3]). A second participant from the same rural area in Italy shared something similar when he referred to how it was important in his family to be generous and inviting with home-made food to others when they came to your home. ("Our tradition was that when someone came into the house the first thing we did was open a bottle of wine and get salami and cheese, all homemade, these products were absolutely worth tasting because they were made by the owner and so you entered his world and they were an expression of pride. " [ITR5]) this last example also shows how the pride of gastronomy can relate to how the food is grown locally and of good quality.

### **Subtheme 2.3: 'Ancestors'**

The subtheme ancestors refers to how ancestors of the people in the place, who also lived in the place, are seen as a source of pride due to the contributions and sacrifices they made to develop the place as it is or was physically ("Our terraces, the vineyard where I am working, was obtained by my father with many sacrifices, he built it, he worked on it for years, I'm sorry to leave it." [ITR5]), but also in regard to the social and cultural value these people contain for the local community ("I am talking about elderly people because they are the ones who transmit to you the values, the testimonies, they are all to be respected and above all, all to be listened to, they have the true value because they have lived it for so long." [ITR5]).

### **Subtheme 2.4: 'Events'**

Events can be a source of pride as well. One participant spoke of a local festival that had national fame and received recognition and appreciation from people outside of the place ("De Zwarte Cross (festival): that it can all be so much fun that people come from far and wide. How do you manage to do that? Yes, that gives me a sense of pride." [NLR3]). Another participant referred to the amount and quality of cultural events that are available in the place as a source of pride ("And what is very important is the music, the concerts. Ziggo Dome, Paradiso and the Melkweg. Yes, Amsterdam is such a rich city. Just everything is there. For everyone." [NLU1]). In this last case there was no outgroup recognition, but the recognition was ingroup by an individual.

### **Subtheme 2.5: 'Traditions'**

People can be involved in maintaining tradition with the place as it can make them feel part of the place or promote a stronger connection with the place ("Also for the pesto or the Genoese panettone, which for some years I have been preparing for Christmas, which is a typical dessert. ... I try to carry on the traditions of the city where I live." [ITU2]).

As well traditions can connect people from the place with their ancestors ("I feel the tradition very very strongly because it is a way to review all those who have passed through that place and who, in some way, have transformed it." [ITR5]), which by themselves is a source of pride (see subtheme 2.3).

### **Subtheme 2.6: 'Museums'**

Two people mentioned to be proud of a local museum in the place as they tell about the importance and relevance of the place in historical context ("The museum we have in Aalten and we happen to work there too, but I like that about Aalten that they show a lot of things about the past. The wartime, how people acted in Aalten then." [NLR3])

### **Subtheme 2.7: 'Multiculturalism'**

One participant who lived in a multicultural area of Amsterdam expressed how she was proud of the fact that the place was multicultural, but as well because she enjoyed observing and learning from how people from several cultures live in one place (You come there with people from many different cultures. Then we all come

together there and one speaks the language well and the other does not. But you also want to communicate and what connects us is also living there and that we do the shopping there together. " [NLU1]

More specifically she expressed how she was proud of that people of different cultures and religions manage to co-create the place and live there together peacefully ("And you pass by the mosque and the synagogue and then I think," I like that. "It exists all here, then I am proud. That it can all simply coexist, in connection with each other. " [NLU1]).

**Subtheme 2.8: 'Archaeology'**

Archeology was mentioned only once by one participant as a source of pride ("The ruins of the Ancient Castle of Cortemilia ... these places are beautiful to me and make me proud of the town." [ITR2]).

**Subtheme 2.9: 'Dialect'**

A dialect that was spoken in a place was mentioned once as a source of pride. ("The dialect has always been a source of pride for me." [ITR4]).



**Table 2.8**

*Schematic Overview of the Economical, Educational and Political Intangible Domain of the Place Dimension of Pride Antecedents*

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
<b>Intangible aspects</b> <i>Continued</i>	Intangible aspects of a place that people experience pride for.	17	104		
<b>Economical</b>	The economical domain of intangible aspects of a place.	4	7		
Real estate value	Feeling proud of the affordable real estate prices in the place.	1	3	“Hoe bijzonder is het nou dat je dus in een vrijstaand huis, in een betaalbare woning kunt wonen” [NLR2]	“How special is it that you can live in a detached house, in an affordable home” [NLR2]
Local company	Feeling proud of the achievements and fame of a local company	1	1	“Ho lavorato in una grande azienda genovese con sede a Genova che mi ha reso molto orgoglioso, lavoravamo in tutto il mondo, eravamo famosi nel mondo per la nostra opera....” [ITU2]	"I worked in a large Genoese company based in Genoa which made me very proud, we worked all over the world, we were famous all over the world for our work...." [ITU2]
Local entrepreneurship	Feeling proud of local entrepreneurship of people from the place.	1	1	“Lokaal ondernemerschap . Dat ondanks alle negatieve, of de slechte verhalen, dat het toch is gelukt...”[NLU2]	“Local entrepreneurship ... That despite all the negative or bad stories, that it still worked out... ”[NLU2]
Value price ratio	Feeling proud of the high value that can be received for a low price as unique in the place in comparison to bigger places nearby.	1	1	“Je kunt hier een restaurant waar je heel veel eten voor weinig geld krijgt vinden.”[NLR2]	“You can find a restaurant where you get a lot of food for little money.” [NLR2]
<b>Educational</b>	Feeling proud of the quantity and quality of educational institutes.	1	2	“...het niveau van het onderwijs of de scholing. Je hebt gewoon heel veel scholen.”[NLU1]	“... The level of education or schools. You just have a lot of schools. ”[NLU1]
<b>Political</b>	Feeling proud of the political structures in the place.	1	2	“It's easy to talk with the mayor. “ [ITR1]  “It's easy to be connected with what is happening here and to propose thing and to organise something.” [ITR1]	

### **Theme 3: 'Economical features'**

The economical theme involves current perceived monetary value of the place in general as well as entrepreneurial performances of people from the place. Its 4 subthemes were identified in 4 interviews in 7 fragments.

#### **Subtheme 3.1: 'Real Estate Value'**

This subtheme relates to how the real estate value is appreciated in comparison to an outplace context. The one participant who spoke of this feature as a source of pride, mention that he appreciated the affordable houses available on the real estate market in the rural place and that with the same budget he would only have bought a smaller house in an urban place ("How special is it that you can live in a detached house, in an affordable home" [NLR2]).

#### **Subtheme 3.2: 'Local company'**

Being proud of a local company was identified only once in an interview with a participant from Genoa who was proud of the company he worked for because it had received outplace recognition and fame for the product and the service the company delivered ("I worked in a large Genoese company based in Genoa which made me very proud, we worked all over the world, we were famous all over the world for our work." [ITU2]). He did however not refer to how he appreciated the work of the company, it was limited to the fame the company received and that he could represent the company abroad.

#### **Subtheme 3.3: 'Local entrepreneurship'**

This subtheme was identified in an interview with a woman from Amsterdam. She mentioned that she was proud of people from her place that were local entrepreneurs in a place that had a bad reputation and where its people are generally speaking stereotyped. Regardless of the bad reputation the place had in the city and nationwide, and the stereotype its people have, these entrepreneurs were successful in their business. The participants expressed to be proud of these local entrepreneurs because they managed to be successful regardless of the reputation and stereotyping they had to deal with ("Local entrepreneurship ... That despite all the negative or bad stories, that it still worked out... "[NLU2]).

#### **Subtheme 3.4: 'Value price ratio'**

One participant mentioned to be proud of how in the place he could buy more with his money than in another more expensive urban place ("You can find a restaurant where you get a lot of food for little money." [NLR2]). This evaluation is only possible in comparison with other places.

### **Theme 4: 'Educational'**

The quantity and quality of educational possibilities present in the place were identified as a separate theme as it did not fit within any of the other themes. It was identified in 1 interview in 2 fragments when the participant

referred to how she appreciated the quality and quantity of educational institutes present in her city (“... The level of education or schools. You just have a lot of schools.” [NLU1])

**Theme 5: ‘Political’**

The political theme was identified in 1 interview in 2 fragments in the context of a male participant from a rural area that made his social business in the place. He appreciated and was proud of the fact that the place and its political bodies facilitated him to organise his social activities (“It's easy to be connected with what is happening here and to propose things and to organise something.” [ITR1]), which he did in collaboration with the municipality as it was a small town and the lines with the relevant decision makers were short (“It's easy to talk with the mayor.” [ITR1]) in comparison to bigger places.

### 2.3.1.2.3 Quality of Life domain

Whereas the previous two domains contained many themes and subthemes, the Quality of Life is a theme in itself with only one subtheme. However, in general there is a division between tangible and intangible aspects of a place, the Quality of Life was identified as a separate domain and theme as it was relatively prevalent, has its own unique nature and contained many of the tangible and intangible features of the place. Quality of Life has an intangible characteristic but appeared to be related to the tangible aspect of place as well, wherefore it would have been difficult to place it under either of the previous domains.

Many participants specifically referred to how the place offered them a high quality of life and to live a certain lifestyle that would not be possible in another place. It was identified in 8 interviews in 15 fragments. The analysis of these fragments was more on an interpretational (latent) level than on a semantic level. Figure 2.6 shows the quality of life as a theme. Table 2.9 shows the theme, its prevalence and some example quotes from the interviews.



**Figure 2.6**

*Visual Presentation of the Main Theme of the Quality of Life Domain of the Place Dimension of Pride Antecedents.*

#### **Theme 1: 'Quality of Life'**

This theme relates to the quality of life or a certain lifestyle a place allows a person to have. The quality of life the place offered to the participants was expressed in a more general way ("It is so wonderfully quiet to go on holiday here" [NLR2]), but also in more specific details as to what the quality of life exactly is comprised of. One man from a rural area in Italy spoke more detailed of his appreciation and pride in the quality of life the place offers to its inhabitants, especially in comparison to other places where he lived ("I moved back to have the quality of life that there is here because the most important thing that I like about this area is the quality of life and the quality of food, not many cars, possibility to spend time in the nature, possibility to stay close with my family and those are really important part in having a good quality of life for me." [ITR1]). In this fragment many tangible and intangible aspects of the place can be related to the quality of life.

Most participant however referred to the lifestyle that the place facilitated to its inhabitants. Lifestyle as described by the participants was rather broad in its characteristics and can refer to a more general way of lifestyle that the place offers in comparison to another place ("Yes, it's nice to live a little more relaxed than

living in the city." [ITR2]), but as well to how living and surviving in the past was dependent on the land ("Our people lived on their land, that was their income." [ITR5]). One participant expressed that the place allowed her to develop herself professionally and live at home in the place due to the fact that the place offers many educational opportunities ("Genoa gave me the opportunity to train professionally, ..., not everyone is lucky enough to study what they want in their hometown, even if only from an economic point of view, it allowed me to stay with my family without having to move. " [ITU1]).

A female participant from Amsterdam described that she associated pride of place to finding her freedom to express herself ("finding freedom" [NLU3]), which refers to the place facilitating a certain level of autonomy.

To another participant the lifestyle referred to how the place offered him and his family in a rural area to grow their own food in their own place and how that leads to feeling proud of his place ("This is again a point of pride, to say "these are my things, from my land, from my place, these are the fruits of work and sacrifice", but when you share it with someone else the sacrifice doesn't come to mind but you feel only pride." [ITR5]).

As a consequence of people feeling proud of the lifestyle, one participant shared that she tried to promote the lifestyle that the social and physical aspects of the place allowed her to have ("In short, my pride has been to try to pass on a certain way of life, outside the logic of utility and profit... then, I have always tried to bring the Langhe even outside my territory. " [ITR3]).

In general, the lifestyle as with the of quality of life can relate to both tangible and intangible aspects of the place.

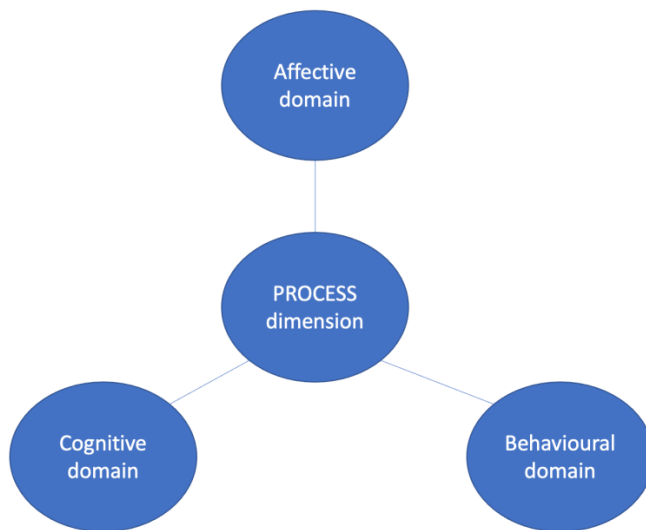
**Table 2.9**

*Themes of the Quality of Life of the Place Dimension of Pride Antecedents*

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Quality of life	Feeling proud of the quality of life and the lifestyle that is possible or facilitated by the place and its characteristics.	8	15	<p>“I moved back to have the quality of life that there is here because the most important thing that I like about this area is the quality of life and the quality of food, not many cars, possibility to spend time in the nature, possibility to stay close with my family and those are really important part in having a good quality of life for me.” [ITR1]</p> <p>“het is hier zo heerlijk rustig om op vakantie te gaan” [NLR2]</p> <p>“Si, è una cosa bella vivere un pò più rilassata rispetto a vivere in città.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“Insomma il mio orgoglio è stato cercare di tramandare un certo modo di vivere, fuori da logiche di utilità e profitto... poi ho sempre cercato di portare le Langhe anche al di fuori del mio territorio. ” [ITR3]</p> <p>“I nostri vivevano grazie al loro terreno, quello era il loro reddito.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“A me Genova ha dato la possibilità di formarmi professionalmente, ..., non tutti hanno la fortuna di studiare quello che vogliono nella loro città natale, anche solo dal punto di vista economico, mi ha permesso di restare con la mia famiglia senza dovermi trasferire.” [ITU1]</p> <p>“Questo è di nuovo un punto di orgoglio, dire “ecco questa è roba mia, dalla mia terra, dal mio luogo, questi sono i frutti di lavoro e di sacrificio”, ma nel momento in cui tu lo condividi con qualcun altro non ti viene in mente il sacrificio ma provi solo orgoglio.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Vrijheid vinden” [NLU3]</p>	<p>“It is so wonderfully quiet to go on holiday here” [NLR2]</p> <p>"Yes, it's nice to live a little more relaxed than living in the city." [ITR2]</p> <p>“In short, my pride has been to try to pass on a certain way of life, outside the logic of utility and profit... then, I have always tried to bring the Langhe even outside my territory. "[ITR3]</p> <p>"Our people lived on their land, that was their income." [ITR5]</p> <p>"Genoa gave me the opportunity to train professionally, ..., not everyone is lucky enough to study what they want in their hometown, even if only from an economic point of view, it allowed me to stay with my family without having to move. " [ITU1]</p> <p>"This is again a point of pride, to say "these are my things, from my land, from my place, these are the fruits of work and sacrifice", but when you share it with someone else the sacrifice doesn't come to mind but you feel only pride." [ITR5]</p> <p>“finding freedom” [NLU3]</p>

### 2.3.1.3 Dimension Process

The third dimension of the tripartite model (Scannell & Gifford, 2010), *process*, concerns with the psychological interactions between people and place and separates in an affective, cognitive and behavioural level (see figure 2.7). Also on this dimension the three levels (or domains) are interrelated and together make up for the psychological process of people place bonding. On this psychological dimension, obviously all three domains are interrelated and interdependent: emotions towards a place are not independent of thought, perspectives or memories related to it, and behaviour is for a major part the outcome of the interplay between the cognitive and affective mindset.



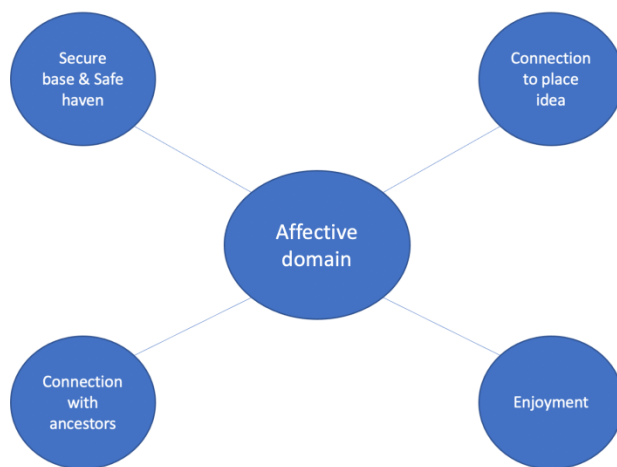
**Figure 2.7**

*The Process Dimension of People Place Bonds and its Three Domains (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).*

### 2.3.1.3.1 Affective Domain

The affective level relates to the emotional bonds people have with their environment (e.g., Giuliani, 2003; Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). These emotions are varying from positive emotions such as pride (Brown et al., 2003; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996), gratitude and love, to more negative emotions such as fear (Brown et al., 2003) or boredom (Russell, 1992). Not only emotions, as feelings regarding place and place meaning can be included in the affective domain too.

In the Affective domain, 4 themes were found. In total 35 fragments were identified as affective antecedents related to the place. Figure 2.8 gives a schematic overview of the themes of the affective domain of pride antecedents. Table 2.10 presents the themes, prevalence and example quotes from the interviews for this domain.



**Figure 2.8**

*The Four Themes of the Affective Domain of the Process Dimension of Pride Antecedents.*



Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Secure base & safe haven	The place serves as a place where the person feels safe as a result of a safe attachment, from where one can leave and return to.	8	22	<p>“Genova è sicurezza, come una mamma protettiva da cui vuoi scappare per andare all’avventura, libero e spericolato, e da cui torni quando hai voglia di un abbraccio, rendendoti conto di quanto sia bella e di quanto ti sia mancata.” [ITU1]</p> <p>“...di stare tranquilla avevo il bisogno di tornare a Genova o di richiamarla alla mente anche ascoltando della musica. Ad esempio De André, che per me rappresenta casa quando sento nostalgia per i miei posti.” [ITU3]</p> <p>“veilige haven” [NLR3]</p> <p>“Wat ik heel fijn vind is om dat als base te hebben, en die base, dat thuis wil ik dus hebben in een omgeving waar ik me heel fijn en veilig voel, in de directe omgeving.”[NLU2]</p> <p>“Io ho girato un pò il mondo, vai in giro ma il primo desiderio che hai è quello di tornare a casa e quando da lontano cominci a vedere le Langhe ti senti a casa, senti l'aria ed il benessere che ti dà il tuo luogo.” [IRT5]</p> <p>“Ik denk direct aan een huis, aan een home, zeg maar thuis. Want dat is iets waar we allemaal naar op zoek zijn... ik denk dat we allemaal wel op zoek zijn naar een huis, een thuis.” [NLU2]</p> <p>“Aalten betekent voor mij vertrouwdheid. Je thuis voelen. ..., ik ben heel erg fier op mijn plek” [NLR1]</p> <p>“Dat ik me daar vertrouwd voel. Een groot gedeelte van mijn leven heb ik daar door gebracht” [NLR5]</p> <p>“Q:En wat maakt dan een plek thuis? A: Dat is voor iedereen anders, maar voor mij denk ik een plek waar ik mijn waardes kwijt kan en waar ik me ook veilig en geborgen voel. Ik denk ook dat veilig voelen, dat maakt een plek thuis. Q: is dat fysiek veilig voelen of emotioneel? A: Beiden. Fysiek en emotioneel.” [NLU2]</p>	<p>"Genoa is safety, like a protective mother from whom you want to escape to go on an adventure, free and reckless, and to which you return when you feel like a hug, realizing how beautiful it is and how much you missed it." [ITU1 ]</p> <p>“...to stay calm I needed to go back to Genoa or to recall it even while listening to music. For example, De André, who for me represents home when I feel nostalgic for my places. " [ITU3]</p> <p>“safe haven” [NLR3]</p> <p>“What I really like is to have that as a base, and that base, I want to have that at home in an environment where I feel very comfortable and safe, in the immediate vicinity.” [NLU2]</p> <p>"I have traveled the world a bit, you go around but the first desire you have is to go home and when you start to see the Langhe from afar you feel at home, you feel the air and well-being that your place gives you. " [IRT5]</p> <p>“I immediately think of a house, of a home, say home. Because that is something we are all looking for... I think we are all looking for a house, a home. ” [NLU2]</p> <p>“Aalten means familiarity to me. Feeling at home. ..., I am very proud of my place ”[NLR1]</p> <p>“That I feel comfortable there. I have spent a large part of my life there ”[NLR5]</p> <p>Q: And what makes a place ‘at home’? A: That is different for everyone, but for me I think a place where I can express my values and where I also feel safe and secure. I also think that feeling safe is what makes a place at home. Q: is that feeling physically safe or emotionally? A: Both. Physically</p>

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
					and emotionally. " [NLU2]
Connection with ancestors	Feeling connected with ancestors who lived in the place when being in the place oneself.	3	6	<p>"C'è orgoglio quando riesci a dimostrare a te stesso che hai fatto qualcosa, che hai continuato quel discorso che le altre generazioni ti hanno lasciato. Mi hanno consegnato in mano questa cosa io non l'ho sprecata ma l'ho migliorata o almeno l'ho conservata per le generazioni che verranno." [ITR5]</p> <p>"Adesso mi sento molto in pace qui da sola, soprattutto al mattino presto, mi sveglio, mi metto a fare colazione in cucina apro e vedo questa vallata, vedo quello che ha visto anche lui dallo stesso tavolo dove, infatti mi siedo dove si seseva lui a fare colazione io. Oppure la sera mi piace sedermi qui davanti a guardare il prato, il bosco e immaginare che anche lui la sera stava seduto qui." [ITR4]</p> <p>"io riconosco mio padre in tutto quello che vedo nel mio territorio, nelle mie viti, nelle nocchie ed io vorrei che in futuro anche i miei figli riconoscessero quello che ho fatto io, che dicano "quel pesco lì l'aveva messo papà, quella pianta l'aveva messa lui". " [ITR5]</p> <p>"I nostri terrazzamenti, la vigna dove sto lavorando l'ha ricavata il mio papà con tanti sacrifici, l'ha costruita lui, ci ha lavorato per anni, mi spiace lasciarla." [ITR5]</p> <p>"Quando tu invece non riesci, ecco che viene quel senso di inadeguatezza, di frustrazione. Quando per esempio vedi i rovi che ti ti sovrastano i campi o le erbacce che invadono i terrazzamenti, ti dispiace." [ITR5]</p>	<p>"There is pride when you can show to yourself that you have done something, that you have continued that project that other generations have left you. They handed this thing over to me. I didn't waste it but I improved it or at least kept it for generations to come." [ITR5]</p> <p>"Now I feel very at peace here alone, especially early in the morning, I wake up, I start to have breakfast in the kitchen I open and I see this valley, I see what he also saw from the same table where, in fact, I sit where he sat to have breakfast. Or in the evening I like to sit here in front looking at the meadow, the forest and imagine that he too sat here in the evening. " [ITR4]</p> <p>"I recognize my father in everything I see in my land, in my vines, in the hazelnuts and I would like my children to recognize what I did in the future, that they say" that peach tree was put there by dad, he planted it. "" [ITR5]</p> <p>"Our terraces, the vineyard where I am working was obtained by my father with many sacrifices, he built it, he worked on it for years, I'm sorry to leave it." [ITR5]</p> <p>"But when you fail, here comes that sense of inadequacy, of frustration. For example, when you see the brambles that dominate the fields or the weeds that invade the terraces, you're sorry. [ITR5]</p>
Enjoyment	Enjoying living in the place due to place characteristics	2	3	<p>"Bij mij werd het ook wel deels bepaald door dat ik het nog steeds fijn vind om hier te wonen." [NLR2]</p> <p>"Gemoedelijkheid om te wonen, fijn wonen" [NLR5]</p>	<p>"For me it was also partly determined by the fact that I still enjoy living here." [NLR2]</p> <p>"A pleasant place to live, a pleasant place to live" [NLR5]</p>
Connection to place idea	Feeling connected to the idea of what the place is	1	2	<p>"ik voel me wel een beetje verbonden aan Amsterdam en aan het idee van wat Amsterdam is." [NLU4]</p>	<p>"I do feel a bit connected to Amsterdam and the idea of what Amsterdam is." [NLU4]</p>

Table 2.10: Themes and subthemes of the affective domain of the Process dimension of Pride antecedents

### **Theme 1: 'Secure base & Safe haven'.**

This theme was identified in 8 interviews in 22 fragments. The theme relates to the place serving as a place where one feels safe as a result of a safe attachment. The safe base and safe haven mean that the person can leave from and return to the place due to a safe emotional attachment. One participant from Genoa described this affective role of the place exactly in these two terms of safe base and safe haven: "Genoa is safety, like a protective mother from whom you want to escape to go on an adventure, free and reckless, and to which you return when you feel like a hug, realizing how beautiful it is and how much you missed it." [ITU1].

The participants were asked what their place generally meant to them and one replied briefly "safe haven" [NLR3], while another gave a more descriptive role of the secure base "What I really like is to have that as a base, and that base, I want to have that at home in an environment where I feel very comfortable and safe, in the immediate vicinity." [NLU2].

Interestingly, the function of the place as a safe base and safe haven does not necessarily have to be regarded in a physical manner of leaving and returning. The place could also be visited imaginatively (e.g. listening to typical music from the place) providing feelings of safety and calmness ("...to stay calm I needed to go back to Genoa or to recall it even while listening to music. For example, De André, who for me represents home when I feel nostalgic for my places. " [ITU3]), as described by a female participant who recalled a memory when she studied in a city out of the place

An important aspect of the secure base and safe haven as a theme was the aspect of 'feeling at home', which was found in 5 interviews in 12 fragments and was often mentioned in combination with feeling safe in the place. For example, one Italian participant described that every time he is out of the place and when he comes back, he feels at home again ("I have travelled the world a bit, you go around but the first desire you have is to go home and when you start to see the Langhe from afar you feel at home, you feel the air and well-being that your place gives you. " [IRT5]). The feeling of being at home is recognized through multiple senses (seeing the Langhe and smelling the air).

When being asked what the place means to the participants, it was explained that the place means feeling at home as this is an important part of what people look for in a place ("I immediately think of a house, of a home, say home. Because that is something we are all looking for... I think we are all looking for a house, a home. " [NLU2]). Feeling at home also means that one feels comfortable in the place, which can be developed through spending time in the place ("That I feel comfortable there. I have spent a large part of my life there "[NLR5]). In fact, spending time in the place leads to familiarity with the place, which can only be developed through living in and with the place ("Aalten means familiarity to me. Feeling at home. ...., I am very proud of my place "[NLR1]). Feeling at home is, in this last example, as well directly described as an important antecedent for feeling proud of the place.

What exactly makes a place feel at home was described by one participant from Amsterdam. He explicitly

explained that in order to feel at home, feeling safe, both emotionally and physically, was an important condition to him (Q: And what makes a place 'at home'? A: That is different for everyone, but for me I think a place where I can express my values and where I also feel safe and secure. I also think that feeling safe is what makes a place at home. Q: is that feeling physically safe or emotionally? A: Both. Physically and emotionally. " [NLU2]).

In conclusion, this theme relates to having the place as a secure base and safe haven, where one can feel at home and therefore develop feelings of pride.

### **Theme 2: 'Connection with ancestors'**

This theme was found in 3 interviews in 6 fragments and relates to the participants feeling connected with their ancestors when being in the place, as an antecedent to feeling pride. The connection can be experienced by just being in the place and recognizing that the ancestors were also present there ("Now I feel very at peace here alone, especially early in the morning, I wake up, I start to have breakfast in the kitchen I open and I see this valley, I see what he also saw from the same table where, in fact, I sit where he sat to have breakfast. Or in the evening I like to sit here in front looking at the meadow, the forest and imagine that he too sat here in the evening. "[ITR4]), or when being actively involved with elements of the place that have been developed by ancestors and giving continuation to those elements ("There is pride when you can show to yourself that you have done something, that you have continued that project that other generations have left you. They handed this thing over to me. I didn't waste it but I improved it or at least kept it for generations to come." [ITR5]).

There can also be an element of pride when the offspring of the person continues the lineage of the ancestors as well. One participant expressed his hope that his children would continue to take care of the land of their ancestors as the participant has done ("I recognize my father in everything I see in my land, in my vines, in the hazelnuts and I would like my children to recognize what I did in the future, that they say" that peach tree was put there by dad, he planted it. " " [ITR5]). In this way the pride is passed on from ancestors to a continuation in family lineage.

The sense of connection with ancestors can also come with a sense of moral duty to maintain what the ancestors have left. One participant mentioned twice that he felt a sense of moral duty towards his ancestors to maintain the land that his ancestors sacrificed for ("Our terraces, the vineyard where I am working was obtained by my father with many sacrifices, he built it, he worked on it for years, I'm sorry to leave it." [ITR5]). When he managed to do meet up with his sense of moral duty, according to his own expectation, he felt good and when he didn't he felt 'sorry' or inadequate ("But when you fail, here comes that sense of inadequacy, of frustration. For example, when you see the brambles that dominate the fields or the weeds that invade the terraces, you're sorry. [ITR5]).

**Theme 3: 'Enjoyment'**

Being in the place, such as living there, can also simply be enjoyable or pleasurable and therefore make people feel good about the place ("A pleasant place to live, a pleasant place to live"[NLR5). Another participant who had left the place where he grew up, but returned after he had studied in a bigger city mentioned that one of the reasons he returned was that he still enjoys being in the place ("For me it was also partly determined by the fact that I still enjoy living here." [NLR2]).

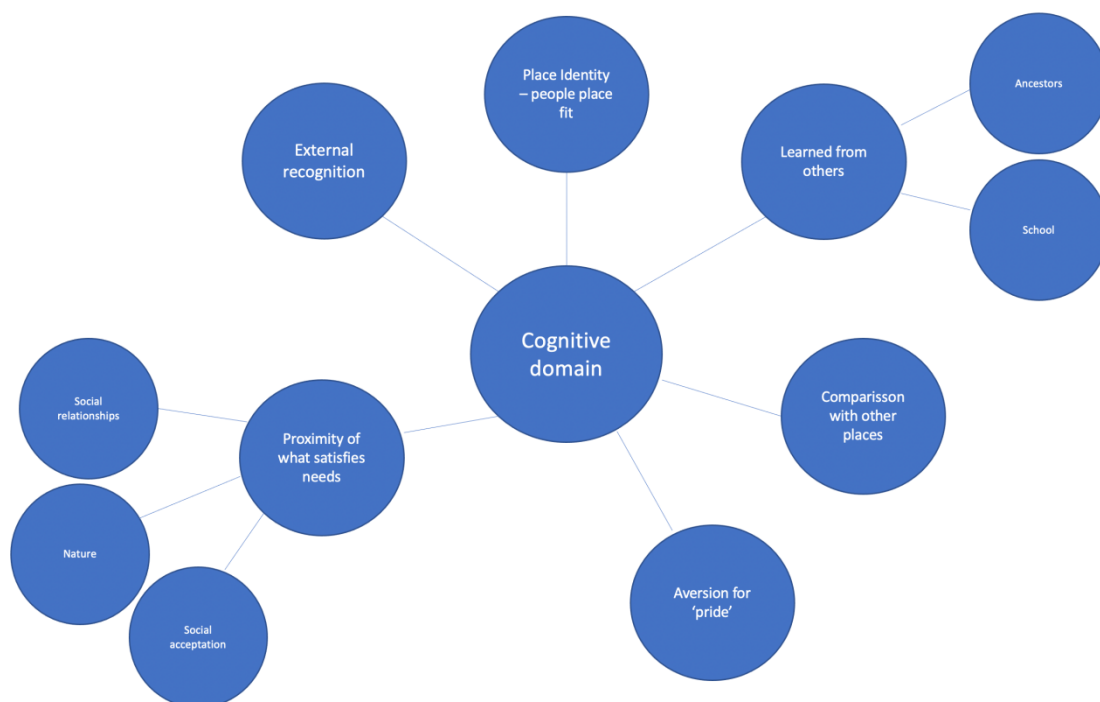
**Theme 4: 'Connection to place idea'**

This theme was found in 1 interview where a participant mentioned twice that he felt connected to the place, and specifically to his idea of what the place 'is' ("I do feel a bit connected to Amsterdam and the idea of what Amsterdam is." [NLU4]). To the question what his idea of the city of Amsterdam was, he referred to the values that were typical for the place and that he appreciated ("freedom, radical self-expression".)

### 2.3.1.3.2 Cognitive domain

About the cognitive level, Scannell & Gifford (2010) explain that “memories, beliefs, meaning and knowledge that individuals associate with their central settings make them personally important”. People can also grow attached to a place because of important events that have occurred, its historical importance or its (unique) cultural heritage (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Since the process of place identity (Bonaiuto et al., 1996; Bonaiuto et al., 2016; Proshansky, 1978; Proshansky et al., 1983; Twigger-Ross et al., 2003; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) is mainly a cognitive process where the self-construct is being formed in relationship to a specific physical and social environment, this falls under the cognitive level of place attachment as well.

For the cognitive domain 6 themes were identified and 5 subthemes, out of 79 separate fragments from the interviews. The data was mainly analysed on a latent level as the themes required interpretation of what was actually said. Figure 2.9 gives a schematic overview of the themes and subthemes of the cognitive domain of pride antecedents. Table 2.11 presents the themes, subthemes, prevalence and example quotes from the interviews for this domain.



**Figure 2.9**

*Themes and Subthemes of the Cognitive Domain of the Process Dimension of Pride Antecedents.*

**Table 2.11**

*Themes and Subthemes of the Cognitive Domain of the Process Dimension of Pride Antecedents*

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
External recognition	Developing pride when the place is being recognised by people externally from the place, including feeling offended or insulted when the place is not being recognised for what it is.	7	19	<p>“Oggi per esempio ho portato degli amici a Prunetto nel castello e poi nella chiesa. Sono rimasti sbalorditi dalla bellezza degli affreschi del carmine ...e io ho detto " eh roba nostra questa", qui c'è l'orgoglio” [ITR4]</p> <p>“vedere chi viene da fuori ammaliato dalla bellezza di Genova, mi fa essere fiera di essere genovese.” [ITU1]</p> <p>“Quando arriva un amico e dice “che bel panorama che c'è qua” ti senti orgoglioso” [ITR5]</p> <p>“En ook als ik hoor van mensen die het bezoeken.... van: ‘Oh zo’n geweldige stad!’ Dan ben ik wel extra trots op mijn stadje, ja.” [NLU2]</p> <p>“Mi fa sentire orgogliosa che ci siano delle persone di altri paesi che decidano di comprare casa qui e che apprezzino così tanto questo ambiente” [ITR4]</p> <p>“vervolgens aangevallen op moment dat de mensen zeggen dat na Arnhem de wereld ophoudt en dat hier een enorme vergrijzing is” [NLR2]</p> <p>“Maar het heeft mijzelf wel heel erg gestoord dat heel veel Nederlanders de Achterhoek en Twente door mekaar halen.” [NLR3]</p>	<p>“Today, for example, I took some friends to Prunetto in the castle and then in the church. They were amazed by the beauty of the carmine's frescoes ... and I said "eh our stuff this", here is pride "[ITR4]</p> <p>"Seeing who comes from outside bewitched by the beauty of Genoa makes me proud to be Genoese." [ITU1]</p> <p>"When a friend arrives and says "what a beautiful view here" you feel proud" “ [ITR5]</p> <p>“And also when I hear from people who visit it.... like: "Oh such a great city!" Then I am extra proud of my town, yes. " [NLU2]</p> <p>"It makes me proud that there are people from other countries who decide to buy a house here and who appreciate this environment so much" [ITR4]</p> <p>“Then attacked when people say that after Arnhem the world ends and that there is an enormous aging population” [NLR2]</p> <p>"But it really bothered me that a lot of Dutch people confuse the Achterhoek and Twente." [NLR3]</p>
Place Identity - people place fit	Integrating the place as part of personal identity and recognising the people place fit.	8	16	<p>“È una terra che richiede impegno. Questo è un pó il mio orgoglio perché ho trovato questa aspetto dentro di me, ho visto che c'era la cocciutaggine di impegnarmi sulle cose, di raggiungere gli obiettivi.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“E’ una parte di me penso che sia il 50 60 per cento</p>	<p>“It is a land that requires commitment. This is a bit of my pride because I found this aspect inside of me, I saw that there was the stubbornness to commit myself to things, to reach the objectives. " [ITR4]</p> <p>"It is a part of me, I think it is 50-60 percent of me, I</p>

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				<p>di me, mi riconosco nel luogo e lo sento mio.." [ITR5]</p> <p>"Amsterdammer staat heel erg voor vrijheid en om te zijn wie je bent. Toen ik achttien was, ben ik in Amsterdam gaan wonen. Ik kwam uit een katholiek gezin, heel strikt. Ik mocht niet uit en toen ik weg kon gaan, wilde ik gewoon naar Amsterdam, want daar voelde ik gewoon 'ja, daar is de vrijheid'. Daar had je niet die sociale controle.." [NLU1]</p> <p>"Maar ik ben ook zeker trots op Amsterdam. Ik denk ook wel vanwege de geschiedenis, dan val ik toch weer terug op die waarde van vrijheid... Ik vind wel dat vrijheid in het DNA van Amsterdam zit. Je mag doen wat je wil, als je maar rekening houdt met anderen. Dat is iets wat ik zelf ook heel erg beaam." [NLU2]</p> <p>"Dus in Nederland ben ik het meest trots op Amsterdam denk ik, omdat het nog het beste past bij mijn normen en waarden." [NLU3]</p>	<p>recognize myself in the place and I feel it is mine .." [ITR5]</p> <p>"Amsterdammers really stand for freedom and to be who you are. When I was eighteen, I went to live in Amsterdam. I came from a Catholic family, very strict. I was not allowed to go out and when I could leave, I just wanted to go to Amsterdam, because there I just felt 'yes, there is freedom'. You didn't have that social control there .."[NLU1]</p> <p>"But I am certainly also proud of Amsterdam. I also think because of its history, then I fall back to that value of freedom... I do think that freedom is in the DNA of Amsterdam. You can do whatever you want, as long as you take others into account. That is something I very much agree with myself. " [NLU2]</p> <p>"So in the Netherlands I am most proud of Amsterdam, I think, because it best suits my standards and values. [NLU3]</p>
Proximity of what satisfies needs	Having that what can satisfy the needs in proximity in or to the place.	6	14	<p>"Toen ik achttien was, ben ik in Amsterdam gaan wonen. Ik kwam uit een katholiek gezin, heel strikt. Ik mocht niet uit en toen ik weg kon gaan, wilde ik gewoon naar Amsterdam, want daar voelde ik gewoon 'ja, daar is de vrijheid' " [NLU1]</p> <p>"wat ik heel belangrijk vond, ook voor mijn kinderen, om hier te gaan wonen, is om te voelen van: we wonen in een multiculturele samenleving en ook dat het voor hen normaal is om op te groeien... Ze hebben nu ook vrienden die Surinaams of Marokkaans zijn, dus dat is voor mij wel heel belangrijk. Dus voor mij betekent de Bijlmer: inclusie, tolerantie." [NLU1]</p> <p>"Dat is ook in veranderd doordat je zelf kinderen hebt. Ik merk je dat ik als je zelf kind bent en je groeit hier op, dan heb je dat helemaal niet in de gaten. Maar als je nu zelf vader bent van drie kinderen, dan ben ik zo blij dat ik dat ik ze dit kan</p>	<p>"When I was eighteen, I went to live in Amsterdam. I came from a Catholic family, very strict. I was not allowed to go out and when I could leave, I just wanted to go to Amsterdam, because there I just felt "yes, there is freedom" [NLU1]</p> <p>"What I thought was very important, also for my children, to live here, is to feel: we live in a multicultural society and also that it is normal for them to grow up there ... They now also have friends who are Surinamese or Moroccan, so that is very important to me. So for me the Bijlmer means: inclusion, tolerance. " [NLU1]</p> <p>"That has also changed because you have children yourself. I notice that when you are a child yourself and you grow up here, you do not notice that at all. But if you are now a father of three children yourself, then I am so happy that I can offer them this, that they can just go</p>



Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				bieden, dat ze gewoon naar buiten kunnen gaan.” [NLR2]	outside. ” [NLR2]
Social relationships	Having other emotionally important people in proximity to the place as important for needs satisfaction.	4	7	<p>“En mijn loved ones wonen hier en dat is voor mij nu heel belangrijk. Ik heb gewoon echte vrienden hier die ik al heel lang ken en daar kan ik makkelijk naar toe. En ik merk dat naarmate ik ouder word, dat denk ik dat dat wel heel belangrijk is.” [NLU3]</p> <p>“in mijn geval gingen 9 van mijn 10 vrienden uit Groningen in Amsterdam wonen. Dus dat zorgde er wel voor dat je je snel thuis voelt ook.” [NLU4]</p> <p>“zie ik geen enkele reden om niet hier te wonen als je je familie hier hebt en iedereen die je kent je hebt je netwerk hier dat je om je heen hebt opgebouwd.” [NLR3]</p>	<p>“And my loved ones live here and that is very important to me now. I just have real friends here that I have known for a long time and I can easily go there. And I notice that as I get older, that that, I think, is very important. ” [NLU3]</p> <p>“In my case, 9 of my 10 friends from Groningen went to live in Amsterdam. So that made you feel at home quickly too. ” [NLU4]</p> <p>"I don't see any reason not to live here if you have your family here and everyone you know, you have your network here that you've built around you." [NLR3]</p>
Social Acceptance	Thinking that one is being accepted by the other people of the place as an important need.	2	2	<p>“I feel good here. On different levels, on a human level, I like to be in contact with people to which don't have to prove anything to them. They already know who I am” [ITR1]</p> <p>“Bijvoorbeeld als ik in Accra of Lagos ben, dat ik wit ben in een zwarte context, dan zal ik altijd op mijn anders-zijn gewezen worden. Toen ik daar lang was, toen ik ook echt voelde van ‘ik woon hier, ik ben hier’ .... maar als je altijd door de ander wordt gewezen op jou niet-vandaar zijn is dat best lastig.” [NLU3]</p>	<p>“For example when I am in Accra or Lagos, that I am white in a black context, I will always be reminded of my otherness. When I was there for a long time, when I really felt like "I live here, I am here".... but if you are always pointed out by the other that you are not - that's why it is quite difficult. ” [NLU3]</p>
Nature	Having nature in proximity as important for needs satisfaction.	1	1	“En eerst woonde ik in de binnenstad, en een andere belangrijke waarde voor mij is de natuur.” [NLU1]	"And first I lived in the city center, and another important value for me is nature." [NLU1]
Learned from others (taught)	Feeling proud as an emotions that has been socially learned from others	8	12	<p>“the fact that a lot of people have pride of place here like they are feeling good about being from this place” [ITR1]</p> <p>“Secondo me l’orgoglio nasce da quello che vedi, da quello che vivi, io ho avuto intorno persone che erano orgogliose del luogo e mi hanno trasmesso questo sentimento.” [ITR4]</p>	<p>"In my opinion, pride comes from what you see, from what you live, I have had around people who were proud of the place and have transmitted this feeling to me." [ITR4]</p>
Ancestors	Feelings of pride learned from ancestors	6	8	“Nasce dalla trasmissione dei valori che ti danno gli	"It comes from the transmission of the values that the

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				<p>anziani" [ITR5]</p> <p>"Era la famiglia che ti dava questo senso di orgoglio per tutto il territorio, e te lo trasmetteva non soltanto con le parole, era l'esempio che ti insegnava come comportarti e come amare il territorio" [ITR5]</p> <p>"van mijn vader ja, die was ook een echte Aalternaar en die hield ook echt van Aalten en van het dorpsleven" [NLR1]</p> <p>"because my father is from here who is proud" [ITR1]</p> <p>"onze vader die ook wel trots is op Aalten en dat je dat van jongs af aan ook wel een beetje meekrijgt" [NLR4]</p>	<p>elderly give you" [ITR5]</p> <p>"It was the family that gave you this sense of pride for the whole territory, and transmitted it to you not only with words, it was the example that taught you how to behave and how to love the territory" [ITR5]</p> <p>"From my father, yes, he was also a real Aalternaar and he really loved Aalten and village life" [NLR1]</p> <p>"Our father who is also proud of Aalten and that you get that transmitted a bit from an early age" [NLR4]</p>
School	Pride has developed due to school activities.	1	1	"La scuola. Io ho frequentato la scuola germanica che ci hanno fatto conoscere e studiare le bellezze della città; ci facevano fare delle lezioni in cui parlavamo a dei ragazzi tedeschi della nostra città." [ITU1]	"The school. I attended the Germanic school which made us know and study the beauties of the city; they made us give lessons in which we talked to some German boys about our city. " [ITU1]
Comparison with other places	Comparing the place with other places as a cognitive process to develop feelings of pride	6	12	<p>"Dat je gewoon wel altijd bewust of onbewust vergelijkt en dan denkt: 'Ah, dit vind ik hier beter dan op andere plekken in Nederland of in de wereld.' En dat je dan denkt, 'oh dit vind ik gewoon wel echt tof.' Dat wij dat hebben." [NLU4]</p> <p>"ik heb in Arnhem gewoond. Ik heb in Nijmegen gewoond. Ik ben naar Afrika op vakantie geweest, in Zuid-Amerika op vakantie geweest. Maar nu heb ik zoiets van 'nu weet ik eigenlijk pas dat je ook kunt genieten van de plek waar je woont' en dat zelfs Nederland, veel te bieden heeft en Europa ook. En uiteindelijk heb ik nu ook al eens zoiets van 'ik hoeft niet perse heel ver weg om tot mijn rust te komen'. Want ja, ik heb het gezien, ik heb het kunnen vergelijken en dit is het voor mij." [NLR2]</p> <p>"Ik hou van het dorpsleven in de Achterhoek. Veel</p>	<p>"That you always compare consciously or unconsciously and then think: 'Ah, I like this better here than in other places in the Netherlands or in the world.' And then you think, 'Oh, I just really like this. "That we have that." [NLU4]</p> <p>"I lived in Arnhem. I have lived in Nijmegen. I went on vacation to Africa, on vacation in South America. But now I have something like 'only now I actually realise that you can also enjoy the place where you live' and that even the Netherlands has a lot to offer and Europe too. And in the end I now also have something like 'I don't necessarily have to go very far to relax'. Because, yes, I have seen it, I have been able to compare it and this is it for me. " [NLR2]</p> <p>"I love village life in the Achterhoek. Much more than the</p>

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				<p>meer dan van de stad. En ik heb wel in een stad gewoond en gewerkt. Maar ja, Aalten is gewoon euh. Daar voel ik me thuis op mijn gemak." [NLR1]</p> <p>"Kijk, in Lichtenvoorde zijn ze veel opener en doen ze veel meer dingen. Maar ik vind toch wel dat we in de loop der jaren naar mijn idee erg vooruit zijn gegaan. Ja, daar ben ik dan wel trots op." [NLR3]</p>	<p>city. And I have lived and worked in a city. But yes, Aalten is just uh. I feel at home there. " [NLR1]</p> <p>"Look, in Lichtenvoorde they are much more open and they do a lot more things. But I do think that we have made a lot of progress over the years in my opinion. Yes, I am proud of that. " [NLR3]</p>
Aversion for pride	Not feeling comfortable with the idea of being proud of a place due to a negative connotation to 'pride'.	2	6	<p>"dat trotse gevoel op de Achterhoek of op dialect, wat ik spreek of ooit als kind gesproken heb, daar heb ik eigenlijk niet zoveel mee." [NLR1]</p> <p>"Ik vind ik het ook nog vaak gevaarlijk dat mensen steeds trotser worden op hun eigen gebiedje. Dat houdt ook in dat je dus mensen gaat weren. Mensen die dat niet zijn" [NLR1]</p> <p>"Ik hou niet van zo van het woord 'trots'. Ik weet niet eens of als ik zelf kinderen zou hebben, of ik dat woord zou gebruiken. Maar ik snap het idee erachter wel. In de goede zin van het woord, ben ik wel trots op Amsterdam." [NLU4]</p>	<p>"That proud feeling on the Achterhoek or on dialect, which I speak or once spoke as a child, does actually not really resonate to me." [NLR1]</p> <p>"I think it's also dangerous that people get more and more proud of their place. That also means that you will refuse people. People who don't have that." [NLR1]</p> <p>"I don't really like the word 'pride'. I don't even know if, if I had children myself, if I would use that word. But I do get the idea behind it. In the good sense of the word, I am proud of Amsterdam. " [NLU4]</p>

### **Theme 1: 'External recognition'**

The most prevalent theme under the cognitive domain is 'external recognition' which holds that people develop feelings of pride when the place is being recognised positively by people externally from the place. The theme was found in 7 interviews in 19 fragments. The recognition relates mainly to how people from out of the place perceive the beauty and value of the place and express this. This can relate to beauty in general ("Seeing who comes from outside bewitched by the beauty of Genoa makes me proud to be Genoese." [ITU1]), but also more specific aspects of the place such as landscapes ("When a friend arrives and says "what a beautiful view here" you feel proud" " [ITR5]), or historical or archaeological features ("Today, for example, I took some friends to Prunetto in the castle and then in the church. They were amazed by the beauty of the Carmine's frescoes ... and I said "eh our stuff this", here is pride "[ITR4]).

The recognition is mostly received from people who visit the place and express their appreciation and awe for the place ("And also when I hear from people who visit it.... like: "Oh such a great city!" Then I am extra proud of my town, yes." [NLU2]), or even when people from out of the place decide to settle in the place ("It makes me proud that there are people from other countries who decide to buy a house here and who appreciate this environment so much" [ITR4]).

External recognition can even turn out to become a psychological need, which can be recognised in how people react when the external recognition is not being offered. Two participants from a rural area in the Netherlands expressed a sense of being offended, which was a latent interpretation by the researcher of what was actually being said. One felt offended when people from out of the place do not distinguish the geographical area of the place with a neighbouring area and mix up these places ("But it really bothered me that a lot of Dutch people confuse the Achterhoek and Twente." [NLR3]). Another mentioned that he and others from the place feel attacked when Dutch people from the bigger cities say that the world ends geographically after the nearest city (Arnhem), implying the irrelevance of the place to those people from bigger cities ("We feel attacked when people say that after Arnhem the world ends ..." [NLR2]). The feelings of being offended mainly seem to arise when the place is not being recognized in its unique distinctive identity.

### **Theme 2: 'Place identity – people place fit'**

This theme was mentioned by 8 participants in 16 fragments. The place identity as an antecedent to pride is the result of an evaluation on the fit of the person with the place, the 'people place fit'. Most of the fragments in which participants expressed place identity were related to a person fit with the mentality or norms and values that characterize the place.. but with one or some more key aspects. Personality or values or abilities.

This theme is about the people making an evaluation of their fit with the place and recognizing themselves in something typical from the place ("It is a part of me, I think it is 50-60 percent of me, I recognize myself in the place and I feel it is mine .." [ITR5]). The fit is, thus, with a specific element of the place, not with the place in general and there does not need to be a full or hundred percent fit for the person to develop place identity.

People can recognize aspects of the place in themselves, both in tangible and intangible aspect. One participant from an Italian rural area described that she thought that the land (soil) of the place is hard and difficult to cultivate and thus requires commitment, which she also recognized in herself and that recognition was a source of pride ("It is a land that requires commitment. This is a bit of my pride because I found this aspect inside of me, I saw that there was the stubbornness to commit myself to things, to reach the objectives. " [ITR4]). Mostly, however, the recognition of fit with the place was found in the intangible social aspects of the place. For example, to find a fit with the norms and values that the place is characterized by that match with a person's personality ("So in the Netherlands I am most proud of Amsterdam, I think, because it best suits my standards and values. [NLU3]; "But I am certainly also proud of Amsterdam. I also think because of its history, then I fall back to that value of freedom... I do think that freedom is in the DNA of Amsterdam. You can do whatever you want, as long as you take others into account. That is something I very much agree with myself. " [NLU2])

The fragments described above are all for when the people who live in the place evaluate their fit with the place, but it can also be that people choose to move to live in the place because they recognize certain values in the place that seem to fit with the values/needs of the person. One participant from Amsterdam described how she deliberately left the place where she grew up because she recognized a mis-fit with her own values there and expected to find a better fit in Amsterdam ("Amsterdammers really stand for freedom and to be who you are. When I was eighteen, I went to live in Amsterdam. I came from a Catholic family, very strict. I was not allowed to go out and when I could leave, I just wanted to go to Amsterdam, because there I just felt 'yes, there is freedom'. You didn't have that social control there ... "[NLU1]).

### **Theme 3: 'Proximity of what satisfies needs'**

This theme was found in 6 interviews in 14 fragments, including those of the 3 subthemes. It refers to having that what can satisfy needs in proximity to or in the place itself. The 3 subthemes refer to the most prevalent or distinctive needs that were mentioned by the participants.

In general, the theme relates to the place being able to offer something to satisfy a need of the person as an individual or its family, such as a multicultural society ("What I thought was very important, also for my children, to live here, is to feel: we live in a multicultural society and also that it is normal for them to grow up there ... They now also have friends who are Surinamese or Moroccan, so that is very important to me. So for me the Bijlmer means: inclusion, tolerance. " [NLU1]).

This theme is a continuous process of evaluation as needs are changing throughout different life phases and people search for what can satisfy their needs. For example, one participant described that she moved to Amsterdam when she was 18 years old because she expected that the city could better satisfy her need for freedom than the place where she grew up ("When I was eighteen, I went to live in Amsterdam. I came from a Catholic family, very strict. I was not allowed to go out and when I could leave, I just wanted to go to Amsterdam, because there I just felt "yes, there is freedom" [NLU1]).

Another participant described that his views on the place where he grew up changed when he became a father as he recognized that the same place could offer aspects that could satisfy his needs for 'safety and space' which he did not notice when he was a child himself ("That has also changed because you have children yourself. I notice that when you are a child yourself and you grow up here, you do not notice that at all. But if you are now a father of three children yourself, then I am so happy that I can offer them this, that they can just go outside. " [NLR2]).

### **Subtheme 3.1: 'Social Relationships'**

This subtheme was mentioned by 4 participants in 7 fragments and was the most prevalent need that the place could satisfy. Having other emotionally important people in proximity to or in the place is an important need for people that the place should be able to satisfy ("And my loved ones live here and that is very important to me now. I just have real friends here that I have known for a long time and I can easily go there. And I notice that as I get older, that that, I think, is very important. " [NLU3]).

It is in fact so important that it can drive people's decision to remain living in the place ("I don't see any reason not to live here if you have your family here and everyone you know, you have your network here that you've built around you." [NLR3]) or move out ("In my case, 9 of my 10 friends from Groningen went to live in Amsterdam. So that made you feel at home quickly too. " [NLU4]).

### **Subtheme 3.2: 'Social acceptance'**

This subtheme was mentioned only by 2 people in 2 fragments and relates to believing or wanting that one is socially accepted as one from the place in order to feel well there. One Italian participant described that he feels good in his rural place because people know him and he knows the other people so there is no need for having to prove anything to each other ("I feel good here. On different levels, on a human level, I like to be in contact with people to which don't have to prove anything to them. They already know who I am" [ITR1]).

Another Dutch participant described that she often visits the capital of Ghana and that to her it is important to feel socially accepted in order to feel well in the place, but that because of her different skin colour she struggles to believe that she is accepted as one of the place ("For example when I am in Accra or Lagos, that I am white in a black context, I will always be reminded of my otherness. When I was there for a long time, when I really felt like "I live here, I am here".... but if you are always pointed out by the other that you are not - that's why it is quite difficult. " [NLU3]).

### **Subtheme 3.3: 'Nature'**

This theme relates to having nature in proximity to or in the place as an important need to be satisfied by the place. However this subtheme was identified only in 1 fragment it was considered as a distinctive need that deserves to be a separate subtheme as it fits with literature around nature in proximity to places. The theme was identified in one fragment where a participant described she moved to a new neighbourhood in Amsterdam where there plenty of nature could be found ("And first I lived in the city centre, and another important value

for me is nature." [NLU1]).

#### **Theme 4: 'Learned from others'**

This theme was identified in 8 interviews in 12 fragments, including those of the two subthemes. The theme relates to people having feelings of pride through actively having learned this from others from the place. Pride in this respect is being taught. Pride is developed through social learning or formal learning at schools for example, which are both expressed in the two subthemes.

One participant described that his origin of pride is due to "the fact that a lot of people have pride of place here like they are feeling good about being from this place" [ITR1]. Another described that he got his feelings of pride transferred from the people around him when he grew up ("In my opinion, pride comes from what you see, from what you live, I have had around people who were proud of the place and have transmitted this feeling to me." [ITR4]).

##### **Subtheme 4.1: 'Ancestors'**

This subtheme was the most prevalent with 8 fragments identified in 6 interviews. It relates to a form of socially learning pride of place from ancestors, including parents. These people either transfer the feelings of pride intentionally or non-intentionally and verbally or non-verbally. Just growing up with a parent, for example, who is proud of the place can already develop pride in the child; when asked what his origin of the feeling of pride is, one participant replied ("because my father is from here who is proud" [ITR1]). Another participant confirmed that he was proud because he got it transferred from his father at an early age ("Our father who is also proud of Aalten and that you get that transmitted a bit from an early age" [NLR4]).

The pride is transferred or taught in verbal and non-verbal ways, for example, a participant described that the people he grew up with not only spoke with pride of the place, but also behaved in a way that expressed pride and love for the place ("It was the family that gave you this sense of pride for the whole territory, and transmitted it to you not only with words, it was the example that taught you how to behave and how to love the territory" [ITR5]).

##### **Subtheme 4.2: 'Schools'**

This theme was only mentioned by 1 participant in 1 fragment, and it was identified as a separate theme due to its formal learning character, as opposed to social learning as in the previous subtheme. This subtheme is about people developing feelings of pride for their place due to intentional formal school activities (The school. I attended the Germanic school which made us know and study the beauties of the city; they made us give lessons in which we talked to some German boys from our city. " [ITU1])

#### **Theme 5: 'Comparison with other places'**

This theme was identified in 6 interviews in 12 fragments and has no subtheme. It relates to the cognitive process of comparing one's own place with other places and resulting in developing feelings of pride. The outcome of

the comparison could be that the person thinks that the own place is 'a better place' to live than the other place ("That you always compare consciously or unconsciously and then think: 'Ah, I like this better here than in other places in the Netherlands or in the world.' And then you think, 'Oh, I just really like this. "That we have that." [NLU4]), but this does not necessarily have to be the case. Another participant, for example, described that she compared the place with a neighbouring place and spoke of high value of the other place, but in the end was proud of her own place because of what the people of her place had achieved in the past years ("Look, in Lichtenvoorde they are much more open and they do a lot more things. But I do think that we have made a lot of progress over the years in my opinion. Yes, I am proud of that. " [NLR3]). It could also be that through comparison, the person realized that she or he is just very satisfied with the own place ("I love village life in the Achterhoek. Much more than the city. And I have lived and worked in a city. But yes, Aalten is just uh. I feel at home there. " [NLR1]).

The comparison happens on a cognitive level, through a mental comparison with the other place, but as well through an evaluation of an experiential comparison through having lived in or visited other places ("I lived in Arnhem. I have lived in Nijmegen. I went on vacation to Africa, on vacation in South America. But now I have something like 'only now I actually realise that you can also enjoy the place where you live' and that even the Netherlands has a lot to offer and Europe too. And in the end I now also have something like 'I don't necessarily have to go very far to relax'. Because, yes, I have seen it, I have been able to compare it and this is it for me. " [NLR2]).

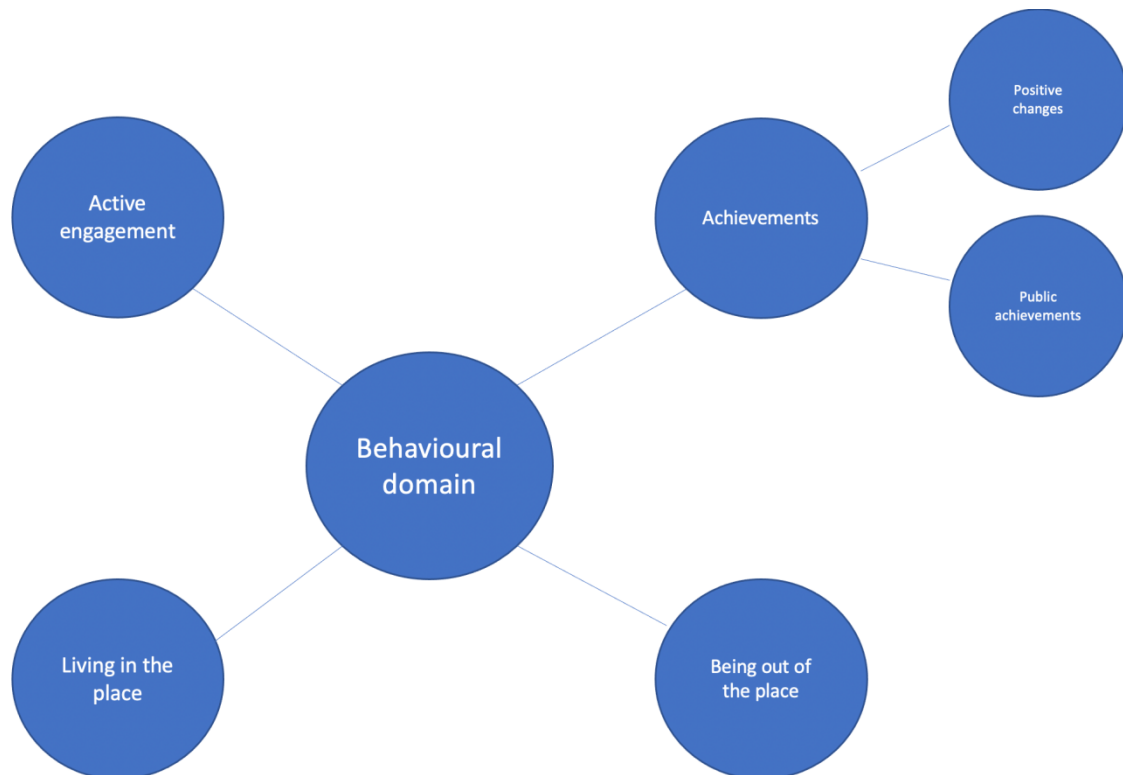
#### **Theme 6: 'Aversion for pride'**

Two participants mentioned in 6 fragments that they had difficulties with the word pride and its negative association that they had attributed to it. When being asked about their feelings of pride, they initially expressed that they did not like to use the word pride because they associate it to something negative, or simply does not "resonate with them" ("That proud feeling on the Achterhoek or on dialect, which I speak or once spoke as a child, does actually not really resonate to me." [NLR1]). One participant from example said: "I don't really like the word 'pride'. I don't even know if I had children myself, if I would use that word. But I do get the idea behind it. In the good sense of the word, I am proud of Amsterdam. " [NLU4]. The second participant that expressed aversion explained in more detail she had an aversion for the word pride because she associated it to social exclusion which can be "dangerous": "I think it's also dangerous that people get more and more proud of their place. That also means that you will refuse people. People who don't have that." [NLR1]



### 2.3.1.3.3 Behavioural domain

The behavioural level deals with how people act in relation to their place bond as an antecedent to feelings of pride. It can relate both to the individual level of behaviour as to collective behaviour of the people from the place. 4 main themes were found and 2 subthemes, with a total of 73 fragments for the behavioural domain. The data was mainly analysed on a latent level as the themes required interpretation of what was actually said. The themes Figure 2.10 gives a schematic overview of the themes and subthemes of the behavioural domain of pride antecedents. Table 2.12 presents the themes, subthemes, prevalence and example quotes from the interviews for this domain.



**Figure 2.10**

*Themes and Subthemes of the Behavioural Domain of the Process Dimension of Pride Antecedents.*

**Table 2.12**

*Themes and Subthemes of the Behavioural Domain of the Process Dimension of Pride Antecedents*

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Active engagement	Participation, contribution and involvement - being active in maintaining, developing and protecting the place.	9	25	<p>“all together we preserve it in the way that it is and we'll try to work in order to make it better and this make me satisfied” [ITR1]</p> <p>“Mi sono sentito veramente orgoglioso perché ho partecipato ad un progetto che ha cercato di recuperare qualcosa, uno di quei doni che ti lascia chi ha vissuto prima di te. Recuperare un palazzo del 1700, che ha 300 anni di storia e vederlo di nuovo agibile è un grande motivo di orgoglio.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Bisogberegbe rendere i cittadini più attivi nei cambiamenti dei propri luoghi dando loro la possibilità di essere orgogliosi di essi.” [ITU3]</p> <p>“Als mijn broer zegt: ‘Ik ben echt trots op Aalten’, dan denk ik ‘Oh ja, je bent ook heel je leven al daar, en je hebt misschien ook bijgedragen aan het maken ervan.’ ”[NLU3]</p> <p>“als ik ... bijgedragen heb aan een cultureel evenement in Zuidoost bijvoorbeeld, dan kan ik daar trots op zijn. Maar dat is meer dat ik ook zelf actief bij heb gedragen aan iets.” [NLU3]</p> <p>“Il punto specifico è la mia borgata, e più nello specifico la Chiesa che c'è sulla strada, la Madonna del Bricco, la sento particolarmente mia perché ho partecipato a recuperarla quando stava crollando.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“maar ik voel daar niet een persoonlijke trots voor. Want ik heb daar niks mee gedaan, dus voor mij is het toch ook heel erg gebonden aan.... Heb ik daar zelf direct input opgedaan ofzo?” [NLU3]</p>	<p>“I felt really proud because I participated in a project that tried to recover something, one of those gifts that those who lived before you leave you. Recovering a palace dating back to 1700, which has 300 years of history and seeing it accessible again is a great source of pride.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Citizens should be made more active in changing their places by giving them the opportunity to be proud of it.” [ITU3]</p> <p>“When my brother says, "I'm really proud of Aalten, "I think," Oh yes, you've been there all your life, and you may have contributed to making it. " [NLU3]</p> <p>“If I... contributed to a cultural event in Zuidoost, for example, then I can be proud of it. But that is more that I have actively contributed to something myself. ” [NLU3]</p> <p>“The specific point is my village, and more specifically the Church on the road, the Madonna del Bricco, I feel it particularly mine because I participated in recovering it when it was collapsing.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“But I don't feel any personal pride for that. Because I have not done anything with it, so for me it is also very much tied to.... Did I give direct input there myself? ” [NLU3]</p>
Living in the place	Living in the place with the people of the	10	17	<p>“non me l'hanno trasmesso loro, ma é una cosa che é</p>	<p>“They didn't pass it on to me, but it's something that</p>

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
	place as an antecedent of the development of pride			<p>nata da me stessa, senza che io fossi influenzata." [ITR2]</p> <p>"è cresciuto nel tempo, vivendo insieme ai genovesi." [ITU2]</p> <p>"als je in een bepaalde plek of regio of stad woont, en omdat je daar veel tijd doorbrengt, zie je dan veel mooie dingen die je dan uiteindelijk wel trots maken" [NLR4]</p> <p>"dat is echt iets wat ik zelf heb aangeleerd door er gewoon te zijn" [NLU2]</p> <p>"innanzitutto dall'ambiente" [ITR3]</p> <p>"quindi il mio orgoglio ha sia un'origine nel fatto che io sia cresciuta in questi luoghi, sia nella bellezza intrinseca dei luoghi stessi" [ITR2]</p> <p>"per me l'orgoglio è legato a San Desiderio ed Apparizione che sono quei luoghi in cui andavo quando ero ragazza, prendevo lo zaino e scappavo là." [ITU3]</p> <p>"Omdat ik hier ook als kind heb gespeel, ik ben hier opgegroeid. En ik ben naderhand wel weg geweest, maar ik heb toch altijd wel last gehad van heimwee." [NLR1]</p> <p>"Uiteindelijk dat ik er geboren en getogen ben, dat is de grootste oorsprong." [NLR4]</p>	<p>was born of myself, without my being influenced." [ITR2]</p> <p>"it has grown over time, living with the Genoese." [ITU2]</p> <p>"If you live in a certain place or region or city, and because you spend a lot of time there, you see many beautiful things that eventually make you proud" [NLR4]</p> <p>"That's really something I learned myself by just being there" [NLU2]</p> <p>"First of all from the natural environment" [ITR3]</p> <p>"So my pride has both an origin in the fact that I grew up in these places, and in the intrinsic beauty of the places themselves" [ITR2]</p> <p>"For me pride is linked to San Desiderio and Apparizione which are those places I went to when I was a girl, I took my backpack and ran away there." [ITU3]</p> <p>"Because I also played here as a child, I grew up here. And I did leave afterwards, but I have always had problems with homesickness." [NLR1]</p> <p>"Ultimately that I was born and raised there, that is the greatest origin." [NLR4]</p>
Achievements	Experiencing pride because of achievements of people from the place. (Positive changes made in the place, public achievements)	6	15	<p>"we organized it and it went well and they were happy and then at that moment we were also proud of the place or proud of your own achievements" [ITR1]</p> <p>"Mio padre mi ha lasciato un pezzo di vigna, un po di terreno, quello che ho fatto è stato di non lasciarlo peggiorare, dopotutto l'ho migliorato e di questo sono orgoglioso." [ITR5]</p>	<p>"My father left me a piece of vineyard, some land, what I did was not to let it get worse, after all I improved it and I'm proud of that." [ITR5]</p>

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Positive changes	Experiencing pride when people perceive the changes achieved in the place as positive.	3	5	<p>“...dat dan nu zondag in Aalten erbij is. En wat hebben we dan geprobeerd? En dat is nu gelukt. Daar ben ik wel heel trots op.” [NL3]</p> <p>“...old people I see proud about the fact that this place was a poor place and now it's getting better and better.” [ITR1]</p> <p>“...wat ik wil zeggen is wat we nog in Aalten bereikt hebben. Ja, echt een heel fijn dorp. Nu dat Aalten toch wel iets meer toegankelijker geworden is. ... Ja, daar ben ik dan wel trots op.” [NL3]</p>	<p>“... That is now on Sunday in Aalten. And what have we tried? And that has now succeeded. I am very proud of that.” [NL3]</p> <p>“... what I want to say is what we have achieved in Aalten. Yes, a really nice village. Now that Aalten has become a bit more accessible. ... Yes, I am proud of that.” [NL3]</p>
Public achievements	Experiencing pride when people from the place gain public success on a higher geographical level (e.g. national).	2	3	<p>“Dat dat we met de zeskamp meededen. Dat ze dan Aalten toch wel voor altijd op de kaart zetten, en dat later heel veel mensen wel wisten dat Aalten in de Achterhoek lag en dat ze de zeskamp gewonnen hebben.” [NL3]</p> <p>“Eerder was er de biljarter Hans Vultink, die werd Nederlands-, Europees-, en wereldkampioen...Dan waren wij gewoon trots, dat je een Aaltenaar in de gemeente had die gewoon wereldkampioen was.” [NLR5]</p>	<p>“That we participated in the hexathlon. That they would put Aalten on the map forever, and that later many people knew that Aalten was in the Achterhoek and that they had won the hexathlon.” [NL3]</p> <p>“Previously there was billiard player Hans Vultink, who became Dutch, European and world champion... Then we were just proud that you had an Aaltenaar in the municipality who was simply world champion.” [NLR5]</p>
Being out of the place	Developing pride when being out of the place	6	8	<p>“Io ho girato un pò il mondo, vai in giro ma il primo desiderio che hai è quello di tornare a casa e quando da lontano cominci a vedere le Langhe ti senti a casa, senti l'aria ed il benessere che ti dà il tuo il tuo luogo.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“In Turchia ho trovato delle postazioni genovesi che mi hanno anche inorgoglito, che venivano usati come basi per i viaggi dall'Asia.” [ITU2]</p> <p>“Als ik in internationale projecten vertel waar kom je vandaan, dan ben ik eigenlijk wel altijd trots om te zeggen dat ik uit Amsterdam kom. Ook omdat mensen altijd reageren van 'ah wauw Amsterdam, een mooie stad.' “ [NLU1]</p>	<p>“I have traveled the world a bit, you go around but the first desire you have is to go home and when you start to see the Langhe from a distance you feel at home, you feel the air and the well-being that your place gives you.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“In Turkey I found Genoese posts that also made me proud, which were used as bases for travel from Asia.” [ITU2]</p> <p>“When I tell where one is from in international projects, I am actually always proud to say that I am from Amsterdam. Also because people always respond from 'ah wow Amsterdam, a beautiful city'.” [NLU1]</p>

### **Theme 1: 'Active engagement'**

The most prevalent behavioural antecedent of pride was active engagement. This theme was identified in 9 interviews in 25 fragments. The theme relates to how people of the place, either individually or together with others are actively involved in the maintenance, development or protection of the place.

For example, one participant from a rural village in Italy explained that he was proud of his place because a group of people, including himself, maintained the place in its current quality (i.e., preventing it from deterioration) and worked to improve the place where possible ("all together we preserve it in the way that it is and we'll try to work in order to make it better and this make me satisfied" [ITR1]). It can also relate to recovering some old building that was lost or out of use and that when this feature of cultural heritage was recovered or restored in its quality, pride can emerge if people were involved in making it possible ("I felt really proud because I participated in a project that tried to recover something, one of those gifts that those who lived before you leave you. Recovering a palace dating back to 1700, which has 300 years of history and seeing it accessible again is a great source of pride. "[ITR5])

In this theme it is fundamental that the individual is part of the engagement and it doesn't apply to 'others' being actively engaged without the subject being part of it ("If I... contributed to a cultural event in Zuidoost, for example, then I can be proud of it. But that is more that I have actively contributed to something myself. " [NLU3]).

This theme includes as well to the concept of 'place making' and can be an important behavioural antecedent of pride of place ("When my brother says," I'm really proud of Aalten, "I think," Oh yes, you've been there all your life, and you may have contributed to making it. "[NLU3]).

Active engagement in place making is also regarded as a means to stimulate others from the place to become prouder of their place ("Citizens should be made more active in changing their places by giving them the opportunity to be proud of it." [ITU3]).

Active involvement of the individual in maintaining, recovering or developing the place could actually be an essential antecedent to feeling pride. One participant from the Netherlands mentioned twice that for her it was fundamental that the active involvement in the place maintenance or development to be proud at all. She described a few examples of stories that she appreciated about the people of the place, but she couldn't feel pride for that because she did not make any contribution to it ("But I don't feel any personal pride for that. Because I have not done anything with it, so for me it is also very much tied to.... Did I give direct input there myself?" [NLU3]).

### **Theme 2: 'Living in the place'**

The second theme under the behavioural domain has one subtheme and was found in 10 interviews and 18 fragments. It relates to people being proud or developing pride of place because they live in the place together with the other people in the place ("it has grown over time, living with the Genoese." [ITU2]). It is a 'caught' way

of becoming proud rather than a 'taught' way, meaning that the feelings of pride are developed passively over time through living life in the context of the place (e.g. with the people or the environment ("First of all from the natural environment" [ITR3])), rather than actively acquiring or receiving the feelings of pride (as is the case in theme XX of the cognitive domain in paragraph 1.1.1.3.). It is a form of pride development independent of other people's pride or intentions to transfer pride to someone ("They didn't pass it on to me, but it's something that was born of myself, without me being influenced." [ITR2]). This way of developing pride mainly involves spending time in the place as this seems to be an important factor of living in the place and through that seeing what makes the place worth being proud of ("If you live in a certain place or region or city, and because you spend a lot of time there, you see many beautiful things that eventually make you proud" [NLR4]).

Pride can be developed later on in life through living in the place, even when the person wasn't born in the place, as was the case of a participant [ITR2] who migrated from Morocco to the rural area in Italy at age 11 ("They didn't pass it on to me, but it's something that was born of myself, without me being influenced." [ITR2]).

More specifically for living in the place, 6 participants mentioned that *being raised* in the place was an important factor for developing pride. These participants specifically referred to having positive memories of their youth that are connected to their sense of pride for the place ("For me pride is linked to San Desiderio and Apparizione which are those places I went to when I was a girl, I took my backpack and ran away there." [ITU3]). Being raised in the place, and having positive memories, can be one of the strongest antecedents of developing pride of place ("Ultimately that I was born and raised there, that is the greatest origin." [NLR4]), and can later on in life, when the person leaves the place, be a reason for missing the place or even wanting to return to the place ("Because I also played here as a child, I grew up here. And I did leave afterwards, but I have always had problems with homesickness." [NLR1]).

Living in the place and hence spending time there is an important aspect of developing cognitive and emotional bonds with the place, which are important antecedents of pride of place. Especially spending time in the place during childhood leaves profound and long-lasting imprints.

### **Theme 3: 'Achievements'**

Achievements as a source of pride were found in 6 interviews in 15 fragments and contains 2 subthemes.

The theme can refer to individual achievements or collective achievements, even when the person him or herself was not actively involved in realising the achievement itself. This makes this theme also separate from theme 1 'active engagement', where the behaviour of active involvement of the person is required.

Pride under this theme will mainly develop when the achievements were seen as successful and 'worthy of being proud'. One participant for example described that an organized event where he was part of the group of organisers, resulted in people feeling proud of the achievement because they thought it had gone well and it had made them feel good ("we organized it and it went well and they were happy and then at that moment we were also proud of the place or proud of your own achievements" [ITR1]).

Also an individual achievement can result in feelings of pride ("My father left me a piece of vineyard, some land, what I did was not to let it get worse, after all I improved it and I'm proud of that." [ITR5]).

For the theme achievements, two subthemes were identified.

### **Subtheme 3.1: 'Positive changes'**

This theme was found in 3 interviews in 5 fragments and refers specifically to the achievements, either individual or collective, with the person involved or not, having caused a positive change in the place. One participant from an Italian rural village mentioned that he recognized its inhabitants being proud that the place has changed positively on an economical level, as the place used to be rather poor, but over the past years has gained economical welfare ("...old people I see proud about the fact that this place was a poor place and now it's getting better and better." [ITR1]). Another participant from a Dutch rural village mentioned to be proud of the place due to a change in social values that had occurred in the past years and has improved the place in her perspective. For example, she mentioned that the place had become more socially accessible, where the place used to be less open to welcome and accept people from out of the place, due to a change in social values ("... what I want to say is what we have achieved in Aalten. Yes, a really nice village. Now that Aalten has become a bit more accessible. ... Yes, I am proud of that." [NL3]). Another example from this participant was when in the place, where historically mainly people from the reformed religion live, the Sunday was included in the village festival. She was part of the organization committee and thus directly involved in achieving this change ("... That is now on Sunday in Aalten. ... And that has now succeeded. I am very proud of that." [NL3]).

### **Subtheme 3.2: 'Public achievements'**

This theme was mentioned in 3 fragments by 2 participants and relates to being proud of public achievements of others from the place, without the person being directly involved in the achievement.

One participant from the Dutch rural area mentioned that he was proud when a fellow citizen became famous champion in billiards and the participant took pride in that ("Previously there was billiard player Hans Vultink, who became Dutch, European and world champion... Then we were just proud that you had an Aaltenaar in the municipality who was simply world champion." [NLR5]).

Another participant from the same Dutch area mentioned a memory when she was very proud of her place, when a group of people from her place won a big national sports event that was broadcasted on tv and advertised the place nationally ("That we participated in the hexathlon. That they would put Aalten on the map forever, and that later many people knew that Aalten was in the Achterhoek and that they had won the hexathlon." [NL3]). She herself was not part of the team, nor was she involved in the organization of the event.

### **Theme 4: 'Being out of the place'**

This fourth theme was mentioned in six interviews in 8 fragments. It relates to people going and being out of the place when realising to be proud of the place. This can happen due to being happy to return to the place and having missed it when being out ("I have travelled the world a bit, you go around but the first desire you

have is to go home and when you start to see the Langhe from a distance you feel at home, you feel the air and the well-being that your place gives you. " [ITR5]), but it can also emerge when the person is proud to share with others where one is from when being outside of the place because of the good reputation of the place ("When I tell where one is from in international projects, I am actually always proud to say that I am from Amsterdam. Also because people always respond from 'ah wow Amsterdam, a beautiful city'." [NLU1]). Lastly it was also found that a participant was proud of the place when being abroad when finding out something new about the place that made him be proud of his origins ("In Turkey I found Genoese posts that also made me proud, which were used as bases for travel from Asia." [ITU2]).

In general, this theme refers to people developing pride when being out of the place, which can occur due to deliberate or more unconscious realisations of how the person relates to the place. This can happen when the person misses being in the place, or when, while being out of the place, external recognition is being received.

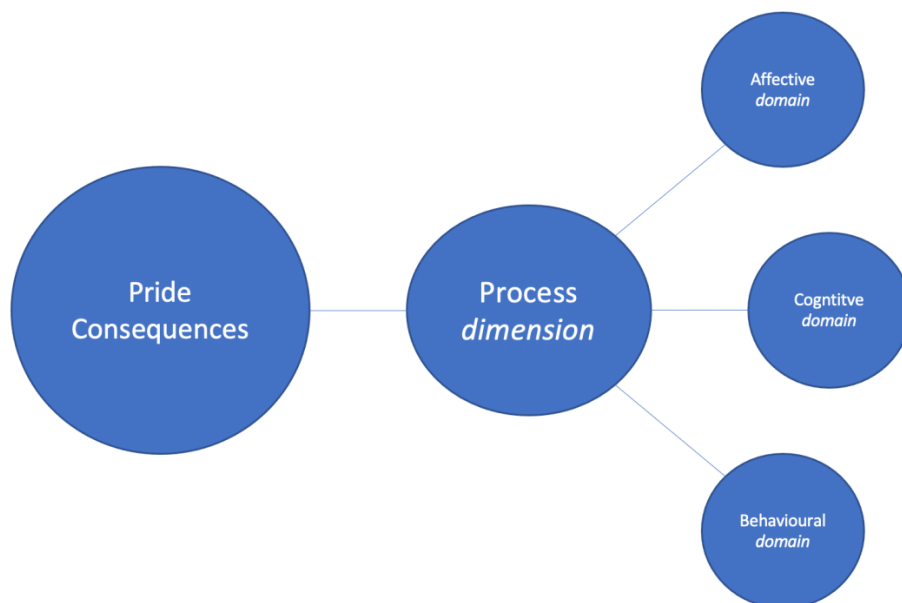


### 2.3.2 Pride of Place Consequences

The themes of the consequences of pride that were identified in the interviews are presented along the *Psychological Process dimension* of the tripartite model of Scannell & Gifford (2010). For the consequences no themes related to the *Person* or *Place* dimension were found, probably as these dimensions are of a more static nature than the process dimension. The *process* dimension consists of an affective, cognitive and behavioural domain, as can be seen in figure 2.11 below.

As also described in the methodology section, four interview questions were directed at finding themes for the consequences of pride. Participants were asked to describe a situation in which they felt very proud of the place and then describe the thoughts, emotions and behavioural (intentions) that they associated to this memory. The last question of the interview asked the participants to describe what they thought that the emotion of pride (hypothetically) served for.

The results of the thematic analysis of pride consequences is described below for the three domains of the process dimension.



**Figure 2.11**

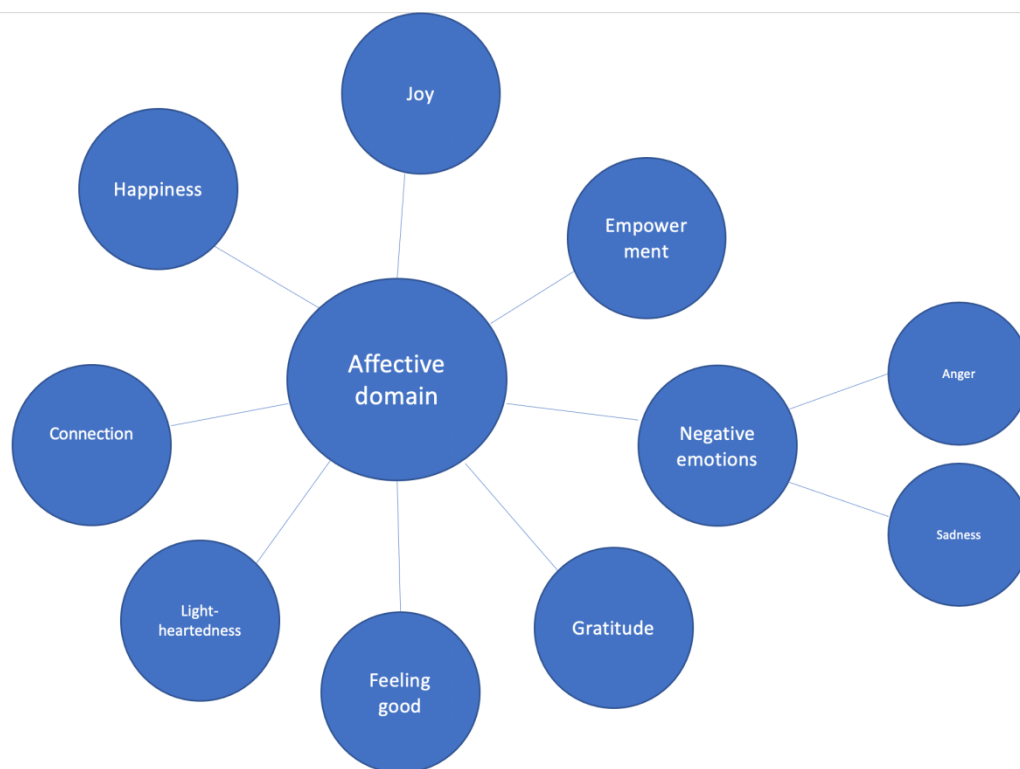
*Pride Consequences, the Process Dimension and Three Domains.*

### 2.3.2.1 Affective domain

For the affective domain 8 themes and two subthemes were found in 51 fragments in the interviews. The analysis was rather semantic as the participants mostly spoke of other emotions or feelings they experienced when they were proud. Again, the participants were asked to recall a memory when they felt very proud of their place and to describe, in this case, what other feelings or emotions they felt at that moment. These themes are therefore coinciding with or following on the feelings of pride. Participants mainly referred to emotions that made them feel good, but also some more 'negative' emotions were identified.

Whereas for the cognitive and behavioural domain a distinction could be made between collective and individually oriented themes (i.e., consequence on an individual or collective level) based on the data, this could not be done for the affective domain. Participants spoke of how they felt themselves when they experienced pride. Therefore, the themes in this domain refer to consequences on an individual level.

Figure 2.12 gives a schematic overview of the themes and subthemes of the affective domain of pride consequences. Table 2.13 presents the themes, subthemes, prevalence and example quotes from the interviews for this domain. The themes are described and presented in order of highest prevalence.



**Figure 2.12**  
*Themes and Subthemes of the Affective Domain of Pride Consequences.*

**Table 2.13**

*Themes and Subthemes of the Affective Domain of the Pride Consequences*

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Joy	Feeling joy when proud of the place	10	12	<p>“... als ik die trotsheid voel, dan is het geluk en blijdschap.” [NLU2]</p> <p>“Gioia” [ITU1]</p> <p>“... heel blij” [NLR5]</p> <p>“Blijheid” [NLU3]</p>	<p>“... when I feel that pride, it is happiness and joy.” [NLU2]</p> <p>“Joy” [ITU1]</p> <p>“... Very joyous” [NLR5]</p> <p>“Joy” [NLU3]</p>
Happiness	Feeling happy when proud of the place	5	7	<p>“Un altro momento è stato vedere la natura riuscire a recuperare, a chiudere le ferite che si erano create dopo l’alluvione e gli incendi. Sono cose che sono motivo di orgoglio e di felicità, vedi il male no però poi la natura ed il bene vincono sul male.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Felicità perché è un momento molto allegro” [ITR3]</p> <p>“... als ik die trotsheid voel, dan is het geluk en blijdschap.” [NLU2]</p>	<p>“Another moment was seeing nature being able to recover, to close the wounds that had been created after the floods and fires. These are things that are a source of pride and happiness, you see evil, but then nature and good win over evil. ” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Happiness because it is a very happy moment” [ITR3]</p> <p>“... when I feel that pride, it is happiness and joy.” [NLU2]</p>
Connection	Feeling connection with the place when proud of the place	5	7	<p>“Van ‘we hebben dit samen gefixt’, dat meer.” [NLU3]</p> <p>“senso di connessione” [ITU3]</p> <p>“Q: En behalve trots, had daar je ook nog andere emoties of gevoelens bij? A: Ja, dus ook verbinding. . Dat je onderdeel uitmaakt van het geheel.” [NLU1]</p>	<p>“We did this together, that’s more it.” [NLU3]</p> <p>“Sense of connection” [ITU3]</p> <p>“Q: And besides pride, did you have other emotions or feelings with it? A: Yes, so also connection. That you’re part of it all”[NLU1]</p>
Light-heartedness	Feeling light-hearted when proud of the place	4	6	<p>“L’orgoglio serve a me per essere in pace, perché penso che si debba lasciare questa vita in pace.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“Spensieratezza perché durante la sagra pensi solo alle cose che hai da fare, non pensi ai problemi che si possono avere a casa ad esempio.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“satisfaction” [ITR1]</p>	<p>“Pride is for me to be at peace, because I think that one should leave this life in peace” [ITR4]</p> <p>“ Light-heartedness because during the festival you only think about the things you have to do, you don’t think about the problems you may have at home, for example.” [ITR2]</p>
Feeling good	Pride serves to feel good (wellbeing)	3	5	<p>“A livello personale io ricevo tantissimo da questo luogo e l’orgoglio serve a sentirsi bene.” [ITR5]</p>	<p>“On a personal level, I receive a lot from this place and pride serves to feel good.” [ITR5]</p>

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				<p>“Goed voelen over jezelf” [NLU3]</p> <p>“L’energia che senti quando sei orgoglioso, è positiva” [ITU1]</p>	<p>"Feeling good about yourself" [NLU3]</p> <p>"The energy you feel when you are proud is positive" [ITU1]</p>
Gratitude	Feeling gratitude for what the place has offered and for being part of the place when being proud.	3	5	<p>“C’è sempre una base di orgoglio nel parlare dei miei luoghi quindi sì sicuramente questo senso di gratitudine è collegato a tutto quello che la terra mi ha potuto offrire mentre vivevo lì.” [ITU3]</p> <p>“...gratitudine...” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Als ik eraan terug denk, dan voel ik heel veel dankbaarheid.” [NLU1]</p>	<p>"There is always a basis of pride in talking about my places so yes surely this sense of gratitude is connected to everything that the land has been able to offer me while I lived there." [ITU3]</p> <p>"... gratitude ..." [ITR5]</p> <p>“When I think about that, I feel a lot of gratitude” [NLU1]</p>
Negative emotions	Experiencing negative emotions when place is endangered, harmed or doesn’t receive what is expected	2	4		
Sadness	Feeling sadness when place is damaged or when no pride is perceived in others from the place	1	3	<p>“Fa male vedere dove non sono più riusciti a mantenere quello che c’era.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Si patisce quando le cose non vanno bene, quando vede le cose brutte, vede che si buttano giù degli alberi o quando brucia un bosco, quando un’alluvione provoca delle frane nel territorio, queste sono cose che dispiacciono alle persone che amano il proprio territorio, il proprio paese, le proprie colline.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Mi dispiace tantissimo vedere l’ indifferenza nei giovani, vederli senza orgoglio.” [ITR5]</p>	<p>"It hurts to see where they no longer managed to keep what was there." [ITR5]</p> <p>"One suffers when things are not going well, when one sees bad things, sees that trees are knocked down or when a forest burns, when a flood causes landslides in the territory, these are things that displease people who love their own territory, one's own village, one's own hills. " [ITR5]</p> <p>"I am very sorry to see the indifference in young people, to see them without pride." [ITR5]</p>
Anger	Feeling anger when place of pride is harmed	1	1	<p>“Rabbia che non deve essere fine a se stessa perché sennò diventa distruttiva ma deve essere uno sprono ad andare avanti ed a scegliere.. si perché penso che orgoglio e rabbia possano far scegliere alcune strade piuttosto che altre.” [ITR4]</p>	<p>"Anger that must not be an end in itself because otherwise it becomes destructive but it must be an incentive to move forward and to choose ..yes because I think that pride and anger can make one choose some paths rather than others." [ITR4]</p>
Empowerment	Feeling empowered when proud	1	1	<p>“... empowerment...” [NLU3]</p>	

**Theme 1: 'Joy'**

Joy was mentioned by 10 participants in 12 fragments. They described feeling joy when they experienced pride of place (for example: "... when I feel that pride, it is happiness and joy." [NLU2]). Other participant simply mentioned having felt joy in that moment they experienced pride ("Joy" [ITU1]; "... Very joyous" [NLR5]; "Joy" [NLU3]).

**Theme 2: 'Happiness'**

The second most prevalent emotion coinciding with pride was happiness. 5 participants in 7 fragments described having felt happy when they experienced pride ((for example: "... when I feel that pride, it is happiness and joy." [NLU2]). One participant for example described that he was proud of the nature of his place when it recovered from being damaged and this made him very happy ("Another moment was seeing nature being able to recover, to close the wounds that had been created after the floods and fires. These are things that are a source of pride and happiness, you see evil, but then nature and good win over evil." [ITR5]).

**Theme 3: 'Connection'**

This theme was equally prevalent at the previous theme, as well 5 participants in 7 fragments mentioned to feel a "Sense of connection" [ITU3] with the place when being proud. The participants spoke about a general connection with the place ("Q: And besides pride, did you have other emotions or feelings with it? A: Yes, so also connection. That you're part of it all" [NLU1]), but it could not be very clearly be distinguished if this connection mainly related to the place or to the people or to both. One participant however related to the moment of being proud when she achieved something with a group of fellow citizens. However, she didn't explicitly mention the feeling of connection she described how she felt as ("We did this together, that's more it." [NLU3]). It could be deducted that she referred to feeling more connected to the group she belongs to due to feeling proud for their achievement.

**Theme 4: 'Light-heartedness'**

The fourth most prevalent emotion was 'light-heartedness', which was mentioned by 4 participants in 6 fragments. The participants mentioned that when feeling pride made them feel "satisfaction" [ITR1] and also feeling at peace ("Pride is for me to be at peace, because I think that one should leave this life in peace" [ITR4]). In this last example the participant referred to cognitive consequence of pride of place as well, being able to die peacefully.

Another participant mentioned that she felt very proud taking part in the organisation of a local festival and that she felt light-hearted because of it, as without feeling proud she may have felt less light-hearted ("Light-heartedness because during the festival you only think about the things you have to do, you don't think about the problems you may have at home, for example." [ITR2]).

**Theme 5: 'Feeling good'**

The previous four themes described emotions that make people feel good. Some participants in the interviews

also mentioned that experiencing pride of place made them feel good in general ("On a personal level, I receive a lot from this place and pride serves to feel good." [ITR5]) or feeling positive energy ("The energy you feel when you are proud is positive" [ITU1]). One participant described that feeling proud made her feel good about herself ("Feeling good about yourself" [NLU3]) especially after certain successful achievements, which also links in with a cognitive consequence of increasing self-esteem (see paragraph 3.1.2.2).

#### **Theme 6: 'Gratitude'**

This theme relates to people feeling gratitude for what the place has offered and for being part of the place when being proud. It was found in 3 interviews in 5 fragments. The feelings of gratitude relate to being thankful for what the land (or place in general) has offered the person coinciding with feeling proud of the place ("There is always a basis of pride in talking about my places so yes surely this sense of gratitude is connected to everything that the land has been able to offer me while I lived there." [ITU3]).

Another participant described a memory in which she was part of when there was a celebration in her place for which she felt proud. When asking about other coinciding emotions, she mentions that she also feels very grateful that she could be part of that group in that moment ("When I think about that, I feel a lot of gratitude" [NLU1]).

In these two examples it becomes clear that the gratitude could be directed towards the place (or the land) or to the people of the place.

#### **Theme 7: 'Negative emotions'**

Participants not only referred to positive emotions as consequences, as well, some more 'negative' were found. In total two distinct emotions were found under this theme that are identified as subthemes in 2 interviews in 4 fragments.

##### **Subtheme 7.1: 'Sadness'**

This emotion was identified in 1 interview with a participant from an Italian rural area and he described three distinct occasions in which he felt sadness as a consequence of his pride for the place. In the first case he described that he felt sad to see when his place was damaged mainly by natural disasters ("One suffers when things are not going well, when one sees bad things, sees that trees are knocked down or when a forest burns, when a flood causes landslides in the territory, these are things that displease people who love their own territory, one's own village, one's own hills." [ITR5]). In a second case he described that he felt sad when he realizes that people from the place weren't able to maintain the place in the state it once was and hence to see it 'deteriorate', or maybe losing its cultivated or maintained status. It hurt him to see that the place and its characteristics, as it was once created and left by ancestors, is not being maintained in that state ("It hurts to see where they no longer managed to keep what was there." [ITR5]). In the third case he referred to feeling sad when he realizes that young people are not proud of the place ("I am very sorry to see the indifference in young people, to see them without pride." [ITR5]).

In sum, sadness as a consequence of pride, seems to be mainly related when there is unintentional damage done

to the place or when there is simply a lack of connectedness in others. In the following subtheme, anger, the intentional damaging of the place seems to be the triggering event.

### **Subtheme 7.2: 'Anger'**

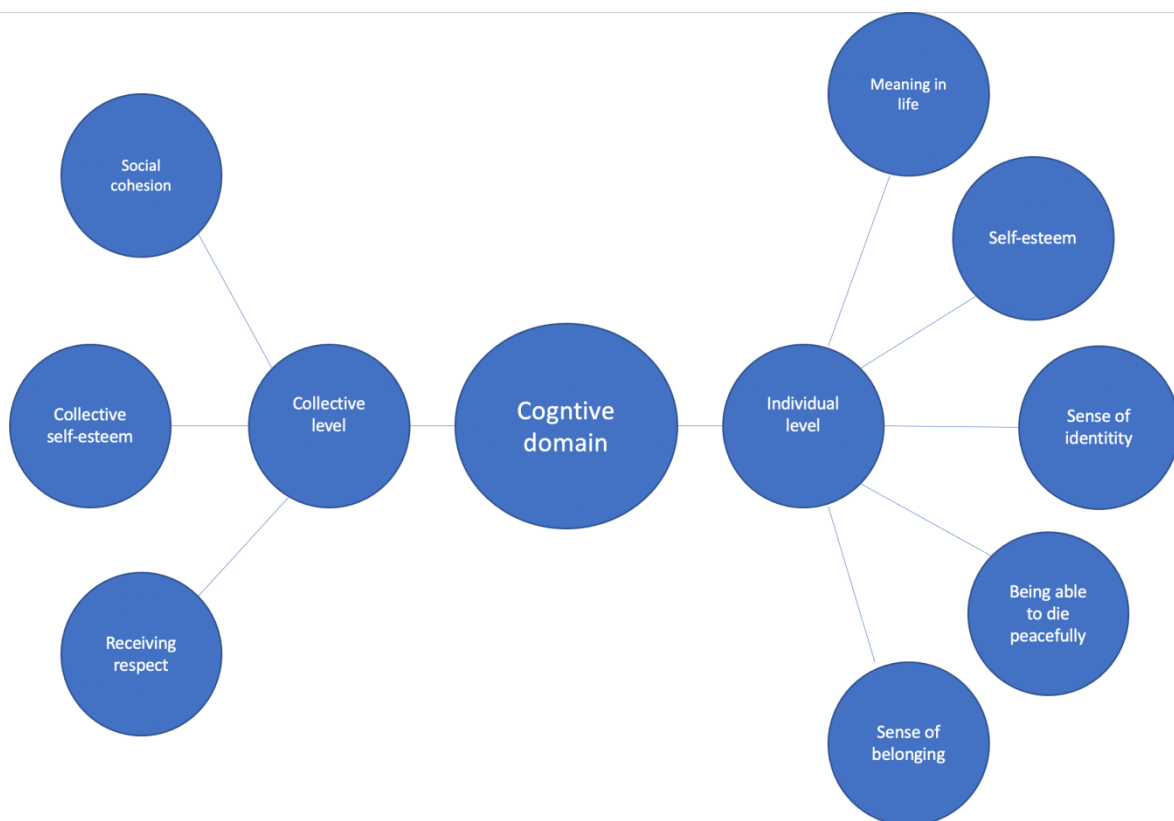
One female participant from an Italian rural area described a memory of pride when she and many others from her place were protesting against the illegal practices of a local chemical factory that for many years dumped their chemical waste in the river that runs through the valley of the place. Most farmers along the river therefore were unable to cultivate on their land. The participant described that she felt very proud of how the people of the place protested against these illegal practices and at the same time she felt very angry for what unjustly was done to her land and its people. She described that pride and anger are closely connected as when someone is proud of a place and when the place gets damaged intentionally, anger could be a fair consequence that should lead to people taking action in protecting the place ("Anger that must not be an end in itself because otherwise it becomes destructive but it must be an incentive to move forward and to choose ..yes because I think that pride and anger can make one choose some paths rather than others." [ITR4]). Anger, as can be concluded out of the description of this fragment, can be triggered when the place is intentionally damaged. The participant explains that in her perspective, experiencing anger should be a trigger to take action to protect the place against this intentional damaging. This active involvement that the participant refers to is further described under the behavioural domain.

### **Theme 8: 'Empowerment'**

This emotion of empowerment was mentioned only once by 1 participant, when she described how she felt after having organized a successful event that she was proud of with fellow citizens ("... empowerment..." [NLU3]). What she specifically referred to that she felt empowered to, was not explained nor can it be deducted from the interview.

### 2.3.2.2 Cognitive domain

The cognitive domain has been subdivided in consequences on a collective and individual level, based on 21 fragments. As people mainly spoke of individual consequences, most of the in total 8 themes identified under the cognitive domain are on the individual level. For the collective level, three themes were identified, whereas for the individual five were found. Figure 2.13 visually represents the themes for both the collective as the individual level.



**Figure 2.13**  
*The Themes of the Cognitive Domain of Pride Consequences.*

#### 2.3.2.2.1 Cognitive Consequences at a Collective Level

In total 3 participants mentioned in only 5 fragments their experiences or thoughts of consequences on a collective level. Two themes were found. Table 2.14 described the themes, their prevalence and shows the fragments for these themes.

##### **Theme 1: 'Social cohesion'**

This theme refers to pride leading to more social cohesion on a group level within the place and was mentioned by 3 participants in 3 fragments in total. One participant describes how the experiencing of pride can lead to



establishing connections with other people within the place (“I think for togetherness, also for connection with each other. ... if we are both proud, then you can share that, that's what you're talking about.” [NLU3]). She describes that pride connects socially and that people feel more ‘together’ as a group.

Another participant described that he thinks that pride serves to keep people living together in the place as it also connects them (“To keep people living here together...” [ITR1]).

A third participant described that he thinks that people from within (rural) place are in need of being accepted and respected as a group and place by others externally, which leads to social cohesion within the place (“that you might also be able to earn a certain respect? Q: Towards each other or outside the group? A: Also within the group. That we say "well we are one group", but also to the outside, actually. And that's more about pride...” [NLR4]). This example relates to the group needing recognition or acknowledgement for the being of their place and that without this, there would be less social cohesion.

### **Theme 2: ‘Collective self-esteem’**

This theme was identified on a latent level of analysis as the participant didn’t specifically refer to self-esteem. In the one single fragment in which collective self-esteem was identified the participant thought that when the group expresses their pride of place, they make themselves feel stronger as a group (“Pride and shame are of course certain feelings, but you can also show them. I can imagine that through what you show, and especially pride, that you as a person or group show yourself a little and that through that you try to make yourself feel stronger, as it were.” [NLR4]). This feeling of strength relates to collective self-esteem.

### **Theme 3: ‘Earning respect from outside the place’**

This theme was found in only 1 interview in 1 fragment. The young man from the rural area in the Netherlands mentioned that he thinks that pride serves to earn a certain respect from people from outside and within the group (“And that you might also be able to earn a certain respect? Q: Towards each other or outside the group? A: Also within the group. That we say "well we are one group", but also to the outside, actually. And that's more about pride...” [NLR4]). What the respect should be related to was not specified in the interview.

The same fragment was also presented in theme 1 under the social cohesion theme for the part that relates to in-place respect.

**Table 2.14**

*Themes and Subthemes of the Collective Cognitive Domain of the Pride Consequence*

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Social cohesion	Pride leading to increased social cohesion	3	3	<p>“Ik denk wel voor saamhorigheid, ook voor verbinding met elkaar. ... als we allebei trots zijn, dan kun je dat delen, dan heb je het daarover.” [NLU3]</p> <p>“To keep people living heretogether...” [ITR1]</p> <p>“... dat je een bepaalde acceptatie ofzo verwacht. En dat je misschien ook wel een bepaald respect weet af te dwingen? Q: Naar elkaar toe of naar buiten de groep? A: Ook wel binnen de groep. Dat we zeggen van ‘nou we zijn één groep’, maar ook wel naar buiten, eigenlijk wel. En dat is dan meer over trots...” [NLR4]</p>	<p>“I think for togetherness, also for connection with each other. ... if we are both proud, then you can share that, that's what you're talking about.” [NLU3]</p> <p>“that you might also be able to earn a certain respect Q: Towards each other or outside the group? A: Also within the group. That we say "well we are one group", but also to the outside, actually. And that's more about pride...”[NLR4]</p>
Collective self esteem	Pride of place at a collective level serves to maintain or increase collective self-esteem.	1	1	<p>“Trots en schaamte zijn natuurlijk bepaalde gevoelens, maar die kun je ook wel laten zien. Ik kan me wel voorstellen dat door wat je laat zien, en dan met name trots, dat je als persoon of groep jezelf een beetje laat zien en dat je jezelf daardoor dan sterker probeert te maken, als het ware.” [NLR4]</p>	<p>“Pride and shame are of course certain feelings, but you can also show them. I can imagine that through what you show, and especially pride, that you as a person or group show yourself a little and that through that you try to make yourself feel stronger, as it were.” [NLR4]</p>
Earning respect	pride serves to earn respect from people from out of the place	1	1	<p>“En dat je misschien ook wel een bepaald respect weet af te dwingen? Q: Naar elkaar toe of naar buiten de groep? A: Ook wel binnen de groep. Dat we zeggen van ‘nou we zijn één groep’, maar ook wel naar buiten, eigenlijk wel. En dat is dan meer over trots...” [NLR4]</p>	<p>“And that you might also be able to earn a certain respect? Q: Towards each other or outside the group? A: Also within the group. That we say "well we are one group", but also to the outside, actually. And that's more about pride...”[NLR4]</p>

### 2.3.2.2 Cognitive Consequences at an Individual Level

A total of five themes have been identified in 16 fragments as cognitive consequences on an individual level. Table 2.15 presents the five themes, their prevalence and some example quotes from the interviews. The analysis and identifying of themes under this domain of individual cognitive consequences was done on both a semantic (e.g., theme 1) as a latent level (theme 2), as participants sometimes explicitly mentioned the relevant psychological construct and sometimes described it in their own terms. All themes below are somehow related to (eudaimonic) wellbeing, as will be elaborated on in the discussion section.

#### **Theme 1: 'Meaning in life'**

This theme was mentioned in 6 fragments in 2 interviews. The participants who mentioned this were both Italians from a rural area in the age of 71 (female) and 64 (male). They both referred to how their sense of pride for their place results in an experienced (or finding) meaning in life. They did not refer to searching for meaning in life in relation to the place.

The parts of the place that relates to the meaning of life are both the tangible aspects of the place (the land) as well as to the intangible aspects, such as 'connection with roots' or with 'teachings received' from and in the place ("Pride gives meaning to life. Unless one is a convinced religious person who then finds meaning in religion, the meaning is given by the pride for his own land, the roots, the teachings received during his life." [ITR4]); "... Pride gives a sense of life. It is precisely the meaning of life, with the family. What's better? I don't see other better things." [ITR5]). Furthermore, the finding of meaning in life can result from a moment of intentional self-reflection ("... it is essential, sometimes you are tired or angry but when you stop, you relax for a moment, think about it and say" this is the meaning of life ". " [ITR5]).

#### **Theme 2: 'Self-esteem'**

This theme was identified on a semantic level as the participants described the cognitive consequences they experienced in their own terms. In total in 3 interviews the theme was identified in 4 fragments. The participants who spoke of self-esteem were relatively young in the cohort with 21, 31 and 35 years of age.

The participants when asked what their sense of pride served for, spoke in general about self-evaluations such "Feeling good about yourself." [NLU3]. Another participant referred more to feeling stronger about oneself when feeling pride ("And especially pride, that you as a person or group show yourself a little and that though that you try to make yourself feel stronger, as it were." [NLR4]). This 'feeling good' and 'strong' are indicators of high individual self-esteem.

Two fragments were identified in which participants spoke of what a high self-esteem as a consequence of pride could lead to: feeling safe and being better able to bond with other places ("Pride gives me security." [ITR2]; "If someone is proud of their place I think they are more likely to relate positively to other places as well." [ITR2]).

In these last two examples the participants described the consequences of a high self-esteem due to experiencing pride of place.

**Theme 3: 'Sense of identity'**

Where in the cognitive antecedent of pride 'place identity' was identified as a result of the evaluation of the people place fit, a strengthened sense of self-identity due to experiencing pride of place was identified as an individual cognitive consequence of pride of place. In total 2 participants spoke of this theme in 3 fragments.

The two participants explained that pride helped them to develop and integrate the place more in their identity ("Pride gives me security and helps me integrate my identity." [ITR2]). Where the antecedent theme of place identity (people place fit) is a basic prerequisite for the development of pride, pride can also serve as a catalyst in the further development and strengthening of the sense of identity ("Pride also serves to identify who you are." [ITR2]; ".. pride also serves for the formation of identity" [NLU2]), with the place obviously as an integrated component of the self-image.

**Theme 4: 'Being able to die peacefully'**

The one participant who spoke of this theme in two fragments was an Italian woman (71years old) from a rural area. She mentioned that the pride she feels for her place makes her feel at peace and therefore she believes that she can die peacefully. ("It serves me, because it is good for my heart and I can die satisfied" [ITR4]; "Pride is for me to be at peace, because I think we should leave this life in peace. It serves to leave in peace and to leave peace. " [ITR4]). This theme is probably more relevant for people of ages or in situations where mortality salience is present.

**Theme 5: 'Sense of belonging'**

Pride, as mentioned by 1 participant in 1 fragment, can also serve to experience a sense of belonging. This female participant from Amsterdam explained that pride can make one feel this sense of belonging to both the tangible as the intangible aspects of a place, or to the place in general ("Also a bit of belonging. To people, or to places. Or to events." [NLU3]).

**Table 2.15**

*Themes and Subthemes of the Individual Cognitive Domain of the Pride Consequences*

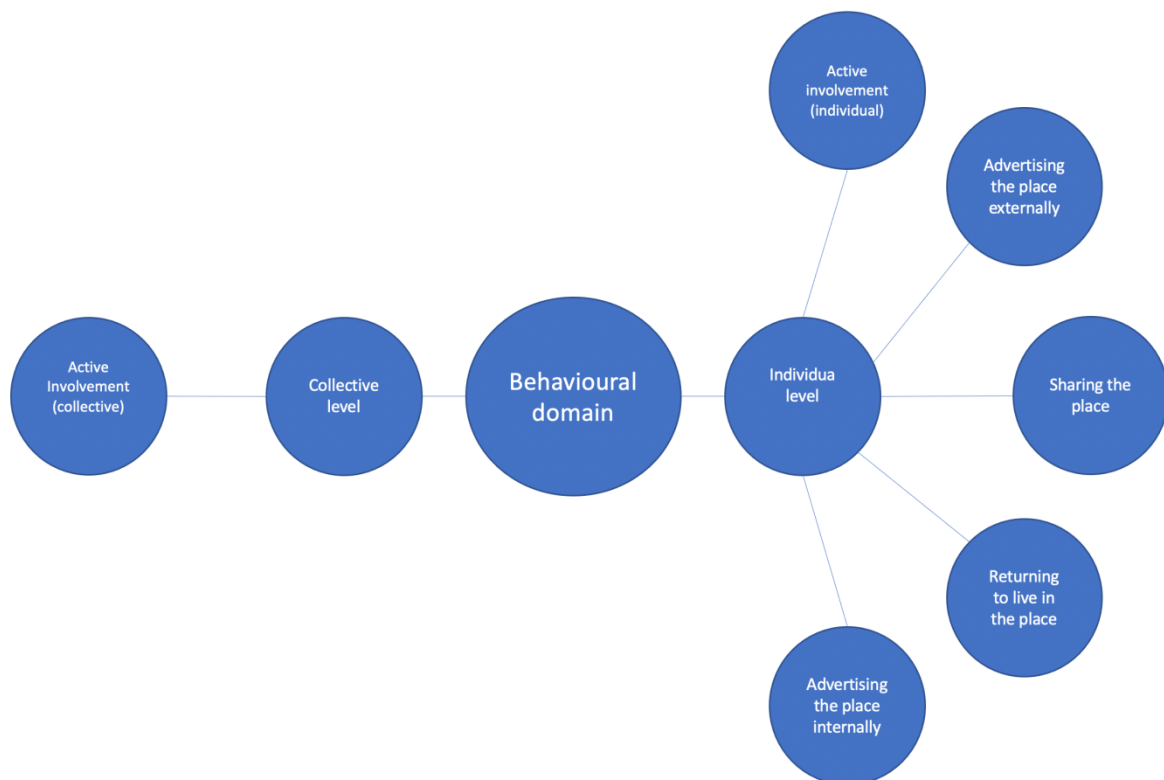
Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Meaning in life	Feelings of pride of place can lead to experiencing meaning in life.	2	6	<p>“L'orgoglio dà senso alla vita. A meno che uno non sia un religioso convinto che allora trova il suo senso nella religione, il senso è dato dall'orgoglio per la propria terra, le radici, gli insegnamenti ricevuti durante la vita.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“...l'orgoglio dà un senso di vita. E' proprio il senso della vita, con la famiglia. Cosa c'è di migliore? Io non vedo altre cose migliori.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“...è essenziale, a volte sei stanco o arrabbiato ma quando ti fermi, ti rilassi un attimo, ci pensi bene e dici “questo è il senso della vita”.“ [ITR5]</p>	<p>“Pride gives meaning to life. Unless one is a convinced religious person who then finds meaning in religion, the meaning is given by the pride for his own land, the roots, the teachings received during his life.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“... Pride gives a sense of life. It is precisely the meaning of life, with the family. What's better? I don't see other better things.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“... it is essential, sometimes you are tired or angry but when you stop, you relax for a moment, think about it and say" this is the meaning of life "." [ITR5]</p>
Self-esteem	Pride can lead to maintaining or increasing levels of self-esteem	3	4	<p>“Goed voelen over jezelf.” [NLU3]</p> <p>“en dan met name trots, dat je als persoon of groep jezelf een beetje laat zien en dat je jezelf daardoor dan sterker probeert te maken, als het ware.” [NLR4]</p> <p>“L'orgoglio mi dà sicurezza.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“Se uno è orgoglioso del suo posto penso che sia più probabile che si relazioni in maniera positiva anche ad altri luoghi.” [ITR2]</p>	<p>"Feeling good about yourself." [NLU3]</p> <p>"And especially pride, that you as a person or group show yourself a little and that though that you try to make yourself feel stronger, as it were." [NLR4]</p> <p>"Pride gives me security." [ITR2]</p> <p>"If someone is proud of their place I think they are more likely to relate positively to other places as well." [ITR2]</p>
Sense of identity	Pride can lead to a strengthened sense of identity	2	3	<p>“L'orgoglio serve anche ad identificare chi sei.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“L'orgoglio mi dà sicurezza, e mi aiuta a completare la mia identità.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“..ook trots dient voor de vorming van identiteit” [NLU2]</p>	<p>"Pride also serves to identify who you are." [ITR2]</p> <p>"Pride gives me security, and helps me integrate my identity." [ITR2]</p> <p>“.. pride also serves for the formation of identity” [NLU2]</p>
Being able to die	Pride can serve people to die peacefully	1	2	<p>“Serve a me, perché fa bene al mio cuore ed io</p>	<p>"It serves me, because it is good for my heart and I</p>

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
peacefully				<p>posso morire contenta" [ITR4]</p> <p>"L'orgoglio serve a me per essere in pace, perché penso che si debba lasciare questa vita in pace. Serve ad andarsene in pace ed a lasciare della pace." [ITR4]</p>	<p>can die satisfied" [ITR4]</p> <p>"Pride is for me to be at peace, because I think we should leave this life in peace. It serves to leave in peace and to leave peace. " [ITR4]</p>
Sense of belonging	Pride can give a sense of belonging	1	1	"Ook wel een stukje belonging. Tot mensen, of tot plekken. Of tot evenementen." [NLU3]	"Also a bit of belonging. To people, or to places. Or to events." [NLU3]

### 2.3.2.3 Behavioural domain

The consequences on the behavioural domain of pride of place are, as the cognitive domain, subdivided in collective and individual level themes. As the interview questions were mainly addressed at the individual level, most themes related to the individual level. However, some relevant themes on the collective level were identified.

A total of 5 themes were identified, with 1 for the collective and 4 for the individual level consequences. At the individual level two subthemes were identified. Figure 2.14 visually presents the different themes and subthemes found under the behavioural domain.



**Figure 2.14**

*The themes and Subthemes of the Behavioural Domain of Pride Consequences.*

### 2.3.2.3.1 Collective Behavioural Consequences of Pride of Place

One theme was found at the collective level of behavioural consequences in 2 interviews in 2 fragments. Table 2.16 presents the theme, its prevalence and the fragments.

#### **Theme 1:** *'Active involvement (collective)'*

This theme was found in 2 interviews in 2 fragments. One participant from Amsterdam gave an example in which fellow citizens behaved in order to protect the place from losing its authenticity. In Amsterdam in the past years many Nutella stores have popped-up in order to serve and earn from tourists. The citizens from Amsterdam apparently 'fight' against this trend (it was not specified how they fight) as a consequence of their pride for the city ("It might actually be useful in creating a bond, and because of that bond you might also want to defend it when there is an attack. Both physically and ... If there is harm in your perception, like for example a lot of people fight against the Nutella stores in Amsterdam ... The only reason they fight against it is because they feel proud of Amsterdam. " [NLU2]). This protective behaviour can be identified as active involvement of the people of the place in order to protect it against 'threats', in this case the Nutella stores that make the place lose authenticity.

Another participant spoke of that pride of place serves to be more active in the place. This participant spoke in her response of collective behaviour of people from a place in general. In contrast to the previous example, this fragment relates more to the improvement of the place ("Definitely to be more active, if you are proud of something you want to make it even more beautiful even more important, more interesting." [ITR2]).

In sum, this theme relates to the people from the place becoming more actively involved in the protection (maintenance) and improvement of the place.



**Table 2.16***Themes and Subthemes of the Collective Behavioural Domain of the Pride Consequences*

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Active involvement (collective)	Pride serves to make people more actively involved in improving, maintaining and protecting the place.	2	2	<p>“Sicuramente ad essere più attiva, se sei orgoglioso di una cosa la vuoi rendere ancora più bella ancora più importante, più interessante.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“Eigenlijk misschien nut als in dat je een band creëert, en door die band wil je het misschien ook verdedigen als er wordt aangevallen. Zowel fysiek als... Als er in jouw hoofd afbreuk wordt gedaan, zoals bijvoorbeeld heel veel mensen vechten tegen de Nutella winkels in Amsterdam... De enige reden waarom ze daartegen vechten is omdat ze trots voelen voor Amsterdam.” [NLU2]</p>	<p>“Definitely to be more active, if you are proud of something you want to make it even more beautiful even more important, more interesting.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“It might actually be useful in creating a bond, and because of that bond you might also want to defend it when there is an attack. Both physically and ... If there is harm in your perception, like for example a lot of people fight against the Nutella stores in Amsterdam ... The only reason they fight against it is because they feel proud of Amsterdam.” [NLU2]</p>

### 2.3.2.3.2 Individual Behavioural Consequences of Pride of Place

Under the behavioural consequences at individual level, 6 themes were identified in 52 fragments. The analysis mainly happened on a latent level where the underlying meaning of the fragments was interpreted and described in psychological terms. Table 2.17 presents the 6 themes of the individual level and details its prevalence and the example quotes.

#### **Theme 1:** *'Active involvement (individual)'*

This theme was most prevalent under this individual cognitive level of consequences with 16 fragments in 11 interviews. It refers to people from the place making or intending to make individual contributions in order to maintain or improve the place ("If you are proud of something you want to make it even more beautiful, even more important, more interesting." [ITR2]), such as taking care of the local environment ("I think that pride motivates me to taking good care of the environment" [NLU2]), volunteering locally ("I haven't done that for a while, but the volunteer work with which I help people who have difficulty walking... So that pride translates into the 'I want to do something for the love of the city, rather than to dig water wells Africa'. " [NLU2]), or buy local locally ("But because I am proud, that small business has really nice people, they have to stay, they have to stay in the city, I will buy my things there." [NLU2]).

The wanting to make a contribution, even intentionally, was found with participants who live permanently and partly in the place ("If I think of the pride I feel for my places, I would like to go back and make my contribution, bringing innovation to the appreciation of those places." [ITU3])

Motives for making the contributions to the place are both for personal ("I want to contribute to the things that I am proud of or that I feel joy for." [NLU4]) or collective benefits, but as well for the progeny of the person ("You always try to live the territory to the fullest, to keep it clean, to respect it, to improve it, as much as you can, because when you want to leave something to someone you like that this something has a value, is beautiful and appreciated.").

The experiencing of pride can activate people to start making new contributions to the place ("I want to start a project not for money, but for the place, with my company called Alta Langa Droni.." [ITR1]), by people who were previously maybe not actively involved. As active involvement was also identified as an antecedent of pride of place, pride, therefore, seems to function as a catalyst to increase the active involvement of people who were already actively making a contribution to the place ("I'd like to create more events or activities to keep the area even more alive. It would be a way to express my pride and gratitude for growing up in such a place. " [ITR2]).

### **Theme 2: 'Advertising the place externally'**

This theme refers to people from the place praising the place, but also defending when criticised by people from out of the place. It was mentioned in 7 interviews in 15 fragments.

People in the interviews mentioned that when they talk about the place with people from outside, they speak about their place positively ("For me, being proud of that place where you come from means that if someone asks you, you tell them about it with a smile. And if someone says: 'Tell me what you can do there', that you can say, 'Oh you can do this and that'... 'And tell me what your day off looks like?' 'And then I prefer to go here and there ... '[NLU2]), with the aim for example to explain about the way of life in the place ("But because I feel good here, so I talk about it proudly, I like to talk about the Langhe, the way things are done here, how we live" [ITR2]) or transfer the positive emotions that the person associates with living in the place ("To pass on, to talk about it; to try to transfer the joy and excitement of living these places. " [ITR3]).

The theme also refers to defending the place when being criticized by people from out of the place, and thus aiming to restore the image or reputation of the place ("You might want to protect the idea that people have about this region by saying and sometimes emphasizing that those facilities are there." [NLR2]). This was especially true for people external from the place criticizing the place ("As an Achterhoeker you can say that the Achterhoek doesn't signify anything. That it is not that big, and that it all does not do that much... .. But if an outsider says something about it, then you still feel a certain pride and you actually want to defend it more..."[NLR4]).

### **Theme 3: 'Sharing the place'**

This theme has been found in 7 interviews in 11 fragments and refers to pride leading to wanting to share the place with people from out of the place and invite them to be involved in the place

Participants explained that as a result of their pride for the place it makes them feel good when they invite other to visit ("When I know someone who lives outside, I often invite him to my house in the Langhe, which is a source of great pride for me." [ITR3]) and show what the place has to offer ("So I feel happy to show it to other people." [ITR1])

It is about sharing the place in general ("That is pride. If you're proud of a place, you want to share it." [NLU2]) and involving others to become involved in activities in the place ("Especially by involving more people in this. Get even more people involved, so that even more people can do it. Do it more often and share it with the world of "Look, this is fun, this is great, we can do this together!" [NLU3]).

The reason why people want to share could be because it intensifies the emotions of pride for the place ("Desire to share with others because sharing fills even more this feeling of yours which becomes full." [ITR5]), but as well that it makes the person who shares feel good ("When a friend comes and says" what a beautiful view here "you feel proud and then you begin to explain that there are castles, that we have vines, hazelnuts, truffles, meat, milk and this makes you feel in your place which is the most beautiful in the world and if they share a bit

of your image it makes you feel satisfied. " [ITR5]). This last example also shows that the need for sharing the place as a consequence of pride, not only relates to the sharing of physical events, but as well to the sharing of the image or feeling that a people associate to a place.

It was however also expressed that the sharing not necessarily was aimed at any person, but could mainly be addressed to people from out of the place who showed interest in the place, which shows that the sharing could be selective (Maybe not necessarily to other people that you say" I'm going to tell everyone and everyone ".... I don't really have that need, but I do if I know that someone is interested in the region, that I will tell you more about it. That you say more things or invite each other to certain festivities or something.... But then specifically aimed at that person, not everyone. " [NLR4])

#### **Theme 4: 'Returning to live in the place'**

This theme was mentioned by 4 people in 5 fragments and refers to having returned or wanting to return to live in the place when having lived out of the place, as a consequence of pride of place.

For example, a Dutch participant from a rural area described that since she moved out of the place in her early adulthood she always had feelings of homesickness due to missing the place where she grew up and had her childhood years. At the time of the interview, she had returned to live in the place and what very happy about that (Because I also played here as a child, I grew up here. And I did leave afterwards, but I have always had problems with homesickness. " [NLR1]). Another Dutch participant from a rural area described that he lived out of the place for studies and only returned with his wife to live in the place when they decided to have children because they thought that the place offered a great setting for childhood and that they wanted to be close to their family relatives again ("I was again close to where I would like to be, close to family." [NLR2]).

The returning to live in the place after having lived out of the place not only relates to actual action, but also to desire to return. One participant from a rural area in Italy described this desire even for his children as he hoped that because he always tried to transmit the feelings of pride of place to his children -who now live out of the place- will one day decide to return (There is a moment when the children detach from you and go their own way, maybe they don't recognize those values but then there is a moment when they come back. If you have done a good job, if you have transmitted things well, it will certainly return to them because they are values so important that man cannot forget them unless he becomes a beast. " [ITR5])

#### **Theme 5: 'Advertising the place internally'**

This theme relates to advertising the place within the place with people from the place. It was mentioned by 3 participants in 4 fragments.

Participants mentioned for example that they want to show to the people from the place how beautiful they think the place is that they share to live in ("not to show only to people coming from outside, but also to show to people that live here" [ITR1]), especially when other people from the place don't realise that and mainly complain about what the place doesn't have in comparison to other places ("I heard many people complaining

about things that are not here. By saying there are things here just looking for another perspective but also bringing specific something cultural. I don't know more higher quality natural things. So I would like to make people who live here realize what they have or where they are." [ITR1]).

In contrast, another participant shared that he and others often talk about how beautiful the place is where they live ("We talked about living in such a beautiful place." [NLR2]). Thus, the theme could be aimed at changing perspectives of fellow place inhabitants who do not share the pride or about reinforcing the pride with fellow place inhabitants who are already proud of the place. Furthermore, the advertising could also be aimed at passing on certain typical values of the place that relate to ways of thinking or behaving ("The real meaning would be to pass on to others, that is where the ways of behaving and thinking become values." [ITR5]).

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Active involvement	Pride stimulates people to become actively involved in the maintenance or improvement of the place.	11	16	<p>"I want to start a project not for money, but for the place, with my company called alta Langa Droni.." [ITR1]</p> <p>"Mi piacerebbe creare più eventi o attività così da tenere ancora più viva la zona. Sarebbe un modo per esprimere il mio orgoglio e la mia gratitudine per essere cresciuta in un posto del genere." [ITR2]</p> <p>"Se penso all'orgoglio che provo per i miei luoghi, mi piacerebbe tornarci e dare il mio contributo, portare innovazione nella valorizzazione di quei luoghi." [ITU3]</p> <p>"Ik heb dat al een tijdje niet gedaan, maar het vrijwilligerswerk waarmee ik mensen die slecht te been zijn help... Die trots vertaalt zich dus toch wel in het 'ik wil iets doen voor de liefde voor de stad, liever dan dat ik waterputten in Afrika sla'." [NLU2]</p> <p>"De dingen waar ik trots op ben of waar ik blij mee ben, daar wil ik wel aan bijdragen." [NLU4]</p> <p>"ik denk wel dat die trots me aan zet door goed voor de omgeving te zorgen" [NLU2]</p> <p>"Maar omdat ik trots ben, dat zaakje heeft dus echt leuke mensen, die moeten blijven, die moeten bij de stad blijven, daar ga ik mijn spullen kopen." [NLU2]</p> <p>"cerchi sempre di vivere al meglio il territorio, di tenerlo pulito, di rispettarlo, di migliorarlo, per quanto puoi, perchéquandovuoilasciarequalcosa a qualcuno ti piace che questo qualcosa abbia un valore, sia bello e gradito."</p> <p>"se sei orgoglioso di una cosa la vuoi rendere ancora più bella ancora più importante, più</p>	<p>"I'd like to create more events or activities to keep the area even more alive. It would be a way to express my pride and gratitude for growing up in such a place. " [ITR2]</p> <p>"If I think of the pride I feel for my places, I would like to go back and make my contribution, bringing innovation to the appreciation of those places." [ITU3]</p> <p>"I haven't done that for a while, but the volunteer work with which I help people who have difficulty walking... So that pride translates into the 'I want to do something for the love of the city, rather than to dig water wells Africa'. " [NLU2]</p> <p>"I want to contribute to the things that I am proud of or that I feel joy for." [NLU4]</p> <p>"I think that pride motivates me to taking good care of the environment" [NLU2]</p> <p>"But because I am proud, that small business has really nice people, they have to stay, they have to stay in the city, I will buy my things there." [NLU2]</p> <p>"You always try to live the territory to the fullest, to keep it clean, to respect it, to improve it, as much as you can, because when you want to leave something to someone you like that this something has a value, is beautiful and appreciated."</p> <p>"If you are proud of something you want to make it even more beautiful, even more important, more</p>

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				interessante." [ITR2]	interesting." [ITR2]
Advertising the place externally	Praising the place, but also defending when criticised by people from out of the place.	7	15	<p>"Ma perché mi sento bene qua, quindi ne parlo in maniera orgogliosa, mi piace parlare delle Langhe, del modo in cui qua si fanno le cose, come si vive" [ITR2]</p> <p>"A tramandare, a parlarne; a cercare di trasferire la gioia, e l'emozione di vivere questi luoghi." [ITR3]</p> <p>"Het idee dat mensen over deze regio hebben wil je misschien wel beschermen door te zeggen en soms aan te dikken dat die voorzieningen er wel zijn." [NLR2]</p> <p>"Als Achterhoeker kun je wel zeggen dat de Achterhoek niks voorstelt. Dat het niet zo groot is, en dat het allemaal niet zo veel doet.... Maar als een buitenstaander daar wat van zegt, dan voel je toch wel een bepaalde trots en dan wil je daar eigenlijk meer weerstand tegen bieden..." [NLR4]</p> <p>"voor mij betekent trots zijn op die plek waar je vandaan komt, dat als iemand je vraagt, je er met een glimlach over vertelt. En als iemand zegt: 'Vertel eens wat je daar kan doen', dat je dan kan zeggen, 'oh dit kun je doen en dat'... 'En vertel eens hoe je vrije dag eruit ziet?' 'En dan ga ik het liefst hier en daar heen...' [NLU2]</p>	<p>"But because I feel good here, so I talk about it proudly, I like to talk about the Langhe, the way things are done here, how we live" [ITR2]</p> <p>"To pass on, to talk about it; to try to transfer the joy and excitement of living these places." [ITR3]</p> <p>"You might want to protect the idea that people have about this region by saying and sometimes emphasizing that those facilities are there." [NLR2]</p> <p>"As an Achterhoeker you can say that the Achterhoek doesn't signify anything. That it is not that big, and that it all does not do that much... .. But if an outsider says something about it, then you still feel a certain pride and you actually want to defend it more..." [NLR4]</p> <p>"For me, being proud of that place where you come from means that if someone asks you, you tell them about it with a smile. And if someone says: 'Tell me what you can do there', that you can say, 'Oh you can do this and that'... 'And tell me what your day off looks like?' 'And then I prefer to go here and there ...' [NLU2]</p>
Sharing the place	Pride leads to wanting to share the place with people from out of the place in the place and invite and involve them in the place.	7	11	<p>"Dat is trots. Als je trots ben op een plek, dan wil je 'm delen." [NLU2]</p> <p>"Vooral ook door meer mensen daarin mee te nemen. Nog meer mensen daarbij te betrekken, dat nog meer mensen het kunnen doen. Het vaker doen en het delen met de wereld van 'Kijk, dit is leuk, dit is tof, dit kunnen wij samen!' " [NLU3]</p>	<p>"That is pride. If you're proud of a place, you want to share it." [NLU2]</p> <p>"Especially by involving more people in this. Get even more people involved, so that even more people can do it. Do it more often and share it with the world of "Look, this is fun, this is great, we can do this together!" [NLU3]</p>

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				<p>“voglia di condividere con gli altri perché la condivisione riempie ancora di più questo tuo sentimento che diventa pieno.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Quando arriva un amico e dice “che bel panorama che c’è qua” ti senti orgoglioso e poi allora inizi a spiegare che ci sono i castelli, che abbiamo le viti, le nocciole, il tartufo, la carne, il latte e questo ti fa sentire nel tuo posto che è il più bello del mondo e se loro condividono un po di questa tua immagine ti fa sentire contento.” [ITR5]</p> <p>Misschien niet persé aan andere mensen dat je zegt ‘ik ga het aan Jan en alleman vertellen’.... Die behoefte heb ik niet echt, maar wel als je weet dat iemand geïnteresseerd is in je regio, dat je daar dan meer over vertelt. Dat je dan meer dingen zegt of elkaar een keer uitnodigt voor bepaalde festiviteiten ofzo.... Maar dan wel specifiek op die persoon gericht, niet aan Jan en alleman.” [NLR4]</p> <p>“Quando conosco qualcuno che abita fuori, spesso lo invito a casa mia nelle Langhe, che sono per me motivo di grande orgoglio.” [ITR3]</p> <p>“So I feel happy to show it to other people.” [ITR1]</p>	<p>“Desire to share with others because sharing fills even more this feeling of yours which becomes full.” [ITR5]</p> <p>"When a friend comes and says" what a beautiful view here "you feel proud and then you begin to explain that there are castles, that we have vines, hazelnuts, truffles, meat, milk and this makes you feel in your place which is the most beautiful in the world and if they share a bit of your image it makes you feel satisfied. " [ITR5]</p> <p>“Maybe not necessarily to other people that you say" I'm going to tell everyone and everyone ".... I don't really have that need, but I do if I know that someone is interested in the region, that I will tell you more about it. That you say more things or invite each other to certain festivities or something.... But then specifically aimed at that person, not everyone. ” [NLR4]</p> <p>"When I know someone who lives outside, I often invite him to my house in the Langhe, which is a source of great pride for me." [ITR3]</p>
Returning to live in the place	Pride can lead to people returning to live in the place when having been out of the place.	4	5	<p>“C'è un momento in cui i figli si staccano fanno il loro percorso, magari non riconoscono quei valori ma poi c'è un momento in cui tornano. Se tu hai lavorato bene, se hai trasmesso bene le cose, ci si ritorna sicuramente perché sono valori talmente importanti che l'uomo non li puoi dimenticare a meno che diventi una bestia.” [ITR5]</p>	<p>“There is a moment when the children detach from you and go their own way, maybe they don't recognize those values but then there is a moment when they come back. If you have done a good job, if you have transmitted things well, it will certainly return to them because they are values so important that man cannot forget them unless he becomes a beast. " [ITR5]</p>



Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				<p>“Omdat ik hier ook als kind heb gespeel, ik ben hier opgegroeid. En ik ben naderhand wel weg geweest, maar ik heb toch altijd wel last gehad van heimwee.” [NLR1]</p> <p>“Ik was weer dicht bij de plek waar ik graag wil zijn, dichtbij familie.”[NLR2]</p>	<p>“Because I also played here as a child, I grew up here. And I did leave afterwards, but I have always had problems with homesickness. ” [NLR1]</p> <p>“I was again close to where I would like to be, close to family.” [NLR2]</p>
Advertising the place internally	Pride can lead to wanting make people from the place proud.	3	4	<p>“I heard many people complaining about things that are not here. By saying there are things here just looking for another perspective but also bringing specific something cultural. I don't know more higher quality natural things. So I would like to make people who live here realize what they have or where they are.” [ITR1]</p> <p>“not to show only to people coming from outside, but also to show to people that live here” [ITR1]</p> <p>“Onderling hadden we het wel over dat we in zo'n mooie plek wonen.” [NLR2]</p> <p>“Il significato vero sarebbe poterlo trasmettere agli altri, è lì che i modi di comportarsi e pensare diventano dei valori.” [ITR5]</p>	<p>"We talked about living in such a beautiful place." [NLR2]</p> <p>“The real meaning would be to pass on to others, that is where the ways of behaving and thinking become values.” [ITR5]</p>

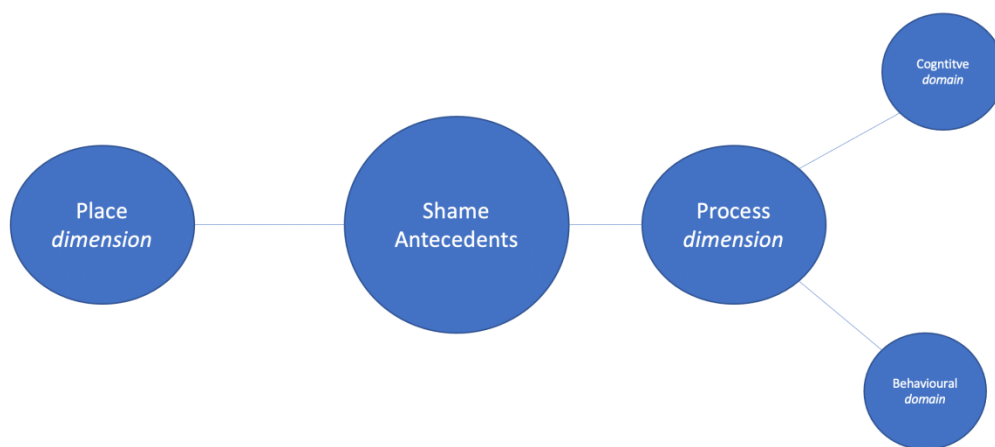
**Table 2.17**

*Themes and Subthemes of the Individual Behavioural Domain of the Pride Consequences*

### 2.3.3 Shame of Place Antecedents

In this paragraph the results for aim 3 this study will be discussed: identifying the antecedents of shame of place. Whereas the results for pride of place are plentiful, the results for shame of place are scarcer. Six of the participants, when asked to share a moment when they were ashamed of their place, said they had never been ashamed of their place and could not recall any memory. However, some could recall having seen someone else being ashamed of the place.

As for pride of place, the antecedents of shame will be organised and presented based on the tripartite model of people place bonds (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). For shame, however no results were found for the people dimension, which leads to a categorisation of the results in the place and psychological processes dimension. For the psychological processes, only results for the cognitive and behavioural domain were found. In total 10 themes were found for shame antecedents and the themes under the place dimension contained most fragments (84 fragments for the place dimension and 22 for the psychological dimension), meaning that it was easier to identify what people were ashamed of than about how they developed it. Figure 2.15 visually presents the categorisation of results for the shame of place's antecedents.



**Figure 2.15**

*Visual Representation of the Two Dimensions of Shame of Place Antecedents for Which Themes Were Identified.*

#### 2.3.3.1 Place dimension of shame antecedents

Where the place dimension of the pride antecedents was subdivided in tangible and intangible aspects of a place, in the analysis of the results for the place dimension of shame only intangible aspects were identified. In

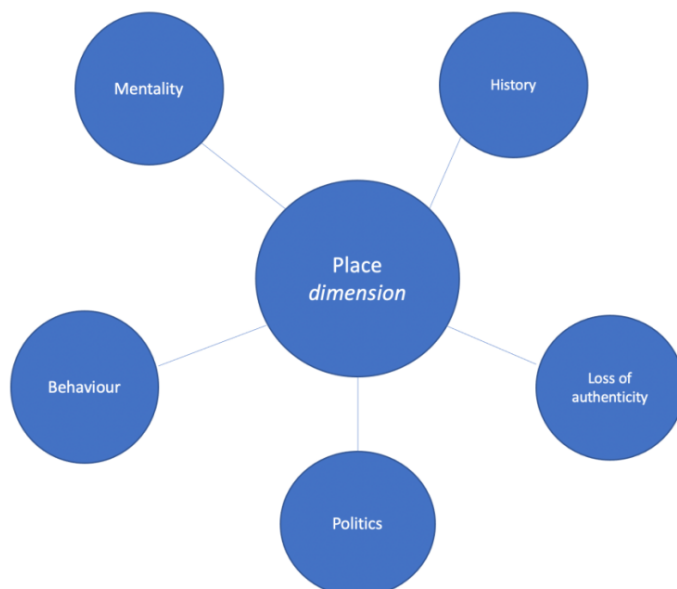
fact, it was explicitly expressed by some of the participants that their shame of place was evoked by the social aspect (people) rather than by the physical aspects of the place (see table 2.18 for some example quotes).

Quote in original language	Quote translated to English
"Sul il tema della vergogna, non sono i luoghi ma bensì le persone che provocano in me vergogna." [ITR3]	"On the subject of shame, it is not the places but the people who evoke shame in me." [ITR3]
"Per me il senso di vergogna appartiene di più all'ambito delle relazioni non del territorio." [ITR4]	"For me, the sense of shame belongs more to the sphere of relationships than to the territory." [ITR4]
"...dus het is voor mij niet gebonden aan de plek, maar aan de mensen die iets doen op die plek." [NLU3]	"... So for me it is not tied to the place, but to the people who do something in that place." [NLU3]
"In Aalten schaam ik me wel voor Aalten, omdat voor mij de hele plek bijvoorbeeld een bepaald type mensen is. Wat natuurlijk niet zo is, maar zo... In mijn hoofd werkt dat zo." [NLU3]	"In Aalten I am ashamed of Aalten, because for me the whole place is for example a certain type of people. Which of course is not the case, but like that... That's how it works in my head." [NLU3]

**Table 2.18**

*Example Quotes of People Linking Shame Antecedents More to the Social Aspect Than the Physical Aspect of a Place.*

For the place dimension, 5 themes were found in 84 fragments. The themes of 'mentality' and 'behaviour' were most prevalent and therefore seem to be most important. Figure 2.16 visually represents the five themes found for the place dimension and table 2.19 provides a schematic overview of the themes, their prevalence and some example quotes.



**Figure 2.16**

*The Five Themes of the Place Dimension of Shame Antecedents*

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Behaviour	Being ashamed of certain behaviour of people from the place.	12	39	<p>“...what people do in the evening, most of young people get drunk” [ITR1]</p> <p>“In un ambiente ristretto come quello di un paese ad alcune figure spiacevoli non si può sfuggire: il prete e la maestra che erano sempre a controllarti, o i compaesani che sparano alle tue spalle.” [ITR3]</p> <p>“Per me il senso di vergogna appartiene di più all'ambito delle relazioni non del territorio.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“Ora con il coronavirus, mi vergogno dei cittadini che non rispettano le regole ed escono di casa tanto per fare una passeggiata. È una vergogna mista a rabbia.” [ITU1]</p> <p>“Wat ik ook wel een beetje een dorpse eigenschap vind, dat daar dus ook over gepraat wordt, ook in negatieve zin. Van ‘hej heb je het wel gehoord? Die gereformeerden?’ Kijk, dat zijn niet zulke mooie dingen eigenlijk. Dat vind ik wel jammer.” [NLR1]</p> <p>“Jawel, toen in het begin dat ik er woonde, had je nog van die kelderwoningen waar dingen gebeurden. Dan schaamde ik me wel dat dat soort dingen gebeurden. Maar ja, ik had daar natuurlijk geen invloed op.” [NLU1]</p> <p>“Ik voel ook schaamte als anderen discriminerend zijn.” [NLU1]</p> <p>“Ze zijn ook wel een beetje achterdochtig, met name zijn ze ook achterdochtig naar de mensen die van buiten komen. Dat vind ik eigenlijk ook een negatieve eigenschap, want dan is het vaak wel een kritiek op de mensen die van buiten komen.” [NLR3]</p>	<p>“In a confined environment like that of a village, some unpleasant figures cannot be escaped: the priest and the teacher who were always controlling you, or the fellow villagers who gossip behind your back.” [ITR3]</p> <p>“For me, the sense of shame belongs more to the sphere of relationships than to the territory.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“Now with the coronavirus, I am ashamed of the citizens who do not respect the rules and leave the house just to take a walk. It’s a shame mixed with anger.” [ITU1]</p> <p>“Which I also think is a bit of a village characteristic, that it is therefore also talked about, also in a negative sense. ‘Did you hear about it? Those Reformed?’ See, those are not such nice things actually. I think that’s a shame.” [NLR1]</p> <p>“Yes, when I started living there, you still had those basement houses where ‘things’ happened. Then I was ashamed that things like that happened. But yes, of course I had no influence on that.” [NLU1]</p> <p>“I also feel shame when others are discriminating.” [NLU1]</p> <p>“They are also a bit suspicious, especially they are also suspicious of the people who come from outside. I actually think that is a negative quality, because then it is often a criticism of the people who come from outside.” [NLR3]</p>

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				<p>“Ja, tijdens dat hele vluchtelingen gebeuren en de angst voor moslims... Was er op een gegeven moment iemand die werd boos op een vrouw met een hoofddoek. Volgens mij al op Centraal Station was dat en die gooide toen bier over haar heen. Terwijl het gewoon een random persoon was. Dan schaam ik me wel voor mijn medemens.” [NLU4]</p> <p>“a Cortemilia spesso quando piove il fiume si alza perché non puliscono bene il fondale, e questo porta rischio di allagamenti.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“Quando ti parlavo delle case di paese che non sono più seguite bene, dei giardini, degli orti, mi vergogno perché penso che queste persone siano diventate proprietarie di qualcosa che qualcuno gli ha lasciato ma non hanno capito il valore che avevano in mano, io mi vergogno di vedere queste cose, queste brutture.” [ITR5]</p>	<p>“Yes, during the whole refugee happening and the fear of Muslims... At one point there was someone who got angry with a woman with a headscarf. I think that was at Central Station and then he threw beer over her. While it was just a random person. Then I am ashamed of my fellow men.” [NLU4]</p> <p>“In Cortemilia often when it rains the river rises because they do not clean the riverbeds well, and this leads to the risk of flooding.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“When I told you about the village houses that are no longer tended well, about the gardens, the vegetable gardens, I am ashamed because I think that these people have become owners of something that someone left them but they did not understand the value they had in their hands, I l’m ashamed to see these things, these ugliness.” [ITR5]</p>
Mentality	Being ashamed of the mentality of other people from the place.	12	33	<p>“... racism connected with not accepting other opinions” [ITR1]</p> <p>“...per la chiusura mentale che c’è nei confronti del diverso. Le persone un po’ diverse qui vivono male, anche se c’è da dire che negli ultimi anni le cose stanno cambiando, per esempio adesso ci sono diverse persone della comunità gay che vivono integrati.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“Per quanto sia bella la mentalità tradizionale, dall’altra parte po' negativa perché non accetta la diversità.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“Un’altra cosa che mi fa vergognare di questo luogo è il fatto che si sottovalutino i giovani. Non è dato loro molto credito, ed è sbagliato, si dovrebbero darglielo perché sono il futuro.” [ITR2]</p>	<p>“... For the mental closure that exists towards the different. The slightly different people here live badly, even if it must be said that in recent years things have been changing, for example now there are several people from the gay community who live integrated. “ [ITR2]</p> <p>“As beautiful as the traditional mentality is, on the other hand it is negative because it does not accept diversity.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“Another thing that makes me ashamed of this place is the fact that young people are underestimated. They are not given much credit, and it is wrong, they should be given it because they are the future. “ [ITR2]</p>

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				<p>“All’epoca c’erano molti pregiudizi basati su scale di valori falsate da miscredenze e tanta ignoranza. Tuttora questo tipo di volgarità mi ferisce nel profondo.” [ITR3]</p> <p>“Mi vergogno del fatto che ci siano persone che pensano che si debbano costruire dei muri, che non si debba far entrare chi ha bisogno, che si debba pensare solo agli italiani, che la cultura non sia importante .. queste cose mi fanno rabbrivire.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“Poi mi sono molto vergognata quando alle ultime elezioni europee la lega qui a Camerana ha preso il 48% dei voti.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“Adesso diventa vergognoso e mi vergogno anche per gli altri quando vedo che non amano il luogo, il disamore per il luogo per me è vergogna.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“io mi vergogno quando non tiriamo fuori i denti, quando ci lamentiamo e non usiamo le nostre risorse.” [ITU1]</p> <p>“Il luogo in po' mi scaturiva sempre orgoglio, per la sua bellezza, ma il confronto con le persone del luogo, invece, mi faceva nascere un senso di vergogna perché mi sarebbe piaciuto che avessero un approccio più aperto e disponibile nei confronti di chi non conosce i loro luoghi.” [ITU3]</p> <p>“gewoon inderdaad schaamte voor die mensenhandel. Schaamte voor... Als het gaat om vrijheid, als het gaat om mensen die zelf hun leven kunnen bepalen, en dit is het gevolg van mensenhandel... En we zijn dus eigenlijk niet in staat om als gemeente daar iets aan te doen. Ja,</p>	<p>“At the time there were many prejudices based on values distorted by disbelief and a lot of ignorance. Even now this type of vulgarity hurts me deeply.” [ITR3]</p> <p>“I am ashamed of the fact that there are people who think that walls should be built, that we should not let those in need enter, that we should only think of Italians, that culture is not important .. these things make me shiver.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“Then I was very ashamed when in the last European elections ‘La Lega’ here in Camerana took 48% of the votes.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“Now it becomes shameful and I am also ashamed for others when I see that they do not love the place, the lack of love for the place is a shame for me.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“I’m ashamed when we don’t show our teeth, when we complain and don’t use our resources.” [ITU1]</p> <p>“The place itself always gave me pride, for its beauty, but the comparison with the locals, on the other hand, gave me a sense of shame because I would have liked them to have a more open and available approach towards those who do not know their places.” [ITU3]</p> <p>“Just shame indeed for that human trafficking. Shame for... When it comes to freedom, when it comes to people who can determine their own lives, and this is the result of human trafficking... And so we are actually not able to do anything about it as a municipality. Yes, I</p>

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				ik vind dat wel schaamtevol, ja.” [NLU1]	think that’s embarrassing, yes. ” [NLU1]
Politics	Being ashamed of the local politics of the place.	5	6	<p>“Poi mi provoca rabbia quando vedo le piccole mafiette comunali, piccoli favori elargiti per questa o quella persona in maniera esclusiva solo perché si è sicuri di un proprio tornaconto. Detesto queste cose, e ed è una vera vergogna.” [ITR3]</p> <p>“La differenza di trattamento riservata al quartiere sottostante il ponte, non essendo un quartiere ricco hanno lasciato le persone senza una casa per mesi. Mi vergogno quando le questioni economiche e burocratiche prevalgono sull’umanità.” [IUT1]</p> <p>“A volte mi capita di sentire questo senso di vergogna legato al non saper gestire bene un luogo e soprattutto a renderlo inospitale per i giovani, motivo per cui c’è una grande emigrazione degli italiani all’estero.” [ITU3]</p> <p>“Zeiken dat een mooi uithangbord vijf centimeter verder is dan het zou moeten. Maar het is een heel mooi ambachtelijk uithangbord, terwijl de burens van een Argentijnse steakhuis met vieze neonlichten een kleiner bord hebben, maar die mogen het wel (op)hangen. En dat oud geschilderd, ambachtelijk bord niet omdat het te ver uitsteekt, dan denk ik van ‘ja, dat is echt betutteling’.” [NLU2]</p>	<p>“Then it causes anger in me when I see the small town mafia , small favors bestowed on this or that person exclusively because one is sure of its own advantage. I hate these things, and that’s a real shame. “ [ITR3]</p> <p>“The difference in treatment of the neighborhood below the bridge, not being a wealthy neighborhood, left people homeless for months. I am ashamed when economic and bureaucratic issues prevail over humanity. “ [IUT1]</p> <p>“Sometimes I happen to feel this sense of shame linked to not knowing how to manage a place well and above all to making it inhospitable for young people, which is why there is a great level of emigration of Italians abroad.” [ITU3]</p> <p>“To complain that a nice sign board is five centimeters further out than it should be. But it is a very nice artisan sign, while the neighbours of an Argentinian steak house with dirty neon lights have a smaller sign, but they are allowed to hang it up. And that old painted, traditional plate not because it sticks out too far, then I think “yes, that is really patronizing”. [NLU2]</p>
Loss of authenticity	Being ashamed of the loss of authenticity of the place.	4	5	<p>“Un’altra cosa che mi fa vergognare po' che nella zona dove ho vissuto, stanno costruendo sempre più palazzi e la Pieve sta passando dall’essere ad una parte verde del paese ad una zona residenziale. Penso che nel giro di 10 anni ci saranno sempre più palazzi, stanno distruggendo quello che mi rende orgogliosa.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“Misschien plaatsvervangende schaamte. Dat ik echt</p>	<p>“Another thing that makes me ashamed is that in the area where I lived, more and more buildings are being built and the little church (pieve) is passing from being a green part of the village to a residential area. I think in 10 years there will be more and more buildings, they are destroying what makes me proud. “ [ITR2]</p> <p>Perhaps vicarious shame. That I’m really thinking, “Hey!</p>

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				denkt van 'Hey! Sommige mensen die gewoon de binnenstad inderdaad naar de mallemoer aan het helpen zijn, met al die Nutella winkels of inderdaad alleen maar een snelle euro willen verdienen over de rug van de stad'... Zeker ook met die woningnood, dat ik denk van 'Ja, als ik jou was, zou ik me hard schamen.'" [NLU2]	Some people who are indeed just helping the city center to go to hell, with all those Nutella shops or indeed just want to earn a quick euro on the back of the city '... Certainly also with the housing shortage, that I think' Yes, if I were you I would be ashamed." [NLU2]
				"Quando sempre negli anni 70 del boom non c'era piú cura per la bellezza. Le strade venivano asfaltate, si tagliavano gli alberi .. c'era questa modernità che avanzava portando con sé la mancanza di rispetto del territorio, dell'ambiente." [ITR4]	"When always in the 70s of the 'boom' there was no longer care for beauty. The roads were asphalted, trees were cut down .. there was this modernity that advanced bringing with it the lack of respect for the territory, the environment. " [ITR4]
History	Being ashamed of part of the history of the place.	1	1	"quando ci sono state le colombiane, il cinquecentenario della scoperta dell'America, ho scoperto alcune cose su Cristoforo Colombo che mi hanno fatto vergognare di essere genovese. Quando ha scoperto l'America sembra che non abbia rispettato i nativi ma anzi li abbia decapitati." [ITU2]	"When the Colombians came, the 500 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of the discovery of America, I discovered some things about Christopher Columbus that made me ashamed of being Genoese. When he discovered America it seems that he did not respect the natives but rather beheaded them. " [ITU2]

**Table 2.19**

*Schematic Overview of the Results of the Place Dimension of the Shame of Place Antecedents*



### **Theme 1: 'Behaviour'**

This theme was found in 12 interviews for a total of 39 fragments and it relates to people being ashamed of certain behaviour by fellow citizens from the place that was perceived as being negative. The behaviour that people are ashamed of does not necessarily refer to the behaviour of all the people from the place, in fact, it tends to refer mainly to a sub-group within the place (e.g., "...what people do in the evening, most of young people get drunk" [ITR1]). The specific behaviour can be of a one-time characteristic (e.g., "Yes, during the whole refugee happening and the fear of Muslims... At one point there was someone who got angry with a woman with a headscarf. I think that was at Central Station and then he threw beer over her. While it was just a random person. Then I am ashamed of my fellow men." [NLU4]), but it mainly referred to more structural behaviour taking place within the community of the place, such as gossiping ("Which I also think is a bit of a village characteristic, that it is therefore also talked about, also in a negative sense. 'Did you hear about it? Those Reformed?' See, those are not such nice things actually. I think that's a shame." [NLR1]); discrimination ("I also feel shame when others are discriminating." [NLU1]); poor maintenance of the tangible aspects of the place ("When I told you about the village houses that are no longer tended well, about the gardens, the vegetable gardens, I am ashamed because I think that these people have become owners of something that someone left them but they did not understand the value they had in their hands, I I'm ashamed to see these things, this ugliness." [ITR5]); having prejudice of people from out of the place that have settled in the place ("They are also a bit suspicious, especially they are also suspicious of the people who come from outside. I actually think that is a negative quality, because then it is often a criticism of the people who come from outside." [NLR3]); or not obeying rules ("Now with the coronavirus, I am ashamed of the citizens who do not respect the rules and leave the house just to take a walk. It's a shame mixed with anger." [ITU1]).

Participants were mainly ashamed of behaviour that they perceived as having a negative impact on the wellbeing of the place. For example, one participant described how she was ashamed of how the municipality of the place poorly maintains the riverbeds which leads to an increased risk of flooding ("In Cortemilia often when it rains the river rises because they do not clean the riverbeds well, and this leads to the risk of flooding." [ITR2]). Another example described how certain more prominent figures within the place talked behind peoples back which lead to a culture of mistrust and suspicion within the community ("In a confined environment like that of a village, some unpleasant figures cannot be escaped: the priest and the teacher who were always controlling you, or the fellow villagers who gossip behind your back." [ITR3]).

Interestingly, people can even be ashamed of behaviour that they did not have any influence on themselves. One participant describes that when she moved to Amsterdam, she noticed behaviour on the infamous 'red light district' that was disrespectful to the human rights of women, which she felt ashamed of, even though they had no active role in this behaviour ("Yes, when I started living there, you still had those basement houses where 'things' happened. Then I was ashamed that things like that happened. But yes, of course I had no influence on that." [NLU1]).

## Theme 2: 'Mentality'

This theme was second most prevalent in the place domain of shame antecedents. It was mentioned in 12 interviews in 33 fragments. As with the previous theme of behaviour, this theme of mentality refers to the mentality of a certain group of people within the place that is considered as being negative for the wellbeing of the place. Participants linked the shame of mentality to the whole population of the place (i.e., generalizing it; "At the time there were many prejudices based on values distorted by disbelief and a lot of ignorance. Even now this type of vulgarity hurts me deeply. " [ITR3]), as well as to sub-groups within the population or 'certain people' ("I am ashamed of the fact that there are people who think that walls should be built, that we should not let those in need enter, that we should only think of Italians, that culture is not important .. these things make me shiver. "[ITR4]).

Aspects of the mentality of the place that can evoke shame are for example not being open to accepting or welcoming what is different than the usual within the place ("... For the mental closure that exists towards the different. The slightly different people here live badly, even if it must be said that in recent years things have been changing, for example now there are several people from the gay community who live integrated. " [ITR2]); that young people are not being estimated correctly ("Another thing that makes me ashamed of this place is the fact that young people are underestimated. They are not given much credit, and it is wrong, they should be given it because they are the future. " [ITR2]); political orientation ("Then I was very ashamed when in the last European elections 'la Lega' here in Camerana took 48% of the votes." [ITR4]); a lack of love for or appreciation of the place ("Now, it becomes shameful and I am also ashamed for others when I see that they do not love the place, the lack of love for the place is a shame for me." [ITR5]); when people from the place are not open to people from out of the place that are showing interest in the place ("The place itself always gave me pride, for its beauty, but the comparison with the locals, on the other hand, gave me a sense of shame because I would have liked them to have a more open and available approach towards those who do not know their places." [ITU3]); or when people's basic human needs - such as autonomy - are being restricted ("Just shame indeed for that human trafficking. Shame for... When it comes to freedom, when it comes to people who can determine their own lives, and this is the result of human trafficking... And so we are actually not able to do anything about it as a municipality. Yes, I think that's embarrassing, yes. " [NLU1]).

The theme also refers to certain aspects of the mentality of the place that are considered negative, rather than the mentality in its entirety ("As beautiful as the traditional mentality is, on the other hand it is negative because it does not accept diversity." [ITR2]). In this last example it was become clear that people can appreciate the mentality of the place in general but be ashamed of certain aspects of it.

The shame for mentality does not necessarily refer to others and exclude the person him or herself. In fact, the shame of mentality can refer to 'them' as in most of the examples above, as well as to 'we' ("I'm ashamed when

we don't show our teeth, when we complain and don't use our resources." [ITU1]). In this example the self-conscious character of shame as an emotion is clearly visible, which includes a self-evaluative aspect.

### **Theme 3: 'Politics'**

This theme was much less prevalent than the previous two themes. It was mentioned in 5 interviews with 6 fragments and it refers to political aspects of the place that people can be ashamed of, such as favouritism on an individual level ("Then it causes anger in me when I see the small town mafia, small favours bestowed on this or that person exclusively because one is sure of its own advantage. I hate these things, and that's a real shame." [ITR3]); unequal treatments of sub-groups within the place ("The difference in treatment of the neighbourhood below the bridge, not being a wealthy neighbourhood, left people homeless for months. I am ashamed when economic and bureaucratic issues prevail over humanity." [IUT1]); or certain rules and regulations that don't seem to make sense ("To complain that a nice sign board is five centimetres further out than it should be. But it is a very nice artisan sign, while the neighbours of an Argentinian steak house with dirty neon lights have a smaller sign, but they are allowed to hang it up. And that old painted, traditional plate not because it sticks out too far, then I think "yes, that is really patronizing". [NLU2]). In general, these examples described a sense of shame when certain values are not being respected on a political level, such as a justice or equal treatment of everybody within the place.

In the three examples above, rather place specific aspects of the political governance are subject to shame. As well a more general national trends in governance can attributed to the place and evoke shame of place. For example, one participants described that the city of Genoa makes it, in her perception, unattractive for young people to live in the place, even though she recognized this being a national trend ("Sometimes I happen to feel this sense of shame linked to not knowing how to manage a place well and above all to making it inhospitable for young people, which is why there is a great level of emigration of Italians abroad." [ITU3])

### **Theme 4: 'Loss of authenticity'**

This theme was mentioned in 4 interviews with 5 fragments. It refers to people being ashamed when the people of the place are not able to maintain the authenticity or uniqueness of the place. This loss of authenticity can relate to decisions made in the past that lead to a loss of what made the place unique ("When always in the 70s of the 'boom' there was no longer care for beauty. The roads were asphalted, trees were cut down .. there was this modernity that advanced bringing with it the lack of respect for the territory, the environment." [ITR4]); but also something of the present ("Another thing that makes me ashamed is that in the area where I lived, more and more buildings are being built and the little church (pieve) is passing from being a green part of the village to a residential area. I think in 10 years there will be more and more buildings, they are destroying what makes me proud." [ITR2]). As it can be seen in these two examples the loss of authenticity can refer to the tangible aspects of a place, but as well it can relate to its intangible aspects (Perhaps vicarious shame. That I'm really thinking, "Hey! Some people who are indeed just helping the city centre to go to hell, with all those Nutella shops or indeed just want to earn a quick euro on the back of the city '... Certainly also with the housing shortage,

that I think' Yes, if I were you I would be ashamed. "[NLU2]). In this last example the participant described how he himself is not actually ashamed, but he thinks that certain people of the place, who are threatening the authenticity of the place, should be ashamed of their behaviour. This participant describes having a vicarious, or empathetic, shame for people in Amsterdam who choose to damage the place's uniqueness for the sake of economical profit.

**Theme 5: 'History'**

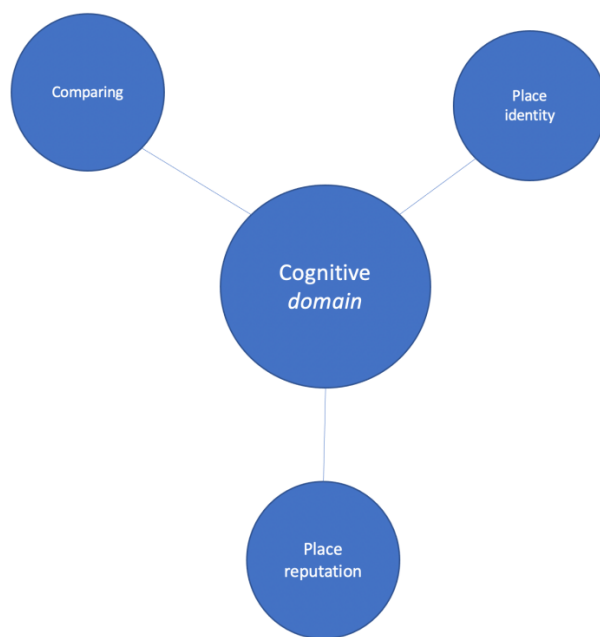
The last theme mentioned in this domain of place characteristics refers to the history of the place. 1 participant described this in 1 fragment, where he described being ashamed of the behaviour of a famous person in history from the place ("When the Colombians came, the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America, I discovered some things about Christopher Columbus that made me ashamed of being Genoese. When he discovered America it seems that he did not respect the natives but rather beheaded them. " [ITU2]). However little prevalent, this theme is distinct enough from the previous themes to be separated as a theme.

### 2.3.3.2 The Psychological Processes Dimension of Shame Antecedents

This dimension, as in the tripartite model of people-place bonds (Scannell & Gifford, 2010) consists of three domains: affective, cognitive and behavioural. For the shame of place antecedents, no themes for the affective domain were found that could be attributed to shame. Therefore, only the cognitive and behavioural domain are presented. For the process domain a total of 5 themes were identified in 22 fragments.

#### 2.3.3.2.1 Cognitive Domain of Shame Antecedents

For the cognitive domain three themes were found that influence the development of shame of place. In a total of 15 fragments these themes were identified on a latent level as the meaning of the content of what was being said by the participants was interpreted. Figure 2.17 visually presents the three themes of the cognitive domain and table 2.20 presents the themes, their prevalence and some example fragments from the interviews.



**Figure 2.17**

*The Three Themes of the Cognitive Domain of Shame Antecedents*

**Table 2.20**

*Themes, Description, Prevalence and Sample Quotes of the Cognitive Domain of Shame Antecedents.*

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. Of Interviews	Nr. Of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Comparing	External comparison as an antecedent to shame of place	3	6	<p>“Ricordo che le elementari le ho fatte qui e le medie le ho fatte a Saliceto, che voglio dire, è due passi, però rispetto qui là era già una situazione più urbana, il paese era più strutturato, con tanti negozi rispetto a qua, c’era la farmacia, il cinema, cosa che qui non c’era. La c’era molto la realtà delle famiglie in cui gli uomini lavoravano in fabbrica, a Cengio, non erano certo contadini. Qui eravamo contadini quindi c’era una dimensione sociale.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“Penso che l’origine si possa vedere nel grosso inganno che è stato il progresso. Io non ho vissuto la guerra ma comunque sono nata nel periodo dopo, dove c’era ancora la povertà, dove non si buttava via nulla, poi ci sono stati gli anni 60 con il boom economico e secondo me sono stati un inganno, hanno fatto male. Io ero una ragazzina, la chimera, il suono delle sirene del progresso, del fatto che la felicità potesse essere “avere delle cose” mi ha fatto un pó traballare, perché io non avevo tante cose, poi nell’adolescenza sei anche fragile. In quegli anni gli status simbol erano importanti, dovevi avere per essere.. questo meccanismo ha scoperto un po' il tasto dolente della vergogna, mi ha fatto provare quella sensazione di non avere abbastanza.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“Nasce quando si crea un’ immagine che non corrisponde all’immagine che hai del tuo territorio, nasce cioè dall’immagine sbagliata del tuo luogo.” [ITU5]</p>	<p>“I remember that I did the elementary school here and I did the middle school in Saliceto, which I mean, it’s two steps away, but compared to here, there was already a more urban situation, the town was more structured, with many shops compared to here, there was the pharmacy, the cinema, which was not here. There it was the reality of the families in which the men worked in factories, in Cengio, they were certainly not farmers. Here we were farmers so there was a social dimension.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“I think the origin can be seen in the big deception that has been called progress. I did not experience the war but in any case, I was born in the period after, where there was still poverty, where nothing was thrown away, then there were the 60s with the economic boom and in my opinion they were a deception, they did bad. I was a little girl, ‘the chimera’, the sound of the sirens of progress, the fact that happiness could be “having things” made me a little shaky, because I didn’t have many things, then in adolescence you are also fragile. In those years the status symbols were important, you had to have in order to be .. this mechanism discovered a little bit the sore point of shame, it made me feel that feeling of not having enough. “ [ITR4]</p> <p>“It arises when an image is created that does not correspond to the image you have of your territory, that is, it arises from the wrong image of your place.” [ITU5]</p>
Place identity	Place identity as an antecedent to shame of place	3	5	<p>“Maar dan moet ik me wel met die mensen identificeren, of al dan niet zelf, of door de buitenwereld, worden gezien als hetzelfde. Dan kan ik me schamen.” [NLU3]</p> <p>“Ik heb niet dat ik mezelf daar dan persé mee identificeer, dus ik schaam me dan niet.” [NLU3]</p> <p>“se invece abbiamo dei comportamenti che per vari motivi</p>	<p>“But then I have to identify with those people, whether or not by myself, or are seen by the outside world, as the same. Then I can be ashamed.” [NLU3]</p> <p>“I don’t have that I necessarily identify myself with that, so I’m not ashamed.” [NLU3]</p> <p>“If instead we have behaviors that for various reasons do not</p>

Themes / subthemes	Description	Nr. Of Interviews	Nr. Of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				non coincidono con ciò che abbiamo dentro, cadiamo in un senso di vergogna. " [ITU3]	coincide with what we have inside, we fall into a sense of shame. "[ITU3]
Place reputation	Shame when the reputation of the place is poor.	3	4	<p>"Il senso di vergogna per me nasce quando si dà un'immagine brutta dei propri luoghi, quando si lascia che i propri luoghi abbiano una brutta immagine." [ITR5]</p> <p>"Mi dà molto fastidio anche la sporcizia che vedo nelle strade." [ITR5]</p> <p>"Nella mia famiglia, per esempio, mio papà ha sempre fatto il contadino quindi anche l'abbigliamento era un abbigliamento più povero. ...mi era nata un po' di vergogna per l'abbigliamento. Per il fatto di arrivare con le scarpe un po sporche di fango oppure di non avere tanti vestiti ma di indossare sempre lo stesso cappotto per tutto l'inverno." [ITR4]</p> <p>"De manier waarop we soms worden weggezet als je naar de Nederlandse televisie kijkt, dan is het beeld wat men had van Achterhoekers 20 jaar geleden hetzelfde als dat het nu is." [NLR2]</p>	<p>"The sense of shame for me arises when one gives a bad image of your places, when you let your places have a bad image." [ITR5]</p> <p>"The dirt I see in the streets also bothers me a lot." [ITR5]</p> <p>"In my family, for example, my dad has always been a farmer so even clothing was poorer clothing. ...so at the time I developed some shame about the clothing. For arriving with muddy shoes or not having many clothes but always wearing the same coat all winter." [ITR4]</p> <p>"The way we are sometimes presented when you watch Dutch television, then the image they had of Achterhoekers 20 years ago is the same as it is now. " [NLR2]</p>

### **Theme 1: 'Comparing'**

This theme was mentioned in 3 interviews by 6 participants and refers to people comparing the actual place with other places ("I remember that I did the elementary school here and I did the middle school in Saliceto, which I mean, it's two steps away, but compared to here, there was already a more urban situation, the town was more structured, with many shops compared to here, there was the pharmacy, the cinema, which was not here. There it was the reality of the families in which the men worked in factories, in Cengio, they were certainly not farmers. Here we were farmers so there was a social dimension." [ITR4]); the place in other times ("I think the origin can be seen in the big deception that has been called progress. I did not experience the war but in any case, I was born in the period after, where there was still poverty, where nothing was thrown away, then there were the 60s with the economic boom and in my opinion they were a deception, they did bad. I was a little girl, 'the chimera', the sound of the sirens of progress, the fact that happiness could be "having things" made me a little shaky, because I didn't have many things, then in adolescence you are also fragile. In those years the status symbols were important, you had to have in order to be .. this mechanism discovered a little bit the sore point of shame, it made me feel that feeling of not having enough." [ITR4]); or with an ideal image of the place ("It arises when an image is created that does not correspond to the image you have of your territory, that is, it arises from the wrong image of your place." [ITU5]) and the outcome of this comparison being perceived as negative.

### **Theme 2: 'Place identity'**

This theme was mentioned in 3 interviews with 5 fragments. It refers to the necessity of people identifying with some tangible or intangible aspects of the place in order to be able to experience shame of place. People for example can identify themselves with a group of people from the place (i.e., see themselves as part of the group and the group as part of who they are), or other can see the person as part of the group from the place, in order to be able to experience shame ("But then I have to identify with those people, whether or not by myself, or are seen by the outside world, as the same. Then I can be ashamed." [NLU3]). In this example the person describes that she needs to identify herself with the group or others should identify her with the group. At the same time she also expressed that this process of identification is a prerequisite for being able to experience shame, and the lack or absence of identification will make it impossible to be ashamed ("I don't have that I necessarily identify myself with that, so I'm not ashamed." [NLU3]). The shame can be triggered when there is certain behaviour in the place that is dissonant with the personal values or attitudes of the person that are part of their identity ("If instead we have behaviours that for various reasons do not coincide with what we have inside, we fall into a sense of shame." [ITU3]).

### **Theme 3: 'Place reputation'**

This theme was mentioned in 3 interviews with 4 fragments and it refers to people being ashamed of the place when the reputation is poor or when the place is being stereotyped.

For example, one participant described that he is ashamed when people of the place show certain behaviour (e.g. "The dirt I see in the streets also bothers me a lot." [ITR5]) that makes him think that the place has a bad



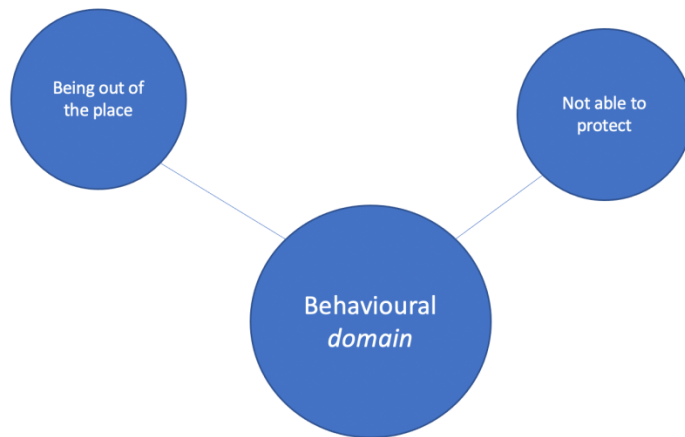
image for others (“The sense of shame for me arises when one gives a bad image of your places, when you let your places have a bad image.” [ITR5]).

People, instead, can also be ashamed of the general reputation the place has outside of the place, such as for example the reputation of being a poor place (“In my family, for example, my dad has always been a farmer so even clothing was poorer clothing. ...so at the time I developed some shame about the clothing. For arriving with muddy shoes or not having many clothes but always wearing the same coat all winter.” [ITR4]). The shame in this case only develops when people are self-conscious of this reputation when for example being out of the place and when the reputation is judged as being poor or negative by the person.

Another example of when shame develops is when the place is being stereotyped by people from out of the place and this stereotype is considered negative by the person (“The way we are sometimes presented when you watch Dutch television, then the image they had of Achterhoekers 20 years ago is the same as it is now. ” [NLR2])

### 2.3.3.2 Behavioural Domain of Shame Antecedents

The behavioural domain of the shame antecedents consists of only 2 themes, that were identified in 7 fragments. Figure 2.18 visually shows the two themes of the behavioural domain and table 2.21 schematically presents the themes, their description, their prevalence and some example quotes.



**Figure 2.18**

*The Two Themes of the Behavioural Domain of Shame Antecedents*

Themes	Description	Nr. Of Interviews	Nr. Of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Being out of the place	Experiencing feelings of shame when being out of the place	5	6	<p>“Quando ero bambino, ragazzino, andavo ad Alba e mi vergognavo di arrivare da Levice perché era considerato un piccolo paese dove la gente era imbranata, ancora indietro nelle tradizioni che lavora solo con la terra, un paese di contadini quindi persone poco raffinate.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Ja, ik heb wel eens gehad dat ik met mijn vriendin in de tram zat te praten, dat er van die meiden zijn die denken dat wij van die boerinnetjes zijn? Zij praatten ook met een accent.” [NLR3]</p> <p>“...er zijn nog wel een aantal die ik wel kan bedenken die zich daar wat voor schamen. Als je dan buiten deze regio komt, en dan vooral iets verder weg.” [NLR4]</p> <p>“Nella mia famiglia, per esempio, mio papà ha sempre fatto il contadino quindi anche l’abbigliamento era un abbigliamento più povero. Io penso di essere andata a scuola sempre in ordine e pulita però sicuramente non vestita come certe ragazzine che vedevo, per questo all’epoca mi era nata un po' di vergogna...”[ITR4]</p>	<p>“When I was a child, a kid, I used to go to Alba and I was ashamed to arrive from Levice because it was considered a small town where people were awkward, still behind in the traditions that only work with the land, a village of farmers and therefore not very refined people.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Yes, I once had that I was talking to my girlfriend in the tram, that there are those girls who think that we are those farmer girls? They also spoke with an accent. ” [NLR3]</p> <p>“... There are still a few that I can think of, who are a bit ashamed of that. If you then come outside this region, and especially a little further away. ” [NLR4]</p> <p>“In my family, for example, my dad has always been a farmer so even clothing was poorer clothing. I think I always went to school orderly and clean but certainly not dressed like some girls I saw, that’s why at the time I developed a bit of shame ... “[ITR4]</p>
Not able to protect	Being ashamed when not being able to protect the place	1	1	<p>“Quando non siamo riusciti a fermare gli incendi. Quando tutto il nostro luogo era nero, i boschi, colline. Mi sono vergognato perché ho detto “non è possibile che non siamo riusciti a fermare l’incendio, ad impedirlo” [ITR5]</p>	<p>“When we couldn’t stop the fires. When our whole place was black, the woods, hills. I was ashamed because I said “it is not possible that we have not been able to stop the fire, to prevent it” [ITR5]</p>

**Table 2.21**

*Themes, Description, Prevalence and Sample Quotes of the Behavioural Domain of Shame Antecedents.*

**Theme 1: *'Being out of the place'***

The theme was identified in 5 interviews with 6 fragments. The theme refers to people developing shame of their place when being out of the place (“... There are still a few that I can think of, who are a bit ashamed of that. If you then come outside this region, and especially a little further away. ” [NLR4]); and the shame being triggered by realizing that the place has a poor or negative reputation (“When I was a child, a kid, I used to go to Alba and I was ashamed to arrive from Levice because it was considered a small town where people were awkward, still behind in the traditions that only work with the land, a village of farmers and therefore not very refined people.” [ITR5]; “In my family, for example, my dad has always been a farmer so even clothing was poorer clothing. I think I always went to school orderly and clean but certainly not dressed like some girls I saw, that’s why at the time I developed a bit of shame ... “[ITR4]); or it is being stereotyped for example because of having a place typical accent (“Yes, I once had that I was talking to my girlfriend in the tram, that there are those girls who think that we are those farmer girls? They also spoke with an accent. ” [NLR3).

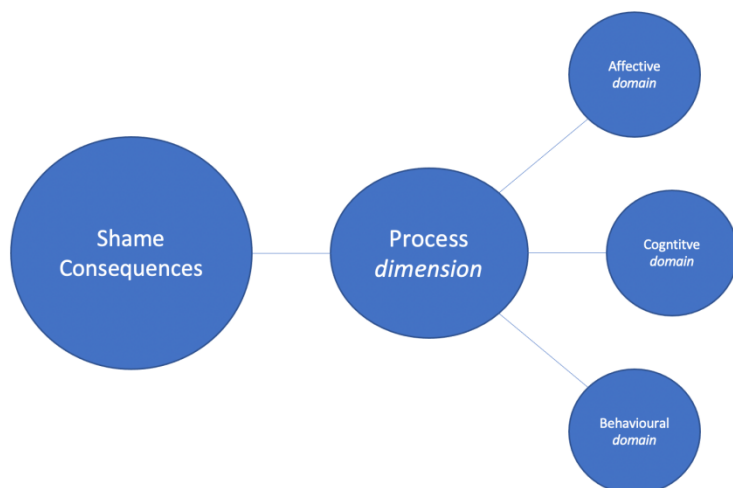
**Theme 2: *'Not being able to protect the place'***

One person mentioned in one fragment that he was ashamed when he and other people from the place weren’t able to protect the place when the place was threatened by forest fires. (“When we couldn’t stop the fires. When our whole place was black, the woods, hills. I was ashamed because I said “it is not possible that we have not been able to stop the fire, to prevent it” [ITR5]).

### 2.3.4 Consequences of Shame of Place

The themes for the consequences of shame are, as for the pride consequences, categorized according to the *psychological process dimension* of the tripartite model of people place bonds (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Two sets of questions in the interviews were directed at identifying the shame consequences. Participants were asked to share a memory of when they felt ashamed of their place, with follow-up questions regarding their thought, feelings and behaviour(al intentions) associated to this memory. The last question of the interview asked the participants to describe what they thought that the emotion of shame of place (hypothetically) served for.

In the following paragraphs the results for each of the three domains of psychological processes are described. A total of 9 themes were identified and categorized according to the affective, cognitive and behavioural domain. Where for the pride of place consequences a distinction could be made in categories for individual and collective level consequences, this was not possible for the shame consequences due to the small amount of themes. Per domain and theme, however, it was described if this was on a collective or individual level. Figure 2.19 visually represents the categorization of the shame consequences.

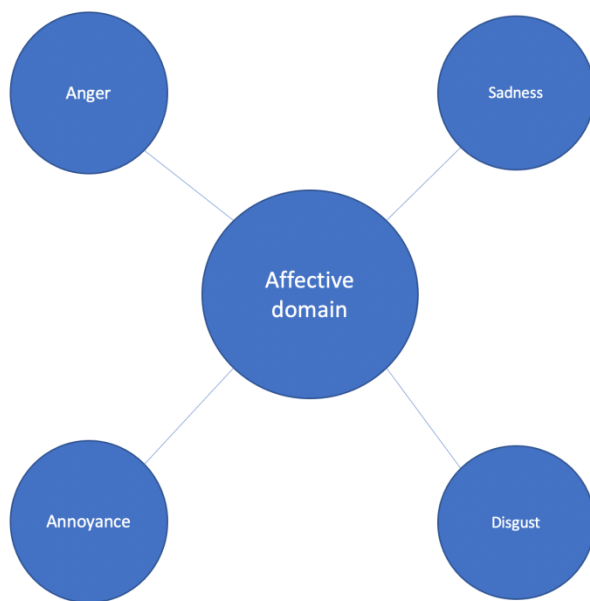


**Figure 2.19**

*Visual Representation of the Categorization of the Results of Shame Consequences.*

### 2.3.4.1 Affective Domain of Shame of Place Consequences

The affective domain consists of four themes that were identified as coalescing with or consequences of emotions of shame of place. In total 18 fragments were identified under the affective domain. Figure 2.20 represents the four themes of the affective domain, with anger and sadness as the most prevalent themes. All four themes could be classified as negative or unpleasant emotions and are all affective consequences on an individual level. Table 2.22 presents the results of the analysis of the shame of place consequences.



**Figure 2.20**

*Visual Representation of the Themes of the Affective Domain of Shame Consequences.*

**Table 2.22**

*Schematic Overview of the Themes, Descriptions, Prevalence and Example Quotes for the Affective Domain of Shame Consequences.*

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Anger	Feeling anger as consequence of experiencing shame	8	9	<p>“Rabbia. È inaccettabile che non abbiano fatto la manutenzione corretta.” [ITU2]</p> <p>“Ora con il coronavirus, mi vergogno dei cittadini che non rispettano le regole ed escono di casa tanto per fare una passeggiata. È una vergogna mista a rabbia.” [ITU1]</p> <p>“rabbia per il fatto di non poter cambiare le cose.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“anger” [ITR1]</p> <p>“Boosheid” [NLR2]</p>	<p>"Anger. It is unacceptable that they have not done the correct maintenance. " [ITU2]</p> <p>"Now with the coronavirus, I am ashamed of the citizens who do not respect the rules and leave the house just to take a walk. It's a shame mixed with anger. " [ITU1]</p> <p>"Anger for not being able to change things." [ITR2]</p> <p>"anger" [ITR1]</p> <p>"Anger" [NLR2]</p>
Sadness	Feeling sadness when thinking about shameful events	6	7	<p>“tristezza” [ITU3]</p> <p>“Verdrietig” [NLU4]</p> <p>“Rabbia ma ancora di più, tristezza” [ITR4]</p> <p>“Profonda tristezza, profonda malinconia, la voglia che si cancellasse in un attimo tutto, che il mattino dopo si tornasse a vedere l’immagine di prima ed invece ci sono voluti anni ed anni.” [ITR5]</p>	<p>“sadness”[ITU3]</p> <p>"Sadness " [NLU4]</p> <p>"Anger but even more, sadness" [ITR4]</p> <p>"Deep sadness, deep melancholy, the desire for everything to be erased in an instant, for the next morning to see the image of before and instead it took years and years." [ITR5]</p>
Annoyance	Feeling annoyance when ashamed	1	1	“Fastidio” [ITR2]	"Annoyance" [ITR2]
Disgust	Feeling disgusted when ashamed	1	1	“Ja, misselijkheid. Misselijk, ook fysiek. Gewoon walging.” [NLU1]	“Yes, nausea. Nausea, also physically. Just disgust. ” [NLU1]

### **Theme 1: 'Anger'**

This theme refers to people experiencing anger when they are ashamed of their place. The emotion anger was identified in 8 interviews with 9 fragments. Some participants simply mentioned that they felt anger when recalling a memory of shame of place (e.g., "anger" [ITR1]; "Anger" [NLR2]); other ones expressed in more detailed what they were angry about. For example, one participant was ashamed for the poor or lack of maintenance being done on the riverbeds of the villages which increased the risk of floods, and she said that she felt anger because the municipality is not doing what is needed to protect the people and to prevent the rivers from flooding ("Anger. It is unacceptable that they have not done the correct maintenance." [ITU2]). In her case the anger is directed towards other people within the place (i.e., the municipality). In another case a participant described being angry as a consequence of a shameful experience (e.g., discrimination by certain people of the place) because she felt she was not able to change this ("Anger for not being able to change things." [ITR2]). In this example the anger was directed towards herself, rather than towards the people that caused her to feel ashamed.

In all cases people were ashamed of experiences that were caused by other humans and therefore could have been avoided or prevented. Another example of shame for the people of the place was a participant describing her fellow citizens not respecting rules and regulations active in the place ("Now with the coronavirus, I am ashamed of the citizens who do not respect the rules and leave the house just to take a walk. It's a shame mixed with anger." [ITU1]).

### **Theme 2: 'Sadness'**

In this theme participants described feeling sadness when they are ashamed of their place. In 6 interviews with 7 fragments this theme was identified. Participants plainly mentioned feeling or associating sadness to their shameful memory (e.g., "sadness" [ITU3]; "Sadness " [NLU4]; Anger but even more, sadness" [ITR4]) and some gave a more elaborate explanation of their feelings that were a result of shame: People felt sad because of the event that caused them to be ashamed (e.g. "Deep sadness, deep melancholy, the desire for everything to be erased in an instant, for the next morning to see the image of before and instead it took years and years." [ITR5]), rather than feeling sad because there was shame.

### **Theme 3: 'Annoyance'**

Where the previous two themes are more intense feelings, this third theme is a lighter negative emotion. It was identified only in 1 interview with 1 fragment: the participant simply stating that she felt annoyed when she recalled the shameful experience ("Annoyance" [ITR2]).

### **Theme 4: 'Disgust'**

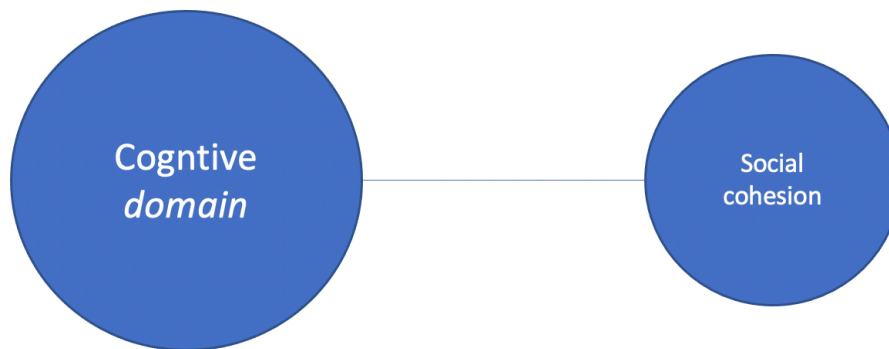
This last theme is a rather intense negative emotion and it was mentioned in 1 interview with 1 fragment. A participant described a shameful experience of her place Amsterdam where the human rights of the prostitutes were not respected and these women were treated badly. This event caused her to feel ashamed of her place



and she experienced disgust when recalling that memory (“Yes, nausea. Nausea, also physically. Just disgust.” [NLU1]).

### 2.3.4.2 Cognitive Domain of Shame Consequences

The cognitive domain of shame consequences holds one theme, which is a consequence on a collective level. No themes on an individual level were identified in the analysis of the study. Figure 2.21 provides a visual representation of the domain and table 2.23 provides a schematic overview of the theme.



**Figure 2.21**

*The Theme of the Cognitive Domain of Shame of Place Consequences*

#### **Theme 1: 'Social cohesion'**

This theme was mentioned in 2 interviews with 2 fragments. The participants referred to an increase in social cohesion as a positive consequence of shame of place. One participant described that although shame is related to something that is rather negative in regard to the place, people from the place who are ashamed of a similar thing, recognize they are connected as a group which is considered a positive consequence of shame ("to connect people. People recognizing the same bad things but still they recognize this in something they have in common, so they build a connection." [ITR1]). Another participant provided a more detailed answer to what she thought the connecting factor is when people experience shame together. She mentioned that there is an identification with collective norms and values of the place (antecedent place identity) and that these are violated when people experience shame. When people are ashamed, as it is a self-conscious or maybe place-conscious, emotion, people recognize their connectedness through norms and values ("So also that connection. They are all things that have norms and values that you share with each other. And so that group feeling. I think group cohesion, pride too... When I am ashamed of something... Because when I am alone, I am not ashamed of anything, but there is in relation to a context of people to a norm. "That should not be!" I did, also ashamed. So it is also a social order I think. And thus, the relationships with each other and the group feeling. To belong together or not." [NLU3]). It was however not clear, based on the study, if the social cohesion was felt with just the other members of the place that also felt ashamed or with the entire group of members of the place.

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Social cohesion	Shame leads to social cohesion	2	2	<p>“to connect people. People recognizing the same bad things but still they recognize this in something they have in common, so they build a connection.” [ITR1]</p> <p>“Dus ook wel die verbinding. Het zijn allemaal dingen die normen en waarden hebben die je deelt met elkaar. En dus dat groepsgevoel. Groepscohesie denk ik, trots ook... Als ik me ergens voor schaam... Want als ik alleen ben, schaam ik me nergens voor, maar er is in relatie tot een context van mensen tot een norm. ‘Dat hoort niet!’ Ik heb het wel gedaan, ook schamen. Dus het is ook heel erg sociale orde denk ik. En dus de verhoudingen met elkaar en het groepsgevoel. Bij elkaar horen of niet.” [NLU3]</p>	<p>“So also that connection. They are all things that have norms and values that you share with each other. And so that group feeling. I think group cohesion, pride too... When I am ashamed of something... Because when I am alone, I am not ashamed of anything, but there is in relation to a context of people to a norm. "That should not be!" I did, also ashamed. So it is also a social order I think. And thus the relationships with each other and the group feeling. To belong together or not.” [NLU3]</p>

**Table 2.23**

*Schematic Overview of the Theme, Description, Prevalence and Fragments for the Cognitive Domain of Shame Consequences.*

### 2.3.4.3 Behavioural Domain of Shame Consequences

The third domain of the psychological process dimension of shame consequences is the behavioural domain. It contains four themes, which are based on 25 fragments found in the interviews. Theme 1, improving the place, is by far the most prevalent, however also the other three themes are relevant and distinct in their character. The four themes in this domain are all coping strategies that people could act out in order to relieve themselves of the unpleasant experience of shame of place. Figure 2.22 provides a visual representation of the behavioural domain of shame consequences and table 2.24 gives a detailed overview of the themes, their description, their prevalence and some example quotes.



**Figure 2.22**

*Visual Representation of the Behavioural Domain of Shame Consequences and its Four Themes.*

**Table 2.24**

*Schematic Overview of the Themes, Descriptions, Prevalence and Example Quotes for the Behavioural Domain of Shame Consequences.*

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
Improving the place	Shame leading to wanting to improve the place.	11	21	<p>“So to keep working on increasing because not to sit and okay, that's it because we did mistakes and everybody can do mistakes all the time.” [ITR1]</p> <p>“Per la chiusura mentale invece penso che servirebbe fare delle attività per i giovani, per far conoscere loro diverse etnie, i diversi modi di essere. In questa maniera avrebbero più conoscenze e potrebbero avere un'opinione più aperta rispetto ai loro genitori o nonni.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“La vergogna è un sentimento importante perché ti dà uno spunto di riflessione, ti fa pensare a cosa c'è che non va, a come si potrebbe cambiare.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“Orgoglio e vergogna sono tutti e due importanti perché ti portano ad agire.” [ITR2]</p> <p>“Tuttavia non tutti erano così, e io ed altri ragazzi dei paesi intorno abbiamo provato ad unificare la zona intera nel concreto, creando spettacoli, eventi e attività di pubblico interesse...” [ITR3]</p> <p>“Se fossi giovane, quando sento dei discorsi del genere (leghisti), intavolerei un dibattito, combatterei, ora no, ora mi distanzio, preferisco allontanarmi da queste persone.” [ITR4]</p> <p>“La vergogna secondo me dovrebbe servire a dare una scossa alle persone, a far l'anima e dire “devo migliorare, non posso accettare una cosa del genere.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“Quando ti vergogni devi fare in modo che questa cosa non si ripeta più.” [ITR5]</p> <p>“La vergogna secondo me deve costringere le persone a cambiare atteggiamento, a fare qualcosa per cambiare.” [ITR5]</p>	<p>“For mental closure, on the other hand, I think it would be useful to do activities for young people, to introduce them to different ethnic groups, different ways of being. In this way they would have more knowledge and could have a more open opinion than their parents or grandparents. ” [ITR2]</p> <p>"Shame is an important feeling because it gives you food for thought, it makes you think about what's wrong, how it could be changed." [ITR2]</p> <p>"Pride and shame are both important because they lead you to act." [ITR2]</p> <p>"However, not all of them were like that, and I and other young people from the surrounding villages tried to unify the whole area in practice, creating shows, events and activities of public interest ..." [ITR3]</p> <p>"If I were young, when hearing these sort of discourses (leghisti), I would immediately go into debate with them, to defeat them, but now not, now I distance myself, I prefer to take a step back from these people." [ITR4]</p> <p>"In my opinion, shame should serve to shock people, to make the soul and say" I have to improve, I cannot accept such a thing." [ITR5]</p> <p>"When you feel ashamed you have to make sure that this thing never happens again." [ITR5]</p> <p>"In my opinion, shame must force people to change their attitude, to do something to change." [ITR5]</p>

Themes	Description	Nr. of Interviews	Nr. of References	Example quotes original language	Example quotes translated in English
				<p>“Se io mi vergogno e tengo ad una cosa, allora faccio di tutto per migliorarla.”[IUT1]</p> <p>“Creare un progetto stabile che possa rimediare al sentimento di vergogna che ho provato per i miei luoghi. Cambiare le dinamiche del quartiere all'interno di una progetto riconosciuto. Dare spazio ad un gruppo di persone che possano lavorare attivamente per migliorare l'ambiente in cui vivono.” [ITU3]</p> <p>“dat je door de schaamte juist meer innerlijke drive hebt om je daarin te gaan ontwikkelen.” [NLR4]</p> <p>“En schaamte, van ‘oh ik schaam me over dit deel van waar ik woon, ik ga daar iets aan doen.’ Zodat je weer trots wordt.” [NLU2]</p>	<p>"If I am ashamed and care about one thing, then I do everything to improve it." [IUT1]</p> <p>“Create a stable project that can remedy the feeling of shame I felt for my places. Changing the dynamics of the neighborhood within a recognized project. Give space to a group of people who can actively work to improve the environment in which they live. " [ITU3]</p> <p>"That because of the shame you have more inner drive to develop yourself in it." [NLR4]</p> <p>"And shame, of ‘oh I'm ashamed of this part of where I live, I'm going to do something about it. "So that you become proud again." [NLU2]</p>
Complaining	Complaining as consequence of shame	2	2	<p>“maybe complaining that there is nothing to do in the place” [ITR1]</p> <p>“Mi lamento con altre persone, con altri abitanti del paese, chiedo loro cosa pensano e poi non ci penso più.” [ITR2]</p>	<p>"I complain to other people, to other inhabitants of the village, I ask them what they think and then I don't think about it anymore." [ITR2]</p>
Leaving	Shame leading to leaving the place.	2	2	<p>“Als er heel veel dingen gebeuren waar ik niet achter sta, dan zou ik denk ik weggaan.” [NLU3]</p> <p>“Tuttavia la vergogna è fornisce la spinta utile all’abbandonare una realtà che può risultare soffocante. Una volta lontano si può poi ritornare rimanendo aperti e cercare di migliorarsi e di portare ciò che di buono si è imparato fuori anche nella comunità.”[ITR3]</p>	<p>"If a lot of things happen that I don't support, I think I would leave." [NLU3]</p> <p>"However, shame provides the useful push to abandon a reality that can be suffocating. Once away, you can then go back remaining open and try to improve yourself and bring what good you have learned out into the community as well. "[ITR3]</p>
Disguising truth	Disguising true origins due to fear of judgement when ashamed	1	1	<p>“dan merk je al vrij snel dat je zegt van ik kom uit de buurt van Doetinchem, in de buurt van Arnhem. Om maar geen gekke antwoorden krijgen.”[NLR2]</p>	<p>“Then you soon notice that you say I come from the area of Doetinchem, close to Arnhem. Just not to get weird answers.” [NLR2]</p>

### **Theme 1: 'Improving the place'**

This theme was the most prevalent theme of all the behavioural consequences of shame. It was mentioned in 21 fragments with 11 interviews. 'Improving the place' refers to feeling the need to change those aspects of the place that cause the persons to experience shame. As shame is not a pleasant emotion to experience and this can lead to people reflecting on what causes the shame ("Shame is an important feeling because it gives you food for thought, it makes you think about what's wrong, how it could be changed." [ITR2]) and to non-acceptance of the current situation ("So to keep working on increasing because not to sit and okay, that's it because we did mistakes and everybody can do mistakes all the time." [ITR1]). One participant mentioned that shame should shake people to move them into action ("In my opinion, shame should serve to shock people, to make the soul and say" I have to improve, I cannot accept such a thing." [ITR5]).

In general people regarded shame of place as an, although unpleasant, important emotion as it stimulates people to act in order to improve the place ("Pride and shame are both important because they lead you to act." [ITR2]); or to prevent certain shameful events to happen again in order to avoid having to feel ashamed again ("When you feel ashamed you have to make sure that this thing never happens again." [ITR5]). Participants mentioned for example that they would like to take action in order to ease or resolve the 'suffering' due to the experience of shame, such as creating projects for the neighbourhood ("Create a stable project that can remedy the feeling of shame I felt for my places. Changing the dynamics of the neighbourhood within a recognized project. Give space to a group of people who can actively work to improve the environment in which they live." [ITU3]); or to develop a sensitivity and respect for cultural diversity among young people ("For mental closure, on the other hand, I think it would be useful to do activities for young people, to introduce them to different ethnic groups, different ways of being. In this way they would have more knowledge and could have a more open opinion than their parents or grandparents." [ITR2])

This theme relates to both behavioural consequences on an individual level ("If I am ashamed and care about one thing, then I do everything to improve it." [IUT1]), as well as at a collective level ("In my opinion, shame must force people to change their attitude, to do something to change." [ITR5]). At a collective level this need to improve the place was not recognized in all people from the place, possibly because they did not experience shame ("However, not all of them were like that, and I and other young people from the surrounding villages tried to unify the whole area in practice, creating shows, events and activities of public interest ..." [ITR3]).

Shame is a self-conscious emotion that can foster a need to improve the place and this behaviour can be both aimed at improving yourself ("That because of the shame you have more inner drive to develop yourself in it." [NLR4]), as well as others from the place ("If I were young, when hearing these sort of discourses ('leghisti'), I would immediately go into debate with them, to defeat them, but now not, now I distance myself, I prefer to take a step back from these people." [ITR4]).

**Theme 2: 'Complaining'**

Two participants mentioned in two fragments that they would complain as a consequence to their shameful experiences. The complaining, as a behavioural consequence on a individual level, is addressed at other people from the place ("I complain to other people, to other inhabitants of the village, I ask them what they think and then I don't think about it anymore." [ITR2]). People can complain for example about the fact that there is not enough entertainment in the place which people can be ashamed of ("maybe complaining that there is nothing to do in the place" [ITR1]). There were only two fragments in which people expressed their intention to complain, and it could be that people can also complain with the policy or decision makers of the place.

**Theme 3: 'Leaving the place'**

This theme was found in two interviews in two fragments and refers to people intending to leave the place when the shameful experience is too large or too plentiful ("If a lot of things happen that I don't support, I think I would leave." [NLU3]), and people may experience that they cannot do anything to change this.

Another participant even mentioned that the leaving the place would be an important step to the improvement of the place as the person who leaves can distance him/herself and return later to the place in order to help in improving the place ("However, shame provides the useful push to abandon a reality that can be suffocating. Once away, you can then go back remaining open and try to improve yourself and bring what good you have learned out into the community as well." [ITR3]).

It was however not clear from the interviews if leaving the place would mean a long-term or short-term leaving.

**Theme 4: 'Disguising truth'**

Although very minimally prevalent with 1 fragment in 1 interview, the theme is distinct from the previous themes and coping mechanisms of shame. It refers to people disguising the truth of where they actually come from. For example, when people from a place are out of their place, they can experience shame due to a poor reputation and disguise their origins by saying they are from another neighbouring place that does not suffer from the same poor reputation ("Then you soon notice that you say I come from the area of Doetinchem, close to Arnhem. Just not to get weird answers." [NLR2]).



## 2.4 Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, the results of the thematic analysis will be discussed. At first, for each of the four sub research questions, the results will briefly be summarized and discussed in the light of the existing scientific literature. Secondly, the limitation of the study will be discussed; and lastly the practical and scientific implications will be addressed.

### 2.4.1 Discussion of the study results

This qualitative study aimed at identifying relevant factors related to antecedents and consequences of both pride and shame in relation to places. The research question that was answered in this study was: “What are the important antecedents and consequences of the emotions pride and shame as experienced in relation to places?”. Four sub research questions (RQ) were formulated that were answered in this study research: **(RQ1)** What are the important *antecedents* of pride of place? ; **(RQ2)**: What are the important *consequences* of pride of place?; **(RQ3)**: What are the important *antecedents* of shame of place; **(RQ4)**: What are the important *consequences* of shame of place?.

Annex 4 presents four tables with schematic overviews of the results per each of the four sub research questions.

#### 2.4.1.1. Antecedent of Pride of Place (RQ1)

The themes identified as the antecedent of pride of place were categorised according to the tripartite framework of people place bonds (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). In this framework there are three dimensions according to which people place bonds can be categorised: person, place and processes (PPP). The *person dimension* relates to the qualities of the person who is proud of the place and the *place dimension* to the qualities of the place that people are proud of. The psychological *process dimension* describes the affective, cognitive and behavioural aspects of the dynamics around the development of pride of place. In total 23 main themes were identified as antecedents of pride of place, with 28 subthemes, that together give a first explorative overview of who is proud of exactly which aspects of the place and how this pride is developed over time. Annex 4.1 provides a schematic overview of the themes, subthemes and their description for the pride of place antecedents. Here below results will be discussed in the light of existing scientific literature according to the structure of three dimensions followed in the results section (i.e., person, place and processes; Scannell & Gifford, 2010)

##### 2.4.1.1.1 Person dimension: People characteristics in pride of place

Under this dimension stable and basically uncontrollable person characteristics were identified that influence the development of pride of place. ‘Being born in the place’ and ‘being part of the place’ were identified as important antecedents to pride. Interestingly, it was also found that through aging shame of place at a younger age (i.e., adolescence and young adulthood) can develop into pride of place, even with the same place

characteristics as a source for both emotions. This could potentially be explained by many factors, such as identity developmental processes or place-change over time or also by different needs people have at different ages. The fourth theme identified was that pride of place was passed on through genetics, which is a possibility, but biological ways of measuring this intergenerational transfer should be applied to really test such a physical correlate, or maybe this is just a way people have to say that is something they have always had, ever since they remember, i.e., they learnt/got it at a very young age.

#### **2.4.1.1.2 Place dimension: What aspects of a place are people actually proud of?**

In general people are proud of both the tangible and intangible aspects of a place, that are interconnected (Clayton & Myers, 2015). This could also be expected as with most relevant people-place constructs these two categories are at their base, as with for example place attachment (Scannell & Gifford, 2010) or place identity (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001), as well as place reputation (e.g., City Reputation; Bonaiuto et al., 2019). At the tangible level of a place, a division can be made in the built and natural aspects of a place, as is in line with the scientific literature (Manzo, 2005). In the current study, however, 'beauty' was identified as a prevailing theme of the tangible aspects of the place that people are proud of and added as a separate theme to the natural and built themes on the tangible domain. Even though beauty can be found in both natural and built aspects, the experienced beauty of the place was extracted as a separate theme as it was a prevalent and recurring theme. People seem to be proud of the beauty of their place in general, but also of the beauty of some specific natural and built aspects.

Within the intangible domain of place characteristics that people are proud of, the most prevailing themes were the social and cultural aspects of a place. A social aspect that was mentioned often was the mentality of the place, where people referred to the dominant norms and values. This aspect was closely linked to the development of place identity as participants mentioned that they had integrated their place in their own identity on the basis of a match between the dominant place values and their personal values. It was also found that people develop pride of place when moving into a place that fits, where this match between values was expected. This is however in contrast with Stedman's (2006) findings, who claims that newcomers to a place cannot share values of the actual community because they have not contributed to their creation.

Another interesting aspect of pride of place was how the local community was able to preserve the 'authenticity' of a place, especially in a world where globalisation has affected almost everything at local level. In fact, research on the sense of 'loss' after changes made in the place shows that people often show negative responses to place change (e.g., Bonaiuto et al., 2002; Dixon & Drukheim, 2000), due to their established place connections and that the place bonds (e.g., place identity and place attachment) are affected negatively, such as for example in the case of closure of rural facilities (Christiaanse & Haartsen, 2020). This negative impact seemed to be true even when the loss was imagined (Reese et al., 2019). An imagined loss of authenticity of a place may therefore also threaten the place bonds the people have and thus threaten the feelings of pride. This links in with the concept of 'solastalgia' which refers to a chronic distress when his/her own place changes beyond recognition (Albrecht, 2005). Preserving authenticity in a place could be a coping mechanism to avoid this potential chronic

distress as a result of irreversible place-change. Similarly, distress when the people-place bond is interrupted for example due to place-change, is an important principle of healthy interpersonal and place attachment (Fullilove, 1996, Scannell & Gifford, 2017a).

A new main domain and theme of what participants were proud of, was the quality of life, or rather lifestyle that people of the place were able to live in the place, thanks to the characteristics of the place. Lifestyle is shown to be a motive for urban-to-rural migration (Halfacree & Rivera, 2012) and lifestyle migration has been defined as ‘the spatial mobility of relatively affluent individuals of all ages ...moving to places that are meaningful because, for various reasons, they offer a potential for a better quality of life’ (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009, p. 2). If a potential lifestyle a place offers to migrants is the motive for moving into the place, it is also likely that it is an element of pride for the residents. Such an element had already been shown to be part of both perceived residential environment quality indicators (e.g., (Bonaiuto & Fornara, 2004; Fornara et al., 2018)), as well as of city reputation indicators (Bonaiuto, et al., 2019).

#### **2.4.1.1.3 Process dimension: How do people develop and maintain pride of place?**

In the overview of results, it can be seen that all relevant constructs in the realm of people place bonds are present in the psychological process dimension of pride of place antecedents. Place attachments, as does interpersonal attachment, is characterised by the principles of ‘safe base’ and ‘safe haven’ (Scannell & Gifford (2017b), where the place serves as a safe place from where the person can partake and return to when being out of the place. The theme ‘Safe base and safe haven’ under the affective process domain can be identified as an important element of place attachment and as an antecedent of pride of place, as can the subtheme ‘Physical safety’ under the intangible domain of the place dimension.

‘Place identity’ is another relevant construct that was identified as a cognitive theme of the process dimension of pride of place. Pride in general is an emotion in which self-identification and association play essential roles. In the study, participants described that they integrated the place as part of their identity when they realised there was a fit between their and the place’s physical or social characteristics, such as norms and values. This indeed confirms that the place identity process is emerging from physical and social elements (Scannell & Gifford, 2010b), and that an identity linked to the place can serve as a source of pride (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996).

Place dependence is a theoretical construct that arises from a positive evaluation of the place on the ground that it meets the individual’s needs and allows them to achieve their goals (Shumaker & Taylor, 1983). The second most prevalent theme under the cognitive process, ‘Proximity of what satisfies needs’, seems to address this concept of place dependence as it relates to having what can satisfy the needs of the person in or close to the place. Place dependence is also described as preceding place identity (Moore & Graefe, 1994) and a place that meets a person’s needs can thus, just as place identity, foster feelings of pride of place. The importance of

the ability of a place to satisfy individuals' needs has been studied also as an important component of place attachment (Scannell & Gifford, 2016; 2017). Recent evidence, in the context of environmental emergencies for natural impending hazards, shows that the person-place relation serves psychological needs satisfaction (whether related to place attachment theory or to self-determination theory) and that this is useful to promote the inhabitant's appropriate coping with the local place dynamics in case of emergencies (Ariccio et al., 2021).

A fourth concept relevant to people-place bonds, closely linked to place dependence, is place making. Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) found that people are proud of a place when they associate this place with specific activities positive for their self-esteem (e.g., having participated to place renewal). Similarly, Scannell and Gifford, (2017b) suggest that people could be attached to places where they perform specific activities they are proud of. The 'Active engagement' theme in the results under the behavioural process domain refers to this concept of place making. This theme relates to people developing pride based on their participation, contribution and involvement through maintaining, developing and protecting the place. This concept of place making, however, could develop pride of place directly or indirectly through strengthening place attachment or place identity. This could especially be the case when these place making activities are self-defining, or flow-related, activities (e.g., Bonaiuto, et al., 2016).

A number of themes in the process dimension point to the presence of psychological processes of the Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In the SIT, after the process of social categorisation, a process of social identification follows. In this study, place identity as an evaluative process of the people-place fit can be seen as the social identification process of the SIT. A third process is the social comparison, in which the in-group is compared with the out-group (i.e., in-place vs. out-place). In the antecedents of pride, at least three themes can be identified that can be considered to be part of this social comparison process: making a 'comparison with other places', the search for 'external recognition', and 'being out of the place' when a comparison with 'home' is made and emotions of pride can develop. Making comparisons with other places is very typical as research indeed has shown that people experience pride when they make social comparisons (Smith, 2000; Exline & Lobel 1999). Porteous (1976), described that journeys away from home reinforce people's emotional bonds rather than new bonds with other places. As in line with research on general pride (Tracy et al., 2009), Tajfel and Turner (1979) proposed that the groups which people belong to are an important source of pride and self-esteem and that this pride can develop through the stages of the Social Identity Theory. Evidence also showed that place attribute perception could be aligned with such an 'in-place' distinctiveness, which may be functional to preserve desirable place features in the eye of the local inhabitants, even in face of environmental deterioration threats such as pollution (e.g., Bonaiuto et al., 1996).

The affective theme of pride antecedents 'connection with ancestors' can be related to the idea of *Perceived Collective Continuity (PCC; Sani et al., 2008)*, in which people believe that the group they are part of is a coherent entity moving across time. PCC has been linked to higher levels of pride, as part of a collective self-esteem (Sani

et al., 2008). More about this connection with collective self-esteem is discussed in the section about the consequences of pride of place.

The cognitive antecedent theme of 'external recognition' as well points at the importance of place reputation (Bonaiuto, et al., 2019) in which an internal and external reputation can be distinguished. An element of this internal reputation (Rijpers & Smeets, 1998) is the *self-reflecting image* (the place's reputation as inhabitants think it is), which corresponds with the affective theme of 'connection to the place idea'. The concept of place reputation and its outcomes involves both an internal and external evaluative process (Hortulanus, 1995), in which the value of the place is attributed by residents through processes such as making a 'comparison with other places' as was found under the cognitive processes dimension.

#### **2.4.1.1.4 Authentic vs. hubristic pride of place**

Lastly, it is worth exploring how the theoretical dichotomy of the emotion of pride in general, between authentic and hubristic pride, can be identified in the antecedents of pride of place. As Tracy and Robins (2007) argue, authentic pride results from attributions to unstable, controllable causes, whereas hubristic pride derives from stable, uncontrollable causes. In relation to pride of place this would then mean that authentic pride of place would derive from causes from within the place, that are controllable (i.e., there is a sense of agency of the causes), and unstable over time. Hubristic pride of place would be on the contrary attributed to causes from person's characteristic that are uncontrollable and stable over time. Looking at the themes identified as antecedents, typical authentic pride of place causes would then be 'active engagement' and 'achievements' under the behavioural domain of the process dimension. A typical hubristic pride of place cause would then be a theme such as 'being born in the place'. These results hint towards the confirmation that the two facets of general pride apply to pride of place as well. To confirm this, more research on the consequences of both facets of pride is needed. Tracy and Robins (2007) showed for example that authentic pride is positively associated to self-esteem and negatively to shame-proneness, whereas hubristic pride was positively associated to feelings of narcissism and shame-proneness. This shows consistent with the idea that hubristic pride could partly be a defence mechanism to underlying feelings of shame (Tracy and Robins, 2007). Further quantitative studies are however needed to explore if this causal relationship, derived from the general pride theory and model, applies to pride and shame of place too.

### 2.4.1.2 Consequences of pride of place (RQ2)

The consequences were characterised according to the psychological process dimension and its three domains: affective, cognitive and behavioural. In total 22 themes were identified as consequences of pride of place, and 2 subthemes. For the consequences a distinction could be made for collective and individual level themes under the cognitive and behavioural domain. Annex 4.2 provides a schematic overview of the themes, subthemes and their description for the pride of place consequences. Here below results will be discussed in the light of existing scientific literature. The structure of the discussion follows the identical structure of the results according to the three domains of the process dimension of people-place bonds (i.e., affective, cognitive and behavioural domain; according to Scannel & Gifford, 2010)

#### 2.4.1.2.1 Affective domain of pride consequences

##### *Pride and hedonic wellbeing*

As can be seen in the affective domain of pride consequences, pride generally makes one feel good. The themes identified under the affective domain are mainly positive affects. In fact, pride, as also argued by Tracy and colleagues, is a positive emotion that makes us feel good (Tracy et al., 2014). It may seem at contrast that pride elicits other (positive) emotions, however, self-conscious emotions are subsumed by basic emotions (Shaver et al., 1987). For example, pride of place is subsumed by joy and happiness, as shown in the results of the affective consequences.

It is however not fully clear based on this qualitative study if pride is causing emotions such as, for example, joy and happiness, or if people simultaneously experience multiple facets of positive emotions as a result of the same event, as people often do (Cohen & Huppert, 2018). It has indeed been argued that people may experience *outcome related emotions* following certain events and simultaneously feel pride or shame (Brown & Dutton, 1995b, 1995a), as the pride and shame are typically self-conscious emotions and therefore based on attributions and appraisals the event conveys about oneself (Lazarus, 1991).

Pride has also been argued to perform a moderating role between self-esteem and positive affect (Stanculescu, 2012) as high self-esteem is linked with stronger emotions of pride.

When people are proud of their place, and when the place is damaged or threatened, people also seem to experience negative emotions such as 'sadness' or 'anger' as a consequence of their pride of place. In studies on how people experience place-change or place loss, indeed sadness and anger seem to be prevalent emotions (Christiaanse & Haartsen, 2020; Marshall et al., 2019; Stutterheim et al., 2017). Another typical psychological consequence in such cases is Solastalgia (e.g., Albrecht, 2005; Albrecht et al., 2007).

In sum, pride seems to contribute to hedonic wellbeing as most affective consequences are positive in valence. It is however not clear if pride is causing people to experience positive affect directly or indirectly following certain proudful moments. Hedonic wellbeing (Di Fabio & Palazzeschi, 2015; Kahneman et al., 1999) can be

defined as wellbeing aimed at pleasure attainment and pain avoidance. Since pride in general is considered a positive emotion (Tracy et al., 2014, Fredrickson, 1998) and this result of the study show that people often experience positive affect when describing prideful moments, pride seems to be contributing to the attainment of hedonic wellbeing.

#### **2.4.1.2.2 Cognitive domain**

Themes were identified for both the collective and the individual level of cognitive consequences.

##### **2.4.1.2.2.1 Collective cognitive consequences of pride of place**

The two themes 'social cohesion' and 'collective self-esteem' seem to be linked with the concept of Perceived Collective Continuity (PCC) in which people of a group consider themselves as a coherent entity ('social cohesion') moving across time (Sani et al, 2007). Research on the consequences of PCC argues that higher levels of PCC relate to higher levels of collective self-esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) in which people experience a higher sense of pride for being a member of a given collective, derived from the conviction that the collective owns a good reputation. Successively, collective self-esteem has shown to have positive effects on subjective wellbeing (Bettencourt & Dorr, 1997), which is part of hedonic wellbeing (Kahneman et al., 1999). The work on both PCC and collective self-esteem is consistent with the work of Tracy and Robins (2007) who linked general pride with levels of self-esteem, especially authentic pride with high self-esteem and hubristic with inflated self-esteem (Tracy et al, 2007). Research on general pride has shown that higher levels of pride correspond to stronger social ties (Gable et al., 2004).

##### **2.4.1.2.2.2 Individual cognitive consequences of pride of place**

###### *Pride and eudaimonic wellbeing*

Where, on the affective domain of pride consequences, a positive effect of pride on hedonic wellbeing could be identified, on the cognitive domain a positive effect on the *eudaimonic wellbeing* can be found. Eudaimonic wellbeing (Ryan & Deci, 2001), also known as psychological wellbeing (Ryff & Singer, 2008), relates to experiencing meaning in life, self-realisation and full functioning of the person. The themes 'meaning in life', 'self-esteem' and 'sense of belonging' are typical concepts related to eudaimonic wellbeing and are also found to be psychological needs that are satisfied by a well-established place attachment (Scannell & Gifford, 2017; Ariccio et al., 2021). Furthermore, 'self-esteem' is generally strongly connected with experienced levels of pride (Tracy and Robins, 2004, 2007) and self-esteem has often been shown to have positive effects on mental health and wellbeing (e.g., Kernis, 2005). Experiencing meaning in life, has also been found to be a positive consequence of general pride (Nakamura, 2013). Experiencing a 'sense of belonging' was found in the study to be a consequence of pride. The sense of belonging can both be linked to Perceived Collective Continuity (PCC) as people enjoy being part of a coherent group that moves throughout time (Sani et al, 2007) and to levels of

eudaimonic wellbeing (Ryan & Deci, 2001). The theme 'being able to die peacefully', interestingly also fits with the concept of PCC that has shown to have soothing effects on death-related anxiety, through higher levels of pride and self-esteem (Herrera & Sani, 2013; Sani et al., 2009). Similarly, the terror management theory (TMT; [Greenberg et al., 1986](#); [Solomon et al., 1991](#)) also predicts that people develop means such as bonds with people and places, in order to be able to cope with the fear of death. Strengthening a meaningful relationship with a place of personal importance, accompanied by feelings of pride may result in soothing death-related anxiety. The quest for meaning in life and personal significance (Kruglanski & Orehek, 2011) proved also to be a motivational force with regard to the person's pro-environmental actions, thus again stressing its crucial role in linking person and place together not only in terms of feelings and cognition, but also in terms of caring actions that the inhabitant can realise for the place and the environment (Molinario et al., 2020).

#### *Pride fostering a strengthened sense of identity*

The development of identity and more specifically place identity is a dynamic process of continuous evaluation and integration. An interesting finding in this study was that place identity processes are both antecedents and consequences of pride of place. Where pride was found to be a result of the concept of place identity through the evaluation of the people-place fit, pride was also found to contribute to a strengthened 'sense of identity'. It is indeed through strong emotions, such as pride, that environments evoke that identity relationships are being established (Clayton & Myers, 2015). More recently, researchers (Bonaiuto et al., 2016) showed a link between memory of located flow experiences (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990) during self-defining activities (Coatsworth et al., 2005) and the strength of place identity, in the dynamics of place identity. In their research Bonaiuto and colleagues measured pride of place as the one single item of place identity. The role of pride in this place identity process, raises the question if pride can act as a sort of catalyst, strengthening the integration of the place in the sense of identity.

#### **2.4.1.2.3 Behavioural consequences of pride of place:**

At the collective level, only one behavioural theme was found to be a collective consequence of pride of place: 'Active involvement' in maintaining, improving and protecting the place. This same theme was also found to be the most prevalent individual behavioural consequence of pride of place. This is in line with studies on place attachment, that showed that stronger emotional ties with the place leads to more active involvement of people at the place's social or political (e.g., Mesch & Manor, 1998) or environmental level (Carrus et al., 2014). This collective, and also individual, active involvement in maintaining, improving and protecting the place, can be regarded as a social or community resilience (e.g., Adger et al, 2005; Berkes & Ross, 2013; McManus et al., 2012)

Interestingly, 'Active involvement' was both found to be an antecedent and a consequence of pride of place. This also makes sense, as through being actively involved in a place, with positive outcomes, people develop a sense of pride for how they were involved in the making of place and it is likely that pride functions as a positive reinforcement or reward of this behaviour, thus leading to even more active involvement. Pride of place, in this



sense, acts, as with place identity, as a catalyst or reinforcement in the behavioural process of active involvement in the maintenance, improvement and protection of the place (see also Molinario et al., 2019).

Other positive outcomes of pride of place are the willingness to share the place with people from out of the place and the returning to live in the place after having lived outside the place. Two other consequences found in the study were people advertising the place both internally and externally of the place. This was done both when the place was criticized, and hence people defended the reputation or fought the stereotyping of the place, but as well by trying to make other people proud as well.

#### **2.4.1.2.4 Pride of place as a positive emotion**

In the theoretical introduction, pride has been described as a positive emotion, however little research has been done on describing how pride elicits the positive spiral of the broaden-and-build theory (Fredrickson, 1998; Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002, 2018). Pride in this study has shown to have many positive outcomes that would also classify the emotion as a positive emotion. For example, it can be hypothesized that pride leads to more active engagement (broaden effect), which in turn leads to more social cohesion and (collective) self-esteem (build effect), which in their turn will contribute to more experienced wellbeing. In order for this hypothesis to be confirmed, it needs to be tested in an experimental study.

### **2.4.1.3 Antecedent of shame of place (RQ3)**

This study identified 10 themes under the antecedents of shame of place. As with the antecedent of pride, the same tripartite model of people place bonds (Scannell & Gifford, 2017a) was used to categorise the themes. There were, however, due to the limited amount of data regarding shame (this will be further discussed in section 4.1.4), no themes found under the *people dimension* and the *affective domain of the process dimension*. Five themes were identified under the *place dimension* describing what aspects of the place people were actually ashamed of, and five under the psychological *process dimension* describing how people develop feelings of shame of place. Annex 4.3 presents a schematic overview of the results of the shame of place antecedents. Here below results will be discussed in the light of existing scientific literature according to the structure of two dimensions followed in the results section (i.e., place and processes; according to Scannell & Gifford, 2010)

#### **2.4.1.3.1 Place dimension: What aspects of a place are people ashamed of?**

Shame of place seems to be a socially oriented emotion as all the 5 themes under this domain are related to the intangible social and cultural aspects of a place. No themes were found relating the physical or tangible aspects of a place. Most dominantly the participants in the study seemed to be ashamed of certain behaviour and mentality of some of the people from their place, being done within the place. Shame in this case is then not necessarily exclusively felt towards people from out of the place, but also for behavioural or cognitive aspects typical for the people from within the place. Other aspects of shame of place are local politics, loss of authenticity and history.

#### **2.4.1.3.2 Process dimension: How does shame of place develop?**

It was to be expected that many of the antecedents of pride of place would have been found for shame of place as well, as both are self-conscious emotions that include a sense of self-assessment with pride being the outcome of the positive assessment and shame of the negative assessment. This was however not true, which may be because of several factors of the qualitative interviews that biased the answers of the participants (read more about this in section 2.4.1.4). What was found however was that under the cognitive domain of shame antecedents, some themes could be linked to the Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) as they incorporate the self- or group-assessment aspect typical for pride and shame. The concept and theme of 'place identity' can be seen as the *social identification* aspect of the SIT. The 'comparison' theme, where a comparison is made between the in-place and the out-place, even without direct involvement of the subject, clearly links with the *social comparison* process of the SIT. Also 'place reputation' links in with this social comparison process as it could moderate the processes active within SIT. Similarly, 'Being out of the place' as a behavioural theme, links with this social comparison process as people particularly seem to do this with their own place when being out of the place. When the outcome of the assessment is negative, this results in the experiencing of shame of place. Probably, people tend to develop feelings of shame of place as a defence mechanism and a desire to

protect oneself from negative consequences of being associated with unfavourable behaviour or mentality of other in-group members (Eidelman et al., 2006).

As the SIT could be identified as the antecedent of both pride and shame of place, this confirms the proposition that both emotions (i.e., pride and shame) are respectively the positive and the negative outcome of a self- of group-assessment process.

#### **2.4.1.4 Consequences of Shame of Place (RQ4)**

In this study, 9 themes have been identified as shame of place consequences. As for the pride of place consequences, the results were categorised according to the three domains of the psychological process dimension of the tripartite framework of people place bonds (Scannell & Gifford, 2017). Annex 4.4 presents a schematic overview of the results found under the shame of place consequences. The structure of the discussion follows the identical structure of the results according to the three domains of the process dimension of people-place bonds (i.e., affective, cognitive and behavioural domain; according to Scannell & Gifford, 2010)

##### **2.4.1.4.1 Affective consequences**

Under the affective domain 4 emotions were identified as consequences of shameful events or memories. As discussed for the affective consequences of pride of place, it may seem in contrast that shame elicits other emotions, however, self-conscious emotions are subsumed by basic emotions (Shaver et al., 1987). Shame, for example, is subsumed by sadness and anger, as also found in this study under the affective consequences of shame. Indeed, shame has been associated with negative mood and chronic anger (Harder, 1995; Lewis, 2000) and has even been argued to be the core component of narcissistic and antisocial behaviour.

As with the emotional consequences of pride, also for shame of place it is not fully clear based on this qualitative study if shame is causing other emotions, for example, sadness or anger, or if people experience multiple facets of negative emotions as a result of the same event, as people often do (Cohen & Huppert, 2018). It has indeed been argued that people may experience *outcome related emotions* following certain events and simultaneously feel pride or shame (Brown & Dutton, 1995), as the pride and shame are typically self-conscious emotions and therefore based on attributions and appraisals the event conveys about oneself (Lazarus, 1991).

Studies on collective shame have also shown that people can feel hostile emotions towards their own group, such as anger and disgust, when they are ashamed of certain in-group transgressions, even if the individual was not involved in the transgression (Piff et al., 2012). Shame, in fact, was found to mediate the relationship between the ingroup-transgression and the in-group directed hostility (Piff et al., 2012).

##### **2.4.1.4.2 Cognitive consequences**

The participants in the study described to experience more 'social cohesion' as a consequence of shame of place. This seems to link with the concept of perceived group entitativity (PGE), which refers to the perception of the group being an entity and a cohesive whole (Campbell, 1985). As well, the perception of the group being a cohesive entity, is part of the Perceived Collective Continuity construct (Sani et al., 2008). Shame could lead to more social cohesion as people identify themselves with the place and even though there is an unfavourable

aspect that elicits shame, there is still a sense of strong social ties with the rest of the group. This could be linked with the *black sheep effect* (BSE), which suggests that people tend to derogate a negative ingroup member (i.e. black sheep) more than a similar outgroup member in order to protect the group from the threat that the deviant poses on to the social cohesion and hence the social identity of the group's members (Rullo et al., 2015). In the case of experiencing more social cohesion when shame of place is present, the black sheep effect could not only be recognized in the object or subject of shame (e.g., certain behaviour or mentality among in-group members) being derogated, but also in the strengthening of the social cohesion among the other members (i.e. non-black sheep members).

It is interesting that the experiencing of shame leads to an increase in social cohesion as it could also be expected that shameful events elicited by behaviour by in-group members, would lead to social disintegration and social rejection. However, it has been argued that shame, and other self-conscious emotions, has an important role in the biological and evolutionary survival of groups. Tracy and Robins, for example, have stated that shame promoted behaviours that increase stability of social hierarchy (2013).

#### **2.4.1.4.3 Behavioural consequences**

Four themes were identified under the behavioural domain of shame of place consequences. The three most prevalent themes, 'Improving', 'Complaining' and 'Leaving the place' are similar to the possible effects of poor neighbourhood reputation (Permentier et al., 2007; Hirschman, 1970). These studies show similar responses of people to poor reputation of a neighbourhood as behavioural responses to the experiencing of shame of place. Indeed, people tend to typically 'exit' or leave the place when they are dissatisfied with certain aspects of it, 'voice' their dissatisfaction either with other place members (horizontal voicing) or with political authorities (vertical voicing), or showing 'loyalty' to the place. Loyalty not only construes of a psychological state but as well of certain kinds of pro-place behaviours, such as being involved in 'improving the place' (Permentier et al, 2007).

#### **2.4.1.5 Similarities and differences between pride and shame of place**

On the antecedent side of both emotions there seem to similarities, whereas the consequences seem quite different. For example, people can be proud and ashamed of the same aspects of a place, such as mentality or certain behaviours of in-group members. Place identity seems to be a cognitive construct at the base of both emotions. In fact, in order to experience pride and shame for a place, a group identification process seems essential (Salice & Montes Sánchez, 2016). Similarly, pride and shame are typical outcomes of the social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In the SIT, after the initial process of social categorisation, a process of social identification follows. A third process is the social comparison, in which the in-group is compared with the out-group (i.e., in-place vs. out-place). The results of this qualitative study indicate that this social comparison process of the SIT is indeed present in the psychological process of the development of pride and shame of place: 'comparisson with other places' (pride cognitive antecedent) and 'comparing' (shame

cognitive antecedent). Combined with the theme of 'place reputation' this social comparison process seems to be an important dynamic at the antecedent side of both emotions. Pride and shame are both labelled as self-conscious, or self-assessment emotions (Zahavi, 2012; Tracy & Robins, 2007; Taylor, 1985). They imply an evaluation process in which social comparison within the place or between places plays a major role. In the people-place context this process can lead to the experiencing of pride in case of a positive assessment and shame in case of a negative assessment. The consequences of these two place-linked emotions are however different. Where pride mainly seems to lead to pleasant consequences, such as hedonic and eudaimonic wellbeing, shame of place mainly leads to less pleasant consequences, such as the experiencing of anger and sadness. However, also shame of place could lead to consequences that can have a positive impact on the place, such as a strengthening of social cohesion. Both emotions have in common that they may stimulate people to be actively engaged in improving the place (under the behavioural domains). On the other hand, both emotions can have different effects on people's behaviour regarding people's permanence in the place. Shame may lead people to wanting to leave the place and pride may people want to return when having been out of the place for some time. If all these concepts indeed relate to each other as suggested by this qualitative study, more experimental design research is needed (see study 3 in this thesis).

#### **2.4.2 Limitations of the study**

Although this explorative study in the antecedents and consequences of pride and shame of place offered a first insight into these constructs, some caution should be taken when reading the results and discussion of the study.

##### **Social desirability**

A first limitation that can be noticed is that the consequences of pride of place are exclusively beneficial. This was also to be expected with using interviews about self-conscious emotions such as pride and shame due to a bias regarding social desirability. Pride and shame can of course also lead to more negative consequences, for example towards out-place groups: however, through the interviews, given the probability of a self-reporting bias, negative consequences are unlikely to be identified.

Besides the social desirability or selective narration of participants in this interview, other psychological effects on memory of prideful or shameful events can have threatened the validity of the responses. Interviews may for example change the participants understanding or awareness of the concepts of shame and pride of place and thus alter their estimation of how they relate to these concepts (Sprangers & Hoogstraten, 1989). More specifically, shame has, for example, been shown to make people "reappraise the event in a positive light, or make the shameful memories less accessible and less specific than prideful ones" (Choi et al., 2021). This 'reappraisal bias' of prideful and shameful memories could have happened as well with the participants of the interview. For example, when looking at the number of themes identified for shame of place, it becomes clear that far less data was available than for pride of place. This was partly due to the fact that the ratio of questions addressing pride and shame was positively skewed towards pride, but for another part this was obviously caused by the social desirability of the participants' responses. Future studies, using instruments that are less

susceptible to these kinds of bias, could be used to correct for any of such errors and to complement the themes identified in this study in order to get a more complete and comprehensive understanding of the antecedent and consequences of pride and shame of place.

### **Interviewer and sampling bias**

The interviewer in this study could have been subject to interviewer bias (Salazar, 1990) as he was not fully neutral. The interviewer was raised in the rural area in the Netherlands where the participants came from (the Achterhoek) and currently resident in the rural area in Italy (Alta Langa). He admits having a positive prejudice towards the places that were addressed in the interviews, however this self-awareness made it easier to suppress these prejudices and take an as much as possible neutral stand in the interviews. The prejudice could have positively influenced for example the narrations of the participants as he may be encouraged the participants to express themselves about prideful moments through non-verbal signals. On a negative note, it could also have limited the participants to express their shameful experiences.

A sampling bias could also have affected the results as those participants who showed interest in the participation to the interviews could have self-selected themselves as they had affinity with the topic. Especially the limited amount of results on shame of place antecedents and consequences may be explained by this type of bias. One of the coping mechanisms people who are ashamed of their place show, as seen in the description of shame consequences and in studies by Permentier et al. (2007), is leaving the place. Selecting a sample of people that currently lives in the place means selecting a sample that is more likely to be proud of the place rather than ashamed of it.

### **Impact of Covid-19 pandemic**

The interviews with the rural participants happened in physical presence in the period September to January 2020. All the interviews with participants from urban areas happened in a virtual context as a consequence of the Covid-19 lockdowns in March to April 2020. The difference of interview setting could have affected participants' answers, however the average time an interview took did not differ greatly between the online (43 minutes) and in physical presence (49 minutes). Moreover, the presence of a potentially life threatening factor (such as the Corona virus pandemic) can increase the mortality salience, which can lead to a change of perspective or worldview, especially when it comes to one's own group (Greenberg et al., 1986; Pyszczynski et al., 2020). Especially attachment, self-esteem and worldviews seem to be altered as a consequence of mortality salience (Hart et al., 2005), where people tend to show attachment related proximity seeking behaviour and thought patterns when self-esteem and worldview threats are introduced. This could, thus, also have been the case in this study with the introduction of the Covid-19 pandemic, leading to stronger or weaker pride or shame responses. For this study, the aim was however to identify themes, rather than to measure the (causal) relationships,

Another threat to the internal validity was that the participants could have spoken of emotions of pride and shame of place when they actually referred to something else. Pride and shame are emotions that are not always

easily distinguishable from other emotions. For example, when participants spoke of moments they felt proud of their place, they could have actually experienced love or care for their place. Since the interviewees were conscious of the fact that the interview was aimed at the emotion of pride of place, they may have attributed the words pride to the wrong emotion. The same could be true for shame of place, which could easily have been interchanged with feelings of guilt. Future quantitative research could correct for this, through the use of standardized and validated questionnaires.

### **2.4.3 Suggestions for future research**

The results of this qualitative explorative study give a first overview on a wide array of themes that could be relevant for the development of pride and shame of place and as well themes that cover the consequences. However, as it can be seen in especially regarding the consequences of both emotions, the identified themes are biased towards a positive nature. Obviously, pride and shame of place can have negative consequences and other indirect instruments of research should be applied to identify these themes and to complement the results of the current study. One such indirect method for the identification of other themes could be through the use of questionnaires or observations.

Future research could also focus on identifying if, as for general pride, pride of place also has two dimensions (authentic and hubristic). Consecutively, it would then also be useful to link the consequences of pride of place to either one or the other of the two dimensions of pride of place.

Through the use of quantitative methods, using validated and standardised scales, correlational studies can be applied in order to study the strength of the link between pride and shame of place and its relevant themes that were identified in this current study. For example, it can be studied what the links is, and how strong this is, between the constructs place identity, place attachment, place connectedness, and pride and shame of place. As well, on a more consequential level, it could be studied how the two emotions relate to levels of self-esteem and perceived collective continuity.

Lastly, another possible study could be to investigate if the levels of pride and shame of place can be altered through an intervention. This is something that will be done in the next two studies of this thesis. Similarly, the hypothetical relation between the various constructs described in section 2.4.1.5.1 will be tested in study 3 of this thesis.

### **2.4.4 Conclusions**

This explorative study aimed at identifying the antecedents and consequences of both pride and shame of place. A total of 64 themes were identified that give a first attempt in creating insight in what these two emotions are,



what elements of a place they are based on, how they develop and what possible consequences arise when they are experienced. There is however more research needed in order to fill up gaps in the data that were recognised as a consequence of the direct measurement through the interviews. More research is needed to assess the importance and prevalence of the themes and how all themes interrelate.

**Chapter 3:** Study 2 - Pilot testing the impact  
of a pride of place intervention: *a pre-  
experimental study with an Irish sample of  
high school students*

### **3.1. Introduction**

The previous study 1 (qualitative interviews) made a first attempt to fill the gap in the scientific literature around the antecedents and consequences of both emotions pride and shame of place through an explorative qualitative study. The results give a first explorative view of what pride and shame of place are, how they might develop and what their implications could be for places and the people that inhabit them. The current study builds fort on these results in an attempt to explore in a quantitative way the individual's relationship with the place in the light of these two place-based emotions. This study and the following one do that in the context of the aforementioned (see Introduction chapter) Erasmus+ project that pilot tested an innovative school curriculum that aimed to foster the pupil's relationship with their rural places.

#### **3.1.1 The pride of place curriculum and place-based education**

The curriculum that was tested for this study made use of inquiry-based learning as a methodology (Pedaste et al., 2015), as explained in chapter 1 of this thesis. Similarly, it is a place-based education approach, sometimes referred to as "pedagogy of place" (Orr, 1992), which not only fosters the relationship with the physical sides of a place, but also with the people that make up its community. Van Eijk and Roth (2010) argue that place-based education is a bidirectional, dialogic exchange between student and the place itself, resulting in a different place both in tangible and intangible aspects. In making the place part of the learning environment, the learning process will be enhanced on the intellectual, social and behavioural level (Gross & Hochberg, 2016). It is a dynamic approach referring to changes occurring in a place (Sobel, 2004), such as exploring how aspects of a place such as landscape, infrastructure, human tradition and culture of a place and its inhabitants shape each other mutually. Resulting from these dynamics, it can be argued that the pride of place curriculum, which is designed to have high interaction between the learners and the place following this approach, may have enhancing effects on the people-place bonds constructs. In fact, educational programmes in which students learn about the local place aspects, such as local history, can lead to greater place attachment and civic engagement intentions (Stefaniak et al., 2017); also, significant experiences carried out within a place are related to place identity strengthening (Bonaiuto et al., 2016)

#### **3.1.2 The current study**

This study follows up on study 1, where a qualitative exploration has been made of pride and shame of place as dynamic constructs. Where study 1 identified antecedents and consequences of pride and shame in relation to places, this current study aims to explore the two constructs in a quantitative way in a sample from an adolescent population. Study 1 suggested several antecedents and consequences for both pride and shame of place. However, it was only an exploration and further testing and quantifying of these relationships is an aim of the current study. Furthermore, study 1 did not differentiate between authentic and hubristic pride as the nature of the qualitative study did not allow this. The current study seeks to explore if there are differences in the relationship between authentic and hubristic pride with the several variables that are included in this study. In

general, this study answers the question if pride and shame of place can be influenced through an educational curriculum.

The aims of this exploratory quantitative study are threefold:

- 1) to assess the preliminary psychometric properties of the scales used in an adolescent population;
- 2) to examine how the several variables are interrelated;
- 3) to explore the extent to which the several variables can be affected by the intervention.

Based on these study aims the following hypotheses can be formulated:

**Aim 1:**

Three hypotheses for aim 1 have been formulated to assess the psychometric properties of the used scales

Ha1: The aggregate scores are normally distributed for each scale

Ha2: The internal consistency of each scale is satisfactory

Ha3: The dimensional structure of each scale is consistent with the theoretical expectation

For the used scales, no content validation has taken place as it was not expected that there would be differences in comprehension between adults and adolescents involved in this study (15-16 year old). Apart from two novel scales, only validated scales have been used and it is assumed that their content validity can be considered unchanged.

**Aim 2:**

The hypotheses for aim 2 are based on the results from study 1 and will be divided in antecedent and consequences of both pride and shame of place. As study 1 did not differentiate between authentic and hubristic pride, the overarching variable pride of place was used. In the results section the differentiation is explored. Where the literature however suggests a more specific relationship for either authentic or hubristic pride (e.g., on self-esteem), the hypotheses are specified. In the results section, it is explored if a differentiation can be made for the two types of pride of place on the hypotheses that relate to general pride of place.

*Antecedents*

Pride and shame of place, as was shown in study 1 of this thesis, can follow similar dynamics: Both emotions can be preceded by processes of place identity (Bonaiuto et al., 1996) , place attachment (Scannell & Gifford, 2010) and place connectedness. Furthermore, study 1 identified that place reputation (Bonaiuto, et al., 2019) plays an important role in the development of pride or shame of place with an expected positive relation between pride and place reputation and a negative between shame and place reputation. This leads to the following hypotheses:

Ha4: Pride of place and place identity are positively correlated

- Ha5: Shame of place and place identity are positively correlated
- Ha6: Pride of place and place attachment are positively correlated
- Ha7: Shame of place and place attachment are positively correlated
- Ha8: Pride of place and place connectedness are positively correlated
- Ha9: Shame of place and place connectedness are positively correlated
- Ha10: Pride of place and place reputation are positively correlated
- Ha11: Shame of place and place reputation are negatively correlated
- Ha12: Pride of place and perceived collective continuity are positively correlated

### *Consequences*

Pride of place is, in line with general pride, positively associated with both individual and collective self-esteem (study 1), meaning that the presence of (authentic) pride of place can lead to higher levels of self-esteem for both the individual as the collective (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Rosenberg, 2015; Tracy et al., 2009). Study 1 showed that pride of place could lead to the experiencing of meaning in life and therefore higher levels of eudaimonic wellbeing (Ryan & Deci, 2001). Similarly, general authentic pride has shown to increase levels of experienced meaning in life (Nakamura, 2013) and to be a predictor of higher life satisfaction (Gerson, 2018). Furthermore study 1 showed that people are willing to return to the place after having lived outside of the place.

Where pride seems to have many positive outcomes, shame of place, in contrast, could be linked with lower-levels of self-esteem (Budiarto & Helmi, 2021a) and poorer life satisfaction (Caprara et al., 2020), potentially leading to wanting to leave the place (Permentier et al., 2007).

These suggestions lead to the following hypotheses:

- Ha13: Pride of place and individual self-esteem are positively correlated
- Ha14: Shame of place and individual self-esteem are negatively correlated
- Ha15: Pride of place and collective self-esteem are positively correlated
- Ha16: Pride of place and meaning in life are positively correlated
- Ha17: Pride of place and intention to stay in the place are positively correlated
- Ha18: Shame of place and intention to stay in the place are negatively correlated
- Ha19: Pride of place and life satisfaction are positively correlated
- Ha20: Shame of place and life satisfaction are negatively correlated

### **Aim 3:**

The pride of place intervention tested in this study was designed to promote the levels of place identity, place attachment and authentic pride of place and to decrease the levels of hubristic pride of place and shame of place (Albers (Ed.), 2021). As a consequence of these hypothesized results, it can be expected that this

intervention, based on the results of study 1, will lead to an increase in intention to stay in the place, perceived collective continuity (Sani et al., 2007), individual self-esteem (Rosenberg, 2015), collective self-esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) and meaning in life (Steger et al., 2006). Life satisfaction, as a general measure of one's wellbeing is also expected to increase as study 1 suggested a positive relationship between hedonic and eudaimonic wellbeing and experienced levels of pride of place. Furthermore, literature suggests that civic pride, as a concept covering the local pride in relation to the tangible aspects of a place (Wood, 2006), would be increased as it is positively linked with place attachment and place identity.

Place connectedness is a new proposal of a people place-construct (following the work of Mayer & Frantz, 2004; Richardson et al., 2019), that closely shows overlap with place identity and place attachment, and it is expected to show similar increases due to the intervention.

As pride and shame are proposed to be each other's opposites (Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007b), the intervention should logically lead to a decrease of experienced shame of place if pride of place is expected to increase. Connected to the expected decrease in hubristic pride of place (Albers (Ed.), 2021), a decrease in collective narcissism is expected (de Zavala et al., 2009; Golec de Zavala, 2019; Tracy et al., 2009). An overview of the hypotheses of study aim 3 are presented below.

The intervention will bring about an *increase* in:

Ha21: Intention to stay in the place

Ha22: Authentic pride of place

Ha23: Civic pride

Ha24: Place attachment

Ha25: Place Identity

Ha26: Place connectedness

Ha27: self-esteem

Ha28: collective self-esteem

Ha29: life satisfaction

Ha30: meaning in life

Ha31: perceived collective continuity

A *decrease* is expected in the following variables:

Ha32: hubristic pride of place

Ha33: shame of place

Ha34: collective narcissism

## **3.2 Method**

### **3.2.1 Design**

The study took place at the Pobalscoil Chorca Dhuibhne school in Dingle, in the 'Kerry' district in south west Ireland. The school was involved as an associated partner in the aforementioned Erasmus+ project and the pilot phase of the developed school curriculum happened within the context of this project. The involved teachers choose their own set of modules that responded to the unique characteristics of the place where the school was based. For the Irish context modules were done on literature, history and recreation.

The intervention took place through physical as in virtual education as a result of the national Covid-19 pandemic regulations in place at the time of the intervention. About 5 hours of the intervention took place in physical presence and the remaining 15 in a virtual setting.

### **3.2.2 Participants**

The participants were 24 students of the fourth class of the Pobalscoil Chorca Dhuibhne school in Dingle, Ireland. The classes, and hence the students, involved were selected by the school based on the availability of teachers. Only those students who filled in both questionnaires (pre- and post-intervention) were included as this was necessary in order to properly measure the effect of the intervention. In total, the class consisted of 30 students, of which 24 completed both questionnaires.

The students were all in a 'transition year' which is an additional year after the secondary school in preparation of any further high school career. The students -14 male (58%), 8 female (33%) and 2 preferred not to answer- were all born in 2004 (50%) and 2005 (50%).

Participants were asked if they consider themselves native to the place. 21 participants (87,5%) answered positively to this question, 2 were not sure and 1 definitely didn't consider him/herself native to the place.

62,5 % of the participants considered their parents native to the area, 12,5% thought they were indecisive about this issue and 25% said their parents are definitely not from the place.

### **3.2.3 Procedure**

The students received the curriculum in Irish language as this is the main teaching language at the school.

The study had a pre-experimental research design with one-group only (Frey, 2021). The design had two moments of measurement (pre- and post-intervention). The group followed the pride of place curriculum and the participants spent about 20 hours learning about their place per intervention. The pre-intervention measurement happened about 1 week prior to the start of the curriculum and the post-intervention measurement between 1-2 weeks after the finishing of the curriculum. The study took place between October 2020 and April 2021.

Each participant received a unique student ID that they used for both times they filled out the questionnaire, which allowed the researchers to make pre-post comparisons between the scores on the several scales. The questionnaires were administered using 'Qualtrics XM', which is an online survey software. The pre-intervention questionnaires were administered at school and the post-intervention round took place from home.

The same instruments were used for pre- and post-intervention.

As the study involved minors, all parents/caretakers were requested to sign an informed consent form detailing the context and purpose of the study and specifying the rights and privacy regulations regarding their child's involvement. At the time of administering the questionnaires to the students the teachers gave an oral consent specifying that all answers will be treated anonymously and that the students had the right to withdraw from the study at any moment without any consequences. The written consent forms have been added to the report in Appendix 1. The study has received approval from the ethical commission of the Dipartimento di Psicologia dei Processi di Sviluppo e Socializzazione, at Sapienza Università di Roma (first version submitted on the 04.07.2019, final version protocol n. 757, pos. VII/15, 31.05.2021).

### **3.2.4 Instruments**

The instruments used for study 2 consisted of 8 generic demographical questions and 15 standardised validated scales, with a total of 109 items. The scales measured place-related constructs (e.g., place attachment, place identity) and outcome related constructs (e.g., well-being, experienced meaning in life). Table 3.1 provides an overview of scales, measured constructs, and number of items per scale. Appendix 5 shows the full questionnaire.

The instruments were chosen based on suggestions from the literature as described in the introduction of the thesis and on the outcomes of study 1 where the main themes under both the antecedents and consequences for pride and shame of place were included.

For the partner school in this study, whose main teaching language is Irish, it was required that both the curriculum as the questionnaires were offered in Irish. The scales included in the study were all validated in English and none of them was officially available in Irish (also Gaelic) language as previously published validated tools. The questionnaire was developed and compiled in English and translated by a professional translator from English to Irish. A second person translated the questionnaires back to English (i.e., back-and-forth translation) in order to assess the quality of the first translation. Few errors were found and corrected to obtain the final version of the questionnaire.



**Table 3.1***Overview of the Validated Scales Used*

Scale name	Used variable	Number of dimensions	Number of items in original scale	Number of items used in PoP study
The Cantril's Ladder- Adolescent version (de Zavala et al., 2009)	Life satisfaction	1	1	1
Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale (Petersen, 1965)	Self-esteem	1	10	10
Authentic and Hubristic Pride Scale (Tracy & Robins, 2007b)	Pride	2	14	14
Personal Feelings Questionnaire 2 (Harder & Zalma, 1990; Harder, 1990)	Shame proneness	1	16	10
Civic Pride Scale (Wood, 2006)	Civic Pride	1	14	14
Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992)	Collective Self-Esteem	1	16	4
Collective Narcissism Scale (de Zavala et al., 2009)	Collective narcissism	1	9	5
Perceived Residential Environment Quality (PREQ) and Neighborhood Attachment (NA) Indicators (Fornara et al., 2010)	Place attachment	1	4	4
City Reputation Indicators (CRIs) (Bonaiuto, et al., 2019)	Place identity	2	10	10
Organisational Identification (Bergami & Bagozzi, 2000)	Place identity	1	1	1
Corporate Reputation (Ponzi et al., 2011)	Place reputation	2	4	4
City Reputation Indicators (Bonaiuto, et al., 2019)	Reputation indicators	12	252	10
Nature Connectedness Index (Richardson et al., 2019)	Place connectedness	1	6	4
The Meaning in Life Questionnaire (Steger et al., 2006)	Meaning in Life	2	10	6
Perceived Collective Continuity Scale (Sani et al., 2007)	Perceived Collective Continuity	2	12	4
			<b>SUM</b>	101

### 3.2.4.1 Demographical questions

The questionnaire contained the 8 demographic questions that asked about the following information:

1. Year of birth
2. Place of birth
3. Place of residence
4. The extent to which the student considered himself native to the area
5. The extent to which the student considered his/her parents native to the area
6. Gender
7. Class they were in at the moment of the measurement

8. Intention to stay in the place: This question consisted of 4 self-developed statements that aimed to measure the intention of the student to live in the place. The four statements were created by Silvia Ariccio PhD and Thomas Albers (PhD candidate) and were based on four possibilities of how people could relate to their residency in the place: (1) wanting to maintain residency for the entire life, (2) wanting to leave as soon as possible, (3) wanting to return after leaving and (4) having an indifferent intention. One of such statements was “Even if I have to live elsewhere at some point in my life, I will return to live in the place.” The answers were collected on a 5-point scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

### **3.2.4.2 Validated scales**

The following validated scales, adapted from previously existing tools, were used (see table 3.1 for a schematic overview).

#### **3.2.4.2.1 Life satisfaction**

To measure the general life-satisfaction of the participants, Cantril’s ladder was used (Gerson, 2018). This scale, also known as Cantril’s Self-Anchoring ladder of life satisfaction, visually shows a ladder with 8 numbers (1 until 8) vertically alongside the ladder. The participants are asked to rate where on the ladder they would position themselves, imagining that the ladder represents their life. The top of the ladder represents their best possible life and the lower end of the ladder their worst possible life.

The scale has initially been developed for a generic adult population. The scale used in this study was the validated adapted version for adolescents of 11-15 years old (Levin & Currie, 2014). The reliability of the scale showed to be good, however the distribution of the scores on the ladder tend to be skewed to the higher end of the ladder for most adolescents internationally (Levin & Currie, 2014).

There are several one-item measures available for life satisfaction (e.g. Rose, 1955), however Cantril’s ladder seems to be preferable in the study with adolescents as it offers a visual representation of one’s life satisfaction which has shown to be reliable.

#### **3.2.4.2.1 Self-esteem**

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965) is a widely used scale to measure global self-worth measuring both positive and negative thoughts and feelings about the self. It contains 10 items, which constitute 1 dimension. It has been argued that the scale contains multiple dimensions (Gnambs et al., 2018), but in general there is strong evidence that a unidimensional structure best fits the concept (Gnambs et al., 2018; Schmitt & Allik, 2005).

Five of the ten items are negatively phrased (item 2, 5, 6, 8, 9) and the total score is calculated through adding up the scores per individual item. A higher score indicates a higher self-esteem. The original scale has 4 answer options ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree, but in the current study a fifth was added (*neutral*) in order to be coherent with the available response options throughout the questionnaire.

### 3.2.4.2.1 Pride of place

To measure pride of place an adaptation of the Authentic and Hubristic Pride Scale (Tracy & Robins, 2007b) has been used. This pride scale has been shown to consist of two factors (authentic and hubristic) and is highly reliable (Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007b).

The scale measures pride using 14 items which are adjectives that are related to either of the two facets. For both facets of pride seven items are included. For example, for authentic pride adjectives such as *accomplished*, *confident* and *successful* are used; and for hubristic pride items such as *arrogant*, *egotistical* and *snobbish*. Where in the original scale the respondents are requested to indicate the extent to which they generally feel the adjectives towards themselves, in the current study this was adapted to the extent they feel these adjectives towards the place. The instructions were formulated as follows: "Below are a number of words and phrases that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then indicate the extent to which you generally feel this way towards Dingle using the scale shown below." The original 5-point Likert scale was used ranging from *not at all* to *extremely*.

The scores for this scale were calculated adding up the scores per item for a total pride of place score and for the items related to the two sub-dimensions. There were no negatively phrased items.

The scale was used as it is the only available pride scale that differentiates between authentic and hubristic pride.

### 3.2.4.2.1 Shame of place

To measure shame in relation to places, an adaptation of the Personal Feelings Questionnaire-2 (Harder & Zalma, 1990) was used. This scale measures proneness to both guilt and shame but for the current study only the shame subscale was used. This subscale of the PFQ-2 consists of 10 items and showed reliable for one-off measures ( $\alpha = .78$ ) and also for test-retest measures ( $\alpha = .91$ ; Harder & Zalma, 1990).

There are several validated and reliable shame scales available (e.g. TOSCA-3; Tangney et al., 1996) and the PFQ-2 was chosen because it is similar in its structure to the authentic and hubristic pride scale as it also uses adjectives/feelings that are related to the experiencing of shame.

Shame was measured in a similar way as the pride scale previously described. Ten adjectives (e.g., embarrassed, stupid, blushing) are presented, and the respondents are requested to indicate the extent to which they feel these emotions. The original scale uses a 4-point response scale ranging from *never experiencing this feeling* to *continuously experiencing this feeling*. For the use of this shame scale in the current study, two adaptations have been made. The first being that the introduction to the scale was changed to asking the participants to rate the extent to which they generally experience these feelings towards the place, instead of towards the self. The second adaption was made in the response scale, which was made identical to the pride of place scale (5-point

scale ranging from *not at all* to *extremely*). The response scale was adapted in order to create coherence in the response options for the respondents.

There were no negatively phrased items and the sum score was calculated adding up the scores per item.

#### **3.2.4.2.1 Civic pride**

The Civic Pride Scale (Wood, 2006) is the only available scale that measures pride in relation to intangible aspects of a place. It was developed to measure the effects of festivals or events on the local community. The scale contains 14 statements (e.g., the place *is a good place to live, ...is ordinary, ...is exciting, ...is welcoming*) and measures only one factor (*civic pride*). The scale has shown to be valid and reliable with Cronbach's alpha equal to .84 (Wood, 2006). All items are statements of perceived attitudes towards the place. The author mentions that item 3 (*...is ordinary*) appears to be sensitive to the context and culture of the place as it can be interpreted differently.

There are 6 items negatively stated (item 4, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14) and in order to calculate the sum score of the respondents the items' scores are added up.

#### **3.2.4.2.1 Collective self-esteem**

The Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSES) measures individual levels of social identity based on membership to ascribed groups (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). The original scale consists of 16 items measured on a 7-point scale (ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree). The scale measures collective self-esteem using 16 statements about the social group someone belongs to, equally divided over 4 subscales. The subscales are: membership esteem, private collective self-esteem, public collective self-esteem and identity. Research has shown that the CSES and its subscales are reliable with substantial alphas (ranging from .73 to .80 for the subscales and .85 for the total scale) and a fair test-retest reliability (Crocker et al., 1994).

For the current study a severely shortened version of the CSES was used with only one item per subscale in order to minimize the total number of items of the questionnaire. For the selection of items for the CSES in this study, three selection criteria were used: one item per subscale, the statement is positively phrased and the item has the highest factor loading. Furthermore, two adaptations were made. Where the CSES is aimed at measuring the social identity based on membership to social groups, the current study measures membership to places. The introduction and the statements were rephrased in order for them to address this place membership (e.g., the item "I am a worthy member of the social groups I belong to" was rephrased to "I am a worthy member of *Dingle*"). Secondly, for the current study a 5-point response scale (ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree) was used instead of a 7-point in order to keep consistency for the respondents.

#### **3.2.4.2.1 Collective narcissism**

The 5-item Collective Narcissism Scale was used to measure "an emotional investment in an unrealistic belief about the greatness and prominence of an ingroup" (de Zavala et al., 2009). The used 5-item scale is a short

version of the full scale that contains 9 items and has a high internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha equal to .86). The validated shorter version also shows highly reliable (alpha = .90) and has, as the full scale, only one single dimension (de Zavala et al., 2013; Golec de Zavala, 2019).

The five statements of the original scale were slightly adapted for this study. The original statements refer to "my group" and this was modified to the name of the place (e.g., "My group deserves special treatment" became "Dingle deserves special treatment").

The original scale has 6 response options ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*, but this was adjusted to a five-point scale in coherence with the previous scales used. There are no negatively statements and the total score is the sum of the item scores.

#### **3.2.4.2.1 Place attachment**

To measure the respondent's place attachment an adaptation of the neighbourhood attachment scale developed by Fornara et al. (2010) was used. This mono-factorial scale includes four items related to integration, identity and rootedness in regard to the place. The scale has shown to have a high internal consistency with a Cronbach's alpha of .82 (Fornara et al., 2010).

For the current study the statements were adapted to the context of the study and the words "this neighbourhood" were replaced by "Dingle" (e.g., "This neighbourhood is part of me" became "Dingle is part of me"). One item was negatively stated (item 4 – "I do not feel integrated in Dingle") and the total score of the scale is calculated by the sum of the scores on the individual items.

#### **3.2.4.2.1 Place identity**

In order to measure place identity two separate scales were used.

Scale 1 included a 10-item statement scale (Bonaiuto, et al., 2019) measuring two factors of place identity: *Place Distinctiveness* (3 items) and *Identification with the City* (7 items). The subscales are highly internally consistence with a respective Cronbach's alpha of .83 and .85 (Bonaiuto, et al., 2019).

The statements of the scale have been adapted to the context of the study, meaning that the word "city" was replaced with "Dingle". The three items of the subscale Place Distinctiveness are all negative statements (e.g., "Dingle is like any other place") and the seven items of the Identification with the Place subscale are positively stated items (e.g., "The inhabitants of Dingle reflect its identity"). This last subscale contains both items at a collective place identity level (e.g., "The inhabitants strongly identify with Dingle") and at an individual level (e.g., "I identify more with Dingle than with any other place").

The scores of this scale and its subscales were calculated as the sum of each score per item.

Scale 2 was an adaptation of a one-item organisational identification measure (Bergami & Bagozzi, 2000), which is a visual diagram of degree overlap between self-definition and organisational identity. The measure shows

two columns of eight circles varying in overlap, representing the degree of overlap between self-definition and organisational identity. The original measure has eight response options ranging from the two circles placed far apart to their complete overlap.

For the study this introduction to this visual diagram was adapted to be able to measure place identity (e.g., "... Please select the row below that best described your relationship with Dingle"). Instead of eight response options, the measure in the current study was simplified including only five response options.

### **3.2.4.2.1 Place reputation**

To measure the place reputation an adapted version of the RepTrak Pulse was used (Ponzi et al., 2011). This is a scale that measures emotion related to a corporate reputation through four statements of which three are statements to elicit the corporation's emotional appeal (*company feeling, admire & respect* and *company confidence*) and a fourth measuring overall reputation. The scale is highly internally consistent (Cronbach's alpha >.93) and covers one single factor (Ponzi et al., 2011).

The statements were adapted for the current study in order to measure the place reputation (e.g., the statement "... is a company that I admire and respect" was changed into "Dingle is a place that I admire and respect"). The original scale contains a 7-point response scale (ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*) and this was modified to the 5-point scale used in the previous scale in order to create coherence in the response options.

### **3.2.4.2.1 Reputation indicators**

Place reputation can also be measured through several indicators that define a place. Bonaiuto et al. (2019) identified 12 themes (City Reputation Indicators; CRI's) that mirror the aspects of a city's reputation: quality of life, safety, cost of living, weather, compatibility, landscape quality, care and maintenance, public transportation, food, place identity, place attachment and inclusiveness. Each of these themes resulted in a subscale with each subscale including several factors. All subscales showed good to high internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha between .68 and .92). The scale contains 252 items and has a 7-point response scale ranging from totally disagree to totally agree.

For the current study only the main themes were used as these could give a first glance into which aspects of a place can be of interest to adolescents' perceived place reputation. Ten of the twelve were used (place identity and place attachment are already measured in separate scales in this study). The themes were slightly changed in their wording in order to make it more understandable by the young people, adjust to the context of the study and still cover the content of the theme. For example, the theme 'inclusiveness' was changed into 'openness and hospitality' and 'compatibility' into 'opportunities and lifestyle'. This resulted in the use of the following indicators: 'the quality of life', 'safety', 'the cost of living', 'the weather', 'opportunities and lifestyle', 'the quality of the landscape', 'care for the place and environmental quality', 'public transport, connections and mobility', 'food' and 'openness and hospitality'.

Respondents were asked “How would you value Dingle for the following aspects” and they could respond on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from ‘very poor’ to ‘very good’.

### **3.2.4.2.1 Place connectedness**

Place connectedness was measured through an adaptation of the Nature Connectedness Scale (NCS; Richardson et al., 2019), that originally includes six items measuring one factor (Nature Connectedness). The scale was found valid and reliable for both adults (Cronbach’s alpha = 0.92) and children (alpha = 0.85).

For the current study the NCS was both adapted to the place context and shortened. Four of the six items (statements) were included in the questionnaire for reasons of reducing the total amount of items administered to the students. The items that were included were those with the highest factor loadings for children (> 0.796). The statements were adapted in such a way that the word ‘nature’ was replaced with ‘Dingle’ (e.g., “I always find beauty in nature” became “I always find beauty in Dingle”). The response scale was kept as in the original, with a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*.

### **3.2.4.2.1 Meaning in life**

The Meaning in Life Questionnaire (Steger et al., 2006) is a 10-item validated scale measuring the “sense made of, and significance felt regarding, the nature of one’s being and existence” (p.81). The scale measures meaning in life through two subscales: *Presence of Meaning* (PoM) and *Search for Meaning* (SfM). The scale has clearly two distinct factors (PoM and SfM) which are separate dimensions, meaning that for example an absence of presence of meaning is not equivalent to the search for meaning (Negri et al., 2020).

Each subscale includes five statements, and the respective internal validity of the subscales is good (alpha coefficients higher than .80). The test-retest reliability showed good results over a period of one year (Steger et al., 2006). The scale was validated with a student’s population and has been successfully used with adolescents (Steger et al., 2008).

In the current study six of the ten items were included (three per subscale). The statements were based on the factor loadings, with the highest being included in the current study. The scale was reduced in items in order to reduce the total number of items in the questionnaire.

The statements were adapted to the context of the study, through adding words that would make the statements refer to experiencing and searching for meaning in relation to the place. For example, the statement “I understand my life’s meaning” was changed to “When I am in Dingle I understand my life’s meaning”.

The response scale was changed from a 7-point (ranging from *absolutely untrue* to *absolutely true*) to the 5-point scale used for the previous scales included in the questionnaire (ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*).

### 3.2.4.2.1 Perceived Collective Continuity

To measure the perception of an in-group continuity the Perceived Collective Continuity (PCC) scale was used (Sani et al., 2007, 2009). This 12-item scale is based on two dimensions: perceived cultural and historical continuity. Each subscale includes six items which are statements about the perceived continuity of the group the respondent considers him/herself part of. This group can be at national, regional or any other kind of group level. The PCC has proven to be internally consistent (Cronbach's alpha > .80) as are both subscales (alpha > .71).

For the current study two items per subscale were selected and included in the study. These items were – as suggested by one of the Authors, Fabio Sani, through email conversations in February 2020 – slightly modified in order to make them more understandable by the target group of the study and to its context. For example, item 2 “the groups history is a sequence of interconnected events” was changed to “The history of Dingle is a sequence of events that are linked to each other”. The original scale contains a 7-point response scale (ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*) and this was modified to the 5-point scale used in the previous scale in order to create coherence in the response options.

### 3.2.5 Analysis

The analyses were done using IBM SPSS statistics version 27.

There was no missing data as the questionnaires were administered using the online survey tool ‘Qualtrics’ which had obligatory fields for all questions. Only those responses that were completed 100% were included in the study.

The following statistical tests were used for the three aims.

**Aim 1:** to examine the psychometric properties for each scale for both t0 (pre-test) and t1 (post-test) the means and standard deviations were calculated. Furthermore, a normality test was conducted calculating the Skewness and Kurtosis, and the Cronbach's alpha was calculated in order to measure the internal reliability of each scale and subscale. Lastly, two exploratory principle-axis factor analyses were conducted with oblique rotation (direct oblimin) on two self-developed scales ('Intention to stay' as described in section 3.2.4.1 and the reputation indicators described in section 3.2.4.2.1). For all other scales it was assumed that the factor structures were according to its validation.

The Skewness and Kurtosis values between -1 and +1 generally indicate that the responses can be considered normally distributed (Hair Jr et al., 2021, p. 61). The internal consistency is reported with the Cronbach's alpha. A cut-off value of .70 was used to indicate acceptable reliability (Cohen, 1988). As for the Factor Analysis interpretation of the values greatly depend on the sample size, but Guagnoli and Velicer (1988) suggest that if a factor has four or more items with a factor loading of greater than 0.6, then it is reliable regardless of sample size.



**Aim 2:** to test the hypotheses, the correlation coefficients were calculated between all (sub)scales separately for the pre-test and post-test moment of measurement. Since the sample size was rather small (N=24) and not all scales were considered to be normally distributed (see section 3.3.1), Spearman's Rho was used as this is usually the better alternative for a correlation analysis in these cases (Field, 2018; Spearman, 1910). As the hypotheses were directional the significance levels were 1-tailed.

**Aim 3:** to examine the effects of the intervention on the sample of this study paired sample t-tests (1-tailed) were conducted with between the scale scores at t0 and t1. A criterion probability of  $p = 0.025$  was maintained as all hypotheses were directional.

## 3.3 Results

### 3.3.1 Descriptive statistics

In table 3.2 for each included (sub) scale the mean, standard deviation, approximation of normality (i.e., Skewness and Kurtosis) and Cronbach's alpha are presented for both t0 (baseline) and t1 (post-intervention). The Skewness and Kurtosis values of the responses for each scale show how the responses are approximating a normal distribution. Values between -1 and +1 generally indicate that the responses can be considered normally distributed (Hair Jr et al., 2021, p. 61). As can be concluded from the values in table 3.2 for several scales and subscales the Skewness and Kurtosis values are crossing the suggested range. For example, this is the case for the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale, Pride of Place scale, Authentic Pride of Place scale, Shame of Place scale, Civic Pride Scale, Meaning in Life Scale, Place Identity 1 scale and the Place Reputation scale. This leads to suggesting the use of non-parametric tests for further analysis.

For each scale the Cronbach's alpha is calculated in order to assess the internal consistency of each scale (i.e., reliability). The reliability scores are in general satisfactory to good with a few exceptions, which unfortunately could not be improved by removing items. The place attachment scale and the subscale 'place distinctiveness' of the place identity 1 scale showed to be unreliable and are therefore not included in further analysis. Table 3.2 shows the alpha values for both t0 and t1. All other scales showed reliable Cronbach alpha values and hypothesis Ha2 could therefore not be accepted for all scales.

**Table 3.2**

*Descriptive Table of Variables or Pre- and Post-Intervention and Results of Paired Sample T-Test.*

N=24			At pre-intervention (t0)					At post-intervention (t1)					Paired Sample Student's t-Test	
Scale name	Used variable	Nr of items	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	Cronbach's alpha	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	Cronbach's alpha	t (23)	Sign. (1-tailed)**
Intention to stay in the place (self-developed)	Intention to stay in the place	2 (4)	5.38	1.97	0.066	0.014	.635*	5.08	1.74	0.238	-0.650	.714*	-1.000	.164
The Cantril's Ladder-Adolescent version (Levin & Currie, 2014)	Life satisfaction	1	6.04	1.23	-0.541	0.138	-	5.46	1.29	-0.705	0.625	-	<b>-2.356</b>	<b>.014</b>
Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale (Petersen, 1965)	Self-esteem	10	33.63	7.32	-0.691	1.077	.895	32.63	6.97	-0.708	2.211	.924	-.926	.182
Authentic and Hubristic Pride Scale (Tracy & Robins, 2007b)	Pride of Place	14	43.38	9.90	-0.948	2.211	.915	40.88	9.20	-0.844	3.295	.932	-1.635	.058
	Subscale: Authentic Pride of Place	7	23.17	5.52	-1.080	2.062	.870	21.79	4.98	-1.064	3.802	.907	-1.510	.073
	Subscale: Hubristic Pride of Place	7	20.21	5.12	-0.377	0.428	.856	19.08	4.88	-0.569	0.750	.879	-1.314	.101
Personal Feelings Questionnaire 2 (Harder & Zalma, 1990; Harder, 1990)	Shame of Place	10	23.17	9.33	0.952	1.642	.930	23.17	9.04	-0.304	-1.162	.945	0.00	.500
Civic Pride Scale (Wood, 2006)	Civic Pride	14	52.50	7.09	0.422	0.231	.823	49.04	7.14	0.053	-1.377	.777	<b>-2.351</b>	<b>.014</b>
Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992)	Collective Self-Esteem	4	14.88	2.80	-0.222	0.030	.803	13.50	3.30	-0.969	0.470	.899	<b>-2.114</b>	<b>.023</b>
	Subscale: membership	1	3.21	0.88	0.382	-0.319	-	3.00	0.78	-0.599	0.527	-	-1.045	.154
	Subscale: private CSE	1	4.00	0.72	0.000	-0.946	-	3.58	1.06	-0.716	0.164	-	<b>-2.318</b>	<b>.015</b>
	Subscale: public CSE	1	3.96	0.69	-0.812	2.024	-	3.54	0.83	-0.390	-0.254	-	<b>-2.318</b>	<b>.015</b>
	Subscale: identity	1	3.71	1.16	-0.647	-0.314	-	3.38	1.06	-0.609	0.638	-	-1.318	.101

\*This value is not a Cronbach's alpha but a squared correlation coefficient as this subscale only has two items.

\*\*t-values with a significance of  $p < 0.05$  are made bold.

Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009)	Collective narcissism	5	15.25	3.63	-0.071	0.336	.790	16.54	2.65	-0.020	-0.229	.652	<b>2.486</b>	<b>.011</b>
Perceived Residential Environment Quality (PREQ) and Neighborhood Attachment (NA) Indicators (Fornara et al., 2010)	Place attachment	4	12.92	2.90	0.032	0.657	.667 <sup>†</sup>	12.83	2.22	-0.448	0.533	.492 <sup>†</sup>	-1.175	.432
City Reputation Indicators (CRIs; Bonaiuto et al., 2019)	Place identity 1	10	34.54	4.39	0.303	-0.628	.724	33.63	4.72	0.826	1.973	.757	-1.182	.125
	Subscale: Place distinctiveness	3	10.21	2.17	0.407	-0.247	.579 <sup>†</sup>	9.33	2.08	0.535	0.234	.468 <sup>†</sup>	-0.976	.170
	Subscale: Identification with place	7	24.33	3.44	0.154	-0.771	.786	23.96	3.74	0.527	0.833	.823	-0.702	.245
Organisational Identification (Bergami&Bagozzi, 2000)	Place identity 2	1	3.46	.93	-0.396	1.002	-	3.58	.93	-0.087	-0.689	-	8.27	.209
Corporate Reputation (Ponzi et al., 2011)	Place reputation	4	15.04	3.17	0.227	-0.862	.922	14.79	2.55	0.561	-0.391	.961	-0.611	.274
City Reputation Indicators(CRI's; (Bonaiuto, , et al., 2019)	Reputation indicators	7 (10)	26.75	3.86	0.539	-0.320	.800	26.583	4.32	-0.077	-1.311	.849	-0.248	.403
Nature Connectedness Index (Richardson et al., 2019)	Place connectedness	4	13.79	3.53	0.071	-0.243	.910	14.04	2.60	0.748	0.834	.908	.508	.284
The Meaning in Life Questionnaire (Steger et al., 2006)	Meaning in Life	6	17.54	4.58	-1.413	2.736	.884	18.33	3.07	-0.961	1.244	.781	1.458	.079
	Presence of Meaning in Life	3	9.33	2.87	0.216	2.144	.953	9.46	2.04	0.216	2.144	.888	.287	.389
	Search for Meaning in Life	3	8.21	2.54	-0.621	0.119	.914	8.88	1.99	-1.231	2.301	.891	1.458	.079
Perceived Collective Continuity Scale Sani et al., 2007)	Perceived Collective Continuity	4	13.75	3.51	-0.348	1.872	.930	14.08	2.34	0.780	0.056	.834	.470	.322
	Culture	2	6.83	1.88	-0.337	0.850	(r = ) .877*	7.00	1.18	0.867	0.649	(r = ) .547*	.429	.336
	History	2	6.92	1.72	-0.365	2.279	(r = ) .826*	7.08	1.28	0.506	-0.578	(r = ) .736*	.477	.319

<sup>†</sup> Cronbach's alpha could not be improved removing items.

\*This value is not a Cronbach's alpha but a squared correlation coefficient (r) as this subscale only has two items.

### 3.3.1.1 Structure of two self-developed scales

Two scales were subject to an Exploratory Factor Analysis as these were self-developed or heavily modified from the original scale. All other scales were validated scales and therefore their factor structure was considered to remain valid.

#### 3.3.1.1.1 Scale Intention to stay in the place

The first scale in table 3.2 (*Intention to stay in the place*) was self-developed and had a poor internal consistency for both t0 and t1, with respective Cronbach's alphas of .55 (t0) and .63 (t1), with no possibility to increase the value removing items. An initial principal axis factor analysis was executed on the 4 items with oblique rotation (using direct *Oblimin rotation*). Unfortunately for the values of the scale at t0 (baseline) the Factor Matrix could not be calculated as SPSS terminated the extraction, even with a high number of iterations ("In iteration 200, the communality of a variable exceeds 1.0"). This is most likely due to the small sample size (N=24). For the values at t1, computing the same principal factor analysis calculated, resulting in a one-factor structure based on Kaiser's criterion of 1 (eigenvalue 1.90 and 47.48% of variance explained. The factor matrix showed poor factor loading for item 1 ("Even if I had to live elsewhere at some point in my life, I will return to live in Dingle") and item 4 ("I don't mind if in the future I will live in Dingle or elsewhere") of <0.42. Doing the same factor analysis for the scale at baseline (t0) asking SPSS to extract 1 factor for the 4 items, the factor loading of items 1 and 4 were similarly low (respectively 0.27 and 0.33). When removing these two items with a poor factor coefficient from this scale one by one in order to achieve a satisfactory internal reliability and factor loadings a single factor with two items (item 2 & 3) was obtained. A scale with item 2 and 3 included resulted in a reliability coefficient of .64 (at t0) and .72 (at t1). The results of this second analysis without items 1 and 4 are shown in table 3.3. For the further statistical analyses of this study this variable with 2 items will be included (item 1 and 4 removed).

**Table 3.3**

*Summary of Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for the Intention to Live in the Place Scale (N=24)*

Factor Matrix		
Item	t0	t1
Item 2: <i>As soon as I have the opportunity, I would like to leave from Dingle</i>	.67	.75
Item 3: <i>I would like to spend my entire life in Dingle</i>	.67	.75
Eigenvalue	1.46	1.56
% of variance	72.74	77.80
Reliability coefficient ( <i>r</i> )	0.64	0.72

### 3.3.1.1.2 Scale Reputation Indicators

For the scale ‘Reputation Indicators’ with 10 items retrieved from the City Reputation Indicators scale, an Exploratory Factor Analysis was conducted for the values at t0 and t1. The initial reliability scores for both t0 and t1 were good (respectively .81 and .79). However, because the scale was heavily modified based on the original scale (Bonaiuto, et al., 2019) a principle axis factor analysis (FA) was conducted on the 10 items with oblique rotation (direct oblimin) in order to assess the internal structure (factor loadings) of the scale. An initial analysis was run for the scale at t0 and t1 to obtain the eigenvalues for each factor in the data. For both measurements 2 factors had an eigenvalue over Kaiser’s criterion of 1 and in combination explained 56.13% (t0) and 59.06% (at t1) of the variance. The factor loadings (Pattern matrix) showed ambiguous factor loadings which did not express a clear 2-factor structure for the 10 items. Conceptually a two-factor structure for this scale would only make sense if it could for example be divided in tangible and intangible items, which was not the case for the results of this analysis, thus leading to conclude that conceptually a one-factor structure would fit best. Since there was no theoretical basis for a more than one factor structure, a second exploratory factor analysis was run for a single factor model, resulting in explained variances of 38,50% (t0) and 39.02% (t1). When examining the factor loadings, there were three items (3-Cost of Living; 4-Weather; 8-Public transport, Connections and Mobility) that had poor values. The factor loadings of these items at t0 (item 4 and 8) scored below 0.38 and at t1 the factor loading of these 3 items was below 0.16. A third factor analysis was run deleting these items (3,4,8) one-by-one, leading to a stronger factor structure and satisfactory reliability values. Guagagnoli and Velicer (1988) suggest that if a factor has four or more items with a factor loading of greater than 0.6, then it is reliable regardless of sample size. Table 3.4 shows these factor loadings and the Cronbach’s alphas. For further data analysis of this study, this factor with 7 items is included.

**Table 3.4**

*Summary of Exploratory Factor Analysis Results of Place Reputation Indicators Scale (N=24)*

Factor Matrix		
Item	t0	t1
Quality of Life	1.00	0.82
Safety	0.57	0.45
Opportunities and lifestyle	0.48	0.73
Qual of Landscape	0.36	0.85
Care for place and environmental quality	0.63	0.58
Food	0.68	0.58
Openness and hospitality	0.64	0.77
Eigenvalue	3.39	3.85
% of variance	48.49	54.94
Cronbach’s alpha	0.80	0.85

### 3.3.2 Correlations

Under aim 2 of this study, nine directional hypotheses (e.g., either positive or negative correlations) are tested. Tables 3.5 and 3.6 present Spearman's correlation coefficient (1-tailed) for each scale respectively for t0 and t1. For this study, the main focus is on the correlations of the variables *authentic pride of place*, *hubristic pride of place* and *shame of place*. In the following three subsections a differentiated overview is presented for the correlation coefficients, per hypotheses.

**Table 3.5**

*Correlations (Spearman's Rho) Between the Several (Sub)Scales for the Pre-Intervention Measurement (t0)*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1 Intention to stay	--																				
2 Satisfaction with life	.457*	--																			
3 Self-Esteem	.303	.330	--																		
4 Collective Self-Esteem	.455*	.284	.016	--																	
5 Collective Narcissism	.276	.201	.271	.527**	--																
6 Place Reputation	.201	.489**	.063	.361*	.411*	--															
7 Reputation indicators	.518**	.321	.452*	.521**	.603**	.466*	--														
8 Meaning in Life	.472*	.167	.350*	.298	.271	-.013	.117	--													
9 Presence	.655**	.332	.171	.514**	.305	.263	.532**	.591**	--												
10 Search	.293	.107	.174	.068	.003	-.233	-.085	.767**	.442*	--											
11 Perceived Collective Continuity	.486**	.388*	.084	.595**	.217	.375*	.544**	.028	.464*	-.080	--										
12 History	.473**	.415*	.137	.691**	.391*	.506**	.594**	.050	.394*	-.134	.936**	--									
13 Place Identity 1	.572**	.521**	.356*	.766**	.741**	.496**	.761**	.403*	.515**	.123	.482**	.622**	--								
14 Place Identity 2	.404*	.245	.164	.432*	.553**	.293	.397*	.244	.396*	.208	.354*	.418*	.545**	--							
15 Place Attachment	.599**	.487**	.285	.641**	.680**	.619**	.645**	.400*	.515**	.086	.519**	.642**	.791**	.407*	--						
16 Place Connectedness	.572**	.596**	.222	.569**	.451*	.721**	.656**	.300	.594**	.095	.645**	.717**	.702**	.372*	.875**	--					
17 Shame of Place	.282	-.178	-.281	-.019	-.123	-.353*	-.162	-.035	.129	.001	.091	.034	.245	.123	-.178	-.142	--				
18 Civic Pride	.349*	.276	.116	.529**	.425*	.455*	.663**	.070	.477**	.064	.335	.401*	.618**	.192	.504**	.503**	-.142	--			
19 Pride of Place	-.009	.462*	.507**	.063	-.155	.026	.157	.051	.210	.139	.126	.060	.112	-.018	-.024	.107	-.243	.102	--		
20 Authentic	-.037	.459*	.629**	.029	.064	.252	.242	.000	.079	.021	.080	.111	.209	.014	.119	.216	-.383*	.098	.893**	--	
21 Hubristic	.004	.422*	.320	.002	-.357	-.162	-.028	.105	.257	.228	.082	.054	-.064	.087	-.204	-.016	.005	.007	.896**	.637**	--

\* correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (one-tailed)

\*\* correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (one-tailed)



**Table 3.6**

*Correlations (Spearman's rho) Between the Several (Sub)Scales for the Post-Intervention Measurement (t1)*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
<b>1 Intention to stay</b>	--																					
<b>2 Satisfaction with life</b>	.457*	--																				
<b>3 Self-Esteem</b>	.303	.330	--																			
<b>4 Collective Self-Esteem</b>	.455*	.284	.016	--																		
<b>5 Collective Narcissism</b>	.267	.201	.271	.527**	--																	
<b>6 Place Reputation</b>	.201	.489**	.063	.361*	.411*	--																
<b>7 Reputation indicators</b>	.518**	.321	.452*	.521**	.603**	.466*	--															
<b>8 Meaning in Life</b>	.472*	.167	.350*	.298	.271	-.013	.177	--														
<b>9 Presence</b>	.655**	.332	.171	.514**	.305	.263	.532**	.591**	--													
<b>10 Search</b>	.293	.107	.174	.068	.003	-.233	-.085	.767**	.442*	--												
<b>11 Perceived Collective Continuity</b>	.486**	.388*	.084	.595**	.217	.375*	.544**	.028	.464*	-.080	--											
<b>12 History</b>	.473**	.415*	.137	.691**	.391*	.506**	.594**	.050	.394*	-.134	.936**	--										
<b>13 Place Identity 1</b>	.572**	.521**	.356*	.766**	.741**	.496**	.761**	.403*	.515**	.123	.482**	.622**	--									
<b>14 Place Identity 2</b>	.269	.245	.164	.432*	.553**	.293	.397*	.244	.396*	.208	.354*	.418*	.545**	--								
<b>15 Place Attachment</b>	.599**	.487**	.284	.641**	.680**	.619**	.645**	.400*	.515**	.086	.519**	.642**	.791**	.407*	--							
<b>16 Place Connectedness</b>	.572**	.596**	.222	.569**	.451*	.721**	.656**	.300	.594**	.095	.645**	.717**	.702**	.372*	.875**	--						
<b>17 Shame of Place</b>	.282	-.178	-.281	-.019	-.123	-.353*	-.162	-.035	.129	-.001	.091	-.034	-.245	.123	-.178	-.142	--					
<b>18 Civic Pride</b>	.349*	.276	.116	.529**	.425*	.455*	.663**	.070	.477**	-.064	.335	.401*	.618**	.192	.504**	.503**	-.142	--				
<b>19 Pride of Place</b>	-.009	.462*	.507**	.063	-.155	.026	.157	.051	.210	.139	.126	.060	.112	-.018	-.024	.107	-.243	.102	--			
<b>20 Authentic</b>	-.037	.459*	.629**	.029	.064	.252	.242	.000	.079	-.021	.080	.111	.209	.014	.119	.216	-.383*	.098	.893**	--		
<b>21 Hubristic</b>	.004	.422*	.320	.002	-.357	-.162	-.028	.105	.257	.228	.082	-.054	-.064	-.087	-.203	-.062	.005	.007	.896**	.637**	--	

\* correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (one-tailed)  
 \*\* correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (one-tailed)

### 3.3.2.1 Antecedent

In table 3.7 below an overview is created of the correlation coefficients (Spearman's rho) and the significance values per hypothesis. Where in the hypotheses, and thus based on study 1 or the literature, no distinction could be made between hubristic and authentic pride of place (PoP), the values for both facets of pride of place are presented in order to explore any differentiation. Table 3.7 shows that only hypothesis Ha11 could be accepted for t0, but not for t1, meaning that a negative relationship between shame of place (SoP) and place reputation could be expected to be valid. The perceived collective continuity scale has two subscales that also did not show significant correlations for hypothesis Ha9.

**Table 3.7**

*Correlation Coefficients and Significance Values per Hypotheses (significant values in bold)*

Spearman's Rho			T0		T1		Result
Hypothesis	Variables	Direction	Value	Sign (1-tailed)	Value	Sign (1-tailed)	
Ha4	PoP& place identity 1	Positive	.112	.301	-.168	.215	Rejected
	Authentic PoP& place identity 1		.209	.164	.070	.372	Rejected
	Hubristic PoP& place identity 1		-.064	.383	-.223	.147	Rejected
Ha5	SoP& place identity 1	Positive	-.245	.124	-.252	.117	Rejected
Ha6	PoP& place attachment	Positive	-.024	.456	-.202	.172	Rejected
	Authentic PoP& Place attachment		.119	.289	.050	.409	Rejected
	Hubristic PoP& Place attachment		-.203	.170	-.219	.152	Rejected
Ha7	SoP& place attachment	Negative	-.178	.203	-.213	.159	Rejected
Ha8	PoP& place connectedness	Positive	.107	.310	-.242	.127	Rejected
	Authentic PoP& Place connectedness		.216	.156	-.080	.355	Rejected
	Hubristic PoP& Place connectedness		-.061	.388	-.250	.120	Rejected
Ha9	SoP& place connectedness	Negative	-.142	.253	-.277	.095	Rejected
Ha10	PoP& place reputation	Positive	.026	0.452	-.155	.235	Rejected
	Authentic PoP& Place reputation		.252	0.118	.023	.457	Rejected
	Hubristic PoP& Place reputation		-.162	.225	-.224	.158	Rejected
Ha11	Shame of Place & place reputation	Negative	<b>-.353</b>	<b>0.045</b>	-.175	.207	Accepted for t0, rejected for t1
Ha12	PoP& perceived collective continuity	Positive	.126	.279	-.134	.267	Rejected
	Authentic PoP& perceived collective continuity		.080	.354	-.067	.378	Rejected
	Hubristic PoP& perceived collective continuity		.082	.351	-.162	.224	Rejected

### 3.3.2.2 Consequences

Hypotheses Ha13 to Ha20 test for the interrelatedness between pride of place and shame of place with variables that are suggested as consequences, based on study 1 and the existing literature. Table 3.8 shows an overview of the results per hypothesis for both t0 and t1.

Hypothesis Ha13 that assessed the relationship between pride of place and individual self-esteem, showed that there are significant positive correlations between pride of place in general and authentic pride of place with individual self-esteem. For hubristic pride of place, the relationship showed to be significant only for t1, which requires to interpret the results with caution.

The variable meaning in life, which has a presence and search subscale, showed to have a significant negative correlation with pride of place at t1. No significant correlation was found for any of the two subscales of meaning in life.

Shame of place (Hypothesis Ha18) showed to correlate positively with intention to stay in the place at t1, where a negative relationship was expected. The results at t1 were opposite of what was hypothesized and thus lead to a rejection of the hypothesis.

Hypothesis Ha19 was accepted for t0 which resulted in positive correlations between (authentic and hubristic) pride of place and life satisfaction. The results at t1 could not confirm this, so caution in the interpretation is needed.

**Table 3.8**

*Correlation coefficients and Significance Values per Hypotheses (significant values in bold)*

Spearman's Rho			T0		T1		Result
Hypothesis	Variables	Direction	Value	Sign (1-tailed)	Value	Sign (1-tailed)	
Ha13	PoP & individual self-esteem	Positive	<b>.507</b>	<b>.006</b>	<b>.495</b>	<b>.007</b>	Accepted
	Authentic PoP & individual self-esteem		<b>.629</b>	<b>.000</b>	<b>.658</b>	<b>.000</b>	Accepted
	Hubristic PoP & individual self-esteem		.320	.064	<b>.408</b>	<b>.024</b>	Rejected at t0, accepted at t1
Ha14	SoP & individual self-esteem	negatively	-.281	.091	<b>-.345</b>	<b>.049</b>	Rejected at t0, accepted at t1
Ha15	PoP & collective self-esteem	Positive	.063	.386	-.213	.159	Rejected
	Authentic PoP & collective self-esteem		.029	.446	.024	.455	Rejected
	Hubristic PoP & collective self-esteem		.002	.496	-.250	.119	Rejected
Ha16	PoP & meaning in life	Positive	.051	.486	<b>-.379</b>	<b>.034</b>	Rejected at t0, rejected at t1 due to wrong direction
	Authentic PoP & meaning in life		.000	.500	-.140	.258	Rejected
	Hubristic PoP & meaning in life		.105	.313	-.329	.058	Rejected
Ha17	PoP & intention to stay in the place	Positive	-.009	.483	-.110	.304	Rejected
	Authentic PoP & intention to stay in the place		-.037	.431	.089	.340	Rejected
	Hubristic PoP & intention to stay in the place		.004	.492	-.182	.198	Rejected

Ha18	SoP & intention to stay in the place	Negative	.282	.091	<b>.398</b>	<b>.027</b>	Rejected at t0, rejected at t1 as expected direction was negative
Ha19	PoP & life satisfaction	Positive	<b>.462</b>	<b>.012</b>	.169	.215	Accepted at t0, rejected at t1
	Authentic PoP & life satisfaction		<b>.459</b>	<b>.012</b>	.312	.069	Accepted at t0, rejected at t1
	Hubristic PoP & life satisfaction		<b>.422</b>	<b>.020</b>	.160	.227	Accepted at t0, rejected at t1
Ha20	SoP & life satisfaction	Negative	-.178	.202	-.131	.272	Rejected

### 3.3.3 Effect of the intervention

In order to measure the effect of the intervention (i.e., change in scale values between t0 and t1) on the various variables measured through the used (sub)scales, a two-sample t-test was done. The results are presented in table 3.2 under section 3.3.1 showing the t-values and the significance (1-tailed) score. A criterion probability of  $p = 0.05$  was employed. The only significant results were a decrease of Life Satisfaction, Civic Pride and Collective Self-Esteem (including the two subscales Private and Public Self-Esteem); and an increase in Collective Narcissism. Although these variables were significantly affected over time, these effects were all in the opposite direction of what was hypothesized. Therefore, all hypotheses under study aim 3 should be rejected.

### **3.4 Discussion**

This pre-experimental study had the following three study aims: (1) preliminary, examining the psychometric properties of the used scales in an adolescent population; (2) examining the interrelatedness of the used scales, and; (3) assess the effect of the intervention on the variables measured. In this section the results will be discussed following these study aims and the formulated hypotheses in the introduction. Subsequently, the limitations and the implication of the results for the follow-up study with a bigger pupil population in Italy and Portugal will be discussed.

#### **3.4.1 Aim 1: Psychometric properties of the scales**

The scales that have been included in this study with 24 adolescents from Ireland have with a one exception (Cantril's ladder) not been validated for an adolescent population and none of the scales was available in native Irish (Gaelic language). Most importantly, most scales have been adapted to the context of the study, for which descriptions and statements have been adjusted to the context of the study (i.e., people-place bonds. This is further explained in section 3.2.4 instruments.

In general, the (sub)scales showed good reliability with satisfactory Cronbach's alpha values. For the two self-developed scales a factor analysis was conducted to examine the structure and factor loadings of the used items. For the scale *Intention to stay in the place* the factor analysis showed that a single factor structure with two items showed to be most coherent and reliable. For the scale *Reputation Indicators*, a one single factor structure with seven items showed to be the most coherent and internally consistent.

#### **3.4.2 Aim 2: Interrelatedness of variables**

Tables 3.5 and 3.6 show the correlation coefficients (Spearman's Rho) of the scale scores at t0 and t1. Tables 3.7 and 3.8 specify the coefficients and significance values per hypotheses.

The correlation coefficients showed only few significant correlations for the pride and shame scales (see section 3.2.1 to 3.2.2). This could be explained by the very small sample size (N=24) and by the fact that not all scales results showed to be normally distributed. Here below, the results will be discussed according to the structure of the hypotheses.

##### **3.4.2.1 Antecedents**

On the basis of study 1's results and the literature (e.g., Bonaiuto et al., 1996), relationships between pride and shame of place with constructs of place identity, place attachment and place connectedness were expected. None of the corresponding hypotheses could be confirmed. This is remarkable because study 1 and the social identity theory (e.g., Salice & Montes Sánchez, 2016) suggested that an identification process is necessary for people to experience pride or shame for the place (or group) they belong to. This could maybe be explained by

the fact that young people nowadays spend a lot of time in a virtual environment (and more so during lockdowns), which leads to new relationships and organizations of personal spaces (see for example Hodkinson & Lincoln, 2008). Young people, due to gaming, tend to spend a lot of time in their bedrooms, rather than outside. Place attachment processes, for example, have been disrupted by the lockdowns (Counted et al., 2020) and this could thus have influenced the relationship adolescents have with their places. The intervention took place in a period of lockdowns and online teaching, which could have negatively influenced such a person-place relationship. However, spending more time in and around the place due to travelling restrictions could have influenced the relationship in different ways, including strengthening the bonds.

Place reputation was hypothesized to have a positive influence on pride of place and a negative on shame of place. Only a negative relationship between shame of place and place reputation could be confirmed for t0, meaning that a lower level of place reputation correlates with higher levels of shame of place. This was indeed according to the findings in study 1 and the literature on the social identity theory (e.g., Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The bond with pride of place was not significant for place reputation, which is unexpected.

Perceived collective continuity also showed no correlation with any of the shame or pride of place scales. This could possibly be caused by the low sample, but this is true for all the correlations.

### **3.4.2.2 Consequences**

Correlations with individual self-esteem (hypotheses Ha13) resulted as expected from study 1, however this did not differentiate between authentic and hubristic pride. General pride studies (e.g. Tracy et al., 2009) argued that authentic pride of place correlates positively with individual (genuine) self-esteem as does hubristic pride with inflated self-esteem. The results showed indeed that authentic pride is positively correlated with individual self-esteem, as did hubristic pride of place (however only at t1).

Shame of place (hypothesis Ha14), on the other hand showed to negatively correlate with individual self-esteem. This was not suggested by study 1, but it is based on a meta-analysis on the relation between general shame and self-esteem (Budiarto & Helmi, 2021b). This was however only confirmed for t1, so caution with the interpretation is needed as the data is not uniform.

Further studies (study 3) should confirm the causal relationship between pride and shame of place and self-esteem.

The correlations with collective self-esteem, as was suggested by study 1 (cognitive collective consequences), could not be confirmed. As far as known, there is no literature that suggest anything regarding the relationship between collective self-esteem and pride. It could thus be that this relationship is not existent.

Hypothesis Ha16 proposed that there is a positive relation between meaning in life and pride of place. Study 1 showed that this results however it did not differentiate between authentic and hubristic pride of place and the facets presence and search of the construct meaning in life. Literature however predicts that authentic pride correlates positively with the presence of meaning in life (Nakamura, 2013). The results did not support this reasoning, as a negative correlation was found between general pride of place and meaning in life at t1. This

suggests that an increase in pride of place leads to a decrease in meaning in life in general. However weak-moderate ( $\rho = -.379$ ), this result is contradictory to the expectations and this could possibly be explained the effect of the lockdowns during which t1 was administered.

The variable *intention to stay in the place* was hypothesized to have a positive bond with pride of place and a negative with shame of place, as suggested by study 1. Only the correlation coefficient of hypothesis Ha18 proofed significant at t1, however the value showed to be positive ( $\rho = .398$ ). This is unexpected as based on the literature (e.g., Permentier, 2007) and study 1. It could be argued that one of the coping mechanisms of shame of place could be to leave the place (i.e., 'exit' according to Permentier, 2007); it could however also be that shame leads to a stronger bond with the place and a willingness to change what is subject of shame. Study 1 indeed suggests that one of the behavioural consequences of shame of place is the willingness to improve the place.

The last variables included in the correlation study of aim 2 are the bond between pride of place and life satisfaction. This was expected to be positive for pride and negative for shame of place.

General pride of place and the two subscales authentic and hubristic pride of place positively correlated with the levels of life satisfaction at t0 but not at t1. Study 1 suggests that pride of place leads to an increase in both hedonic and eudaimonic wellbeing, which can be linked with life satisfaction. The results should, however, be considered cautiously as the data at t0 and t1 is not uniform. Shame of place was suggested to have a negative correlation with life satisfaction: this could be read in the light of study 1 suggesting that the experiencing of shame of place brings about the experiencing of negative emotions such as anger and sadness, which are linked with lower levels of life satisfaction (e.g., Sullivan et al., 2020).

### **3.4.2.3 General observations**

Where the hypotheses for the pride and shame of place scales with other variables were accepted only minimally, the Civic Pride scale (Wood, 2006) did show more inter-variable correlations. For example, this scale correlated positively with Collective Self-Esteem, Place Attachment and Place Identity, Place Reputation and Place Connectedness at t0 (see table 3.5). At post-intervention this scale showed to be correlated with these same scales again and as well with the Perceived Collective Continuity Scale. Civic pride did however not show any correlation with pride or shame of place. It could therefore be further explored how civic pride and pride and shame of place relate with each other as conceptually the constructs should be more closely linked than they appeared in this study.

The concept of place connectedness is rather new but showed to significantly and positively correlate with other related constructs such as place identity, place attachment and place reputation. Place connectedness has never been defined but an attempt could be made based on the concept of 'nature connectedness' (Mayer & Frantz, 2004). It could, following the definition of nature connectedness (Mayer & Frantz, 2004; Zelenski & Nisbet, 2014) be a construct that includes an affective, cognitive and experiential factor related to one's belonging to a place. There is thus some overlap with place attachment, that covers the affective bond with a place, and place identity,

that covers the cognitive bond. Study 2 has shown that the used 4-item measurement of place connectedness was highly reliable (alphas for t0 and t1 >.910) and correlated positively with place attachment, place identity and place reputation. It may therefore be a valid alternative to the measure of place attachment and place identity for which the conceptual organization of these constructs has been subject to debate (see Bonnes et al., 2003). Bonnes and colleagues (2003) discuss that the literature suggests different organizations of the interrelatedness of the constructs of among others place identity and place attachment and that no consensus has been achieved about this. Place connectedness may therefore offer an alternative construct that incorporates both the cognitive factor (place identity) and the affective side (place attachment) of the people-place relationship, while adding an experiential factor (Mayer & Frantz, 2004).

### **3.4.3 Aim 3: Effect of the intervention**

The Student's T-test of the scales used in this small size sample (N=24) showed only few significant changes. The only significant results, though in the opposite direction of what was hypothesized, were a decrease of Life Satisfaction, Civic Pride and Collective Self-Esteem (including the two subscales Private and Public Self-Esteem); and an increase in Collective Narcissism. All other effects were non-significant, leading to a rejection of all hypotheses under study aim 3.

This is somewhat different than expected as the intervention was theoretically aimed at especially increasing levels of place identity, place attachment and authentic pride of place. Similarly, a decrease of shame of place was expected. None of these expected effects were found, which could tentatively be explained by considering several factors. First of all, the sample size was rather small (N=24) and the responses were not always normally distributed (see table 3.4 for Skewness and Kurtosis values), which makes it difficult to find significant results due to a reduced statistical power (Field, 2018).

Secondly, the impact of the Covid-restrictions could have affected the young people in several ways. The questionnaires at t0 (baseline) were filled in during school time in physical presence at the end of November 2019, while t1 (post-intervention) was administered during a lockdown with distance learning around the beginning of April 2020. The impact of the recent lockdowns on young people's mental health and wellbeing combined with distance (online) learning can possibly explain why for example a decrease of Life satisfaction was found (e.g., Fegert, 2020).

Another remarkable effect was found on the levels of Collective Self-Esteem (CSE) and Collective Narcissism (CN). CSE showed a decrease at post-intervention compared to the baseline measurement and for CN an increase was shown. This could potentially be explained because of the ongoing potential death threat caused by the Covid-19 pandemic. The Terror Management Theory (Greenberg et al., 1986; Pyszczynski et al., 2020) could partly explain these results as it states that the saliency of death has major impacts on self-esteem and someone's role in society. Due to the forced lockdowns during the time of the intervention, including distance learning and reduced physical social contact, the respondents have been limited in their relationship with the society they are part of. This can for example explain why the CSE has been reduced over time during the implementation of the intervention and similarly it could explain the increase of levels of CN. An increase in



mortality salience can cause an increase in adherence to one's culture (Solomon et al., 2004) leading to an increase in nationalistic thoughts (Jonas & Greenberg, 2004) and potentially increasing the idea of an ingroup greatness and its prominence (Golec de Zavala, 2019), which is characteristic for collective narcissism. Due to the forced lockdowns during the time of the intervention, including distance learning and reduced physical social contact, the respondents have been limited in their relationship with the society they are part of. This could potentially explain why CN has increased over time during the implementation of the intervention.

Lastly, the retrieved results could also be (partly) explained by the quality of the intervention or the quality of implementation of the intervention by the teachers. However, the intervention is aimed at increasing levels of, for example, authentic pride of place, place identity and place attachment, it could also be that the intervention in fact did not improve these levels due to its quality. This would mean that the intervention is not valid in what it aims to contribute to. Similarly, the teachers could not have followed the curriculum as it was designed, affecting the impact of it, even though all teachers involved in the testing of the intervention received some kind of training. The only significant result goes towards the opposite direction of what is expected, namely the PoP intervention proved to have a paradoxical effect: namely, it significantly decreased Life Satisfaction, Civic Pride and Collective Self-Esteem (including the two subscales Private and Public Self-Esteem); while it significantly increased in Collective Narcissism. While the small sample size cannot allow any generalisation of such paradoxical results, future tests will need to consider wider samples, as well as always carefully monitoring its trade-off. It could in fact be possible that intervening on the person-place relation may imply altering such a relation in a way which is not always controllable. Such alterations could imply socially desirable and constructive effects, as expected according to part of the literature; but these interventions and the related person-place relation alterations may also trigger detrimental outcomes, or at least implying side-effects, at both the individual and the collective level. In other words, emphasising an adolescent pride of place with an intervention could trigger forms of alienation from once own identity or place with undesirable consequences in terms of individual and collective well-being.

#### **3.4.4. Limitations**

The current study clearly was affected by the global situation of the Covid-19 pandemic, both for the students as for the teachers. From the student's point of view, the effect of alternating between education in physical presence and distance learning for several months cannot be underestimated on feelings of safety, engagement with the learning activities and with their own wellbeing. This could have had major impact on the effect of the study as the students may not have been optimally interested and engaged in the pilot testing of the curriculum. Similarly, the curriculum was designed for teaching in physical presence, but due to the actual circumstances was pilot tested in an online environment. As place-based education is characterised by an intense interaction between the learners and the place (Gross & Hochberg, 2016). The pride of place curriculum was mainly tested in an online setting which therefore could have had major limitations to the impact on the students.

From the teachers' perspective, the psychological load that was on their shoulders regarding the educational conditions was immense. They had to improvise, alternate between online and physical teaching and maintain their own wellbeing in times of stress. This could have affected the impact of the curriculum as well. It may be for example that the teachers were less enthusiastic or involved in promoting the students learning process.

Another limitation of the study is that the teachers' attitude and relationship with the place was not assessed and controlled for. This could have had a major influence on the outcomes of the learning process throughout the testing phase. Lastly, the teaching competencies of the teachers could have influenced the quality of the implementation of the curriculum. Teachers were all at least minimally prepared for applying the curriculum, but the nature of the curriculum required a different role from the teachers than in traditional education as it made use of inquiry-based learning as a methodology where the curiosity of the student is the central driving force.

In general, a major limitation of the current study is that there was not a control group to exclude the influence of external circumstances on the impact of the intervention.

### **3.4.5 Suggestions for further research**

The results of the current study can be used for study 3 where a larger sample will be subject to the pride of place curriculum testing phase. The scales included in this study showed to be mostly reliable for an adolescent population. Further research could measure the effect of the intervention in a real experimental study with an experimental and control group. This methodology could control for contextual factors, such as the Covid-pandemic and its lockdowns, on the outcomes. Following the limitations of the study, controlling for the influence of the teachers on the effect of the intervention, by instructing them more thoroughly on the teaching methods, would be expected. Lastly study 3 should analyse regressions to examine if the suggested relationships (in study 1 and the literature) between the various variables used in this study can be confirmed or not.

**Chapter 4:** Study 3 - Testing a pride of place curriculum: *a two-group quasi-experimental design study among Italian and Portuguese pupils.*

## 4.1. Introduction

Where study 1 was mainly aimed to identify significant antecedents and consequences of both place-based emotions – pride and shame – study 2 made a first attempt to explore adolescents' quantitative relationship with their place on a cognitive and affective level. The scales included in the questionnaire in the previous study showed to be reliable for the use in the context of studying people-place bonds and for an adolescent population. The correlations showed that the (authentic and hubristic) pride of place and shame of place scales were correlating with some of the other relevant variables, as expected based on the results of study 1 and the literature. The paired sample t-test results showed that the intervention in Ireland could not proof the expected impact on students' levels of pride and shame of place. The sample size in study 2 was rather small (N=24) and there was no control group to be matched for in order to gauge the impact of external circumstances (e.g., Covid pandemic) on the results.

The current third study of this thesis builds forth on the results of the previous two studies. Here below I will report on a two-group experimental design study testing the effect of the same curriculum of study 2, but employing on a larger sample (N=134) in Portugal and Italy, and on some mediation analyses for the hypothetical models that were constructed on the basis of study 1 and the literature. Study 3 answers the research question regarding whether the pride of place intervention is effective in fostering young people's cognitive and affective bond with their places.

The aim of this third study of the thesis is twofold:

- 1) To measure the effect of the intervention, and, (2) to explore (mediation) the relationships of authentic pride of place, hubristic pride of place and shame of place with relevant antecedents and consequences.

The following hypothesis can be drawn in regard to **aim 1** of the study (identical to aim 3 in study 2).

The intervention will bring about an *increase* in:

Ha1: Intention to stay in the place

Ha2: Authentic pride of place

Ha3: Civic pride

Ha4: Place attachment

Ha5: Place Identity

Ha6: Place connectedness

Ha7: Meaning in life

Ha8: Perceived collective continuity

Ha9: Life satisfaction

Ha10: Collective self-esteem

Ha11: Individual self-esteem

Ha12: Place reputation

A *decrease* is expected in the following variables:

Ha13: Hubristic pride of place

Ha14: Shame of place

Ha15: Collective narcissism

For **aim 2**, several mediation models will be explored with antecedents and consequences of authentic pride of place, hubristic pride of place and shame of place. Separate mediation models will be explored with place identity (e.g., Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996), place connectedness (see study 2; Richardson et al., 2019) and place attachment (e.g., Scannell & Gifford, 2010) as predictors (antecedents), authentic pride of place, hubristic pride of place and shame of place as mediators, and individual self-esteem (e.g., Rosenberg, 2015) and 'intention to stay in the place' (study 1 & 2) as the outcomes (consequences). Place identity (e.g., Baumeister, 1997; Korpela, 1989), and place attachment (e.g., Scannell & Gifford, 2017) have been suggested to positively affect one's self-esteem. These mediation models aim to explore the extent to which authentic & hubristic pride of place and shame of place could mediate the relationship of place identity, place attachment and place connectedness with individual self-esteem and one's intention to stay in the place. With these variables, simple mediation models with one predictor, one mediator and one outcome variable will be tested.

The following mediation models are hypothesised:

Ha16: place identity on individual self-esteem through authentic pride of place

Ha17: place attachment on individual self-esteem through authentic pride of place

Ha18: place connectedness on individual self-esteem through authentic pride of place

Ha19: place identity on individual self-esteem through hubristic pride of place

Ha20: place attachment on individual self-esteem through hubristic pride of place

Ha21: place connectedness on individual self-esteem through hubristic pride of place

Ha22: place identity on individual self-esteem through shame of place

Ha23: place attachment on individual self-esteem through shame of place

Ha24: place connectedness on individual self-esteem through shame of place

Ha25: place identity on intention to stay in the place through authentic pride of place

Ha26: place attachment on intention to stay in the place through authentic pride of place

Ha27: place connectedness on intention to stay in the place through authentic pride of place

Ha28: place identity on intention to stay in the place through hubristic pride of place

Ha29: place attachment on intention to stay in the place through hubristic pride of place

Ha30: place connectedness on intention to stay in the place through hubristic pride of place

Ha31: place identity on intention to stay in the place through shame of place

Ha32: place attachment on intention to stay in the place through shame of place

Ha33: place connectedness on intention to stay in the place through shame of place

## 4.2 Methodology

### 4.2.1 Design

The current study took place in Portugal and Italy at three different school institutes.

In Italy two separate neighbouring school institutes were involved. They were both located in the same rural area ('Alta Langa') in the Piedmont region. The first Italian institute, "*Istituto Comprensivo Cortemilia-Saliceto*" (ICCS) is located in the rural Bormida valley in the Piedmont region and consist of several school location. The testing took place at four classes: two middle schools ('*medie*') and two elementary schools. The second institute was the "*Istituto Comprensivo Bossolasco-Murazzano*" (ICBM) and took place at two middle schools.

In half of the involved classes the curriculum was tested, while the other half of the classes functioned as a study control group. For the classes that tested the curriculum, the involved teachers choose their own set of modules that responded to the unique characteristics of the place where the school was based. For the Italian context, modules were done on language, gastronomy, biodiversity, architecture and sport & games.

The testing in Portugal took place at the school institute "*Agrupamentos Escolas de Gondomar*" (AEG1) in and around the area of Gondomar. The testing took place at the secondary school in four classes, of which two followed the pride of place curriculum and two were control group classes. The curriculum consisted of modules on biodiversity, local events and craftsmanship & jobs of the place.

For each class in the testing of the intervention, around 20 hours of learning were included. The classes that were not following the curriculum (control group) followed non-place-based curricula.

The intervention in both countries took place both in physical and in virtual presence, as a result of the national Covid-19 pandemic regulations in place at the time of the intervention. For both countries, less than half of the intervention took place in physical presence, with the main part being in a virtual setting (distance learning).

### 4.2.2 Participants

The participants were all students at the above-mentioned school institutes. In total, 134 students were included. Only those who filled in both questionnaires (pre- and post-intervention) were included, as this was necessary in order to properly measure the effect of the intervention.

Of the total sample (N=134), 75 came from Italy (56%) and 59 from Portugal (44%). 60 were included in the control group (45%) and 74 in the experimental group (55%). 62 were female (46%), 68 male (51%) and 4 preferred not to answer (3%) to the question about their gender. Participants were born from 2005 to 2010, with the majority of participants (88%) born between 2007 and 2009. Table 4.1 displays the frequencies and percentages of the characteristics of the participants.

Participants were asked if they considered themselves native to the place. 110 participants (82%) answered positively to this question, 7 were indecisive (5%) and 17 (13%) did not consider him/herself native to the place. A similar question was asked about if their parents could be considered native to the place. 90 respondents (67,2%) did consider their parents native to the area, 18 (13,4%) were indecisive about this issue and 26 (19,4%) said their parents are not from the place.

**Table 4.1**  
*Characteristics of the Participants (n=134)*

Item	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Country	Italy	75	56,0
	Portugal	59	44,0
Year of birth	2005	4	3,0
	2006	10	7,5
	2007	69	51,5
	2008	25	18,7
	2009	24	17,9
	2010	2	1,5
Gender	Female	62	46,3
	Male	68	50,7
	Prefer not to say	4	3,0

### 4.2.3 Procedure

This experimental study took place in two countries, with both a control and an experimental condition. The students received the curriculum in their national language (Italian and Portuguese) as being the main teaching languages at each school, respectively. The participants were assigned as an entire class to either one of the two conditions. The assignment of classes was a decision made by the involved schools on the basis of the teachers' availability, according to their involvement in the testing phase of the Erasmus+ curriculum. It was thus not a randomized assignment of participants (i.e., a quasi-experimental design).

The study had a quasi-experimental design with a control group and an experimental group. There were two moments of measurement (pre- and post-intervention). The experimental group followed the pride of place curriculum and the participants spent about 20 hours learning about their place per intervention. The pre-intervention measurement happened about 1 week prior to the start of the curriculum and the post-intervention measurement between 1-2 weeks after the finishing of the curriculum. The study started in October 2020 and then finished in February 2021 (Italian sample) and March 2021 (Portuguese sample).

Each participant received a unique student ID that they used for both times they filled out the questionnaire, which allowed the researchers to make pre-post comparisons between the scores on the several scales. The questionnaires were administered in national language using 'Qualtrics XM', which is an online survey platform. As Qualtrics required respondents to answer all questions (i.e., statements), there were no missing data. Only

respondents who completed the full questionnaires were included in the study. The pre-intervention questionnaires were administered at school and the post-intervention round took place from home. The same instruments were used for pre- and post-intervention.

As the study involved minors, all parents/caretakers were requested to sign an informed consent form detailing the context and purpose of the study and specifying the rights and privacy regulations regarding their child's involvement. At the time of administering the questionnaires to the students the teachers gave an oral consent specifying that all answers will be treated anonymously and that the students had the right to withdraw from the study at any moment without any consequences. The written consent forms have been added to the report in Appendix 1. The study has received approval from the Ethical Commission of the Dipartimento di Psicologia dei Processi di Sviluppo e Socializzazione, at Sapienza Università di Roma (first version submitted on the 04.07.2019, final version protocol n. 757, pos. VII/15, 31.05.2021).

#### **4.2.4 Instruments**

In this study, the exact same format of questionnaires as in study 2 (Irish sample) has been used (please see section 3.2.4). The 'master copy' of the questionnaire was developed and compiled in English. For the schools involved in this study it was required that both the curriculum as the questionnaires were offered in national language. The used scales in the study were all validated in English and some of them were available as validated scales in Italian and Portuguese. These scales are described below. Appendix 5 shows the full questionnaires.

##### **4.2.4.1 Demographical questions**

The questionnaire contained the 8 demographic questions that asked about the following information:

1. Year of birth
2. Place of birth
3. Place of residence
4. The extent to which the student considered himself native to the area
5. The extent to which the student considered his/her parents native to the area
6. Sex
7. Class they were in at the moment of the measurement
8. Intention to stay in the place: This question consisted of 4 self-developed statements that aimed to measure the intention of the student to live in the place. The four statements were created by Silvia Ariccio PhD and Thomas Albers (PhD candidate) and were based on four possibilities of how people could relate to their residency in the place: (1) wanting to maintain residency for the entire life, (2) wanting to leave as soon as possible, (3) wanting to return after leaving and (4) having an indifferent intention. One of such statements was "Even if I have to live elsewhere at some point in my life, I will return to live in the place." The answers were collected on a 5-point scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree.



#### **4.2.4.2 Validated scales**

The questionnaire used for this study with Italian and Portuguese students included the same validated scales and items as for study 2 with the Irish sample. Some of these scales were validated in Italian and/or Portuguese. Those scales that were not available as validated, were translated by two psychology researchers from the Sapienza University who were mother tongue speakers in respectively Portuguese and Italian. For both languages a second person (English teachers, from the involved school institutes) translated the questionnaires back to English (i.e., a blind back-and-forth translation) in order to assess the quality of the first translation. Few errors were found and corrected to obtain the final version of the questionnaire.

Table 4.2 provides an overview of the scales, variables and items that were used in the present study. The table also identifies which scales were available in Italian (7 scales) and Portuguese (3 scales). The structure, reliability and validity of all the scales is discussed in detail in section 3.2.4.2 in study 2 (Irish sample). For reasons of succinctness of the thesis, please see that section for more information about the scales.

**Table 4.2**

*Overview of the Validated Scales and Items Used for the Portuguese and Italian Sample.*

Scale name	Italian validation	Portuguese validation	Used variable	Number of dimensions	Number of items in original scale	Number of items used in PoP study
The Cantril's Ladder- Adolescent version(de Zavala et al., 2009)			Life satisfaction	1	1	1
Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale (Petersen, 1965)	(Prezza et al., 1997)	(Tagarro & Galinha, 2016)	Self-esteem	1	10	10
Authentic and Hubristic Pride Scale (Tracy & Robins, 2007b)			Pride	2	14	14
Personal Feelings Questionnaire 2 (Harder & Zalma, 1990; Harder, 1990)	(Di Sarno et al., 2019)		Shame proneness	1	16	10
Civic Pride Scale (Wood, 2006)			Civic Pride	1	14	14
Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen& Crocker, 1992)			Collective Self-Esteem	1	16	4
Collective Narcissism Scale (de Zavala et al., 2009)		(Golec de Zavala et al., 2016)	Collective narcissism	1	9	5
Perceived Residential Environment Quality (PREQ) and Neighborhood Attachment (NA) Indicators (Fornara et al., 2010)	(Fornara et al., 2010)		Place attachment	1	4	4
City Reputation Indicators (CRIs) (Bonaiuto, et al., 2019)	(Bonaiuto, et al., 2019)		Place identity	2	10	10
Organisational Identification (Bergami&Bagozzi, 2000)			Place identity	1	1	1
Corporate Reputation (Ponzi et al., 2011)			Place reputation	2	4	4
City Reputation Indicators (Bonaiuto, et al., 2019)	(Bonaiuto, et al., 2019)		Reputation indicators	12	252	10
Nature Connectedness Index (Richardson et al., 2019)			Place connectedness	1	6	4
The Meaning in Life Questionnaire (Steger et al., 2006)	(Negri et al., 2020)	(Simões et al., 2010)	Meaning in Life	2	10	6
Perceived Collective Continuity Scale (Sani et al., 2007)	(Sani et al., 2007)		Perceived Collective Continuity	2	12	4
					<b>SUM</b>	101

## 4.2.5 Analyses

The analyses were done using IBM SPSS statistics version 27.

There was no missing data as the questionnaires were administered using the online survey tool 'Qualtrics' which had obligatory fields for all questions. Only those questionnaires that were 100% completed were included in the study.

### **Descriptive statistics**

Frequencies were used to describe the samples. Means and standard deviations for relevant variables were reported separately for T0 and T1.

The reliability was reported with Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ), separately for t0 and t1.

The skewness and kurtosis of all variables were calculated. Values between -1 and +1 generally indicate that the responses can be considered normally distributed (Hair Jr et al., 2021, p. 61). Because the data showed to be normally distributed, parametric tests were applied.

### **Aim1:**

To measure the effect of the intervention on the various variables, ANOVA's (1-tailed) were applied to measure the effect of the intervention over time and within groups (control and experimental), for both measurement moments. For each test, the F-values, significance levels, and the effect sizes are reported.

For any significant difference, an effect size is reported as Cohen's  $d$  and interpreted as follows (J. Cohen, 1992, 2013)  $d \geq 0.2$  as *small*, 0.5 as *medium*, and 0.8 as *large*.

### **Aim 2:**

Several mediation analyses were applied to test the suggested models using the data at t0. The analyses were made using the PROCESS macro (version 4) as developed by Andrew F. Hayes ([www.processmacro.org](http://www.processmacro.org)) available for SPSS.

The data were checked each time for multicollinearity (i.e., correlation  $r > .90$ ), and correlations within the models that were examined. Several statistics were reported, including the  $F$  statistics, the un-standardised regression parameters, significance levels, and the bootstrapped confidence intervals.

## 4.3 Results

This section describes the results of the data analyses. At first, the psychometric properties of the scales included in this study are reported; secondly the results related to study aim 2 (effect of the intervention) are explained; lastly, the three regression models are tested.

### 4.3.1 Psychometric properties of the scales

In table 4.3 for each included (sub) scale the mean, standard deviation, approximation of normality (i.e., Skewness and Kurtosis) and Cronbach's alpha are presented for both t0 (baseline) and t1 (post-intervention). The Skewness and Kurtosis values of the responses for each scale show how the responses are suggesting a normal distribution (Hair Jr et al., 2021).

For each scale, the Cronbach's *alpha* is calculated in order to assess the internal consistency (i.e., reliability). The reliability scores are in general satisfactory to good with a few exceptions, which unfortunately could not be improved by removing items. Table 4.3 shows the alpha values for both t0 and t1.

The original Cronbach's *alpha* of the *hubristic pride of place* scale with all 7 items at pre-intervention. (t0) was quite poor (.520). By removing items 11 ('smug') and 13 ('Stuck-up') this could be improved to an alpha of .617. For the scale at post-intervention (t1) the initial reliability value was .616 (Cronbach's alpha) and by removing the two items (11 and 13) the alpha value increased to .713. No more items could be removed in order to increase the reliability. The impact of removing these two items for the full pride of place scale was minimal as for the Cronbach's alpha for t0 increased from .712 to .730. For the scale at post-intervention Cronbach's alpha increased from .784 to .796. Theoretically there is no reason to assume that it would not be possible to remove items from the scale that have a negative impact on the internal consistency. For the statistical analyses with the hubristic pride of place scale therefore these two items (11 and 13) were omitted from the (sub)scales.

Of the Place Identity Scale (Bonaiuto, et al., 2019), the subscale 'Place Distinctiveness' (3 items) showed to be poorly reliable, with a Cronbach's *alpha* of .388 at t0 and .564 at t1. No identical items could be removed by both scales in order to improve the reliability value considerably, leading to not including this subscale in further statistical analyses. The full scale of Place Identity 1, however, showed to be sufficiently reliable, so this scale will remain intact.

**Table 4.3***Descriptive Table of Variables for Pre- (t0) and Post-Intervention (t1).*

			At pre-intervention (t0) (N=134)					At post-intervention (t1) (N=134)				
Scale name	Used variable	Nr of items	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	Cronbach's alpha	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	Cronbach's alpha
Intention to stay in the place (self-developed)	Intention to live in the place	3 (4)	9.925	2.768	-0.152	-0.242	.677	9.448	2.660	-0.009	-0.297	.743
The Cantril's Ladder-Adolescent version (Levin & Currie, 2014)	Life satisfaction	1	6.216	1.306	-0.431	-0.206	-	6.269	1.355	-0.354	-0.758	-
Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale (Petersen, 1965)	Self-esteem	10	35.634	5.991	-0.218	-0.296	.783	36.172	7.503	-0.627	0.137	.883
Authentic and Hubristic Pride Scale (Tracy & Robins, 2007b)	Pride of Place	12 (14)	31.366	6.074	-0.010	0.648	.730	31.433	6.610	-0.007	0.481	.796
	Subscale: Authentic Pride of Place	7	22.425	4.683	-0.294	0.034	.756	22.410	5.183	-0.307	0.219	.858
	Subscale: Hubristic Pride of Place	5 (7)	8.940	2.978	0.777	0.176	.617	9.022	3.314	1.043	0.989	.713
Personal Feelings Questionnaire 2 (Harder & Zalma, 1990; Harder, 1990)	Shame of Place	10	18.888	6.188	0.280	-0.603	.767	17.843	6.604	1.097	3.081	.832
Civic Pride Scale (Wood, 2006)	Civic Pride	14	52.261	7.979	-1.015	2.044	.823	52.597	7.513	-0.281	-0.327	.815
Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992)	Collective Self-Esteem	4	15.187	3.017	-0.881	1.331	.720	14.500	2.635	-0.339	-0.062	.625
	Subscale: membership	1	4.000	0.950	-0.908	0.757	-	3.754	0.905	-0.789	1.033	-
	Subscale: private CSE	1	4.075	1.016	-1.200	1.293	-	3.888	0.939	-0.603	-0.189	-
	Subscale: public CSE	1	3.612	0.973	-0.644	0.136	-	3.493	0.899	-0.639	0.682	-
	Subscale: identity	1	3.500	1.142	-0.553	-0.303	-	3.366	1.087	-0.237	-0.380	-
Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009)	Collective narcissism	5	16.500	4.102	-0.566	0.758	.783	15.851	4.177	-0.247	0.057	.805

Perceived Residential Environment Quality (PREQ) and Neighborhood Attachment (NA) Indicators (Fornara et al., 2010)	Place attachment	4	14.328	3.596	-0.625	0.276	.801	14.104	3.506	-0.656	0.352	.825
City Reputation Indicators (CRIs; Bonaiuto et al., 2019)	Place identity 1	10	34.619	5.388	-0.135	0.367	.705	34.731	5.578	0.235	0.099	.787
	Subscale: Place distinctiveness	3	9.873	2.136	-0.128	-0.059	.388**	10.090	2.373	-0.310	0.136	.564**
	Subscale: Identification with place	7	24.746	4.566	-0.400	0.273	.762	24.642	4.442	0.181	-0.006	.838
Organisational Identification (Bergami&Bagozzi, 2000)	Place identity 2	1	3.485	1.102	-0.235	-0.690	-	3.343	1.098	-0.407	-0.589	-
Corporate Reputation (Ponzi et al., 2011)	Place reputation	4	15.672	2.875	-0.946	1.977	.854	15.612	2.780	-0.413	0.081	.859
City Reputation Indicators(CRI's; Bonaiuto et al., 2019)	Reputation indicators	9 (10)	35.515	5.074	-0.748	1.941	.846	35.537	5.009	-0.214	-0.327	.858
Nature Connectedness Index (Richardson et al., 2019)	Place connectedness	4	15.007	3.467	-0.658	0.909	.902	14.433	3.643	-0.522	0.286	.907
The Meaning in Life Questionnaire (Steger et al., 2006)	Meaning in Life	6	19.410	4.895	-0.245	0.190	.932	18.866	5.427	-0.474	0.502	.925
	Presence of Meaning in Life	3	9.724	2.908	-0.461	0.217	.923	9.724	2.908	-0.461	0.217	.893
	Search for Meaning in Life	3	9.687	2.926	-0.181	-0.009	.879	9.142	2.829	-0.355	0.270	.875
Perceived Collective Continuity Scale Sani et al., 2007)	Perceived Collective Continuity	4	14.948	2.466	0.113	-0.022	.757	14.828	2.550	0.095	-0.196	.758
	Culture	2	7.269	1.327	0.217	-0.124	.614*	7.291	1.486	-0.039	0.233	.824*
	History	2	7.679	1.423	-0.179	-0.203	.607*	7.537	1.347	-0.006	-0.549	.339*

\*\*If item 1 is deleted *alpha* goes up to .528 at t0, but decreases at post-intervention to .446. No items could therefore be deleted.

\*This value is not a Cronbach's *alpha* but the squared correlation coefficient as this subscale only has two items.

### 4.3.1.1 Structure of two self-developed scales

Two scales were subject to an Exploratory Factor Analysis as these were self-developed or heavily modified from the original scale in order to examine their internal structure and consistency.

#### 4.3.1.1.1 Scale Intention to live in the place

For the scale that measured the respondent's intention to stay and live in the place, four items were self-developed. In order to assess the internal structure and consistency, an exploratory factor analysis was conducted. For all four items, the Cronbach's *alpha* was acceptable both at pre-intervention ( $\alpha = .644$ ) and at post-intervention ( $\alpha = .653$ ). However, a principle axis factor analysis (FA) was conducted on the 4 items with oblique rotation (direct oblimin) in order to assess the internal structure (factor loadings) of the scale. An initial analysis was run for the scale at both t0 and t1 to obtain the eigenvalues for each factor in the data. Both analyses resulted in having one factor with an eigenvalue over Kaiser's criterion of 1 and in combination explained 49.17% (t0) and 43.11% (at t1) of the variance. However, there was one item (4 – "I don't mind if in the future I will live in <place> or elsewhere") that had a poor factor loading at both measurements (0.35 at t0 and 0.22 at t1). All other factors had factor loadings of  $>0.51$  (at t0) and  $>0.59$ . A second factor analysis was run without item 4, leading to a stronger factor reliability with factor satisfactory factor loadings. The results of the second factor analysis are shown in table 4.4. For further statistical analyses in this study, this variable with 3 items will be included (item 4 removed). In study 2, with a smaller sample size ( $N=24$ ) the same exploratory factor analysis lead to the exclusion of item 1 and 4, resulting in a two-item variable. The current study with a larger sample could provide more statistical power in the factor analysis, which explains the different results of the final structure for this variable.

**Table 4.4**

Summary of Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for the *Intention to Live in the Place* Scale ( $N=134$ )

Factor Matrix		
Item	t0	t1
Item 1: <i>Even if I had to live elsewhere at some point in my life, I will return to live in &lt;place&gt;.</i>	.69	.78
Item 2: <i>As soon as I have the opportunity, I would like to leave from &lt;place&gt;</i>	.63	.74
Item 3: <i>I would like to spend my entire life in &lt;place&gt;</i>	.61	.60
Eigenvalue	1.82	1.99
% of variance	60.80	66.15
Cronbach's alpha	0.677	0.743

#### 4.3.1.1.2 Scale Reputation Indicators

For the scale ‘Reputation Indicators’ with 10 items retrieved from the City Reputation Indicators scale, an Exploratory Factor Analysis was conducted for the values at t0 and t1. The initial reliability scores for both t0 and t1 were good (respectively  $\alpha = .836$  and  $\alpha = .840$ ). However, because the scale was heavily modified from the original scale, a principle axis factor analysis (FA) was conducted on the 10 items with oblique rotation (direct oblimin) in order to assess the internal structure (factor loadings) of the scale. An initial analysis was run for the scale at t0 and t1 to obtain the eigenvalues for each factor in the data. For both measurements, two factors had an eigenvalue over Kaiser’s criterion of 1 and in combination explained 53.30% (t0) and 55.36% (at t1) of the variance. The factor loadings (Pattern matrix) showed ambiguous factor loadings which did not express a clear 2-factor structure for the 10 items. The scree plots showed inflexions that would also justify one factor. Since there was no theoretical basis for a more than one factor structure, a second exploratory factor analysis was run for a single factor, resulting in explained variances of 41,71% (t0) and 43.11% (t1). When examining the factor loadings, there was one item (8: Public transport, Connections and Mobility) that had a poor score at both measurements (0.28 at t0 and 0.24 at t1). All other factors had factor loadings of  $>0.43$  (at t0) and  $>0.47$ . A third factor analysis was run without item 8, leading to a stronger factor structure and higher % of explained variance. Table 4.5 shows these factor loadings and the Cronbach’s *alphas*. Guagagnoli and Velicer(1988) suggest that if a factor has four or more items with a factor loading of greater than 0.6, then it is reliable regardless of sample size. The current model with one factor and 9 items matches this suggestion. For further data analysis of this study, this single factor with 9 items is used as the scale for reputation indicators.

In study 2 the same exploratory factor analysis was conducted leading to a 7-item structure, excluding item ‘cost of living’, ‘weather’ and ‘Public transport, Connections and Mobility’. The higher sample size of the current study is probably the cause of a different factor structure (compared to study 2) as the higher sample size could provide more statistical power in the factor analysis.

**Table 4.5**

*Summary of Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for the Place Reputaton Indicators Scale (N=134)*

Factor Matrix		
Item	t0	t1
Quality of Life	.67	.66
Safety	.74	.61
Cost of Living	.52	.47
Weather	.62	.68
Opportunities and lifestyle	.62	.69
Qual of Landscape	.61	.62
Care for place and environmental quality	.63	.62
Food	.44	.61
Openness and hospitality	.71	.76
Eigenvalue	4.09	4.25
% of variance	45.40	47.23
Cronbach’s alpha	0.846	0.858



### 4.3.2 Aim 1: Effect of the intervention

To measure the effect of the pride of place intervention, and thus answer the hypotheses defined under aim 2 in the introduction, one-way ANOVA's were applied to measure the effects of the intervention between the control and experimental group. Tables 4.6 and 4.7 show the F-values, the significance levels ( $p$ ) and the effect sizes for the changes observed in both groups in respectively the control and the experimental group.

As can be seen for the control group (table 4.6) there are only three significant effects: a decrease of intention to stay in the place, shame of place and collective self-esteem. For the experimental group (table 4.7), there was only one significant change over time: a decrease in place connectedness. The only result that was hypothesised was the decrease of shame of place (control group), however this effect was not observed in the experimental group. This leads thus to reject the relative hypothesis Ha14. Furthermore, all significant changes showed small effect sizes (Cohen, 1988) but were in the opposite direction of what was hypothesized, leading to reject the relative hypotheses. Final conclusion: all hypotheses under study aim 1 are rejected.

**Table 4.6**

*ANOVA (1-tailed): Control (N = 60)*

Variable (T0 + T1)	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	Effect size
Intention to stay	4,95	<b>0,03*</b>	-.29
Satisfaction with life	0,29	0,59	
Self-esteem	2,97	0,09	
Pride	0,58	0,45	
Authentic	0,27	0,61	
Hubristic	0,58	0,45	
Shame	6,58	<b>0,01**</b>	-.33
Civic pride	1,34	0,25	
Collective self-esteem	4,43	<b>0,04*</b>	-.27
Collective narcissism	1,22	0,27	
Place attachment	0,11	0,74	
Place identity 1	0,63	0,43	
Place identity 2	1,68	0,20	
Place reputation	0,06	0,81	
Valued characteristics of place	0,07	0,79	
Place connectedness	0,27	0,61	
Meaning in life	0,41	0,53	
Presence	0,47	0,50	
Search	0,30	0,59	
Perceived collective continuity	0,06	0,81	

\*  $p < 0.05$

\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table 4.7***ANOVA(1-tailed): Experimental (N = 74)*

Variable (T0 + T1)	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	Effect size
Intention to stay	1,76	0,19	
Satisfaction with life	0,01	0,93	
Self-esteem	0,08	0,78	
Pride	0,26	0,61	
Authentic	0,34	0,56	
Hubristic	0,03	0,87	
Shame	0,44	0,51	
Civic pride	0,23	0,63	
Collective self-esteem	3,45	0,07	
Collective narcissism	1,93	0,17	
Place attachment	0,72	0,40	
Place identity 1	0,32	0,58	
Place identity 2	1,07	0,30	
Place reputation	0,00	0,96	
Valued characteristics of place	0,03	0,85	
Place connectedness	5,57	<b>0,02*</b>	-.27
Meaning in life	2,81	0,10	
Presence	2,20	0,14	
Search	2,96	0,09	
Perceived collective continuity	0,60	0,44	

\*  $p < 0.05$ 

Furthermore, similar ANOVA's were employed to test for any significant differences between the control and experimental groups at both times of measurement. Tables 4.8 shows the ANOVA for results for the differences between the control and experimental group at baseline (t0). As can be seen, there is only one significant difference between the control and experimental group, for the hubristic pride variable ( $F = 5.18$ ,  $p = 0.02$ ). For all other variables there seemed to be no significant differences between the experimental and control group at baseline.

Table 4.9 shows the differences between the experimental and control group at post-intervention (t1). As can be concluded there are no significant differences between the groups for the various variables measured.

Lastly ANOVAs were run to explore effect of the intervention for the sample split by county (i.e., Portugal and Italy) and by condition (i.e., control and experimental), but these also lead to a rejection of all hypotheses under study aim 1 (tables not reported).

**Table 4.8***ANOVA(1-tailed): Control and experimental groups T0*

Variable	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Intention to stay	2,09	0,15
Satisfaction with life	0,00	1,00
Self-esteem	0,60	0,44
Authentic pride	0,78	0,38
Hubristic pride	5.18*	0,02*
Shame	0,53	0,47
Civic pride	0,16	0,69
Collective self-esteem	0,07	0,80
Collective narcissism	1,33	0,25
Place attachment	0,08	0,78
Place identity 1	0,05	0,82
Place identity 2	0,11	0,74
Place reputation	0,42	0,52
Reputation indicators	0,17	0,68
Place connectedness	0,78	0,38
Meaning in life	0,39	0,53
Presence	0,24	0,63
Search	1,06	0,30
Perceived collective continuity	0,81	0,37

**Table 4.9***ANOVA(1-tailed): Control and experimental groups T1*

Variable	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Intention to stay	0,57	0,45
Satisfaction with life	0,14	0,71
Self-esteem	1,31	0,26
Authentic pride	0,43	0,52
Hubristic pride	2,07	0,15
Shame	1,94	0,17
Civic pride	2,08	0,15
Collective self-esteem	0,19	0,67
Collective narcissism	0,03	0,86
Place attachment	0,51	0,48
Place identity 1	0,56	0,46
Place identity 2	0,05	0,83
Place reputation	0,00	0,96
Reputation indicators	0,57	0,45
Place connectedness	3,00	0,09
Meaning in life	0,78	0,38
Presence	0,78	0,38
Search	1,80	0,18
Perceived collective continuity	0,19	0,66

## Aim 2: Mediation analyses

The suggested models in the introduction were applied in separate mediation analyses. Here below the indirect effects of each of the three predictor variables (i.e., place identity, place attachment and place connectedness) are presented in three separate tables (4.10 to 4.12). In each table the indirect effect on the 'intention to stay in the place' and 'individual self-esteem' through Authentic PoP, Hubristic PoP and Shame of place are presented. Each table, thus, presents the indirect effects of six potential mediation models. Each table reports the estimate of the indirect effect (i.e., *b* value) and the bootstrapped confidence intervals. Significant indirect effects (with a 95% confidence interval) are marked with an asterisk (\*).

**Table 4.10**

*Indirect effects of place identity*

Variable	Authentic PoP		Hubristic PoP		Shame of place	
	Est.	95% CI	Est.	95% CI	Est.	95% CI
Intention to stay	0,01	[-0.02, 0.04]	0	[-0.02, 0.01]	0,01	[-0.02, 0.03]
Individual self-esteem	0.17*	[0.05, 0.30]	0,01	[-0.01, 0.05]	0,01	[-0.06, 0.07]

**Table 4.11**

*Indirect effects of place attachment*

Variable	Authentic PoP		Hubristic PoP		Shame of place	
	Est.	95% CI	Est.	95% CI	Est.	95% CI
Intention to stay	0	[-0.03, 0.02]	0	[-0.02, 0.01]	0,02	[-0.01, 0.05]
Individual self-esteem	0.22*	[0.04, 0.42]	0,01	[-0.03, 0.06]	0,06	[-0.02, 0.15]

**Table 4.12**

*Indirect effects of place connectedness*

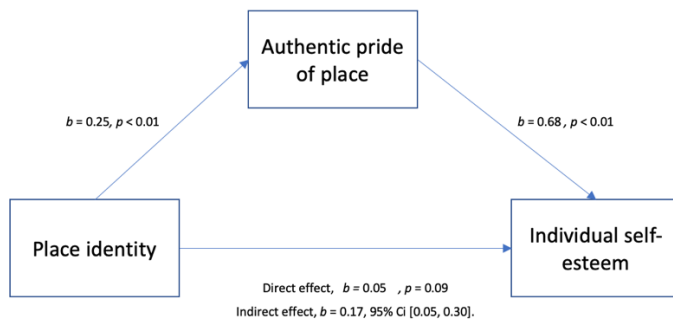
Variable	Authentic PoP		Hubristic PoP		Shame of place	
	Est.	95% CI	Est.	95% CI	Est.	95% CI
Intention to stay	0	[-0.04, 0.02]	0	[-0.01, 0.01]	0,03	[0.00, 0.06]
Individual self-esteem	0.25*	[0.06, 0.45]	-0.01	[-0.06, 0.03]	0.10*	[0.02, 0.19]

As can be seen, there are four significant indirect effects:

- 1) Place identity on individual self-esteem through authentic pride of place,  $b = 0.17$ , 95% Bca Ci [0.05, 0.30].
- 2) Place attachment on individual self-esteem through authentic pride of place,  $b = 0.22$ , 95% Bca Ci [0.04, 0.42].
- 3) Place connectedness on individual self-esteem through authentic pride of place,  $b = 0.25$ , 95% Bca Ci [0.06, 0.45].
- 4) Place connectedness on individual self-esteem through shame of place,  $b = 0.10$ , 95% Bca Ci [0.02, 0.19].

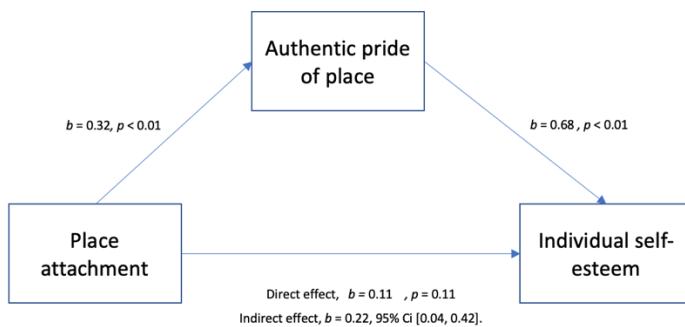
For all of these four models the regression coefficients are retrieved and presented in the four following figures (4.1 to 4.4). As it can be seen in the model in figure 4.4, the regression coefficients of independent variable place

identity (independent variable) on the mediator shame of place (i.e., ‘path a’) and from the mediator on the dependent variable individual self-esteem (i.e. ‘path b’) are negative values. The indirect effect is however positive, which is caused because the indirect effect for which the formula is a multiplication of path a by path b (i.e.  $-0.38 \times -0.25 = 0.10$  ; Hayes, 2018). The indirect effect is, as opposed to the other three models, lower than the direct effect, which is a result of the negative regressions of path a and b.



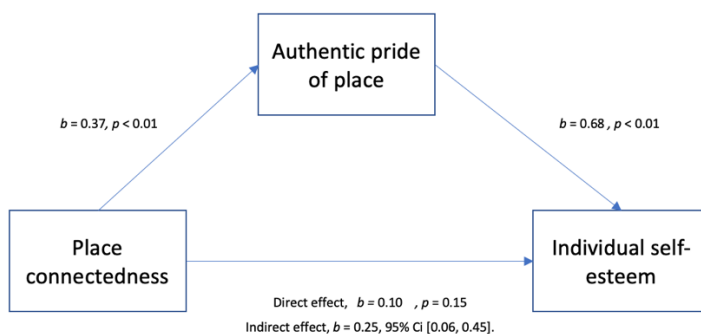
**Figure 4.1**

*Model of Place Identity as a Predictor of Individual Self-Esteem, Mediated by Authentic Pride of Place.*



**Figure 4.2**

*Model of Place Attachment as a Predictor of Individual Self-Esteem, Mediated by Authentic Pride of Place.*



**Figure 4.3**

*Model of Place Connectedness as a Predictor of Individual Self-Esteem, Mediated by Authentic Pride of Place.*



**Figure 4.4**

*Model of Place Connectedness as a Predictor of Individual Self-Esteem, Mediated by Shame of Place.*

In conclusion the following hypotheses under aim 2 can be accepted:

Ha16: place identity on individual self-esteem through authentic pride of place (figure 4.1)

Ha17: place attachment on individual self-esteem through authentic pride of place (figure 4.2)

Ha18: place connectedness on individual self-esteem through authentic pride of place (figure 4.3)

Ha33: place connectedness on intention to stay in the place through shame of place (figure 4.4)

All other hypotheses under study aim 2 are rejected.

## 4.4 Discussion

This experimental study had the following study aims: (1) to measure the effect of the intervention, and; (2) to explore (mediation) relationships of authentic pride of place, hubristic pride of place and shame of place with antecedents and consequences. In this section the results will be discussed according to these two study aims and subsequently the limitations will be described and suggestions for further research provided.

### 4.4.1 Aim 1: measuring the effect of the intervention

The ANOVA's employed to measure the effect of the intervention showed that in the control group a decrease was found over time ( $t_0 - t_1$ ) of intention to stay in the place, shame of place and collective self-esteem. For the experimental group only a decrease of place connectedness was found. The effects found for the control group were not found for the experimental group leading to conclude that these were not caused by the intervention. The decrease of place connectedness in the experimental group was in the opposite direction of what was hypothesized under study aim 1. The ANOVA's for the differences between the two conditions (experimental and control group) showed that at  $t_0$  there was only a significant difference for hubristic pride of place and no significant differences between the two conditions at  $t_1$ . In sum, this leads to conclude that all hypotheses under study aim 1 are to be rejected.

These results are unexpected, though in line with the results of the previous study with the Irish sample (study 2). There too all hypotheses were rejected and some paradoxical results were found. Study 2 had no control group, thus the results could possibly be attributed to contextual factors such as the lockdowns caused by the Covid pandemic, in which the intervention was tested. The current study did have a control group to control for these external factors of influence. Based on the results of this study, the intervention seems to be not effective. The possible explanations for this can be similar to those discussed in study 2: a poor quality of the intervention (i.e., it does not have the desired effect) or the intervention was not delivered properly by the teachers. Two alternative explanations can be found in that the questionnaires were not filled in seriously (i.e., at random) or that the statements were too difficult. Filling in the questionnaires at random could have been done because the students did not interest themselves in the study or because the online distance learning, which happened in both conditions and both countries at post-intervention, was too demanding of the students cognitive/concentration capacities. However, the ethical protocol explicitly stated that participation in the study was voluntary, it could be that the students felt a certain pressure or expectation from the teachers to fill in the questionnaires. If the motivation to participate was low or absent, this expectancy (i.e., pressure) by the teachers could result in filing in the questionnaires at random. In the survey platform did not offer options to detect at random answering patterns.

It is also likely that the statements in the questionnaire were not appropriate for the mental capacities of the students in their respective ages. In fact, teachers who administered the questionnaires, provided feedback to the researchers that some students complained that the statements were too difficult. This was reported by

teachers from both countries. If this is true, the measurements were not valid as they did not measure the students' qualities related to their place-bond, but rather their capacity to comprehend difficult statements in their national language. Following this potential explanation, the intervention could still be effective, but that cannot be concluded based on the current study.

One line of interpretation for the few significant results, however, could show some effects of the intervention which may be in line with the theoretical expectations. In fact, the control group underwent a decrease over time ( $t_0 - t_1$ ) regarding intention to stay in the place, shame of place and collective self-esteem; on the contrary, the experimental group underwent a decrease of place connectedness only. These results could be interpreted in the light of the ongoing lockdown and distance learning at the time of the data gathering: such conditions created more disruptive effects on the control group which lowers its intention to stay in the place and its collective self-esteem effects. On the contrary, the experimental group (vs. the control one), thanks to the pride of place training intervention, does not decrease such features, thus limiting the pandemic negative effects to a decrease in place connectedness only, supposedly due to the limitation in place relevant activities and physical connections. Under such an interpretation, the pride of place intervention partly worked as a buffer for the negative effects of the pandemic features (lockdown, physical distancing from people and places) on the pupils' intention to stay in the place and on their collective self-esteem.

#### **4.4.2 Aim 2: exploring mediation models**

A total of eighteen mediation models were tested (tables 4.10 to 4.12) of which four only reported to be significant. All significant models show the mediation relationship on individual self-esteem which typically correlates with general pride and general shame (e.g., Budiarto & Helmi, 2021; Tracy et al., 2009). The three models in figures 4.1 to 4.3 show models with authentic pride of place as a mediator. Study 1 of this thesis suggested that place identity, place attachment and place connectedness are antecedents of authentic pride of place. This was confirmed for these mediation models as the regression coefficients for these three antecedents on authentic pride were significant. The mediation models were as well significant as the mediation analysis calculates the indirect effect of the predictor variable and the mediator variable combined on the dependent variable.

The regression coefficient of authentic pride of place on individual self-esteem was statistically significant, which confirms the results of study 1 that pride of place in general has a positive effect on individual self-esteem, and this is in line with suggestions from correlational studies on general authentic pride (Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007b). Study 2 similarly suggested that individual self-esteem and authentic pride of place (PoP) are bonding positively.

Self-esteem in general has been suggested as a positive consequence of the place identity process (Breakwell, 1992; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) and of place attachment (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Scannell & Gifford, 2017a). This all shows that the three mediation models in figure 4.1 to 4.3 link with the literature and add to this



that this relationship between individual self-esteem and place identity and place attachment can be mediated by the experiencing of authentic pride of place (but not of the hubristic one, nor of the shame of place).

Figure 4.3 and 4.4 which show a mediation model for place connectedness on individual self-esteem through shame of place and authentic pride of place, is rather new. Place connectedness, as suggested in study 1, could be considered an antecedent of both pride and shame of place. Place connectedness is a concept that has never been defined but an attempt could be made based on the concept of 'nature connectedness' (Mayer & Frantz, 2004). It could, following the definition of nature connectedness (Mayer & Frantz, 2004; Zelenski & Nisbet, 2014), be a construct that includes an affective, cognitive and experiential factor related to one's belonging to a place. There is thus some overlap with place attachment, that covers the affective bond with a place, and place identity, that covers the cognitive bond. The mediation model shows a significant positive regression of place connectedness on authentic pride of place and a negative regression effect on shame of place.

Shame of place shows a negative regression coefficient on individual self-esteem. This is conform to what could be expected from the literature on general shame that indeed shows that shame and self-esteem are negatively correlated (Budiartha & Helmi, 2021; Velotti et al., 2017). This mediation model through shame of place adds some first suggestions that shame of place has negative effects on the individual's self-esteem and wellbeing, and it can be buffered by place connectedness.

The mediation analysis did not show any significant results with the dependent variable 'intention to stay in the place'. This was based on study 1 and partly study 2 (that showed a negative correlation effect with shame of place) expectations. Study 1 suggested that pride of place leads to people wanting to return to the place when having been out of the place; and a possible intention to leave the place when experiencing shame of place.

In general, the four mediation models show to be promising, and they give some first suggestions of the impact pride and shame of place may have on people's psychological functioning in relation to their places. More research with bigger samples is however needed to further explore these preliminary results, extending them to different ages too, i.e., adulthood and older population). All mediation models, both significant and non-significant, must be interpreted with caution as the sample size is rather small for establishing such mediation effects. In general the statistical power of the analysis gets stronger the higher the number of respondents (Field, 2018).

#### **4.4.3 Limitations**

Similar to the limitations of the study described in the previous chapter, this study with the Italian and Portuguese sample was probably affected by the presence of the Covid-19 pandemic with its lockdowns and remote activities. This experimental study with a control group controlled for these external circumstances. However, the ongoing distance learning may have affected how the students were motivated to participate in the piloting of the intervention and in the study. The effect of the lockdown may have caused that the students

are tired or bored of online education and consequently that the questionnaires are not filled in with real responses. In general, the suggestions made in the previous chapter regarding limitations may also apply here. In addition, it could be that the questionnaires (i.e., statements) were not appropriate for the comprehension capacities of the students. Teachers from both countries reported that students mentioned in their feedback on the study that the statements were difficult. If this was true, for some respondents, the measurements could have been at least partly invalid.

Lastly, for the mediation analysis the sample size with  $N = 134$  is rather small and this makes it difficult to establish relationships with statistical power (Koopman et al., 2015).

#### **4.4.4 Suggestions for further research**

The current study results interestingly showed four mediation models: three positively through authentic pride of place, and one negatively via shame of place. In order to confirm these models and to further explore how authentic pride of place, hubristic pride of place, and shame of place relate to the suggested antecedents and consequences, as from study 1, research with bigger samples (i.e.,  $N > 300$ ) is necessary, and hopefully with adult samples. In follow-up studies, the role of place reputation as a moderator between place identity and place attachment on authentic PoP, hubristic PoP and shame of place could be explored. The social identity theory (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) suggests in its third stage that a social comparison takes place after a stage of group identification, with pride as the positive outcome of the comparison and shame as the negative outcome. It would be interesting to explore how place reputation, as a variable linked with social comparison, could moderate the relationship between for example place identity and shame of place.

# Chapter 5: General Discussion and Conclusion

This PhD research project had the aim to explore and examine pride and shame of place and its antecedents and consequences of pride and shame of place. Three consecutive studies were conducted in order to answer the general research question of this thesis: *“What are the antecedents and consequences of pride and shame of place and how do these relate to existing concepts in the study of people-place bonds?”*.

Study 1 was an explorative and qualitative study that aimed to explore the antecedents and consequences of both pride and shame of place. A series of 17 semi-structured interviews were held and through a thematic analysis the most prevalent themes were identified. Study 2 was a pilot qualitative study that assessed the effect of an intervention on the variables pride and shame of place and other related constructs in small adolescent sample (N=24) in Ireland. Study 3 further examined the effect of this intervention in a randomized control trial in two countries (N=134) and tested several mediation models.

In each corresponding chapter of this thesis the results of each of the three studies are discussed in detail. In the current chapter a reflection on the general study aim and research question of the thesis is provided. The chapter is structured as follows. At first, a general reflection is provided on the PhD research. Secondly, limitations regarding the research are described. Lastly, suggestions for further research are provided.

## **5.1 General reflection**

This paragraph is subdivided in a general reflection and a personal reflection by the PhD student. The general research reflection will discuss in general what the results imply and how they should be interpreted. The personal reflection will briefly elaborate on a personal learning process that has been undergone throughout the PhD course.

### **5.1.1 General reflection on the research**

This research thesis presented three consecutive studies that aimed to explore the concepts of pride and shame of place in order to fill the research gap regarding these. The first qualitative study identified several antecedents and consequences of both place-based emotions. The following two quantitative studies explored if these relationships suggested by the qualitative study could be supported by quantitative results. Both studies provided some first results that were not unambiguously confirming these expectations (i.e., the hypotheses) and these were discussed in the previous chapters.

Overall, the study results can be called relatively successful in the sense that it was the first systematic study of pride and shame of place and it managed to provide some first data to fill the gap in research around the two emotions. As stated in the literature study, both place-based emotions have been mentioned repeatedly in research papers on important people-place constructs such as place identity and place attachment, but they have never been systematically studied. It is for example clearer how pride and shame of place relate to the

usual people-place constructs such as place identity, place attachment and place connectedness; and what potential consequences of the alteration of these constructs can be at the individual and societal level.

#### **5.1.1.1 Relatedness of pride and shame of place to other people-place constructs**

This research project confirmed that pride and shame of place are probably preceded by place attachment, place identity and place connectedness in general. Previous research indeed suggested this (e.g., [Scannell & Gifford, 2010](#); [Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996](#)), but it was not clear how pride and shame related to the usual consequences of these constructs. Study 1 suggest that place attachment and place identity are psychological process antecedents of both emotions (pride and shame of place) as in line with expectations from the literature (e.g., [Scannell & Gifford, 2010](#); [Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996](#)). What remains unanswered, however, is how these concepts (place identity, place attachment and pride and shame of place) relate to each other, but that is part of a larger discussion in the academic field that has not reached a final agreement among scientists. Bonnes and colleagues (2003) for example discuss that the literature suggests different organizations of the interrelatedness of constructs such as place identity and place attachment, among others, and that no consensus has been achieved about this. Similarly, in this current research, the relatedness of pride and shame of place to these individual concepts has been explored but not the organisation of all concepts with respect to each other. It is for example still unclear if place attachment and place identity, in equal 'weight', contribute to the development of both place-based emotions, and if they do this sequentially or in parallel to each other. The current study did not aim to answer this question, but it remains an important one from both a theoretical as well as a practical perspective.

In their seminal paper, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) suggested that one of the principles of place identity processes, the *self-esteem* principle, is a usual outcome of a positive association of one's own identity with a place. Pride of place was expected to be a mediator of this association (Lalli, 1992; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996), as self-esteem is known to be a potential positive outcome of feelings of (authentic) pride (Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007a). Indeed, study 3 indicates that authentic pride and shame might be important mediators between people-place constructs (i.e., place identity, place attachment and place connectedness) and important outcome measures such as individual self-esteem. Pride of place would have a positive influence on this relationship, whereas shame would have a negative one. The afore mentioned study by Twigger-Ross and Uzzell has not specified how place identity exactly leads to experienced self-esteem and it even assumes that place identity usually leads to an increase in self-esteem. Taken into consideration that people with a well-established place identity might also experience shame of place (study 1), which may have a negative impact on self-esteem (Budiarto & Helmi, 2021a), this principle of the place identity process requires to be nuanced. Similarly, experiencing pride for a place has sometimes been used as the single item measurement for place identity (e.g., [Bonaiuto et al., 1996](#)). Even though a certain level of identification with the place seems necessary in order to experience pride, this may not be a valid measurement of the construct as people with a well-established place identity could also experience shame for their place. Moreover, pride is highly situation-dependent and people are sometimes taken by surprise to feel this emotion (Salice et al., 2016).

Most likely, pride and shame of place are not final outcomes, but rather important emotions in the dynamics of people-place relationships that can act as ‘catalysts’ in this process. This finding can be very relevant and important to the understanding of the working dynamics of these people-place constructs (i.e., place identity, place attachment and place connectedness) and their consequences for human wellbeing. Scannell & Gifford (2017a) have for example studied the benefits of healthy people-place bonds and showed that well established place attachment serves the satisfaction of basic human needs such as belongingness, self-esteem and meaning in life; coherently, Ariccio et al. (2021) found that place attachment is strictly related to Self-Determination Theory’s pillars, namely, Autonomy, Competence, and Relatedness or Connection. With the new insights gained from this current research project, it could very well be that pride and shame mediate between place attachment and these human needs. Study 1 suggested that belongingness, self-esteem and meaning in life are consequences of experienced pride of place. The third study could only confirm this relationship between place attachment and self-esteem, in which authentic pride acted as a mediator.

Similarly, Scannell and Gifford (2017b) have done an explorative study on the broad psychological benefits of place attachment and found thirteen categories of benefits among their participants: memories, belonging, relaxation, positive emotions, activity support, comfort-security, personal growth, freedom, entertainment, connection to nature, practical benefits, privacy and aesthetics. The current study results can help to bring some organisation in the structure and hierarchy of these thirteen categories as for example pride (i.e., positive emotion) could mediate between place attachment and experiencing a sense of belonging (as suggested by study 1).

If pride and shame of place are taken into consideration when studying these relationships between place attachment and place identity with psychological human needs, it might be possible to predict when people experience needs satisfaction and when not. Now these relationships between place attachment and identity and psychological needs satisfaction, as suggested by Scannell & Gifford (2017a, 2017b), remain mainly on a ‘mapping’ level, rather than predictive.

Pride and shame of place are also most likely preceded by an evaluative process (study 1; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), with pride as a positive and shame as a negative outcome. This means that there is an ongoing process that assesses situations and which leads the person to experience either pride or shame for their place. This evaluative process might act as a moderator in the mediation models on the effect of place attachment or place identity and pride or shame of place. But it might also follow a different organisation, the current study did not aim to examine this organisation. Further experimental design studies should uncover if and how such an evaluative process exactly leads to experiencing shame and pride of place. This study only managed to indicate the likely existence of such an evaluative process (study 1), which supports the propositions of the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This theory suggests that for the development of a social identity, after an initial identification process, a process of social comparison takes place, in which the in-group is compared with the

out-group (i.e., in-place vs. out-place; Bonaiuto et al, 1996). Pride and shame are two typical and opposite outcomes of this social comparison process and Tajfel and Turner (1979) argue that the groups to which people belong to are an important source of pride and self-esteem. The tentative results of the mediation models are thus supported by the propositions of the social identity theory. Study 1 showed indeed that place reputation and comparing the place with other places could indeed be an important factor that fosters development of pride and shame of place. What is however not clear, regards how this comparison process works and what exactly decides if people experience pride or shame of place. It could be very important to explore this aspect as this could be a key factor in promoting a positive person-place relationship. In practice, this could for example be of value for local governments that would like to increase the wellbeing of their inhabitants.

#### **5.1.1.2 Pride and shame of place in relation to wellbeing outcomes**

Pride of place can, in line with general pride (e.g., Fredrickson, 1998; Tracy and Robins, 2007), lead to a series of positive outcomes on both the individual as the collective level. In the light of the broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions (Fredrickson, 1998), it can for example, on the basis of the results of study 1, be hypothesized that pride of place leads to more active engagement (broaden effect), which in turn leads to more social cohesion and (collective) self-esteem (build effect), which in their turn will contribute to more experienced hedonic and eudaimonic wellbeing. The mediation models in study 3 suggest indeed that place identity, place attachment and place connectedness, through the experiencing of authentic pride of place, could foster self-esteem, which is an important predictor of all sorts of wellbeing indicators (Paradise & Kernis, 2002). Study 1 indicated that the experiencing of pride and shame of place may influence people's eudaimonic and hedonic wellbeing. For example, pride of place was often mentioned to be a pleasant emotion and it could, for example, lead simultaneously to the experiencing of joy and happiness which are important indicators of hedonic wellbeing. Study 1 and 3 also suggest that pride of place promotes the experiencing of eudaimonic wellbeing as, for example, it could lead to an increase in self-esteem, sense of belonging and meaning in life (study 1, study 3). In order for these tentative results to be further examined, experimental studies are needed.

Shame of place, on the other hand, could also lead, in line with outcomes of general shame (Budiarto & Helmi, 2021a; Velotti et al., 2017) to detrimental outcomes, such as lower self-esteem, as it was shown in study 1 and study 3. The mediation models showed that shame of place, as did authentic pride of place, mediated the relationship between place connectedness and self-esteem. Where pride of place leads to an increase in self-esteem, shame of place seems to decrease the effect of place connectedness on self-esteem. Shame of place is however not unambiguous in its consequence, as it could also lead to positive effects such as wanting to increase the place or more social cohesion (see study 1). In general, the results on shame of place are novel to the research field as shame in relation to places has rarely been mentioned in the literature and, as far as I know, it has not been studied in relation to place identity or place attachment. As argued above, the study results of this project suggest that shame of place is a relevant concept to consider in studying the people-place realm and that it might bring some specification and nuance to when and how for example place identity or place attachment can lead to the promotion of wellbeing.

### 5.1.1.3 Authentic and hubristic pride of place

Where study 1 did not differentiate between authentic and hubristic pride of place, study 2 and 3 did explore if the two facets of general pride also apply to pride of place. Theoretically it would make sense if pride of place would have, just like general pride, two facets. Study 2, with a small sample (N=24) failed to show correlational evidence that differentiations can be made between authentic and hubristic pride of place. Study 3 however, through the mediation analyses showed that certain relationships were significant for authentic but not for hubristic pride of place. Here too, the sample size was rather small to establish strong effects. In sum, the study did try to differentiate between the two facets of pride of place, but the results were not very clear. This could potentially also have to do with the theoretical underpinnings of the theory that underlies the two-facet pride model (Tracy & Robins, 2007b). One of the main criticisms on the theory of Tracy and Robins about the two facet model of authentic and hubristic pride (Tracy & Robins, 2007b) is that the scale used to measure the concepts, and thus being at the base of all their studies supporting their own theory, would be invalid. Holbrook and colleagues (Holbrook et al., 2014a, 2014b) state for example that the hubristic pride scale does not measure feelings of pride at all. Instead, they argue, it measures the acknowledgement of having displayed pride in an excessive way. They continue to argue that both facets of Tracy and Robin's pride model are related to elevated social status and, on such a basis, they tentatively propose another model which distinguishes between a *dominance pride* and a *prestige pride* (Holbrook et al., 2014a). Dominance pride should be evoked by attaining coercive power over others; while prestige pride by receiving appraisal for achievements (probably, it could be a by-product of reputation, for example). This proposal theory would be in line with current theories on the evolution of shame, which state that two conditions generally elicit feelings of shame: a lower status and failure to conform to culturally accepted behavioral standards (e.g., Fessler, 2004, 2007).

### 5.1.1.4 Ineffectiveness of the intervention

Study 2 and 3 failed to show any significant effects of the pride of place intervention. This intervention, a school curriculum, was specifically designed to bring about a change in place identity, place attachment and pride and shame of place, but it did not show any significant change on any of these constructs. This calls for a reflection of why this could have been the case. Looking at the far from ideal circumstances in which the piloting took place (e.g., alternating between presential and distance learning), some reasonable and realistic justifications may be found. According to the literature on place-based educational (PBE) approaches, it is of paramount importance that PBE, such as the intervention tested in studies 2 and 3, actively takes place in the physical setting of the actual place and that the local experts and, social, cultural and physical aspects of the place become part of the learning process (e.g., Powers, 2004; Van Eijck & Roth, 2010; Vander Ark et al., 2020). The piloting obviously failed on this important principle of PBE (Vander Ark et al., 2020), even though it was specifically designed for it. The impact of the digital learning environment in which most part of the piloting took place, probably negatively affected the impact of the intervention, as did the alternation between presential and digital learning. The curriculum was not designed as a digital PBE, but was forcefully implemented as an online curriculum. Other important design principles of PBE programmes (Vander Ark et al., 2020) – such as that the



intervention is learner centered, inquiry based and interdisciplinary – were respected by the curriculum. This leads to say that it cannot be made clear that the intervention was arguably faulty in regards to these unexpected results, but rather that the design of the intervention respected all major principles and suggestions from the literature (Pedaste et al., 2015; Van Eijck & Roth, 2010; Vander Ark et al., 2020). Therefore, it is likely that the circumstances in which the intervention was implemented and tested caused the unexpected results, however that cannot be concluded from the two quantitative studies employed for the research project. It could be suggested that the intervention, in order to properly assess its quality is piloted again, but only when it is possible under circumstances for which the intervention was designed (i.e., in presential education with the possibility to be physically be in the place and actively interact with local experts and, social, cultural and physical aspects of the place).

#### **5.1.1.5 Different age groups**

The three studies in this research project included very different age groups. Study 1 included adults as it was expected to have easier access to this target group for this type of data collection; and that the qualitative results coming from them would be of a more useful quality, as pride and shame of place may be quite abstract topics to adolescents. Studies 2 and 3 included minors, mainly as this was given by the context of the Erasmus+ project within which these two studies took place. The fact that the age groups of these samples were so different brings about several reflections. First of all, it could be considered a strength of the research that the age group was so diverse since, for example, most studies on general pride has been done using a student sample (e.g., Cheng et al., 2010; Nakamura, 2013; Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007). Especially study 1, that aimed to qualitatively explore the realm of pride and shame of place, had thus a broad representative sample of the population. Secondly, the interpretation of the relatedness of the results from all three studies should be regarded with caution. It is for example not clear (yet) if adolescents experience pride and shame of place in similar ways as adults do, or how both place-based emotions develop throughout a lifespan. Orth and colleagues (2010) have shown in their studies that general shame usually decreases from adolescence to middle adulthood and then again increases into old age. As for pride they showed that authentic pride increases from adolescence to old age and hubristic pride follows a similar pattern as shame. If this is also true for pride and shame in relation to places is not clear, on the basis of the results of the current research project, nor it has been studied by others. Study 1 indicated that pride of place can be a learned emotion from others, such as ancestors or at school (section 2.3.1.3.2), and that aging could be an important factor in developing more pride of place (section 2.3.1.1). Furthermore, two participants in study 1, gave some first indications of how both emotions may develop over time, by stating that they are now proud of things they were ashamed of when they were in school age. This suggests at least that pride and shame are probably not stable over time, but it does not show how these emotions evolve throughout lifespan and which role aging exactly plays in this process. In order to examine this issue, a longitudinal cohort study would be useful.

### **5.1.2 Personal reflections**

This PhD project has been an incredible learning journey of 4 years. Besides all the acquired knowledge on the subject of this project and the research skills developed, I especially learned what it means to think like a researcher. Having run through the full research cycle several times, it became intuitively clear how a good theoretical basis of the study is fundamental for making sense of the results and their implication.

For study 2 and 3, which included much more than the sheer data collection, I underestimated how many different factors of influence there were on the process and eventually the results: the quality of the intervention, back-and-forth translation of the questionnaires, instructing teachers on how to deliver the training, coordinating the piloting of the curriculum in three different countries, and ensuring the questionnaires were administered timely. All of these factors could not only have influenced the results of the study, but they could have jeopardized the entire study. I had underestimated this and I was relieved when the raw data was collected. It was however a valuable lesson to find out that being a researcher is much more than just collecting and analyzing data. A good methodology and especially proper implementation of the intervention in an experimental study showed to be key.

### **5.2 Limitations**

In each of the previous chapters on the three empirical studies of the thesis, the limitations of these studies were detailed. As for the qualitative study in chapter 2, several biases could be taken into account when interpreting the results. For example, social desirability or selective narration in answering the interview questions about one's experiences with pride and shame of place could have biased the results. Similarly, reappraisal bias may have caused the interviewees to reappraise the prideful and shameful experiences in more positive light, make negative events (such as shameful ones) less accessible and less specific than positive events (such as prideful ones). These biases may have mostly affected the results on shame of place as it would lead to less rich results. Indeed, the results on shame of place as they can generally be considered less socially desirable and less positive than moments in which people are proud of their places. Furthermore, as for pride of place, mainly positive outcomes were reported in study 1, but it is not unlikely that there are also negative outcomes possible, for both the individual as the community of the place. This is something that is hard to explore using interviews as a technique to gather data. Different indirect methodologies, such as observations, are probably more appropriate to explore these negative effects. It is of course important to study them as it should for example be clear when and how to promote pride of place without causing negative effects for the individual or collective of a place.

Regarding the role of the interviewer, sampling and interviewer bias may have also been present. The interviewer was not fully neutral to the interviewees, nor to the places where the respondents came from or in general about the topic of pride and shame of place. The interviewer (i.e., the PhD candidate), knew most interviewees personally before the interviews took place and has lived in the two distinct rural areas where the

respondent came from, which caused him to have a positive prejudice regarding these places. It is likely that other interviewers would have reached different results, however, the interviewer bias may have caused the respondents to be more open because they personally knew the interviewer or less in case it dealt with sensitive topics for which the interviewee sensed individual shame.

One of the major limiting factors of this research project was obviously the introduction of the Covid-pandemic. At the time this started in Europe, about March 2020, the piloting of the Pride of Place curriculum, in the Erasmus+ project at several schools throughout Europe, had just begun and the first questionnaires were administered. Nothing could have made more impact than a total lockdown and closure of schools. Teachers were forced to reinvent their profession in moving to online education, students were disconnected from their school environment for several weeks and the places they all lived in changed profoundly. When the piloting was started up for a second attempt in autumn 2020, the threat of new lockdowns was ongoing. It is only now that the impact on the personal lives of young people is coming to expression and this study has made it clear that it was hard to pilot test a new curriculum under such circumstances. The 'chaos' and uncertainties definitely did not foster the setting in which teachers could apply the curriculum and students could explore their relationship with their places. As suggested in study 3, it may be that the intervention actually had a buffering effect on the negative impact of the past lockdowns on young people's lives. It would be great if the pilot testing could be redone in times when the school and place settings are more tranquil for the students and teachers.

Another important limitation was that there was no proper instrument available for the measuring of pride and shame of place. The scales used in study 2 and 3 were adaptations of general pride and shame scales and, although they showed to have good internal consistencies, they were not validated for measuring the emotions in relation to place settings. It could thus be that they did not measure pride and shame of place at all, but rather something else.

The three empirical studies included different age groups (i.e., adults and adolescents), which leads to be cautious with interpreting how the three studies relate to each other. The first qualitative study led to suggest a list of variables that were examined in the two following quantitative studies. It could be, for example, as previously discussed in this chapter, that the two age groups have different experiences with both pride and shame of place and that the variables assessed in the quantitative studies are not representative for the actual experience of pride and shame of place of the adolescent population. It would then be that these two studies were not age appropriate and therefore failed to show significant results.

The qualitative exploration of shame of place would need more research as there has probably been a bias in the data gathering in study 1: most or all participants were in fact all strongly proud of their places. People who are mostly ashamed of their place will have probably responded to that in different ways, of which one may be to find residence elsewhere ([see section 2.3.4.3; Permentier et al., 2007](#)) and thus not being included in the

study. However, the current study shows a good first exploration of the concepts, given the lack in the existing literature.

Lastly, how people relate to their places, not only in terms of attachment and identity, but also in the light of pride and shame of place, could be very culturally sensitive. The studies took place throughout Europe which could be considered, on a global scale, Western civilizations with probably relatively similar perceptions on people-place bonds. This affects the generalizability of the study results as people in non-Western civilizations may relate very differently to their places and thus have different experiences of pride and shame of place. Caution in generalizing, especially out of the context of Western civilizations, of these results is thus required.

### **5.3 Suggestions for further research**

In section 5.1 it is suggested that the role of pride and shame of place in people-place dynamics is further examined. Study 3 suggests that pride and shame could be mediators between major constructs (such as place identity and place attachment) and important outcomes (such as individual self-esteem). These findings should be further examined using other experimental designs (or even replicating study 3) and different outcome measures. As well, further research is recommended to have larger sample sizes than those included in the current study as they were rather small in terms of statistical power (N=134).

Following the limitation on the lack of an appropriate scales, it would be valuable to develop and validate pride and shame of place scales. This may be very important, especially if the relevance of these two place-based emotions for the study of people-place bonds should be re-evaluated. In this chapter, in section 5.1, it was suggested that the role pride and shame are further examined, especially as mediating variables. For the validity of such studies, appropriate reliable and valid scales are needed. This exploratory research offers several leads for the development of a scale. For example, study 1 identified that people generally feel very happy and joyful when experiencing pride of place and sadness when experiencing shame of place. Such typical results could be used to develop items for the scales. Having validated and reliable scales would facilitate the further examining of the relationships of both place-based emotions with its antecedent and consequences.

Future studies could also explore how pride and shame are influenced by cultural or religious aspects. Especially pride has an ambiguous reputation, and, in some cultures and religions, this could be considered a vice (Bonaiuto, et al., 2019), while in other contexts as a more neutral feature. Similarly, it would be interesting to explore how aging affects the development of both place-based emotions over time. Some elder participants in study 1 mentioned for example that they became proud of aspects of their place they were ashamed of when they were teenagers. Similarly, 'aging' was mentioned as an important antecedent for the experiencing of pride of place (see section 2.3.1.1). It may thus be, as with general shame, that over time people are less prone to be ashamed of their place as they have more strongly integrated it in their sense of identity. It could also be that

the older people get to compare their place less with other places and they thus experience less shame and more pride due to a lack of critical comparisons. These kinds of psychological processes could be further explored.

## **5.4 Conclusion**

In general, the PhD study results can be called successful as they managed to provide some first data on the antecedents and consequences of pride and shame of place filling the gap in research. Furthermore, it was explored how these place-based emotions relate to other place-based constructs, resulting in leads to further research the concepts. More research is needed and it is suggested to develop new pride and shame of place measuring instruments.

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# Appendix 1: Consent forms (Italian & Dutch)

Roma 15/08/19

## MODULO DI CONSENSO INFORMATO PER LA PARTECIPAZIONE ALLO STUDIO

Prima di decidere liberamente se partecipare a questo studio, legga attentamente questo consenso informato e ponga al responsabile della ricerca, tutte le domande che riterrà opportune al fine di essere pienamente informato/a sugli scopi e sulle modalità della ricerca.

### SCOPO DELLO STUDIO

Questo studio si interessa alla relazione tra gli abitanti, il territorio in cui vivono e le emozioni correlati. L'obiettivo di questo studio è esplorare la relazione emozionale e psicologica dei partecipanti con il loro territorio di appartenenza.

Nella ricerca saranno coinvolti adulti provenienti di zone rurale e urbane. Saranno predisposte 2 fasi per la raccolta dei dati:

- ✓ Fase 1 – Una serie di interviste semi-strutturate sulle esperienze dei partecipanti della loro relazione con il loro territorio di residenza, focalizzando sul orgoglio e la vergogna che si possa sentire per esso.
- ✓ Fase 2 – Una batteria di questionari sulla relazione con il territorio di residenza, focalizzando sul orgoglio e la vergogna che si possa sentire per esso, e tutte le possibile antecedente e conseguenze di queste due emozioni che si possa sentire per il territorio.

### BENEFICI E VANTAGGI

Lo studio consentirà di verificare come le emozioni di orgoglio e vergogna delle persone in zone rurale e urbane influenzi la relazione tra i partecipanti e il luogo in cui vivono. Questa conoscenza ha sia un interesse di tipo accademico, per meglio comprendere in generale come nasce e si sviluppa la relazione tra le persone e il loro territorio, sia un interesse di tipo applicativo, per capire come determinate iniziative sviluppate a livello territoriale possono essere percepite dagli abitanti soprattutto in relazione alla possibilità di migliorare lo sviluppo di un buon rapporto con il loro territorio.

### RISERVATEZZA

I dati raccolti saranno trattati in accordo con le leggi sulla privacy e in conformità al Regolamento UE 2016/679, garantendo l'anonimato dei partecipanti. In particolare, una volta raccolti i dati, a ciascun partecipante verrà attribuito un codice che renderà impossibile l'associazione fra l'identità del partecipante e le sue risposte ai questionari. Il file contenente l'associazione partecipante-codice sarà accessibile al solo responsabile della ricerca, il quale è tenuto al rispetto di diversi codici deontologici che regolano la sua attività sia come ricercatore accademico a livello nazionale e internazionale, sia come psicologo professionista iscritto all'ordine professionale nazionale.

La preghiamo di ricordare che questo è un progetto di ricerca e che la vostra partecipazione è completamente volontaria. Lei potrà decidere di sospendere la sua partecipazione alla ricerca in qualunque momento. Non ci saranno conseguenze per la sua mancata partecipazione.

In caso si desiderino ulteriori informazioni o chiarimenti su qualunque aspetto dello studio, è possibile contattare il responsabile della ricerca, prof. Marino Bonaiuto (e-mail: [marino.bonaiuto@uniroma1.it](mailto:marino.bonaiuto@uniroma1.it)), la dott.ssa Silvia Ariccio, (e-mail: [silvia.ariccio@uniroma1.it](mailto:silvia.ariccio@uniroma1.it)) oppure il dott. Thomas Albers ([thomasalbers@gmail.com](mailto:thomasalbers@gmail.com)).

Roma, 15/08/2019

Marino  
Bonaiuto

(Responsabile del progetto di ricerca)

**Se interessati, si prega di compilare e firmare la pagina seguente.**

Il sottoscritto,

Nome e Cognome \_\_\_\_\_,

**AUTORIZZA**

**la partecipazione al progetto descritto.**

Data \_\_\_\_\_

Firma: \_\_\_\_\_

## GEÏNFORMEERD TOESTEMMINGSFORMULIER VOOR DEELNAME AAN DE STUDIE

Lees deze geïnformeerde toestemming aandachtig door en stel de onderzoeksleider alle vragen die u nodig acht om volledig op de hoogte te zijn van de doeleinden en methoden van het onderzoek voordat u vrijwillig besluit om deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek.

### DOEL VAN DE STUDIE

Deze studie houdt zich bezig met de relatie tussen de inwoners en het gebied waarin ze leven: het doel van deze studie is om de psychologische relatie van de deelnemers met hun gebied te verkennen.

Bij het onderzoek zullen volwassenen uit landelijke en stedelijke gebieden worden betrokken. Er zijn twee fasen voor het verzamelen van gegevens:

✓ Fase 1 - Een reeks semi-gestructureerde interviews over de ervaringen van de deelnemers over hun relatie met het gebied waarin zij wonen, met bijzondere aandacht voor enkele emoties die in verband hiermee kunnen worden gevoeld.

✓ Fase 2 - Een reeks vragenlijsten over de relatie met het woongebied, ook in dit geval met speciale aandacht voor enkele emoties die hiervoor kunnen worden gevoeld, maar ook met aandacht voor mogelijke antecedenten en gevolgen van de relatie tussen een persoon en het eigen leefgebied.

### VOORDELEN

De studie draagt ertoe bij om beter te begrijpen waarom sommige specifieke emoties die mensen uit platteland- en stedelijke gebieden ontwikkelen ten opzichte van hun gebied. Deze kennis is van wetenschappelijk belang; om in het algemeen beter te begrijpen hoe de relatie tussen mensen en hun leefgebied zich verhoudt en ontwikkelt. Het is ook van praktisch belang, om te begrijpen hoe bepaalde initiatieven en activiteiten in het gebied door de inwoners worden ervaren en kunnen worden gestimuleerd; en hoe dit alles van invloed is op de relatie met het gebied waarin zij leven.

### VERTROUWELIJKHEID

De verzamelde gegevens worden verwerkt in overeenstemming met de recentste privacywetgeving en in overeenstemming met EU-verordening 2016/679, die de anonimiteit van de deelnemers garandeert. In het bijzonder, zodra de gegevens zijn verzameld, krijgt elke deelnemer een code die het onmogelijk maakt om de identiteit van de deelnemer te associëren met zijn antwoorden op de vragenlijsten en interviews. De informatie die de koppeling tussen deelnemer en code bevat, is alleen toegankelijk voor de onderzoeksleider, die verplicht is zich te houden aan verschillende ethische codes vanuit zijn functie, zowel als academisch onderzoeker op nationaal en internationaal niveau, en als een professionele psycholoog die is ingeschreven in de nationale professionele orde.

Er wordt herhaald dat dit een onderzoeksproject is en dat de deelname van iedereen volledig vrijwillig is. U kunt op elk moment besluiten uw deelname aan het onderzoek op te schorten. Er zijn geen gevolgen voor uw verzuim om deel te nemen, op korte of lange termijn.

Als u meer informatie of verduidelijkingen over enig aspect van het onderzoek wenst, kunt u contact opnemen met de onderzoeksleider, Prof. Marino Bonaiuto (e-mail: [marino.bonaiuto@uniroma1.it](mailto:marino.bonaiuto@uniroma1.it)), Dr. Silvia Ariccio, (e-mail: [silvia.ariccio@uniroma1.it](mailto:silvia.ariccio@uniroma1.it)) of dhr. Thomas Albers (e-mail: [thomas.albers@uniroma1.it](mailto:thomas.albers@uniroma1.it)).

In goed vertrouwen

Prof. Marino Bonaiuto  
(Onderzoeksleider)

Rome, 15/08/2019



Indien geïnteresseerd, vul dan de volgende pagina in en onderteken deze.

Ik, ondergetekende,

Naam en achternaam \_\_\_\_\_,

MACHTIG

Mijn deelname aan het beschreven project.

Datum \_\_\_\_\_

Handtekening: \_\_\_\_\_

# Appendix 2: Interview questions English, Italian and Dutch

## ENGLISH VERSION

1. Can you please tell me about your relationships with places or people-place relations in general?

### A What is PoP?

2. What does this place mean to you?
3. What comes to mind when you think about your Pride of (your) Place?
4. Think about your PoP and name as many words possible.
5. Please list the three to five most important words you mentioned for your PoP and rank them
6. Is there something equivalent for your SoP? What is SoP for you?
7. Are there some specific spots, locations, etc. that you associate to PoP or SoP in your Place.

### B What causes PoP?

8. What do you think is the origin of your PoP (/SoP)?
9. More specifically, what features of the place make you feel proud, such as, locations, or activities, material or immaterial sources, etc.?

### C. What are the consequences of PoP / SoP?

10. Think about a moment when you felt very proud of your place.
  - a) Could you share a memory of a moment you felt proud of your place?
  - b) What emotions, feelings do you have when you relate to this moment?
  - c) What do you like to do when you relate to this moment? what kind of actions and activities...
11. Think about a moment when you felt very ashamed of this place.
  - a) Could you share a memory of a moment you felt ashamed of your place?
  - b) What emotions, feelings do you have when you relate to this moment?
  - c) What do you like to do when you relate to this moment? what kind of actions and activities...
12. What do you say your PoP is useful for? And SoP?

## ITALIAN VERSION

1. Mi potresti parlare delle tue relazioni con i luoghi, e delle relazioni tra persona e luogo in genere?

### A Cos'è il PoP (Orgoglio di/per il luogo)?

2. Che cosa significa questo luogo per te?
3. Cosa ti viene in mente quando pensi al tuo Orgoglio per il (tuo) Luogo ?
4. Pensa al tuo OpL e dimmi quante più parole ti vengono in mente.
5. Per favore, tra queste parole, scegli quelle più importanti per te (minimo 3, massimo 5) e mettile in ordine di importanza.
6. C'è qualcosa di simile che riguardi la tua Vergogna per il (tuo) Luogo (VpL)? Cosa è la VpL per te?
7. Ci sono specifici punti, zone, ecc. che tu associ al tuo OpL o alla tua VpL nel tuo Luogo?

### B Che cosa causa l'OpL?

8. Quale pensi sia l'origine del tuo OpL (/ VpL)?
9. Più precisamente, quali sono gli aspetti del luogo che ti fanno sentire orgoglioso, per esempio una zona o un'attività, oppure elementi materiali o immateriali, ecc.?

### C Quali sono le conseguenze dell'Odl / VdL?

10. Pensa ad un/a momento/situazione in cui ti sei sentito molto orgoglioso del tuo luogo.
  - a. Quali pensieri e quali conoscenze ti vengono in mente quando ti relazioni a questo luogo (quando ci sei / quando ci pensi / quando ne parli)?
  - b. Che emozioni, sentimenti provi quando ti relazioni a questo luogo (quando ci sei / quando ci pensi / quando ne parli)?
  - c. Cosa ti piace fare quando ti relazioni a questo luogo (quando ci sei / quando ci pensi / quando ne parli)? Che tipo di azioni e di attività...
11. Pensa ad un/a momento/situazione in cui ti sei molto vergognato di questo luogo.
  - a. Che pensieri e che conoscenze ti vengono in mente quando ti relazioni a questo luogo (quando ci sei / quando ci pensi / quando ne parli)?
  - b. Che emozioni, sentimenti provi quando ti relazioni a questo luogo (quando ci sei / quando ci pensi / quando ne parli)?
  - c. Cosa ti piace fare quando ti relazioni a questo luogo (quando ci sei / quando ci pensi / quando ne parli)? Che tipo di azioni, e di attività...
12. Secondo te, a cosa serve il tuo OdL? e la tua VdL?

## DUTCH VERSION

1. Kun je me vertellen wat er in je opkomt of waar je aan denkt als het gaat over de relatie tussen mensen en plaatsen in het algemeen?

### A. Wat is trots op je plaats (Pride of Place)?

3. Wat betekent deze plaats voor jou?
4. Wat komt er in je op als denkt aan trots zijn op je plaats?
5. Denk aan jouw trots voor je plaats en noem alle woorden die in je opkomen
6. Kun je van deze woorden de drie tot vijf belangrijkste rangschikken?
7. Heb je ook wel eens schaamte gevoeld voor je plaats en zo ja, waar was dat dan voor?
8. Zijn er specifieke plekken, gebieden of anders die je associeert met je trots of schaamte voor je plaats?

### B. Wat veroorzaakt trots (pride of place)?

9. Waar denk je dat de oorsprong van je trots ligt? En je schaamte?
10. Zijn er nog andere specifieke dingen van de plaats die jouw trots maken, denk aan zaken zoals plekken, evenementen, materiele of immateriele dingen.

### C. Wat zijn de consequenties van trots en schaamte voor de plaats?

11. Denk aan een moment waarop je je trots voelde op je plaats.
  - a) Welke gedachten komen er in je op?
  - b) Welke emoties of gevoelens heb je daarbij?
  - c) Wat zou je graag willen doen als je deze trots voelt?
12. Denk aan een moment waarop je schaamte voelde voor je plaats.
  - a) Welke gedachten komen er in je op?
  - b) Welke emoties of gevoelens heb je daarbij?
  - c) Wat zou je graag willen doen als je deze schaamte voelt?
13. Waar denk je dat deze gevoelens van trots en schaamte voor dienen? Welk nut hebbenze?

# Appendix 3: Transcriptions of interviews

Here below the ad vertim transcriptions of the interview recordings are presented. They are ordered in the following order:

1. Italian Rural Area: participants ITR1 to ITR5
2. Italian Urban Area: participants ITU1 to ITU3
3. Netherlands Rural Ares: participants NLR1 to NLR5
4. Netherlands Urban Area: participants: NLU1 to NLU4

## Italy Rural area: Participant [ITR1]

Q: This is an interview for the PHD course with Fabrizio. We will do it in English.

As I explained to you it is about the emotional relationship of people with the places where they live. Before that, if you speak about your place, what do you think of?

Would you say it is (few names of Italian places)?

A: Cortemilia and Lange.

Q: Okay, this is good to know. My first question is, could you tell me please something about your relationship with the place just in general?

A: In general... So my relationship with the place, it's changing during my life. In this moment, I really like it. I really like to live here. I'm moving to stay here. Like I'm building my house and after a period of my life where I went away... I was living five years in Torino, then I went to Croatia. I was moving around Europe, and then I went back and I recognized something that was holding me here. I like this place. I feel good here in different levels.

At a human level, like being connected with people. I don't have to prove anything to them. They already know who I am, but at the same time they know who I am and they are not open to see my growth. Now I'm in the way that half of the time I stay here, half of the time I move. To have the quality of life that is here, because the most important thing that I like about this area is the quality of life, quality of food, not many cars, possibility to spend time in nature, possibility to stay close with my family. Those are really important parts to have a good quality of life for me.

I really want to eat good, I really want to spend time outside, to go cycling, to go running, to go hiking in a clean nice place. And this is what made me come back here.

Q: So this place offers you that safety, that people know you?

A: Yeah.

Q: And also to stay close, like you belong, with your family?

A: Yeah, exactly. And it's also... In the past I was like... It's easy to do things here for me. It's easy to have the location from the municipality. It's easy to talk with the mayor. It's easy to be connected with what is happening here and to propose things and to do, what to develop. I find it really easy. If I have an idea, if I find support in people and I can do it, in a city... When I was in the city, there are much more things, but it's longer to reach the decision makers. Here it's shorter.

Q: Yes, you can go directly to the mayor for example.

A: Exactly, and I find this also really nice.

Q: Okay, I get it.

A: Another minus is that a bit like closed mind about some things. But I see that it's changing. I see that true opportunity from Europe to Erasmus through internet tools, seeing other things, people are more open to develop new kind of projects in culture, in art, in different things.

Q: And do you have any ideas about people-place relationships in general? Not so much specifically for you, but just your ideas of how.... What you've seen... How people relate to the places where they live. So maybe in the city or maybe here, would you add something like...?

A: It's different in young people... What I see different in young people and old people. I have a lot of people friends around my age, between 25 and 30. They say out loud many times they are tired and there is nothing.

And then after some years I see people like... When the needs are changing, when there is no need to go to find clubs and these kind of things for young people, for some of the young people... And they recognize more about the quality of life, about being with the family.

For children it's nice, I can let... They can go alone everywhere, and there is not such a thing... Like when I was in the city, it was like seeing much more the families, mothers and fathers taking the children close to them and talking with them like: 'Where are you in the city? Be safe!' And here, no. This is much more easier to go.

I remember I saw when I was a child. When I see also the children go alone with bicycle everywhere and play football everywhere. This is nice. And about old people, I see pride about the fact that this place was a poor place, and now it's getting better and better.

I am recognizing a lot of people's happiness, sharing about how many problems they had in this area, the river... How it was poor and dirty, the pollution, and now how it's growing and it's good economy and the environment it's clean and this is... I talked with many people about that. They shared that they're happy.

I think we've covered it all.

Q: Yeah, it's enough. Thank you.

So then I have one set of questions which is about what pride of place is in general and also something about the shame. So this place that you spoke of like Cortemilia, maybe the Langa, the territory around the land, around Cortemilia. What does it mean to you?

A: If I think about what it means, I call it when I was around Europe, my village. Yeah, it's home. It's memories and also opportunities. I see both past and future in the same word, because... All my memories when I was a child are here and this is important. Now that I look back, but also I see pieces of puzzles like putting together giving me opportunities. If I take that from there, that from there and that from there, and these things, I put it here as a location. Things that I learn outside and experience. And also people. Bringing people from other places here. And I see also opportunities.

And about the area also. If I talk about Cortemilia, but also the area, I see also some judgments between people from one area to another one.

I considered all Lange, but for example some people from this area Atalanga, they talk Basalan different, but for me it is the same. I see judgments and this I don't like it.

Q: Judgment in a way that they think that they are better or?

A: I don't know what is the meaning behind it. I see complaining about things that other people do, like for example also my father. I wanted to open a new business and I talked with him and he said: Ah, but we're not there. We're not in Barolo, we are in Cortemilia.

It's 27 kilometers.

Q: So do you think there may be less in that sense?

A: It's possible.

Q: Just different?

A: Also, one other thing... For me the distance here it's really small. It's all the places. The road is difficult to reach, but it's between 15 and 50 kilometers.

For me it is nothing, because I'm used to move thousand kilometers. But when I talk with people from here to move 10 kilometer, it's already a lot.

So we have these different ideas of distances. This can be also, not only about geographic, but also about distances of you, I think.

Q: You said that this place means home to you. And what makes it home?

A: Safety. I don't have to prove things. So I know people know me. It's easy to go to the markets and to talk with people that I consider friends. Environmental. I recognize I like thing, I see this every day when I move, I like how it's green, how is the weather and how is the environment and this makes me feel good.

And my connections close to my family to have their support, because I'm doing a lot of things thanks also for the fact that they support me. Maybe I can do it also without, but why not to have to take this support? In the past I was like more: Okay, the support... I can do it alone. But the support is there, why not take it?

Q: A big network?

A: Yeah.

Q: Like a social network?

A: Yeah, I know who to ask what if I need something. I need that, I can talk with them. And also opportunities.

For me home is a place where I feel good...

Q: Where you can grow...

A: Where I can grow, where I have space. This is another thing, I have space. I feel like like I have all the space that they want and this is also important for me, because I have a strong personality. I have a strong ego, that needs space to be shared. This is important for me. If I have space, I know that I feel good. If people leave me space that they need, I can express myself and I feel good, and I have this face here.

Q: Another question. This is more related to pride of place. What comes to mind when you think about your pride of place? The pride for your place, or pride for the place here where you live?

A: That it is nice in an aesthetic way. So I feel happy to show it to other people. I feel good to bring people here and show: look, this is the place. It's nice. It's beautiful as they say in an aesthetic way. It has a history that I can share about: this building has this history and it has this meaning.

I feel good about... I'm thinking about when people come here what I talk about with them and also about the environment. That there is a good respect for the environment and good respect for example in building new things.

There is this idea that this place is nice, and we all together we preserve it in the way that it is and we'll try to work in order to make it better. And this makes me satisfied and I wanted to be part of these things.

There are some rules not to change what is about architectonic and aesthetic way, how it is. So in order to preserve in this way. So sometimes this can be bad, not to be open to new things. But in the end, it's also okay. If it's nice now, we preserve it. And we work all together for example in new materials that are maybe better for the environment, to look the same.

So this care about how it is, the historic things and the location that we are now, this is like an eco-museum. Maybe this is the emblem of the place. It's an eco-museum, so a way to preserve and to show others how it is, the history about the the walls and the buildings, that many years are like that, and are well made and still maybe they are better than other things that are now in other places.

So about this, and also about the food. It's also connected. A strong connection about pride. I can eat what I grow in my own yard, and this is really... I'm happy about that. When somebody else came and I said look: this is my house, I'm eating this and it's growing there, and this is connected to what also makes me come back here.

I think that's it.

Q: Well, it's enough. Thank you. So there's another... The next question. When you think about pride of place, could you name me just as many words as possible that come to mind?

A: History, culture, language, environment, architecture, good feelings, emotions, memories, perspective of future, and willingness of togetherness. Community, food, music, willingness to show to others what is there and...

Q: Sharing what you're proud of?

A: Yeah.

Q: And could you please list, of all the words that you said, maybe three to five that are the most important to you in relationship to pride of place? And rank them? So number one, two, and three, four and five maybe.

A: Number one is the willingness to do, perspective of future. This is number one.



If I'm proud of something I want to be there in the future. Now is now, but the past is already there, but if I am proud of this, I want to be here also in one year, so how can I make it better?

Q: Okay, so you want to stay close and improve it then?

A: But not only staying there. If I'm proud of my place I have the willingness that also other people work to preserve it, not only me. The vision like that the people in the place have the vision of how to make it better for the future. Like this vision together to keep staying good, if it's already good or making better, to have a common vision.

And number two, quality of life.

What makes me proud of this place, it's the quality of life.  
So the reality is already there.

And number three, the thing about sharing the beauty. How nice it is, the place, in an aesthetic way.

Q: To share it with the people from here or from outside?

A: From outside. But also from here, to make the ones from here that are not recognizing it, to see: look it's there.

And also when the others from outside come and see how beautiful it is, it makes me feel good. I started to change the idea of this place when I was working in tourism.

In the past many people coming here recognizing things. I have these things, when something is close to me...

Q: You don't see it!

A: I see it, but I'm not focused, because I try to look with more focus.

But then I take a step back, oh I recognize it!

Q: I recognize it, because often when I speak to people about that who live here, about how beautiful everything is. They say: Do you really think so?

I think maybe you have to go out and then come back to see how beautiful it actually is.

A: Exactly.

It's a point of view that is different. I want to open a project, not for money, but for the place, with my company. To tell my history about I went there, I went here, I work with people who are coming from outside, so I have this different point of view. They want to show to people with my drone a picture from different points of view to make them appreciate more of what they already have.

Q: Yeah, it's nice to do it like that.

A: And this is also connected with focus. If I decide to focus only on the bad things, I see only bad things.

Q: Yeah, true.

A: To show people, you're focusing only on the bad. Try to focus on the good one.

Q: Yeah, and you can train that.

A: Yeah, exactly.

Q: Nice project. It's not a bad idea actually. Good idea!

I have a question about shame of place. So when you think about shame of place, what would that mean to you?

A: To me, closed mentality. Like connected with racism, connected with not accepting other opinions. Like okay, this is nice, this is beautiful, but it can be another beautiful point of view. This is coming, connect with everything, connect with food,

connect with music, connect with everything. It can be like this... What I am more ashamed of about this place, sometimes it's closed minded for some things.

I'm lucky that I'm building my life going around, that I am building opportunities to see different things, but other people are not so lucky. But also I'm also taking this opportunity. They are not taking it. But the idea is not... Everything is good here, almost. But it does not mean that it cannot improve or that another thing that is another place is the same quality. So more closed minded about... Now it's also really connected with migration also, because it's a huge topic and this is making me sad. About the fact that

these rural areas in Italy are moving in the direction of ideological political way of racism. And it's increasing. The hate speech and all these things.

And also a bit of the ignorance of somebody. I don't want to be superior in this. I don't want to share to give the same image. But I see some people sharing fake news as a real reality or talking about small problems as a big one and not looking at the big one. This is coming from ignorance, and I believe that in some rural areas this is spreading more because people are more connected to what is happening here, not to what is happening in other places of the world.

So this can be improved and this is what make me a bit ashamed of this.

Q: Well, and at the same time... It's also that a lot of that foreigners come to live here... Maybe the ones that are retired, the richer ones, but also a lot of Romanians, Moroccans and maybe Albanians in these areas...

A: A lot of Moroccans, Romanians and Albanians were coming for many years and they are really well integrated.

I have many people from Romania who speak the dialect from here. They have a nickname that is in dialect and they are really well integrated. And this was always good in this area. We are not so many people, and working in agriculture and this kind of things. It needs a lot of people to do the handwork.

This was always going good, but now it's changing a bit and for me this is the cognitive dissonance. We are open to them, and also to tourism and then, but now because of that, because of some ignorance, we are looking at this problem like: this is not working.

Q: What do you think that is? Why?

A: Ignorance, I believe. Many people that have communication powers and knowledge they're working a lot on this topic and there is me too. I don't have like a big picture, big vision of what is happening. Because I don't know. I have received a lot of information and there are different ways to approach this problem and be more open. Be like: let's see what is the real news? What is the fake news? What is happening for real? What is the reason behind it?

But there are people that act on instinct, without thinking. I don't know what is the...

Q: Do you think it's fear?

A: It can be, it can be. Because things are changing fast nowadays everywhere. It can be fear, but not only because it's... probably many people have a bubble, a perspective of reality.

Social media are increasing this, because all of us we have filters to that we see through, and we see the reality. So we built our own vision of the reality, and behaviour and emotion, past experience and fears and everything is putting filters.

And it's our job to open through these filters and to see more clear.

And plus there is the big bubble of media. There was always the big bubble of media influence.

Q: They try to influence at the same time.

A: But now it's targeting and it's everywhere, every time, all the time. It's more target, more target, more target. And some people are more affected by this. This is a bit sad and scary. And I'm working to find a solution.

Q: I am just thinking for the project that we just wrote down. Maybe it's not just only about disconnection, but also when people are connected to know how to deal with assumption or with the media.

A: Exactly.

Q: Okay, back to this shame of place. Is there something equivalent for your shame of place, something that represents it?

A: Like an example?

Q: Yeah. You mentioned, maybe you already mentioned it a little bit, which is the mentality.

A: Yes, not big things... Like comments that I heard or read about things. Facts that happened and some reactions of people. That people didn't expect so stubborn and ignorant to see such a reaction that make me like, what is that? But also listen like talking people bad things about something that is maybe not real neither.

And this is confusing me. Like, who are you? You are the person that you know yesterday that is doing all these things or the person that now is commenting this?

These comments, talking and having discussions in bars with people and also maybe complaining there is nothing in the place, but not participating in what is happening.

Complaining that there are no opportunities and not taking the ones that are there. So again, between what we say and what we do. What people say and what people do.

Q: Then I go to the next question, because we don't have so much time. Back to the pride of place. Is there some specific spot, maybe a location or zona or something or punta that you associate with your pride of place?

A: This place.

Q: \*Name of Italian place\*

A: Yes, because it's the perfect example of how to use what is there for good. This is a place, it has historical value, but now it's used to show to children workshops about many things like food and... Many things. But also it's used to host people from all over Europe to work and learn. So this place.

Q: Anything else?

A: Bergolo, but it's the same... All the village Bergolo, it's a perfect example about how to put new input, new art, cultural things, in a.... How to like... As a precious stone. How to add the precious stone to a big crown.

The place is very beautiful, doesn't need anything from my point of view. But still there are people from all over Europe coming there and adding new things, and it's making beautiful things. For me one of the most important things is education. So, to educate people to respect what is there and to add new values.

And this place is that.

Q: It's nice. It's actually also what we're doing with this kitchen 2 project. To make people see what's already there. The cultural heritage. To make them discover that, but also not to see cultural heritage as something static, that you cannot change anymore. As something that's already there. And we have to imitate it forever. Because also cultural heritage is changing, always.

A: Exactly.

Q: Maybe we can add something new, so it becomes also yours. Maybe you invent a new poem, or a new flag or whatever. We add something to it.

And for shame of place, would there be something specific that represents or that you associate the shame with?

A: One bar that is there. Really every time I pass there I see... One thing that I don't like, the shame of this place, is how much alcohol people drink. And I was part of that when I was younger. How much people complain about: There is nothing, I go to a bar to drink. I did it in the past.

Police removed my drivers licence many years ago. And looking at everybody, at least once have had their drivers licence removed....

Q: There's something wrong....

A: Yeah, that's true. There's something wrong, that people at 14 years old are already drunk. So, this is something to work with. And so there is one place, I don't want to say the name of it. It's a bar that... I don't go there anymore... This is a place....

Q: It represents something.

A: Yes. And another thing is, when I go in the main square and I see all those cars, and the people that take cars to go a hundred meters. This is... Come on. This village from the beginning to the top, it's one kilometer and a half.

There are more cars than people here. So this is making me sad, because... We are living in a world that is changing and we impact with every action what is happening. So how we want to quick supposed to changing the big things, if we don't change the small one. So these habits of....

When I was living in the city it was much happier, because I was seeing every time more and more bicycles. Still Torino is really far away from being a good city. It's a really bad city for bicycles. But I saw each week more people with bicycle running... It's not comparable with North Europe, but also I was living in Zagreb, and I was living in Spain.

This... In cities there is.... Maybe because the situation is much roast with the pollution, so people are taking more care. Here it's still good and people don't think about the fact...

Q: \*onverstaanbaar\* polluting it...

A: And also, our health. Come on! People go to work one kilometer with a car and then they pay the gym to go to run.

You can go by bicycle, or by walking, and you don't have to pay the gym, and you feel much better, you have more money... These things.

Q: It's better in every aspect. I have a few other questions, it's about the causes of pride of place. So what do you think is the origin of your pride of place? Where does it originate from, your pride of place?

A: From the fact that a lot of people have pride of place here. They are feeling good about being from this place, and I was always listening and I think I got influenced by that. But also from the going away I recognize it. Hoping to find something new away, but I can find something new in myself. So when they recognized that, I said: All right, I already have everything there. So it's more individual, like the hero's journey. Things inside myself.

I'm lucky that from my childhood, I was really traveling a lot with my family. My grandfather had a travel agency, my father a bus company. So I was moving in a lot of places. I have memories of thousands of places, so I can see what is good there compared to... I can make a comparison with a lot of places. And recognize the good in other and the good here.

So this combination of already seeing many things from my childhood, being in a community that is strongly connected with the place, in a good or in a bad way, but it is.

Also this place is far away from everything. So to go to school in the bus... We need to take a bus for two hours...

Q: So it's basically two things. One, you learned it from the people around you, you think.

A: A bit, yes.

Q: Because you said that other people were proud. But also, because you've been away a lot and you saw other realities and came back here. So like, wow it's actually very nice!

A: And also, because I work on myself. Also personal development, so I put off some layers of judgment and needs, that were fake needs, but I went more deep in what I really want and need. So, these three things.

Q: And from your family, do you... Are they very proud?

A: My family... Half and half. Because my father is from here, he is proud. He was in the municipality during my childhood, so he was active. At the same time, my mother is from another area and she... I remember my childhood, she was not feeling so good about being here. So thinking now about what they gave me about this location.

They live here. So for me, I love them and it's being part, but I don't find now so much that they... Also because my father was a lot away from here. My mother was always here, not always but many times, talking not good about here, because she wanted to come back to her city and her place, so half and half.

Q: And for the shame, where do you think that originates from?

A: I recognize my past error about things that are happening. I consider regularly here, about for example the drivers license. This is kind of sad, because it's dangerous and it's not healthy, it's not normal. And also sometimes anger of listening things that they say. Why you have to say this? Like the comments and conversations. I believe it's bullshit and I believe that with education and communication you can be fast after, but still listening made me sad and angry.

Q: All right. One question, a bit similar to one that I asked before. Could you a bit more specifically name a few unique features of this place that make you feel proud?

You already mentioned it, so that's why I say... It's a bit of a double question.

A: Unique features?

Q: Yeah, so you already mentioned \*onverstaanbaar\*. But it could also be maybe an activity, or something material or an immaterial source.

A: The quality of life.

Q: Yeah, you already mentioned that quite a lot.

A: I went here for the quality of life. The easiness to reach people to do things. You know, there are not so many things. When something is new, it's nice. When you do something good, it's appreciated. Unique important things... Important things, I believe it's also the economy. It is going good in general.

The food, those things, basic things... I personally don't want so much huge things to... I wish to have more cultural events, but there is no... I organize mine.

Q: There is the sagra.

A: Yeah, there is still something, but I would like to have more. But it's me. I know that the target group is not so much...

Q: Not yours. I said we have a few questions, it looks a lot, these are actually quite much faster. So these are a few questions about the consequences of pride and shame.

Could you tell me a moment when you have felt very proud of this area that you remember?

A: When I did my first Erasmus here. So that I closed the circle here...

Q: You organized it?

A: Yeah, I organized it... My first Erasmus project, and the second one... Both. For two reasons. One, it was a closing of a circle. I went away and then I come back with new things, with knowledge, and people and things, and we organized it and it went well.

And all the people were okay and they were happy. And then I closed this circle, so that moment.

Q: But you also were proud of the place or proud of your own achievements?

A: Both. Partly proud of the fact that there is this place here. I had it from the municipality really easily, and the people that went were really appreciating a lot the place, and satisfaction of organizing something here. And yes, looking both at my reaction of doing things here. My personal satisfaction of doing things here, but also looking at how other people see that it's nice. They recognize my... The same good feelings that I also had, and that was an approval for me.

Q: Which emotions and feelings do you have when you think about that moment?

A: Proud, glad, satisfaction, happiness, willingness to do more, this connection with... Okay, done. And how can it be done better?

Q: There's actually... My next question is: What is it that you would like to do when you think about this moment?

A: The project before, not to show only to people coming from outside, but also to show to people that live here, the beauty, we did the project. More cultural events.

To give more opportunities to people that... I listened to many people complaining about things are not here. I say: there are things here, just looking for another perspective. But also bringing specific... Something cultural, more higher quality cultural things.

Q: Would you like to make people who live here realize what they have or what they are?

A: Yes, also.

Q: And also improve it even more?

A: Yeah.

Q: Now the same questions for the shame, could you name a moment? You already mentioned it maybe, but just mention it again briefly... The moment that you felt ashamed of this place? One of the moments that you mentioned before.

A: When I was outside of here, talking about what people do in the evening, about the fact that most of young people get drunk, and that's it. Both when I was remembering, but also telling to others, because discussion, talking what you did in your past with people.

And I remember one time... Once I was with some customers and I listened to all people talking between them about what those people are coming to do here. They should go to another place. I was like really: What the fuck are you talking about?!

And reading some Facebook comments of... We have a group of the village. We are 2.000 people. We know everybody. Reading some discussion of stupid topics. Also being in the bar in the discussion of stupid topics. These kind of things.

Q: And what kind of thoughts do you have? What comes to mind at the moment?

A: Sad and anger. Sad how a human being can be so stupid or can say such a... Pushing people to violence and this hate. It's said to listen to this. How people are damaging themselves in order to be accepted by others. Because they remember me doing as young and other younger people to do as to be accepted. To join this community, to get drunk for being accepted. How we damage ourselves to be part of the community. There are much nicer and smarter ways to do it.

Q: What emotions and feelings do you have when you think about that?

A: Sadness.

Q: What is it that you would like to do? What do you feel like doing when you think about the moment? What kind of actions or activities do you like to...?

A: In the past I was feeling to send everybody to fuck off and go away. Your problem is not mine. And then I... It's also mine. I'm part of that community, and I passed from being in the victim position of blaming and complaining to be accountable. And I said, what is that is there. How can I change it?

So opening an organization, organizing sport activities, running a sports center, bringing people in different ways with the taxi company with Erasmus project, bringing people from outside here, sending them to do treasure hunt in the village asking questions about the tower, the mayor, the priest and making them talk with people. Open and showing this picture with drones and showing the beauty with my camera and videos.

All the things that I'm doing and connect with this, I recognized long time ago. I was there sitting there after a project. I was really tired of... I didn't want to go in another project the day after, but I had to go. And then I looked and said what? Why am I doing this? I have already everything. I should focus on... Keep having this.... Not to be stuck here, but keep having these opportunities outside.

But be more connected to here, because it's changing a lot of my life. When I finish the work and I go in the city and I receive compliments, I see people happy and I have activities to do, I can go to do yoga, I can go to do these things. This is changing my life, and it's also changing the lives of other people.

So being accountable in implementing solutions, giving things, also being an example for who is younger. Like telling my stories about the fact, it's not only here but in schools all around, like telling: Okay, I did that mistake. And then I changed. It is not that if you do a mistake, that's it.

Q: You're really active in trying to change the mentality of the people, to open up their views and minds?

A: Yeah, to show. This is also for in an egoistic way, if I don't do it, don't succeed, I feel less and less like...

Q: I think you identify yourself with the place a lot.

A: Yeah.

Q: So to see that mentality also... It's part of your past identity maybe and you don't want that anymore, right?

A: Exactly.

Q: Okay, the last two questions. What do you say that the pride of place or your pride of place for this area is useful for? What is its function?

Maybe you can say that the level of you personally or maybe... So what's the function of it for you? And what is the function of it for the place?

A: For the place, tourism. So to preserve it. So to increase the economy, to increase the quality of life. To keep people living here, to maintain it. It is not a decreasing number of people living here. This is important, because if people move away, if there is no people, no ideas, no actions, no things.

Maybe the most important thing is to keep some people living here. Keep the attention of community, also outside, from here to here. So investors, all kinds of foundations can put money to do things here, because in the end it's also important to attract investors. A state should do it. And I also look at a small area, because okay: I want to organize a festival, if nobody supports me in an economical way. How do we do it?

Q: You don't.

A: Having this strong community that lives here and attract other people here, who is the investors here? Okay, it's a good investment, because we will have a return of image in doing that. So this is important.

Not hypocritical, doing like the economical isn't part of that.

The most important is keeping people here. So that those other people can come and stay. If people stay here and feel good about the fact of being here. They don't want to go away, they have this willingness to make families, to have new children, to maintain the life.

Q: And on a personal level for you, what does the pride of this place... What is it useful for?

A: Building some safety around me. Now I'm building my house. So I'm building my space, building my safety. As an internal, but also external \*onverstaanbaar\* in order to stay here to recharge my battery, and then move and go. And also having my calmness, having my routines and times.

Feeling appreciated. By my family, by others.

Having people, some close friends... Not to spend... Sometimes for me it's tiring meeting many people all the time. So to build strong connection. So sometimes I build a barrier with some people that come in from outside for my mental health. So knowing that I have these three or four people from here, we have some common values, common ideas, common memories.

So every time I can just call and say: Where are you? We can meet. And it can be that it is three years that we don't see each other, but just only... Talking about some past event that we had in common. We build the connection, we laugh and we share the memories, it's really nice.

Q: So the last question is actually the same thing for the shame. So do you think that the shame is useful for something?

A: Yeah, it's useful.

Q: And what would that be?

A: To see that we are humans. We are not perfect, and we can do mistakes. So to keep working on increasing, because not to sit and okay, that's it, because we did mistakes. Everybody can do mistakes all the time. So it's important to be aware of that. To appreciate more what is good. Because I believe that everybody has their own shame, not to only focus on that.

If I don't have down, how can I see what is up? Those are important things. And also to learn. To learn to see what not to do.

What can be a starting point? Sometimes the shame, if it's a common shame, can be a point where to build jokes.

Q: Sarcasm.

A: Sarcasm! So it can be a binding thing.

Q: To bind people, to connect people.

A: Yeah. It can be used in this way also, to make jokes and to connect people. People recognizing the same bad things, but still they recognize in something, so they build a connection. It's a fact, I believe.

Q: All right, that was it. Thank you very much.

A: Thank you very much.

Q: Would you like to add something?

A: No, actually... I already talked a lot.

Q: Thank you very much.

A: It's also a self-coaching experience.

Q: Yeah, that's true.



## Italy Rural area: Participant [ITR2]

Q. Mi potresti parlare della relazione che hai con i tuoi luoghi ?

Io ho vissuto metà della mia vita qua in Italia e metà della mia vita in Marocco.

Per me il Marocco rappresenta la mia infanzia e le relazioni con altre persone, più che altro con i miei familiari, invece quando sono arrivata in Italia, avevo 10 anni, ho iniziato anche a relazionarmi con il mondo esterno, quindi diciamo che per me l'Italia rappresenta il paese dove sono cresciuta, che mi ha formata di più.

Q. Quali sono i tuoi luoghi ?

La bassa Langa, quindi Cortemilia e i paesi limitrofi.

Q. Cosa mi puoi dire della relazione che hai con la bassa Langa?

Da essa dipendono i miei modi di fare, come sono fatta come persona, come agisco.

Q. In genere sulle relazioni tra le persone ed il luogo cosa ti viene in mente, cosa mi potresti dire? Cortemilia è il classico paesino dove le dinamiche tra le persone sono molto particolari, si conosce tutti, siamo tutti amici, però esistono anche i pettegolezzi e le diatribe tra le varie famiglie, si creano conflitti, che però sono più reali di quelli cittadini perché coinvolgono tutte le persone del paese.

Dall'altra parte siamo conosciuti tutti, agevola le dinamiche di vita, se uno ha bisogno di una casa basta che va al bar, senza dover andare in agenzia, e chiede se c'è qualcuno che affitta. E funziona così per tutte le esigenze delle persone, anche per il lavoro. Qui nessuno pubblica annunci su internet, a Cortemilia c'è il passaparola che funziona per qualsiasi cosa anche per dare via un divano.

Q. Com'è la vita a Cortemilia rispetto agli altri posti dove hai vissuto?

La vita a Cortemilia è caratterizzata dalle dinamiche che ti ho descritto prima. In Marocco c'è un'altra cultura.

Vivevo in una città ma il quartiere era come se fosse un paese, solo più povero quindi ci si aiutava a vicenda, lì era davvero come una grande famiglia.

Le relazioni che esistono tra le persone sono ancora più informali rispetto a quelle in un paese italiano.

Vai dal tuo vicino senza avvisarlo, gli bussi ed entri in casa. La porta è sempre aperta e l'ospitalità è uno dei valori più sentiti.

Infatti, quando sono arrivata qua in Italia, era molto strana per me l'idea di dover chiamare qualcuno prima di andare da lui, era una cosa strana a cui non ero abituata, però adesso mi sono abituata.

Q. Mi hai detto che ora ti senti quasi più italiana di marocchina. Come hai vissuto l'integrazione con il luogo, i valori, le abitudini, trovare la tua strada?

Ci sto ancora lavorando ma posso dire che per me l'integrazione non è stata facile, mi sono impegnata molto per integrarmi, non è stato un processo innato, ho dovuto lavorarci ed ancora oggi comunque noto la differenza tra me e chi mi sta intorno.

I miei comportamenti li ho modificati ed adattati al luogo dove vivo, al valore delle persone che sono attorno a me, però ho sempre qualcosa di diverso rispetto a loro e rispetto alla maniera in cui percepiscono i valori, riesco a guardarli da un punto di vista esterno e nel frattempo immergermi.

Con il tempo piano piano, più vado avanti e più assomiglio alle persone che ho vicino e nel frattempo, in maniera parallela, creo il mio carattere.

Inizialmente ero davvero disadattata perché tenevo certi comportamenti che alle persone di qua potevano addirittura dare fastidio, invece adesso non lo faccio più, però magari faccio ancora qualcosa che per esempio può essere considerato marocchino o non italiano.

Ho iniziato a conoscere le persone a Cortemilia a quattordici anni, partecipando ad un progetto del Comune. Tramite quello ho conosciuto di più le persone, ho iniziato a frequentarle e di conseguenza ho iniziato la mia integrazione in paese.

Q. Che cosa significa per te il tuo luogo?

È il mio paese, io sono cresciuta qui quindi per me rappresenta il posto dove sono cresciuta.

Q. Cosa significa a livello emotivo? Ormai quando mi chiedono di dove sei, io rispondo "di Cortemilia" che per me rappresenta la mia terra, la mia casa, dove ho avuto tutte le mie prime esperienze, dove sono andata a scuola, dove ho fatto amicizia.

Q. Provi orgoglio per il tuo luogo ? Se sì, cosa ti viene in mente quando pensi all'orgoglio che provi per il luogo?

Sì lo provo, sono orgogliosa della bellezza della terra, delle persone che ci tengono, la continuano a lavorare, la trattano bene e cercano di mantenerla sempre con la stessa immagine.

Q. In che senso vogliono mantenere la stessa immagine ?

Si prendono molto cura di come vediamo Cortemilia, cercano di renderla sempre più pulita come cittadina preservando però la sua anima selvaggia delle Langhe senza renderla uguale le altre Langhe.

Un'altra cosa che mi rende orgogliosa é la sagra perché è un avvenimento in cui tutti si impegnano ed in cui si valorizza un prodotto tipico di Cortemilia.

Ogni anno c'è sempre molta gente che lavora gratuitamente per il paese, per organizzare una bella festa ed invitare più persone possibile a conoscere il paese.

Tutti gli anni l'impegno è sempre grande, la sagra è arrivata la 65esima edizione e non c'è mai stato un anno in cui è stata cancellata, esclusi gli anni di guerra. È un appuntamento a cui tutte le persone di Corte tengono, per due settimane in paese le persone si muovono avanti ed indietro, tutti lavorano insieme per un' unica causa il che è bellissimo.

Q. Pensando all'orgoglio per il tuo luogo, mi potresti dire quante più parole ti vengono in mente?

Cortemilia

Nocchie

Langhe

Colline

Fiumi

Belvedere

Selvaggio

Q. Tra queste parole potresti dirmi quali sono le più importanti, mettendole in ordine di preferenza ?

Cortemilia

Langhe

Fiumi

Q. Provi vergogna per il tuo luogo?

Sì, per la chiusura mentale che c'è nei confronti del diverso.

Le persone un po' diverse qui vivono male, anche se c'è da dire che negli ultimi anni le cose stanno cambiando, per esempio adesso ci sono diverse persone della comunità gay che vivono integrati.

Per quanto sia bella la mentalità tradizionale, dall'altra parte é negativa perché non accetta la diversità.

Io, essendo marocchina, ho fatto fatica ad integrarmi inizialmente, per loro uno straniero, qualcuno che non si conosce, li spaventa, tendono ad aver paura dell'ignoto.

Q. Ci sono zone, specifici punti che associ al tuo orgoglio per il luogo? Sì, le rovine del Castello Antico di Cortemilia, la Cascina Monte Oliveto, da cui puoi vedere tutta Cortemilia e tutte le altre colline, questi posti per me sono belli e mi rendono orgogliosa del paese.

Un altro posto è la zona dove sono cresciuta, al di là del fiume di Cortemilia, al di là del luzzone, si chiama La Pieve ed è una zona ancora con l'uva, ci sono gli alberi di kiwi, puo vedere il castello, Cascina Monte Oliveto.

Q. Riguardo alla vergogna, c'è qualche luogo specifico, che ti fa provare vergogna ?

Sì, a Cortemilia spesso quando piove il fiume si alza perché non puliscono bene il fondale, e questo porta rischio di allagamenti.

Tutte le volte che vedo il fiume alzarsi mi arrabbio perché si potrebbe fare qualcosa per evitare che accada.

Un'altra cosa che mi fa vergognare é che nella zona dove ho vissuto, stanno costruendo sempre più palazzi e la Pieve sta passando dall'essere ad una parte verde del paese ad una zona residenziale.

Penso che nel giro di 10 anni ci saranno sempre più palazzi, stanno distruggendo quello che mi rende orgogliosa.

Q. Quale pensi sia l'origine del tuo orgoglio per il luogo?

Sicuramente essendoci nata sento che appartiene a me, in qualche maniera, e nel tempo ho trovato le cose che mi rendono orgogliosa.

Oggettivamente la zona è molto bella e fiera, quindi il mio orgoglio ha sia un'origine nel fatto che io sia cresciuta in questi luoghi, sia nella bellezza intrinseca dei luoghi stessi, di cui io sono diventata consapevole nel tempo.

Q. Non avendo radici locali questo orgoglio immagino non ti sia stato trasmesso dai tuoi genitori, giusto?

Esatto, non me l'hanno trasmesso loro, ma é una cosa che é nata da me stessa, senza che io fossi influenzata.

Q. A scuola sei stata influenzata?

A scuola si parla poco di questa zona, non è un tema che si affronta, anche le gite, per esempio, non si fanno qua ma si fanno sempre fuori.

Quando ho frequentato il centro estivo "estate ragazzi" andavamo a camminare per i boschi, nei paesini, ci informavano sulla zona, però a scuola no.

Q. Tu conosci la storia dei tuoi luoghi, come hai fatto ?

Le informazioni hanno un'origine mista, derivano sia dalla scuola, grazie allo studio della storia italiana, sia perché mi sono documentata.

Sono stati scritti tanti libri su come le Langhe hanno vissuto durante la Seconda Guerra Mondiale ed ho avuto spesso l'occasione di parlare con persone che l'hanno vissuta, quindi diciamo che conosco la storia.

La storia antica non la conosco ma la storia recente sì, partendo dalla prima guerra mondiale, anzi, diciamo dall'unità d'Italia.

Q. Come mai ti interessa la storia ?

Perché sono curiosa, è importante capire come mai le persone sono arrivate ad essere come sono.

Ad esempio in questi luoghi sono dei grandi lavoratori, ma perché una volta erano molto poveri ed in più con l'arrivo della Seconda Guerra Mondiale gli è stato tolto tanto, quindi avendo paura di perdere ciò che hanno, lavorano sodo per mantenere il loro benessere.

Grazie alla storia sono riuscita a capire di più le persone.

Q. Adesso che il mondo è cambiato, è rimasta quella mentalità?

Sì qua è una cosa molto sentita, la mentalità piemontese o langheta è quella di essere lavoratori e risparmiatori, persone oneste. Penso che soprattutto nei paesini piccoli ci sia ancora l'influenza dei nonni sui figli e sui nipoti perché si vive insieme o quantomeno si vive nello stesso paese, e ci si influenza a vicenda.

Q. Quale pensi sia l'origine della vergogna?

La chiusura mentale, perché ho visto atteggiamenti di chiusura nei confronti di alcune persone e per la questione del palazzo, il problema sono le nuove costruzioni, 3 anni fa ne hanno finito di costruire uno ed adesso stanno già facendo le fondamenta per costruirne un altro.

Q. Ci sono delle attività materiali ed immateriali, del tuo luogo, che ti fanno sentire orgogliosa?

Oltre alla sagra di cui ho parlato, c'è anche la festa della Pieve, la borgata in cui vivo.

In queste zone le festività uniscono ancora di più le persone.

Altri elementi sono il vino, le nocciole ed in generale la cultura del cibo che qui è molto importante, è buonissimo ed un motivo di orgoglio.

Per quanto riguarda invece le attività non materiali qui quando diventi parte di questa zona, sai che non resterai mai da solo. È molto bello il tipo di relazioni che si creano, alla fine il paese diventa una grande famiglia.

Q. Come si entra a far parte del territorio, di questa grande famiglia ?

Impegnandosi nel cercare di integrarsi, conoscendo la zona in modo da poter avere un'opinione sia sulla storia sia sulle persone, essere quindi un cittadino attivo.

In realtà non so se venendo da fuori si riesca a diventare al 100% parte di questa zona, però è possibile arrivare ad una buona percentuale.

Q. Secondo te bisogna anche cercare di comportarsi come le persone del luogo?

No, non per forza, essere corretti nei loro confronti, rispettarli.

Essere sempre sé stessi ma nel rispetto degli altri.

Q. Mi puoi parlare di un momento, una situazione in cui ti sei sentita molto orgogliosa del tuo posto. Hai qualcosa in mente?

Tutti gli anni nell'ultimo giorno della sagra tutte le persone che hanno lavorato, che hanno fatto qualsiasi cosa che sia piccola o grande, si mettono sul palco davanti al pubblico.

In quel momento dici a te stesso "sono stato importante per la mia la mia cittadina, sono orgogliosa di me stessa e anche delle persone attorno a me.

Q. Quali pensieri ti sono venuti in mente quando hai vissuto quel momento ?

Quando sono lì è molto curioso perché vedo ed immagino cosa pensano gli altri. spesso ci può essere della negatività, ma per me rimane un momento bello e felice, e quindi noto come la percepisco io e come la percepiscono loro.

Q. Quali pensieri ti vengono in mente quando ricordi quel momento ?

Quando ci penso, il ricordo è di un momento bello, intenso e che rappresenta anche una parte della mia integrazione.

Q. Quali emozioni provi quando pensi a quel momento?

Orgoglio nei confronti delle persone perché penso a tutto il lavoro fatto, la fatica per organizzare un evento del genere.

È molto intenso però è anche divertente perché ci si prende in giro e si scherza.

Nostalgia.

Spensieratezza perché durante la sagra pensi solo alle cose che hai da fare, non pensi ai problemi che si possono avere a casa ad esempio.

Felicità perché è un momento molto allegro, felice, pieno di musica, pieno di chiacchiere, risate e scherzi.

Q. Quando parli del luogo dell'alta langa come ti senti ?

Penso di essere una persona che parla sempre bene di questa zona.

Ma perché mi sento bene qua, quindi ne parlo in maniera orgogliosa, mi piace parlare delle Langhe, del modo in cui qua si fanno le cose, come si vive

Mi piace dare informazioni e spesso invito a visitare questa zona perché qua si sta bene, si vive bene.

Q. Ti senti forse più fortunata degli altri?

Sì, dico sempre che il Piemonte è una delle zone più belle d'Italia, sono consapevole che ci sono tante altre zone belle, ma sento di essere fortunata perché vivo in un bel posto, pulito e tranquillo.

Q. Forse ti senti anche grata?

Sì, assolutamente sì, l'ho sempre detto.

Sono grata di essere cresciuta in una zona del genere perché ci sono buone persone, ho imparato tante cose e sento anche di essere protetta in questa zona.

Spesso mi capita di andare in città e sapere che ci sono zone pericolose, zone tranquille e dover decidere dove andare, non è bello. Qua invece posso tornare a casa alle 4 del mattino e sono sicura che non mi succede niente perché mi fido di tutte le persone che ci sono e sento di non essere in pericolo.

Q. Ti rende orgogliosa il fatto di vivere tranquilla ?

Sì, è una cosa bella vivere un pò più rilassata rispetto a vivere in città.

Q. Quando sei un momento in cui ti senti molto orgogliosa cosa ti piacerebbe fare? Come vorresti esprimere quel sentimento con dell'attività?

Mi piacerebbe creare più eventi o attività così da tenere ancora più viva la zona. Sarebbe un modo per esprimere il mio orgoglio e la mia gratitudine per essere cresciuta in un posto del genere.

Q. Quali attività vorresti proporre?

Sarebbe carino avere un posto per i giovani, per poter interagire tutti insieme, poter conoscere ancora di più la cultura, per esempio l'origine della lingua piemontese o fare gite nei boschi, per sapere che qua ad esempio ci sono diversi minerali o capire come funziona la produzione delle nocciole.

Q. Quali pensieri ti vengono in mente quando pensi ai momenti in cui hai provato vergogna ?

Allora se potessi fare qualcosa lo farei, se avessi un potere in mano. Per esempio io eviterei che si costruissero palazzi alla Pieve.

Per la chiusura mentale invece penso che servirebbe fare delle attività per i giovani, per far conoscere loro diverse etnie, i diversi modi di essere.

In questa maniera avrebbero più conoscenze e potrebbero avere un'opinione più aperta rispetto ai loro genitori o nonni

Per il fiume o anche per le case che si stanno costruendo, so che non posso fare niente e questa cosa mi dà fastidio, mi sento impotente.

Q. Quali sono i sentimenti che provi quando pensi a questi momenti in cui hai provato vergogna?

Tristezza.

rabbia per il fatto di non poter cambiare le cose

Fastidio

Q. Quando pensi a questa vergogna, cosa ti piacerebbe fare in concreto per poterla cambiare? Cosa fai disolito?

Mi lamento con altre persone, con altri abitanti del paese, chiedo loro cosa pensano e poi non ci penso più.

Q. Per cambiare la mentalità invece cosa faresti?

La mentalità non mi preoccupa perché più si va avanti più ci sono persone con la mentalità aperta, anche le persone anziane vedo che ci provano. non penso sia una cosa impossibile da cambiare, sono convinta che si possa fare.

Q. Secondo te a cosa serve l'orgoglio che provi per il luogo?

sicuramente ad essere più attiva, se sei orgoglioso di una cosa la vuoi rendere ancora più bella ancora più importante, più interessante.

Infatti è importante che tutte le persone siano orgogliose del posto dove vivono, dove sono cresciuti affinché possano così esserci altre persone che diventano orgogliose del questo posto tanto quanto loro.

Q. Con riferimento alla persona?

L'orgoglio serve anche ad identificare chi sei.

Secondo me fa parte dell'identità. Se uno è orgoglioso del suo posto penso che sia più probabile che si relazioni in maniera positiva anche ad altri luoghi.

Q. Con riferimento alla tua identità?

L'orgoglio mi dà sicurezza, e mi aiuta a completare la mia identità.

Perché secondo me per completarla si devono raggiungere diversi obiettivi, ed essere orgogliosi della propria zona é uno di quelli.

Q. A cosa pensi che serva la vergogna?

La vergogna è una maestra importante per la formazione del mio carattere, perché io non farei mai una cosa che mi porta a vergognarmi e cercherei sempre di combatterla, e lo faccio.

La vergogna è un sentimento importante perché non ti da uno spunto di riflessione, ti fa pensare a cosa c'è che non va, a come si potrebbe cambiare.

Orgoglio e vergogna sono tutti e due importanti perchè ti portano ad agire

Q. Vuoi aggiungere qualcosa?

Un'altra cosa che mi fa vergognare di questo luogo è il fatto che si sottovalutino i giovani. Non è dato loro molto credito, ed è sbagliato, si dovrebbero darglielo perché sono il futuro. I giovani spesso sono persi, non sanno come comportarsi ma nel momento in cui si da loro un pò di fiducia, una piccola responsabilità poi hanno ragione loro.

Gli anziani creano un futuro in cui vorrebbero Loro e non un futuro che in cui vorrebbero vivere giovani.

## Italy Rural area: Participant [ITR3]

**d- Intervista con una signora di Camerana e abitante a Monesiglio.**

**Potresti parlarmi della tua relazione coi luoghi e del rapporto fra luogo e persona in genere?**

r- guarda c'è un po' di tutto, perché essendo stata via molta gente del luogo non la riconosco più ma loro tuttavia mi riconoscono perché mi hanno visto da piccola. Ed essendo vissuta in un negozio, in un luogo pubblico, significa che gli altri mi conoscessero molto bene.

**d- Ma il negozio era a Savona?**

r- No, no era qui il negozio ..e in negozio la gente ti considerava, e proprio per il fatto di avere un'attività ed un'osteria la gente ti considerava ti considerava ricca. Ancora adesso mi vedono in questo modo, perché per loro io sono rimasta quella là e non prendono in considerazione che la vita possa essere andata avanti.

Qui c'è gente che ha fatto sempre le stesse cose, sempre con lo stesso marito, nella stessa casa e quindi tendono a classificarti attraverso a chi sei figlio, chi dovevi sposare ... non sembrano contemplare un altro tipo di vita... E il fatto che tu sia stata in città è per loro un ulteriore punto di distanza, per cui nei tuoi confronti c'è un misto di invidia e presunta familiarità.

Per alcuni sei fossilizzata come quella là, e vedo che in genere hanno fossilizzato un po' tutto: chi aveva dieci mucche, chi altro era un proprietario terriero; magari adesso non hanno più niente ma la comunità ti continua a reputarti come eri e non come sei.

Ti parlo ovviamente di persone della mia età, dai 65 anni in su..

Io con queste persone non riesco a rapportarmi, perché ci sono dinamiche congelate e poi, a loro non interessa neppure conoscere e sapere sul serio le persone. Hanno deciso che eri quella là e hanno preparato lo schema in cui inscriverti. Io tendenzialmente sto da sola e frequento gli amici che mi sono scelta...

**d-ma il fatto che si ricordino di te giovane ti fa piacere?**

r- sì, sì, mi fa piacere, anche se tuttavia io non ricordo chi siano loro!

Poi mi dicono magari di chi sono figli e allora ricostruisco e riesco a collocarli...Comunque non sempre li ricordo, bisogna tenere conto che quando ero giovane in paese c'erano tantissime persone e poi da ragazza vivevo anche un po' sulle nuvole, dividendomi fra il lavoro in negozio, e il servire e preparare i piatti all'osteria.

Chi andava all' osteria stava lì a chiacchierare e a spettegolare cosa che peraltro fanno ancora adesso, io avevo troppo da fare.

La dinamica del piccolo paese la vedi anche nel fatto che chi della zona ha un po' studiato non è un gran lettore e si pone in modo critico davanti alle informazioni, anzi va per sentito dire. Questo mi dà fastidio.

La speranza è nelle giovani leve, magari girando il mondo riusciranno a cambiare le cose...

Pur non conoscendone parecchi, mi trovo molto bene coi giovani, ma vedo distanti quelli della mia età che si preoccupano esclusivamente delle contingenze del quotidiano: fare da mangiare, lavare, stirare.. Su questo, abbiamo idee un po' diverse!

**d- Vorresti aggiungere qualcosa sul come le persone si rapportino ai luoghi?**

r- ti faccio un esempio: io talvolta vado a cogliere delle erbe selvatiche e quando mi vedono avverto che mi guardano strano perché magari cerco non il solito vegetale che viene dall'orto...

E questo vale anche per i giovani, non vedi un giovane che raccoglie l'insalata.

Trovo che questo sia dovuto alla vergogna dell'essere contadini, perlomeno di esserlo stati.

Il colmo è che magari un domani si scopre che va di moda mangiare le erbe e il giorno dopo sono tutti a cercare le ortiche selvatiche e disposti a pagarle a caro prezzo.

Il mio bisnonno era contadino e mi ha tramandato una memoria contadina, nonostante da giovane tutte le mattine io mi alzassi e dovessi mettere a posto le sedie e lavare i bicchieri della trattoria.

Avevo invece una mia amica che abitava di fronte a noi e lei andava al pascolo svegliandosi ben prima.

Per questo mi ritenevano fortunata, anche perché portavo un paio di scarpe normali e non degli scarponi come facevano loro.

E io all'epoca li invidiavo, invidiavo la loro libertà, il non essere sempre sotto lo sguardo della maestra, del prete o dei genitori. Nonostante la giovane età, magari 8-10 anni andavano a portare le bestie al pascolo, facendo colazione con una semplice mela, mentre io invece prendevo caffè latte al caldo di casa mia.

Secondo me il fatto di essere stati contadini è vissuto ancora con una vergogna.

#### **d- cosa significano le Langhe per te?**

r- E' un posto meraviglioso e con un futuro splendido, anche se forse non tutti lo riescono a vedere. Secondo me a breve potrebbe diventare curata e valorizzata come la Toscana, sperando che però mantengano gli orti e i campi e non trasformino il tutto in un luogo di vacanza.

Qua l'aria è buona, abbiamo ruscelli dove fare il bagno, in poco tempo sei al mare, in poco tempo in montagna, non manca niente.

E' un lusso poter abitare in queste zone, e mi dispiace che talvolta gli abitanti non sempre se ne rendano conto. Anzi, i vecchi abitanti se ne vergognavano quasi e per demarcarsi hanno lasciato la casa in paese e hanno costruito magari una villetta poco fuori a quest'ultimo.

Nonostante oggi fra i giovani ci sia qualcuno che sta recuperando queste case, se si parla con persone della mia età che fanno menzione alle loro case, magari coi fienili e stalle, subito fanno riferimento a queste zone come alla Langa povera.

Spesso mi scontro con loro, e indipendentemente da cosa pensino, mi pare che qualcosa stia cambiando.

Gli abitanti non si rendono conto che hanno nelle mani un tesoro, ed è molto più probabile che siano degli stranieri che si stabiliscano qui.

Sfortunatamente, a forza di voler vivere comodi, abbiamo perso familiarità con il sole e il buio e tutti i loro segreti. Io, ad esempio, cammino per la casa senza accedere le luci, così da godere delle stelle e la luna.

E sono felice di aver sentito che alcuni stranieri hanno rifiutato la luce comunale nelle proprie abitazioni.

Quindi c'è solo da ringraziare gli stranieri se vogliamo che le cose cambino: portano nuova energia, nuovi modi di pensare, curano l'orto, sono curiosi...

#### **D- Notavo che ci sono due tipi di stranieri : gli svizzeri, i tedeschi e gli olandesi che una volta in pensione si comprano la casa e la restaurano; poi ci sono i marocchini, i rumeni o gli albanesi che vengono per lavorare. Cosa ne pensi?**

r- beh però anche questi ultimi compreranno le case ... Ovviamente chi viene qui per lavorare è più propenso a stare nel proprio tempo libero per conto proprio. Anche se, in genere, gli stranieri tendono tutti a stare per conto proprio, tranne rari casi quali magari festività e ricorrenze dove magari si è più ben disposti ad uno scambio diretto.

Però di recente mi hanno invitato ad una festa che si fa ogni anno in casa di un amico e lì so già che si troveranno persone da tutto il mondo...

#### **Parte 2**

Comunque per me è un lusso avere tutto questo spazio, e invece per gli abitanti di qua sembra scontata. Non dimentichiamoci che in città è un lusso avere solo un terrazzo o un albero davanti! Io quando sono tornata qui mi sono stupita di non sentire ambulanze passare ad ogni ora, vedere macchine in coda, insegne con luci al neon, pochissimi cartelloni pubblicitari.

E' un lusso la natura nella quale siamo immersi, questo l'ho sempre notato, anche quando mi sono allontanata da Camerana. I miei hobby infatti erano andare a vendemmiare o fare la raccolta delle fragole, attività che mi facevano sentire libera.

Non ho mai capito le mie coetanee che speravano di sposare un politico o un professore pur di abbandonare il paese. E tante si sono sposate perché, per le dinamiche di paese, a 22 anni erano già vecchie e dovevi avere un di figlio.

Per fortuna i miei genitori non erano così, per fortuna non erano molto bigotti, non mi hanno mai chiesto di sposarmi; cosa che peraltro non ho mai considerato.

#### **D- Se pensi alla parola orgoglio legata al tuo territorio; quali parole ti vengono in mente ?**

R- Spazio, aria pulita, buoni prodotti, tempo, ozio, meditazione, bosco e funghi.

#### **D- Riusciresti ad ordinarle in base a quelle che tu reputi più importanti ?**

R- Senz'altro il bosco, contiene tutto: gli alberi, la natura, lo spazio e l'aria buona.

Io lo trovo un luogo sacro e curativo.

E devo menzionare però anche i funghi: cercarli è un'attività magica e taumaturgica.

Io entro nel bosco e sono già felice, cammino e non mi stanco.

Non a caso, di recente ho letto che stare tre ore in un bosco ti disintossica dalle tossine e dalle energie negative che hai accumulato precedentemente.

Poi il bosco, così selvatico e puro, mi pare un luogo vero, autentico e primitivo: non c'è grande traccia dell'uomo, anzi! Muschi, licheni, erba che non viene tagliata ... il bosco si fa da solo, è una dimensione per fortuna lontana da quelle solite, flagellate dalla presenza antropica.

Rumori, colori e odori diversi, aria differente.

Mi mancava anche il perdermi nel bosco, nonostante lo conoscessi a fondo.  
Quando ho vissuto lontano da qui, ho sempre avuto nostalgia di questi boschi dell'alta Langa.

**D- Mi pare di capire che per te andare per funghi è un modo per riconnettersi con le tue radici, i tuoi antenati...**

R- Probabilmente sì, ma a livello inconscio. Talvolta il bosco riesce a farmi rivivere memorie che credevo perse, infatti mi è dispiaciuto molto vendere i nostri boschi. E anche il solo dire i "nostri" boschi è una bestemmia: i boschi sono di tutti. Fosse stato per me, li avrei regalati al F.A.I.

**D- C'è invece qualcosa del luogo per cui provi vergogna ?**

r- Sì, avevo dei parenti che si vantavano di andare a pesca e a caccia, e a me faceva orrore...adesso riesco a capirli un po' di più anche se quando ero giovane li detestavo.

Non mi piacevano poi le dinamiche del paese, il considerare la natura come una risorsa solamente da sfruttare, senza osservarle rispetto. Detestavo tutti i comportamenti non proprio comunitari nei confronti delle persone anziane, donne sole, persone con disagi fisico-psichici che talvolta erano oggetto di scherno.

Ovviamente queste cose accadono anche in città, basta pensare alla notizia recente di quei ragazzi che a Genova hanno appiccato fuoco ad un senzatetto.

E ancora adesso quando vedo chi era solito a questi comportamenti, nonostante si sia sposato, abbia figli e nipoti, non riesco a non detestarlo.

Odio chi va contro natura, contro animali e contro gli indifesi.

All'epoca c'erano molti pregiudizi basati su scale di valori falsate da miscredenze e tanta ignoranza. Tuttora questo tipo di volgarità mi ferisce nel profondo.

Mi capitava anche di vergognarmi della loro vergogna. Ad oggi, cerco di evitare chi adotta questo comportamento: non fa altro che abbruttire l'ambiente..

Un tempo, parlo di prima che io nascessi, non era così. I più giovani avevano ancora ben saldati i valori della comunità: si è passati appunto da i valori della comunità, disinteressati e genuini a quelli dell'utilità verso gli anni Ottanta. E quando io ero giovane dovevi fare i soldi, prenderti una laurea, sposarti, andare in chiesa; un retaggio questo, che nei più anziani non è mai andato via.

E non puoi immaginare quanto mi criticassero per il fatto di convivere e di non essermi mai sposata!..

**D- Tu pensi che le criticità che vai denotando siano proprie dell'alta Langa o siano universali?**

R- Beh, difficile dirlo. Io parlo di quello che ho vissuto, quindi ovviamente non posso di certo parlare per altre zone. Anche se poi sono andata in città e ho avuto la fortuna di trovare persone che, nonostante non la pensassero magari esattamente come me, riconoscevano i miei stessi valori. Invece in paese sei costretto a sentire e considerare tutti, un po' perchè siamo pochi, un po' perchè capita più spesso di incontrarsi in piazza, in strada o al supermercato ..

E lì noti che siamo una grande famiglia, nel bene e nel male. Ahimè da queste fugaci discussioni noto però la mancanza di spirito critico e la poca voglia di informarsi, di andare a fondo nelle cose, e la dice lunga il fatto che uno dei pochi con questo approccio sano e curioso sia stato te, che sei olandese! Dai, in realtà ce ne sono altri, tipo quei giovani a San benedetto Belbo che hanno preso le api e fanno le formaggette.

**D- La vergogna per il luogo, cos'è ?**

R- Secondo me la vergogna per gli abitanti di queste zone subentra nel rapporto con chi è andato in città. Per chi è rimasto c'è un a componente di orgoglio, come ad affermare di non avere mai avuto necessità di dovere abbandonare il paese, dall'altro c'è un po' di vergogna se non invidia per chi ha saputo prenderne le distanze.

Poi qui la situazione è abbastanza rigida, specialmente nella figura dell'uomo e della donna, infatti si scandalizzano ancora se il marito va a fare la spesa e cucina.

Non mi piace inoltre la loro etica del lavoro: sembra quasi che tu sia sbagliato se non lavori spaccandoti la schiena dimostrandolo all'intero paese e se non produci e guadagni grandi somme. Talvolta se la prendono anche con chi magari cambia lavoro e attività. Persiste ad oggi il culto del potere derivato da uno status quo ,che garantisce benessere ed un ruolo in società più alto e rispettabile.

**D- Ci sono specifici punti particolari o zone che associ al tuo orgoglio o alla vergogna per il luogo?**

R- La mia casa vecchia è per me motivo di orgoglio. Avendo il negozio, a casa mia c'erano sempre persone di passaggio e venivano da tutti i paesi intorno come Millesimo, Cairo Montenotte o da Savona.



Avere avuto una casa così, con muri solidi e spessi che garantiscono fresco in estate e caldo in inverno ti fa ragionare su quante cose superflue abbiamo tipo il frigorifero, la lavastoviglie o la lavatrice.

Io quando vedo le case in pietra vedo la mano dell'uomo, mi immagino la fatica e la soddisfazione di chi le ha fatte, e quando guardo le case moderne mi chiedo dove sia l'apporto umano.

Prima erano case per essere abitate e vissute, non erano di sicuro per essere messe in mostra.

Sul tema della vergogna, non sono i luoghi ma bensì le persone che provocano in me vergogna.

In un ambiente ristretto come quello di un paese ad alcune figure spiacevoli non si può sfuggire: il prete e la maestra che erano sempre a controllarti, o i compaesani che sparano alle tue spalle.

Poi mi provoca rabbia quando vedo le piccole mafiette comunali, piccoli favori elargiti per questa o quella persona in maniera esclusiva solo perché si è sicuri di un proprio tornaconto. Detesto queste cose, e ed è una vera vergogna.

#### **D- Ma da dove proviene l'orgoglio, da cosa è causato l'orgoglio per il luogo?**

R- Innanzitutto dall'ambiente, ma devo anche aggiungere i miei genitori, che mi hanno permesso di essere come sono oggi. Mio padre, che era stato in Russia durante la Seconda Guerra Mondiale mi ha insegnato a vivere rifuggendo l'opportunismo, vivendo il momento e gioire di quello che si ha. Mia madre invece, il fatto di avere avuto un'altra figlia però affetta dalla sindrome di Down, la ha fatta sempre stare in pensiero e sentire lontana e giudicata.

E io ero molto dispiaciuta più che per mia sorella per il modo odioso e basso in cui tutti la consideravano e probabilmente è per questo che sto più volentieri con gli animali, almeno loro non giudicano, si donano senza filtri.

E mi dispiaccio quando vedo che ancora adesso gli animali sono tenuti in conto esclusivamente per la loro utilità; il cane deve guadagnarsi la pagnotta facendo la guardia. Oppure le campagne devono rendere e quindi vengono utilizzati pesticidi per il grano e nei campi, pratica che ritengo vergognosa.

#### **D- Però vedi nei cambiamenti nella realtà delle Langhe?**

R- Beh, certo: pochi giorni fa vedevo che qualcuno che porta al pascolo le bestie c'è ancora. Se non vogliamo andare incontro ad una estinzione del genere umano, è inevitabile che si ritorni ad una vita più all'antica più semplice e rispettosa dei ritmi della natura...

Forse, nell'arco di 100 anni, abbiamo corso un po' troppo: dall'aratro coi buoi al trattore, dal cavallo alla macchina, dalla cantina al frigorifero.

#### **D- Come conseguenze dell'orgoglio e della vergogna, quando ti sei sentita orgogliosa del tuo luogo?**

R- Sono orgogliosa del ruolo della cucina nell'alta Langa. Non solo come amore per la nostra cucina ricca, salutare e buona, ma anche proprio come strumento di comunità. Capitava spesso di ospitare famiglie a cena e di essere invitati a nostra volta. Tutti all'epoca mangiavano bene, quello che oggi si definirebbe Bio, e tutti facevano l'orto e avevano le formaggette, le galline, le uova, le mucche e i funghi nel bosco.

Eravamo autarchici, avevamo tutto; e quando ero giovane mi sentivo ricca, nel negozio dei miei genitori vendevamo la carne, cibo che non tutti potevano permettersi e anche i gelati o anche beni di non prima necessità come giornali e riviste.

#### **D- Che emozioni provi quando pensi a questo luogo?**

R- Principalmente di rimpianto per non essere riuscita, anche scendendo a compromessi di salvare la casa, il bosco, i campi e i terreni.

All'epoca ero convinta che la famiglia fosse un'istituzione robusta, sicura; invece ha prevalso l'interesse e le famiglie non sono rimaste unite.

Che poi, col vendere i terreni non ci ha guadagnato nessuno ed è capitato un po' come scrive Fenoglio ne "alla malora": non appena si parla di eredità, intere famiglie si sfaldano per accaparrarsi questa o quella proprietà.

Ad esempio la gestione dell'eredità della mia famiglia mi ha rovinato, anche se poi non ho mai avuto intenzione di ricorrere ad un avvocato. Sì, quando ripenso a questi episodi provo rabbia e delusione.

#### **D- Per quanto riguarda all'orgoglio?**

R- Per fortuna nelle zone che mi sono rimaste ho ripiantato alberi e fiori, ho insegnato ad altri a farlo; mi sono presa cura dei campi, ho continuato ad andare per funghi...

Insomma il mio orgoglio è stato cercare di tramandare un certo modo di vivere, fuori da logiche di utilità e profitto... poi ho sempre cercato di portare le Langhe anche al di fuori del mio territorio.

Spesso andando in città mi portavo i prodotti del mio orto, o un cesto pieno di funghi.

Ad ogni modo quando penso a questa zona provo piacere e mi emoziono ancora...nonostante gli aspetti negativi, questa terra è la mia carta di identità...come diceva Cesare Pavese, bisogna pur avere una casa da cui partire, un paese da cui provenire, e io il mio paese lo porto sempre dietro. Quando conosco qualcuno che abita fuori, spesso lo invito a casa mia nelle Langhe, che sono per me motivo di grande orgoglio. Mi piace condividere, è una cosa che a casa mia c'è sempre stata. Quando capitava che qualcuno passasse da casa prima di pranzo o cena mio padre era solito insistere perché si fermasse a mangiare con noi, sia che fosse esso ricco o estremamente povero. Io poi do confidenza a tutti, e talvolta mi rendo conto che magari sono un po' invadente.

Pensa che quando avevo 16 anni feci una festa a casa, con ragazze e ragazzi invitati ; una cosa che all'epoca sembrò quasi immorale!

Insomma sono sempre stata vista da quelli del paese come una ragazza diversa, sia per i miei comportamenti sia per il fatto che vivendo in un ambiente più agiato vedevano nel mio benessere un motivo di gelosia e critica.

Magari loro faticavano ad arrivare a fine mese e mi vedevano mentre mangiavo un gelato di quelli che vendevano i miei...E nella loro testa io sono ancora ricca adesso, nonostante loro stessi abbiano fatto fortuna, cambiato casa; per loro io rimarrò quella ricca.

Diciamo che questa cappa di pregiudizio in un ambiente rurale come il nostro c'è sempre stata, non a caso il cattolicesimo, quello bigotto e acritico si esprimeva al suo peggio qui, creando falsi miti, bugie e veri e propri contrasti.

Queste sciocchezze portavano a vere e proprie azioni punitive nei confronti di chi non era del posto o neppure abitava sulla medesima sponda del fiume: ricordo che all'epoca c'era chi si intrufolava di notte nella sede del comune vicino e rubava documenti e carte importanti, solo per il piacere di dimostrare una presunta superiorità...

Tuttavia non tutti erano così, e io ed altri ragazzi dei paesi intorno abbiamo provato ad unificare la zona intera nel concreto, creando spettacoli, eventi e attività di pubblico interesse...ti parlo di 50 anni fa e anche se mi rendo conto che le cose possano essere cambiate, anche grazie un po' a Internet che ha fatto perdere il concetto di luogo in senso stretto, il campanilismo qui è ancora abbastanza diffuso con litigi sciocchi fra comuni vicini.

Io ricordo del prete che predicava contro le feste nella città limitrofe descrivendocelo come un luogo di perdizione e parlava delle parrocchie limitrofe.

#### **D- Se pensi a quando hai provato vergogna, che pensieri ti vengono in mente sul rapporto luogo e vergogna?**

R- Più che vergogna mi è capitato di sentirmi addolorata. Per una donna all'epoca era impensabile, come a me è successo, prendere la patente a 18 anni o andare a studiare a Torino.

La donna doveva stare a casa ad aspettare il marito.

Ho patito il fatto semmai di non poter continuare a studiare; mi sarebbe piaciuto fare l'Università di Architettura, tuttavia avevo mia sorella da accudire e i miei comunque su questo la pensavano un po' come tutti all'epoca: prima o poi ti sposerai e diventerai una buona moglie.

E io lo o sempre patito, come d'altronde pativo il confronto con magari amici che venivano da fuori, magari Genova o Savona che avevano continuato la scuola ed erano all'Università.

Forse avrei dovuto ribellarmi, ma all'epoca il fatto di avere avuto in casa una sorella mentalmente disabile non mi ha dato una lucida visione dei fatti.

Ad ogni modo ho studiato per corrispondenza, anche se a fatica fra una mansione e l'altra tipo andare a prendere qualcuno alla stazione, servire ai tavoli o andare a comprare il mangiare per le bestie...

#### **D- Cosa vorresti fare per risolvere questa vergogna?**

R- Mi piacerebbe rimettere a posto la mia casa, anche se, vista l'età, non so se riuscirò a farlo.

Però ho quel che mi basta, devo ammettere che non mi manca niente.

#### **D- L'orgoglio per il luogo cosa ti porta a fare ?**

R- A tramandare, a parlarne; a cercare di trasferire la gioia, e l'emozione di vivere questi luoghi.

Quando porto i prodotti della mia terra, mi sembra di onorare la memoria dei miei avi.

D'altronde qua siamo tutti figli di contadini, sfortunato chi non lo è: si è perso cose belle e buone!

Stare qui è un inno alla bellezza e alla bontà. Forse non fossi nata qui non mi saprei rendere conto di quanta bellezza c'è.

Questo lo avverto anche perché ho memoria della famiglia da cui provengo, da una famiglia povera e sono stata testimone di un benessere raggiunto con fatica e sudore.

Adesso, con la vecchiaia, apprezzo giorno per giorno e traggio gioia da piccole cose, come guardare un tramonto, dare delle briciole di pane agli uccellini o piantare un seme.

#### **D- a cosa serve e perchè esiste la vergogna si un luogo?**

R- La vergogna è un'espressione della povertà. E il bisogno di avere ha scalzato gli altri valori, lasciando dietro di sé nevrosi e frustrazione.

Tuttavia la vergogna è fornisce la spinta utile all'abbandonare una realtà che può risultare soffocante. Una volta lontano si può poi ritornare rimanendo aperti e cercare di migliorarsi e di portare ciò che di buono si è imparato fuori anche nella comunità.

Mi ricordo ancora mia madre e il suo senso di liberazione, dopo avere vissuto una vita in un paese che l'aveva costretta in un unico ruolo, quando prese il primo aereo diretta a Roma.

Talvolta la gente con la quale vivi da decine di anni sono in grado di soffocarti pian piano, di distruggerti.. Per questo mi piace perdersi nel bosco stare da sola, non voglio ricadere in rapporti triti ed esausti e dinamiche abituarie.

Ho bisogno di vivere nuove realtà e fare nuove esperienze.

## Italy Rural area: Participant [ITR4]

Q. mi potresti parlare della relazione che hai con i tuoi luoghi ed i luoghi in generale?

Allora il luogo mio è difficile da stabilire. Io sono nata qua in Alta Langa a Camerana quindi questo è il luogo delle mie origini delle mie radici. Però lo posso dire con tranquillità solo adesso che ho 65 anni perché quando avevo vent'anni io volevo andar via, e sono andata via. Sono andata a studiare lontano.

Il legame che avevo con questo luogo era mio padre che viveva qui quindi venivo sempre, sia per il legame affettivo che avevo con lui sia per il senso di responsabilità.

Lui era da solo perché mia madre era morta quando io ero bambina e quindi nonostante la mia vita fosse articolata a Savona, tornavo regolarmente a trovarlo, stavo qui con lui alcuni giorni ma all'epoca non mi sembrava di non essere legata al luogo.

Mi pareva di essere legata solo a lui, venivo qui perché c'era lui. Questa sensazione è durata tanti anni, nonostante il fatto che iniziassi a rendermi conto che il territorio delle langhe mi fosse più vicino. Mi era più congeniale la terra, il verde, la campagna che non il mare, io non mi sono mai appassionata al mare, se non dal punto di vista della contemplazione.

Ho imparato a nuotare ed andavo al mare ma mi rendevo conto che il verde dei boschi, dei prati fosse parte di me.

Però c'è anche un'età in cui sei presa dal lavoro, da tante cose e quindi vivi senza fermarti a pensare a riflettere.

Poi mio padre ad un certo punto si è ammalato, è morto ed io per un po di tempo non sono potuta tornare.

Facevo fatica a venire qui.

Ero molto legata a mio padre.

Poi piano piano ho incominciato a pensare che questo luogo mi apparteneva, era casa.

Questo panorama, questi boschi e questi campo, oltre ad averne un'appartenenza reale perché ho ereditato da mio padre un pò di terreno.

Il ritorno è coinciso con la mia fine della vita lavorativa, con l'arrivo di un'età più più anziana, smettendo di lavorare ovviamente avevo più tempo libero, mio figlio era diventato grande e viveva da un'altra parte e quindi ho incominciato a sentire dentro di me forte il bisogno di fare pace con questo posto.

Per tutta la vita sono stata ambivalente, da una parte era le mie radici, era il luogo dove ero nata, sentivo questa questo piacere per la campagna, per i boschi, per il verde però dall'altra avevo un senso di opposizione che è stato quello che a 20 anni mi ha spinto ad andare via.

Quando parli del tuo luogo pensi proprio a questo casa a camerana ?

Si penso a questa casa, penso a questo panorama, penso all'Alta Langa, a questo paesaggio un po grezzo fatto di boschi, fatto di posti un po selvaggi.

Q. È il luogo in cui ti senti ancora connessa con gli antenati o il tuo papà?

Si molto. Adesso molto.

Vengo molto da sola in questa casa d'estate.

Magari sto 4, 5 giorni poi torno in Liguria se ho degli impegni e delle consegne.

Per me stare da sola in questa casa è stato anche avvicinarmi, in pace, con quella che è stata la vita solitaria di mio padre in questa casa.

Lui è venuto ad abitare in questa casa dopo che è morta mia madre.

Prima vivevamo in un'altra casa, che era la casa dei miei nonni, dove sono nata.

Quando è morta mia mamma, a metà degli anni 60, c'è stata ovviamente una divisione di eredità e mio padre ha scelto di venire via da quella casa lì ed ha costruito questa.

L'ha costruita ed io ci sono venuta a abitare più o meno nel 1967, avevo 12 anni, eravamo solo io e lui, avevo una sorella ma era più grande ed era già andata via, a studiare fuori.

Dopo aver vissuto un po di anni qui ho deciso di studiare e di andare via, lui devo dire che mi ha lasciata andare con molta libertà, era un uomo molto libero che dava molta libertà.

Ero molto giovane quando sono andata via, avevo 16, 17 anni.

Gli ho detto "io vorrei andare via, vorrei studiare, vorrei fare la mia strada" e lui mi ha detto "La vita è tua, vai"

Io gli sono grata di questo, però ho avuto per anni un pò di senso di colpa dentro.

Avevo la sensazione di averlo abbandonato, io ho fatto la mia vita mi sono sposata.

Lui in realtà non me l'ha mai fatto pensare ma ero io che vivevo questo questo sentimento, questo peso.

Adesso mi sento molto in pace qui da sola, soprattutto al mattino presto, mi sveglio, mi metto a fare colazione in cucina apro e vedo questa vallata, vedo quello che ha visto anche lui dallo stesso tavolo dove, infatti mi siedo dove si sedeva lui a fare colazione io. Oppure la sera mi piace sedermi qui davanti a guardare il prato, il bosco e immaginare che anche lui la sera stava seduto qui.

Questa dimensione dalla solitudine che ho acquisito bene a 65 anni penso che sia un lusso. La pace della solitudine.

Che poi è una solitudine esterna, ieri sono venuti degli amici a fare un aperitivo e mi chiedevano: ma non ti viene paura, malinconia a stare qui da sola ?

Io gli ho detto che qui non sono da sola, alle pareti ho tutte queste fotografie dei miei, le ho incorniciate e le ho appese. È tutta la mia storia, è la storia di una vita, di tante generazioni.

Queste terre sono la base dalla quale io, come un albero, sono andata su... queste foglie e queste fronde sono andate in alto.

Anzi io avevo immaginato di andare ancora più lontano poi invece sono andata in Liguria ho lavorato a Savona, a Genova, sono stata a studiare un pò a Parigi ma comunque andavo e venivo.

Ho viaggiato tanto, ma sai, con i viaggi stai via quindici giorni vai negli Stati Uniti piuttosto che in Turchia e poi torni.

A me è sempre piaciuto molto viaggiare, quest'inverno ho fatto un viaggio lungo, sono stata via due mesi potendomi permettere non dovendo più lavorare, ed è stata un'esperienza importantissima anche per il fatto di essere andata così lontano, oltre oceano.

Sono stata a Cuba, Repubblica Dominicana, è stato bello vivere in un posto così diverso, ai Caraibi, in un'isola, in una situazione culturale ed ambientale completamente diversa da quella italiana. Questo vaggio mi ha fatto anche pensare che gli alberi crescono, ma alla fine le foglie, quando cadono, tornano alle radici.

Io ho avuto un pò questa sensazione.

Per me è importante venire qui a Camerana Villa, ma non ci starei fissa. Io devo avere la libertà di venire come voglio e quando voglio.

Ho uno spirito un po' nomade quindi per me è importante sia avere questo posto sia la libertà di andare via. Devo sapere che volendo posso chiudere tutto ed andare nella casa che ho ad Albissola oppure andare a Genova che dove faccio delle attività di volontariato.

Poi sai, è anche la fortuna di avere 65 anni e di stare molto bene di salute. Penso che questo sia un regalo della vita.

Q. Ho un paio di domande sull'orgoglio per il tuo luogo.

Io ho un orgoglio sicuramente da un bel pò di anni per questa casa, perché so che è il risultato di molta sofferenza ma è anche il risultato di una dignità molto forte.

Mio padre si è trovato a un certo punto solo con due figlie, io bambina e in una situazione economica anche molto difficile, e lui ha avuto questo orgoglio, questa dignità di voler fare una casa e di un qualcosa che fosse suo e da lasciare ai figli.

Io mi ricordo quando lui diceva "Voi ci siete per me, io devo lasciarvi dalle cose". Quindi c'è l'orgoglio. Ecco perché ho voluto tenere la casa, e quando mia sorella ha detto che non era interessata, ho comprato la sua quota, grazie anche a mio figlio che ha contribuito e l'ho proprio rimessa in vita, 5 anni fa.

La tengo viva per me perché è importante per me.

Cesare Pavese, uno scrittore della Langa che da ragazzina ho letto tantissimo, in un romanzo che è ambientato qui in Langa che si intitola "La luna e i falò" dice "un Paese è importante anche solo per potersene andare" e poi però dice "un Paese importante perché tu sai che nelle persone, nelle cose, nelle piante, nella terra c'è qualcosa di tuo, che anche quando non ci sei sta lì ad aspettarti" ... io sento che questo posto mi aspettava e quindi questo è un orgoglio legato proprio al mio luogo personale.

L'orgoglio invece rispetto all'ambiente più ampio, il paese Camerana o l'Alta Langa, è un orgoglio verso una terra molto molto dura.

È una terra difficile, non è la bassa Langa dove ci sono i vigneti che ti fanno guadagnare tanti soldi, questa è una Langa selvaggia che da lavorare è faticosa, soprattutto negli anni passati la gente di qua difendeva questa terra. Costruivano i muri a secco in modo che ogni pezzettino di terra fosse difeso, venivano protette le coltivazioni.

È una terra che richiede impegno. Questo è un pò il mio orgoglio perché ho trovato questo aspetto dentro di me, ho visto che c'era la cocciutaggine di impegnarmi sulle cose, di raggiungere gli obiettivi.

Q. Questa terra l'hai sempre vissuta così o è solo da poco che provi questo sentimento?

Sicuramente adesso lo sento più forte e con più tranquillità ma anche quando ero più giovane lo sentivo

C'era una frase bellissima di Sant'Agostino che diceva "Noi siamo quelli che cercano e non trovano e che quando trovano continuano a cercare". Io mi sento così.

Q. Cosa ti viene in mente quando pensi al tuo orgoglio per questo luogo?

Ma te l'ho detto, mi vengono in mente queste immagini di fatica, di tenacia che anche io ho notato in una vita che caratterizza molto chi resta qui. Chi è restato. Però i miei ricordi sono più legati a un passato abbastanza remoto, io il presente degli abitanti del posto lo conosco meno, perché con il fatto che vado e vengo non vivo tanto il tessuto sociale del Paese.

Certo conosco delle persone ma io vengo qui molto per stare in una dimensione mia.

Q. Vedi l'alta Langa come parte della tua identità ?

Sì è parte della mia identità sicuramente.

Io sono così e sono il risultato di tutto un percorso di una vita ma un percorso che è iniziato qui e che non ha mai lasciato questo filo.

Per esempio il dialetto, io parlavo in dialetto con mio papà, con mia mamma, con mia sorella. Io ho continuato a parlare in dialetto con le persone legate a questo luogo anche se vi incontriamo lontano da qui. Ti potrei dire che io penso in dialetto, ci sono dei modi di dire, delle cose che proprio rappresento in dialetto e che a volte devo pensare come tradurle.

E poi c'è anche un lessico familiare fatto di modi di dire, di proverbi, di metafore che nella mia famiglia (ma penso in tante famiglie) ed a volte proprio mi vengono in mente questi modi di dire.

Il dialetto lo me lo sono portato sempre con me, ricordo un viaggio a Taiwan con un'amica, eravamo in un taxi, noi parlavamo un inglese un po' maccheronico, il tassista ci parlava in taiwanese, non riuscivamo tanto a capire ed io ad un certo punto ho incominciato a parlare in Langarolo, la mia amica rideva come una pazza ed il tassista mi sorrideva ( ahah ) È sempre stato per me un motivo di orgoglio quello del dialetto.

Q. Quando pensi all'orgoglio per i tuoi luoghi quali parole ti vengono in mente ?  
fatica, tenacia, coraggio ed allegria

Q. C'è qualche ordine di importanza per queste parole?  
L'ordine in cui te le ho dette

Q. Hai mai provato Vergogna per il luogo ?  
Per me il senso di vergogna appartiene di più all'ambito delle relazioni non del territorio.

Q. Sì ma infatti come luogo intendo sia quello fisico sia il tessuto sociale che vi abita.  
Ricordo che le elementari le ho fatte qui e le medie le ho fatte a Saliceto, che voglio dire, è due passi, però rispetto qui là era già una situazione più urbana, il paese era più strutturato, con tanti negozi rispetto a qua, c'era la farmacia, il cinema, cosa che qui non c'era.  
La c'era molto la realtà delle famiglie in cui gli uomini lavoravano in fabbrica, a Cengio, non erano certo contadini. Qui eravamo contadini quindi c'era una dimensione sociale.  
Nella mia famiglia, per esempio, mio papà ha sempre fatto il contadino quindi anche l'abbigliamento era un abbigliamento più povero. Io penso di essere andata a scuola sempre in ordine e pulita però sicuramente non vestita come certe ragazzine che vedevo, per questo all'epoca mi era nata un po' di vergogna per l'abbigliamento. Per il fatto di arrivare con le scarpe un po' sporche di fango oppure di non avere tanti vestiti ma di indossare sempre lo stesso cappotto per tutto l'inverno.  
Ad oggi questa vergogna però si è trasformata in orgoglio.  
Ora il mio pensiero va al pianeta, al fatto che se non cambiamo strada andrà male. Io sono molto minimalista, attenta alle cose, a non sprecare.  
Un'altro elemento che all'epoca forse mi faceva vergognare era che noi non avevamo la televisione e quando andavo a scuola ed i miei compagni parlavano dei programmi che avevano visto, io mi sentivo un po' diversa.  
Oggi la televisione non mi interessa, quindi anche in questo caso la vergogna è diventata orgoglio. La tv è uno strumento che mi dà poco, io amo leggere, leggo tantissimo, mi piace scrivere, confrontarmi con altre persone.

Q. Hai altri esempi ?  
Da giovane mi pesava l'importanza della religione, in questi luoghi le persone sono molto cattoliche, anche un po' bigotte. Io nasco come cattolica, poi ho fatto il mio percorso, adesso non mi definisco atea ma mi definisco libera, con una mia spiritualità.  
Quello che mi dava fastidio, e che poi sono riuscita a razionalizzare, è che sotto a questo strato di cattolicità c'era ipocrisia, poca disponibilità, sentimenti non belli.  
Infatti la voglia che avevo di andare via era data anche dall'esigenza di togliermi da queste gabbie di pensiero che c'erano qui.  
Ancora oggi c'è della chiusura, voler coltivarsi il piccolo orto, la diffidenza verso il diverso e sono tutte cose che non mi piacciono.

Q. Qual'è secondo te l'origine dell'orgoglio che provi?  
Secondo me l'orgoglio nasce da quello che vedi, da quello che vivi, io ho avuto intorno persone che erano orgogliose del luogo e mi hanno trasmesso questo sentimento.  
Poi io ho capito presto che la bellezza è nelle piccole cose, avevo una vecchia zia che quando ero piccola mi portava a camminare e mi faceva vedere i fiori che si chiamano " non ti scordar di me", sono dei fiori piccolissimi azzurri, e lei mi diceva " guarda questo azzurro, guarda la bellezza, pensa che nessun colore che tu prenderai in mano a scuola, riuscirà a far quel colore, perché quel colore ce l'ha solo quel fiore lì"  
La capacità di fermarsi e vedere la bellezza di una piccola cosa è una cosa che mi ha sempre accompagnata nella vita, ho questa capacità di stupirmi.

Q. Quale pensi sia l'origine della vergogna?  
Penso che l'origine si possa vedere nel grosso inganno che è stato il progresso.  
Io non ho vissuto la guerra ma comunque sono nata nel periodo dopo, dove c'era ancora la povertà, dove non si buttava via nulla, poi ci sono stati gli anni 60 con il boom economico e secondo me sono stati un inganno, hanno fatto male. Io ero una ragazzina, la chimera, il suono delle sirene del progresso, del fatto che la felicità potesse essere "avere delle cose" mi ha fatto un po' traballare, perché io non avevo tante cose, poi nell'adolescenza sei anche fragile.  
In quegli anni gli status simbol erano importanti, dovevi avere per essere.. questo meccanismo ha scoperto un po' il tasto dolente della vergogna, mi ha fatto provare quella sensazione di non avere abbastanza.

Q. E la vergogna legata a questo posto ?

Anche qui il paesaggio è cambiato con il boom economico, hanno eliminato dei boschi per fare case, le case non si costruivano più in pietra ma con i mattoni, in cucina non si poteva più avere il "potagè" ma la cucina a gas... e queste vecchie cose ora stanno ritornando, per quello dico che è stato tutto un grande inganno

Q. Quali sono gli aspetti materiali, non materiali, attività del luogo che ti fanno sentire orgogliosa?

Mi fa sentire orgogliosa che ci siano delle persone di altri paesi che decidano di comprare casa qui e che apprezzino così tanto questo ambiente

Q. Perché questa cosa ti fa sentire orgogliosa?

Perché conferma la mia idea che questo sia un posto bello.

Che ci siano svizzeri tedeschi che vogliono una casa proprio per il suo essere in pietra, con il tetto in losa, vuol dire che qui ci sono le radici della bellezza. Io miei nonni, bisnonni, avi, hanno lasciato qui la bellezza, delle cose che adesso vengono così apprezzate da persone che non sono del luogo, mi rende orgogliosa.

Oggi per esempio ho portato degli amici a Prunetto nel castello e poi nella chiesa. Sono rimasti sbalorditi dalla bellezza degli affreschi del carmine ...e io ho detto " eh roba nostra questa" qui c'è l'orgoglio.

Q. Hai il ricordo di un momento specifico in cui ti sei sentita orgogliosa?

Negli anni 70 io ero a Savona ma qui si era formato un comitato che si chiamava " val bormida pulita " che lottava contro l'acna di cengio. Io mi sono sentita molto orgogliosa di due cose.

1. Una volta mio padre mi ha detto: vedi noi non abbiamo tanti soldi ma io ho scelto di continuare a fare il contadino e di non andare a lavorare all'acna di cengio perché secondo me non si può tradire quello che sei, ed io dentro di me sono un contadino.

Io ho voglia di stare in una terra e non ho voglia di stare in una fabbrica. Questa mia scelta toglie dei soldi a voi.

2.Quando poi si è scoperto che l'acna stava avvelenando la valle questo gruppo di giovani ha combattuto per la terra, io mi sono sentita orgogliosa di essere parte di quello schieramento, attraverso mio padre, di aver fatto una scelta.

La mia gente difendeva la valle contro il capitalismo della fabbrica.

Q. Che emozione provi quando senti questo momento ?

Rabbia.

O meglio, da giovane ho provato rabbia, mi infuocavo molto, ora sono meno focosa anche se cmq rimango una persona attenta che non è indifferente davanti a nulla.

Orgoglio e rabbia secondo me sono sentimenti che si incontrano.

Rabbia che non deve essere fine a se stessa perché se non diventa distruttiva ma deve essere uno sprono ad andare avanti ed a scegliere.. si perché penso che orgoglio e rabbia possano far scegliere alcune strade piuttosto che altre.

Q. Ora pensando a quel ricordo cosa vorresti fare a riguardo ?

Io facevo delle cose in quello che era il mio mondo, ho scelto di lavorare tra la sofferenza, con gli ultimi, di impegnarmi nel sociale perché credevo in un modo migliore, e ci credo ancora.

Penso che l'oceano sia fatto da tante gocce, noi siamo solo una goccia ma quella goccia può essere importante. Io cerco nella vita di essere coerente con questa radice che era una radice di semplicità dove non era importante il cosa ma il come, non era importante l'aver ma l'essere.

Q. Hai il ricordo di un momento specifico in cui ti sei vergognata ?

Quando sempre negli anni 70 del boom non c'era più cura per la bellezza. Le strade venivano asfaltate, si tagliavano gli alberi .. c'era questa modernità che avanzava portando con sé la mancanza di rispetto del territorio, dell'ambiente.

Poi mi sono molto vergognata quando alle ultime elezioni europee la lega qui a camerana ha preso il 48% dei voti.

Mi vergogno del fatto che ci siano persone che pensano che si debbano costruire dei muri, che non si debba far entrare chi ha bisogno, che si debba pensare solo agli italiani, che la cultura non sia importante .. queste cose mi fanno rabbrivire.

Q. Che emozioni provi?

Rabbia ma ancor di più, tristezza. Mi fa un pò pena questa situazione

Q. Cosa faresti ?

Se fossi giovane, quando sento dei discorsi del genere ( leghisti ), intavolerei un dibattito, combatterei, ora no, ora mi distanzio, preferisco allontanarmi da queste persone.

Però comunque do il mio contributo per il cambiamento, per esempio faccio volontariato nella comunità di Don gallo e quando stavo mettendo in ordine la casa di mio padre, sono venuta qui da Genova con dei ragazzi della comunità, che erano dei migranti senza lavoro e mi sono fatta aiutare da loro, pagandoli, a fare quello che dovevo fare.

Q. Secondo te a cosa serve l'orgoglio per il luogo ?

Serve a me, perché fa bene al mio cuore ed io posso morire contenta, infatti voglio che le mie ceneri vengano messe nel prato davanti a casa e che sia piantato un albero.

L'orgoglio serve a me per essere in pace, perché penso che si debba lasciare questa vita in pace. Serve ad andarsene in pace ed a lasciare della pace.

Non voglio che mio figlio abbia dei fantasmi dentro determinati da me, dalla mia storia.

Quando ero giovane credevo alle grandi rivoluzioni, ora no, non penso cambino realmente la situazione, credo nelle piccole rivoluzioni : dare un senso alla vita, essere coerente.

L'orgoglio dà senso alla vita.

A meno che uno non sia un religioso convinto che allora trova il suo senso nella religione, il senso è dato dall'orgoglio per la propria terra, le radici, gli insegnamenti ricevuti durante la vita. Più si vive più si impara, infatti io non ho paura di invecchiare, non mi interessano le rughe ed i capelli bianchi.

Q. Secondo te a cosa serve la vergogna ?

Per migliorarci, per renderci conto che bisogna evolversi.

Dante diceva " fatti non foste a viver come bruti, ma per seguir virtute e canoscenza".

L'essere umano non è fatto per essere brutto e purtroppo invece adesso stiamo vedendo della brutalità nell'essere volgari, maleducati, nel gridare, nel voler sempre avere ragione .. l'uomo proprio perché ha il dono dell'intelligenza, della sensibilità è su questo che deve migliorarsi.



## Italy Rural area: Participant [ITR5]

Ci patisce quando le cose non vanno bene, quando vede le cose brutte, vede che si buttano giù degli alberi o quando brucia un bosco, quando un'alluvione provoca delle frane nel territorio, queste sono cose che dispiacciono alle persone che amano il proprio territorio, il proprio Paese, le proprie colline. Io vengo da un'esperienza che è molto molto semplice, i nonni, i genitori erano in questo territorio e già loro mi hanno inculcato l'amore per il mio territorio e mi hanno trasmesso il sapere che noi non siamo padroni di nulla.

Noi viviamo qua però siamo solo custodi temporanei di questo territorio che dobbiamo in qualche modo lasciare agli altri, a quelli che vengono dopo di noi, i nostri figli, i nostri nipoti.

Se una persona è intelligente, quando fa un regalo a qualcuno pensa di dare un qualcosa di bello non qualcosa di brutto, e quindi cerchi sempre di vivere al meglio il territorio, di tenerlo pulito, di rispettarlo, di migliorarlo, per quanto puoi, perché quando vuoi lasciare qualcosa a qualcuno ti piace che questo qualcosa abbia un valore, sia bello e gradito.

Allo stesso tempo noi siamo chiamati a fare testimonianza del nostro territorio, fare in modo che le informazioni che diamo su questo territorio e l'amore che sentiamo sul territorio, passi agli altri, ma gli altri non sono soltanto i figli.

Questo è importante, i figli e nipoti ma anche altre persone, gli altri sono anche tutti quelli che incontriamo, gli ospiti che vengono, i turisti, a chiunque tu devi dare sempre un messaggio positivo, senza esagerare, ma dovresti pensare che il tuo posto è il più bello al mondo, perché il tuo posto è il più bello proprio perché è il tuo.

Poi ognuno ha la sua opinione. Sicuramente ci saranno posti migliori ma il tuo deve essere il più bello al mondo. Se no, non ha senso viverci. Ha senso vivere in un territorio, in un luogo, perché lo ami e allora lo vivi pienamente e cerchi di trasmettere questo amore agli altri. Nel viverlo pienamente questo luogo ti trasmette tutto quello che ha di emozioni.

Un tramonto la sera, quando guardo il verde smeraldo delle nostre colline sono emozionato, ma devi amarlo sempre, anche quando c'è la neve, anche quando non ci sono le foglie sugli alberi, devi sempre trovare qualcosa di bello in qualsiasi momento del tempo.

In qualsiasi stagione qualcosa di bello ce l'ha sicuramente.

In autunno le foglie si colorano di rosso, i colori, i suoni ed i sapori del territorio ti entrano dentro e tu li riconosci e loro ti danno tanto, si trasmettono ed arrivano a te in tante emozioni.

Questo secondo me è il senso del vivere in un luogo, se lo vivi bene secondo me sei sì felice e viverlo bene significa che devi comunque impegnarti a dare qualcosa.

Il minimo che devi fare è cercare di migliorarlo per quel poco che puoi.

Mio padre mi ha lasciato un pezzo di vigna, un po' di terreno, quello che ho fatto è stato di non lasciarlo peggiorare, dopotutto l'ho migliorato e di questo sono orgoglioso.

Q. Vuol dire che quando lavori nella vigna senti un rapporto con tuo papà ?

Sì, io riconosco mio padre in tutto quello che vedo nel mio territorio, nelle mie viti, nelle nocciole ed io vorrei che in futuro anche i miei figli riconoscessero quello che ho fatto io, che dicano "quel pesco lì l'aveva messo papà, quella pianta l'aveva messa lui".

C'è orgoglio quando riesci a dimostrare a te stesso che hai fatto qualcosa, che hai continuato quel discorso che le altre generazioni non ti hanno lasciato. Mi hanno consegnato in mano questa cosa io non l'ho sprecata ma l'ho migliorata o almeno l'ho conservata per le generazioni che verranno.

Quando tu invece non riesci, ecco che viene quel senso di inadeguatezza, di frustrazione.

Quando per esempio vedi i rovi che ti ti sovrastano i campi o le erbacce che invadono i terrazzamenti, ti dispiace.

A volte però purtroppo ci sono cose che non si possono fare anche perché la vita di oggi è diventata sempre più frenetica. I nostri vivevano grazie al loro terreno, quello era il loro reddito.

Noi oggi dobbiamo cercare fuori il reddito perché se non riusciamo a mantenerci.

Io penso che il rapporto che c'è tra una persona e il luogo il territorio dove abita, è un legame talmente stretto che ti mancherebbe sempre nella vita.

Io ho girato un po' il mondo, vai in giro ma il primo desiderio che hai è quello di tornare a casa e quando da lontano cominci a vedere le Langhe ti senti a casa, senti l'aria ed il benessere che ti dà il tuo il tuo luogo.

A volte noi esageriamo anche, quando incontri qualcuno cerchi di osannare, noi qui abbiamo i boschi, i sentieri, l'aria buona, abbiamo le cose buone da mangiare. Ad esempio la nostra tradizione era che quando entrava in casa qualcuno la prima cosa che si faceva era aprire la bottiglia del vino e prendere il salame ed il formaggio, tutto fatto in casa, questi prodotti erano assolutamente da assaggiare perché erano fatti dal padrone di casa e così si entrava nel suo mondo ed erano espressione di orgoglio.

Quel vino lì anche se non è il più buono del mondo, è il tuo vino.

Io ad esempio faccio poco vino e a volte dico "mah alla fine non è proprio tanto buono, è più cattivo che buono" però è il mio vino. Quando lo offro a qualcuno mi spiace che non sia tanto buono ma dici "è sano e viene dalla mia uva".

Quando Daniela fa le torte di nocciole, sono buone, penso che siano le più nel mondo, però è chiaro, sono le più buone perché sono le tue, quelle che hai fatto con le nocciole delle tue piante.

Questo è di nuovo un punto di orgoglio, dire "ecco questa è roba mia, dalla mia terra, dal mio luogo, questi sono i frutti di lavoro e di sacrificio, ma nel momento in cui tu lo condividi con qualcun altro non ti viene in mente il sacrificio ma provi solo orgoglio.

Mio papà quando arrivavano gli altri aveva sempre delle patate da regalare, delle mele, pomodori.

I nostri contadini hanno sempre qualcosa da dare perché ci tenevano che qualcuno quando andava a casa si portasse un ricordo di quella famiglia, di quel posto.

Era importante, e si poteva dire "le patate che ho preso da Giovanni hanno un gusto diverso da quelle che ho preso da Alessandro" ed era veramente così perché la terra è diversa e i frutti dell'orto vengono diversamente.

Le nostre persone ci hanno trasmesso il valore del ricavare i frutti dalla propria terra ma non di tenerseli, di dividerli con qualcun altro, il fatto di dividerli ha un significato molto forte, le cose gustate in compagnia sono più buone e poi se un altro ti dice che i tuoi prodotti sono buoni ti dà la forza, quella spinta a continuare a fare le cose.

Io sento la tradizione in modo molto molto forte perché è un modo per rivedere tutti quelli che sono passati in quel luogo e che, in qualche modo, lo hanno trasformato.

I nostri terrazzamenti, la vigna dove sto lavorando l'ha ricavata il mio papà con tanti sacrifici, l'ha costruita lui, ci ha lavorato per anni, mi spiace lasciarla.

Quando vado in alcuni posti so che i campi li hanno tirati fuori dai boschi, hanno dovuto disboscare per avere i campi.

C'è stato un lavoro, una trasformazione del territorio per poterci vivere, perché senno non avrebbero avuto i mezzi per vivere, come fai a vivere solo di bosco.

Adesso al contrario i campi non rendono più e lasciamo di nuovo che il bosco conquisti suo spazio.

Io mi ricordo che quando ero bambino qui non si vedevano alberi, erano solo terrazze lavorate con grano con fieno, viti. E adesso che la gente se n'è andata è tornato il bosco. Fa male vedere dove non sono più riusciti a mantenere quello che c'era.

Però purtroppo sono i frutti del tempo, della storia che cambia, la gente se n'è andata, se tu vieni solo sabato e la domenica non puoi pretendere di tenere il luogo dove sei nato pulito; ci vieni, lo sfrutti così, prendi quello che c'è e poi te ne vai, ma non ci sono miglioramenti.

Invece tanti che hanno fatto dei miglioramenti sono quelli che sono arrivati da fuori, svizzeri, olandesi e tedeschi hanno comprato questi casolari quasi abbandonati, li hanno restaurati e li hanno riadattati. Per me è stata una bella cosa vedere questa attenzione verso i miei territori, però certo, lì non c'è più la persona del luogo.

La storia del luogo è completamente stravolta perché non c'è più stato quel passaggio generazionale. Però bisogna accettare anche questo perché i frutti del tempo sono in questi, dove le generazioni non hanno potuto più passarsi di mano in mano il luogo, sono arrivate altre persone che inizieranno un'altra storia cominciando da zero. L'identità ora è diversa.

Q. Quando parli del tuo luogo qual'è ?

Le Langhe, più l'Alta Langa, non la Bassa Langa.

Mi riconosco più in questa Langa più selvaggia, meno antropizzata.

Il mio motto è "viva l'Alta Langa ma l'Alta Langa viva" non l'Alta Langa morta, quella che è dei torinesi che ritornano qui il sabato e la domenica o d'estate per rivivere nella campagna

Q. Che cosa significa questo luogo per te?

E' una parte di me penso che sia il 50 60 per cento di me, mi riconosco nel luogo e lo sento mio, cerco di farlo amare anche dagli altri a qualsiasi età, io ne parlo bene sempre.

A scuola con i bambini, tutte le volte che è possibile, cerchiamo di parlare del luogo, penso che sia importante trasmettere più che con le parole ma con l'esempio pratico, che ami un posto.

Oggi amare un luogo attraverso l'esempio non è facile... insegnare il rispetto per le piante, per le persone, le cose per gli animali e soprattutto far vedere che siamo dei privilegiati perché viviamo in un paradiso terrestre e che dobbiamo apprezzarlo. New York, Milano, Roma sono tutti belli ma questo è il nostro posto e dobbiamo sentirlo nostro.

Poi nella vita uno potrà vivere in diversi mondi ma il tuo mondo è questo, queste colline, questi paesaggi, queste Cascine, questi paesi, queste chiese, queste cappelle ed anche le persone che incontri fanno parte di questo territorio, bisogna vedere che nelle persone c'è una parte del territorio.

Con persone che amano il territorio come te, andrai d'accordo, anche gente che viene da fuori, con loro c'è subito feeling perché ti senti che stai condividendo un'emozione, con quelle che non lo amano invece non riesci ad avere un dialogo bello.

Q. Quando pensi all'orgoglio che provi per il luogo cosa ti viene in mente?

Il fatto che il luogo che sia rimasto intatto nel tempo, abbia mantenuto la stessa identità nel corso degli anni, non ci siano state grandi trasformazioni, non ci siano state industrie e non ci siano state grandi piantagioni.

E' un territorio che ha tenuto fede alla propria tradizione, è rimasto naturale, selvaggio e queste caratteristiche che sono presenti anche nelle persone che hanno voluto mantenere le loro tradizioni ed hanno sempre la stessa fierezza di vivere su queste colline.

Io quando parlo di persone, parlo spesso parlo di persone anziane perché sono quelle che ti trasmettono i valori, le testimonianze, sono tutte da rispettare e soprattutto tutte da ascoltare, loro hanno il vero valore perché l'hanno vissuto per tanto tempo.

Ti parlano di quello che hanno visto e sentito con le loro orecchie più tutto quello che è stato fatto e tramandato a loro dalle altre generazioni.

Io dico sempre che una cosa è tua la proprietà è tua se riesci a viverla mantenerla e migliorarla, altrimenti non puoi dimostrare la naturalità... una casa che crolla, un campo infestato da erbacce, un bosco distrutto secondo me non ha

proprietario perché il proprietario è quello che dà il valore alla cosa, se tu lo lasci cadere, non lo coltivi non sei più un proprietario, sei uno che si è dimenticato di quello che gli è stato dato.

Q. Quando pensi al tuo orgoglio per il luogo mi potresti dire tutte le parole che vengono a mente?

Natura, tradizione, benessere, persone, sentimenti, ricordi ed emozioni.

Per me sono queste le parole che sono legate al senso del territorio e dell'orgoglio del territorio.

Q. Tra queste parole c'è anche un ordine di importanza?

Tradizione, nel senso di rispetto della tradizione.

Natura

Persone.

Q. Provi vergogna per il tuo luogo ?

Ti rispondo con un esempio. Quando ero bambino, ragazzino, andavo ad Alba e mi vergognavo di arrivare da Levice perché era considerato un piccolo paese dove la gente era imbranata, ancora indietro nelle tradizioni che lavora solo con la terra, un paese di contadini quindi persone poco raffinate.

Mi vergognavo di questa cosa di arrivare da un territorio dove non c'era la cultura, non c'erano musei, non c'erano biblioteche. Poi nel tempo sono maturato ed è cambiata la dimensione, cioè quello che era vergogna per me è diventato orgoglio.

Adesso diventa vergognoso e mi vergogno anche per gli altri quando vedo che non amano il luogo, il disamore per il luogo per me è vergogna.

Quando ti parlavo delle case di paese che non sono più seguite bene, dei giardini, degli orti, mi vergogno perché penso che queste persone siano diventate proprietarie di qualcosa che qualcuno gli ha lasciato ma non hanno capito il valore che avevano in mano, io mi vergogno di vedere queste cose, queste brutture.

Di fatti nel tempo abbiamo cercato di recuperare delle cappelle, di recuperare lo stesso Palazzo Scarabile, perché sennò ti vergogni, quando viene qualcuno e sai che c'è una casa abbandonata, ci passi lontano perché è una brutta immagine per il paese. Un esempio è la casa davanti al comune, adesso è una stalla e mi fa vergognare, se invece di esserci quella ci fosse una casetta o qualcos'altro uno sarebbe più contento di vedere una bella immagine.

Mi dà molto fastidio anche la sporcizia che vedo nelle strade.

Il senso di vergogna per me nasce quando si dà un'immagine brutta dei propri luoghi, quando si lascia che i propri luoghi abbiano una brutta immagine.

Q. Vedi una mancanza di rispetto?

Esatto, è proprio una mancanza di rispetto. C'è una cosa brutta quando qualcuno non la rispetta

Q. C'è qualche punto specifico, una zona o qualcosa che associ al tuo orgoglio per il luogo?

Il punto specifico è la mia borgata, e più nello specifico la Chiesa che c'è sulla strada, la Madonna del Bricco, la sento particolarmente mia perché ho partecipato a recuperarla quando stava crollando. Ma ho semplicemente messo in pratica ciò che mi ha tramandato mio padre... diceva sempre "I nostri vecchi hanno fatto tanta fatica per costruirla, per tenerla in ordine e adesso noi ci siamo un po' lasciati prendere dalle cose e sta cadendo" già lui all'epoca si era impegnato per ristrutturarla, poi io ho continuato.

Ora la chiesa c'è ancora è bene ordinata, c'è la porta, c'è chi va a pulire, molti se ne occupano.

Mi è spiaciuto tantissimo nel '90 quando abbiamo bruciato tutto per imperizia perché se le persone venissero e tenessero pulito sarebbe più facile evitare gli incendi.

Mi è spiaciuto nel '94 quando è arrivata l'alluvione che ha danneggiato molto il territorio e mentre io lavoravo per ripristinare le strade, i muretti, passavano delle persone che non si fermavano significa che non volevano condividere, non gli importava proprio nulla che ci fossero stati dei danni, per loro l'importante era passare per quella strada.

Questa è una cosa brutta.

I nostri antenati forse erano più poveri ma si aiutavano molto, sentivano molto il concetto di "insieme" che per loro era importantissimo. Si davano una mano per tenere tutto in ordine, tutti collaboravano perché tutti sentivano forte l'identità con il loro territorio.

Q. C'è qualche punto specifico, una zona, qualcos'altro che associ alla vergogna? Quella casa di cui parlavo prima all'entrata del paese. Infatti lo ho anche già contattato i proprietari dicendo loro che secondo me è una cosa vergognosa anche verso di loro, danno una bruttissima immagine, e l'ingiustizia è che chi è del luogo subisce questa bruttura e può farci niente.

Q. Quale pensi sia l'origine dell'orgoglio per il luogo?

Nasce dalla trasmissione dei valori che ti danno gli anziani, i tuoi. Ti fanno amare il posto già da bambino.

La nostra tradizione era una tradizione contadina, dopo la scuola tu andavi nei campi con la mamma, con i nonni, si mangia pane e campagna in pratica e questo a ha costruito le tue radici e queste radici con il tempo sono diventate sempre più forti.

Poi, se sei rimasto, queste radici sono diventate veramente stabili, se invece te ne sei andando hai dovuto fare un lavoro di riconquista di queste radici.

Era la famiglia che ti dava questo senso di orgoglio per tutto il territorio, e te lo trasmetteva non soltanto con le parole, era l'esempio che ti insegnava come comportarti e come amare il territorio, togliere la pietra in mezzo alla strada, togliere le erbacce, in questo modo ti trasmettevano i valori e comportarsi in un certo modo diventava natural.

Se tu vedi tuo nonno ti toglie la pietra messa male, se il tuo papà toglie le erbacce, tiene pulito e ti dice "guarda che bello, come sta bene" questo ti entra e diventa una cosa quasi naturale.

Q. Tu ti prendevi cura del tuo territorio anche quando eri giovane ?Perché adesso i giovani lo fanno un pò meno rispetto ad anni fa.

Si, l'ho sempre fatto. Ora i giovani lo fanno molto meno perché è cambiata proprio la cultura contadina.

La cultura contadina si trasmette di padre in figlio, da generazione in generazione, c'è un passaggio diretto, tu hai imparato da tuo padre a fare delle cose che a tua volta insegnerai a tuo figlio e queste cose si faranno sempre nello stesso modo.

Quando la nostra gente per poter vivere è andata in città a lavorare nelle fabbriche se si è dimenticata quei saperi, la trasmissione di padre in figlio si è bloccata. Penso che fra i nostri giovani pochissimi sappiano potare o guardare le viti, al massimo qualcuno sarà saprà coltivare un po di nocciole. ma se proprio persa la cosa la cultura no. Quindi se non sei stato un passaggio molto naturale diretto.

La mia generazione ha avuto la fortuna di crescere in un mondo che era molto originale ancora primitivo, siamo passati dal lavorare con gli animali a lavorare con un computer.

Abbiamo attraversato un cambiamento storico velocissimo, penso che neanche in duemila anni ci sia stata una trasformazione così veloce. Quando ero bambino si lavorava ancora coi buoi, adesso se io volessi, potrei comprare un trattore con un telecomando.

La cosa interessante è che abbiamo visto il cambiamento e siamo riusciti ad adattarci, io, con un po di fatica riuscirei a lavorare un campo con due buoi, ma sono in grado di utilizzare anche il computer.

Mio papà invece, mio nonno, saprebbero portare il bue saprebbe ma non saprebbero utilizzare un computer.

Abbiamo assistito a quel transito da una cultura contadina a una cultura post-industriale, perché non è nemmeno più una cultura industriale, ora le culture sono quasi tutte mischiate: cultura contadina con la cultura industriale con qualcosa che quasi non ha un'identità precisa.

Oggi puoi vivere senza saper utilizzare la zappa, però se non ci fosse nessuno che sapesse usare la zappa, tu non vi avresti. In realtà è un'epoca storica un pò strana.

Q. Quale pensi sia l'origine della vergogna?

Secondo me nasce dal vedere che quello che dovrebbe essere rispettato, non lo è, quello che doveva essere un orgoglio, è stravolto.

Nasce quando si crea un' immagine che non corrisponde all'immagine che hai del tuo territorio, nasce cioè dall'immagine sbagliata del tuo luogo.

Q. Più precisamente quali sono gli aspetti del luogo, un punto specifico, un'attività, elementi materiali che ti fanno sentire orgoglioso?

la Langa, le colline della Langa con i loro paesaggi, i loro tramonti, il loro essere selvaggio.

E poi per me è bello questo paesaggio perché ti basta ruotare di dieci gradi la testa e c'è già qualcosa di diverso e poi è un paesaggio che per me è bello in ogni momento in cui lo guardo; è bello d'inverno, in primavera, d'estate, di sera, quando guardo un cielo stellato sopra queste colline mi sento pieno di orgoglio, con il cuore pieno di sentimento.

A volte vedi dei tramonti che sono fantastici, senti i grilli cantare e ti basta quello per sentirti felice, per dire la vita ha un senso e quindi non cerchi altro.

Q. Credi che il tuo rapporto con il luogo ti dia un senso di vita?

Si, sicuro, è essenziale, a volte sei stanco o arrabbiato ma quando ti fermi, ti rilassi un attimo, ci pensi bene e dici "questo è il senso della vita".

Q. Cioè, quel sarebbe il senso della vita ?

Il senso della vita è proprio stare bene dove sei, riconoscerti dove sei, sentirsi adeguato.

Io sono già stato al mare, mi piace andare al mare per carità però 3, 4, 5 ore poi sono stufo, qui invece non mi stufo mai di questi orizzonti, non mi viene neanche in mente.

Sono stato anche in montagna, lì ci sono dei paesaggi bellissimi però poi dico "torniamo a casa".

Q. Hai qualche momento o situazione in cui ti sei sentito molto orgoglioso del tuo luogo?

Io sento parecchio l'orgoglio, non c'è un momento particolare, però posso pensare per esempio quando abbiamo fatto l'inaugurazione di palazzo Scarampi.

Mi sono sentito veramente orgoglioso perché ho partecipato ad un progetto che ha cercato di recuperare qualcosa, uno di quei doni che ti lascia chi ha vissuto prima di te. Recuperare un palazzo del 1700, che ha 300 anni di storia e vederlo di nuovo agibile è un grande motivo di orgoglio.

Un altro momento è stato vedere la natura riuscire a recuperare, a chiudere le ferite che si erano create dopo l'alluvione e gli incendi.

Sono cose che sono motivo di orgoglio e di felicità, vedi il male no però poi la natura ed il bene vincono sul male.

Q. Che emozioni o sentimenti provi quando pensi a questi momenti?

cuore leggero

felicità

voglia di condividere con gli altri perché la condivisione riempie ancora di più questo tuo sentimento che diventa pieno. gratitudine.

Q. Pensando a questi momenti oltre alla condivisione, c'è qualche cos'altro che vorresti di fare? Condividere e trasmettere, perché non basta condividere. il significato vero sarebbe poterlo trasmettere agli altri, è lì che i modi di comportarsi e pensare diventano dei valori.

Poi un'altra considerazione è che secondo me è più facile trasmettere alcune cose ai bambini che ad altre persone perché le persone sono distratte, sono prese da altre cose, invece i bambini è facile trasmettere.

Comporta anche la responsabilità di trasmettere qualcosa di valore, di importanza.

C'è un momento in cui i figli si staccano fanno il loro percorso, magari non riconoscono quei valori ma poi c'è un momento in cui tornano.

Se tu hai lavorato bene, se hai trasmesso bene le cose, ci si ritorna sicuramente perché sono valori talmente importanti che l'uomo non li puoi dimenticare a meno che diventi una bestia.

Poi per trasmettere non è che servano tante parole, i nostri anziani non hanno mica fatto tanti discorsi però avevano un modo di riconoscere se stessi e di trasmettere, che andava al di là, non serviva la parola.

Adesso è meno facile trasmetterlo con l'esempio e quindi dobbiamo utilizzare il mezzo della parola e utilizzarla bene, senza annoiare, senza essere pesanti, ma comunque l'esempio serve, da una parte se butti la cartaccia per strada non sei credibile quando parli di rispetto per il luogo e dall'altra se ti comporti naturalmente in determinati modi gli altri imparano e faranno lo stesso, ad esempio se non strappi la piantina, se non rompi il ramo, se c'è una formica non la schiacci. (Gli inglesi dicono you walk the talk)

Comunque per trasmettere serve il passaggio prima, amare il luogo o almeno identificarsi.

Q. C'è qualche momento o situazione in cui hai provato molta vergogna per questo luogo?

Quando non siamo riusciti a fermare gli incendi. Quando tutto il nostro luogo era nero, i boschi, colline.

Mi sono vergognato perché ho detto "non è possibile che non siamo riusciti a fermare l'incendio, ad impedirlo". Tu adesso vedi verde ma prima era tutto solo giallo e nero, ed il cuore piange.

Come è possibile non essere riusciti a fermare l'incendio con i mezzi che abbiamo adesso, fermare le persone che ne sono la causa.

Io mi vergogno tantissimo per la persona che lo ha provocato perché non è un uomo, è la feccia, la cosa più brutta che possa esistere al mondo, perché volontariamente o involontariamente ha provocato un danno alla natura e a tutti noi che non abbiamo più potuto vedere il nostro posto come prima, ha rovinato l'immagine del nostro luogo.

Mi sono proprio vergognato ma anche incapace di dare una risposta, ho avuto la sensazione di non essere adeguato e di essere di essere efficiente.

Q. Che emozione sentivi ?

Profonda tristezza, profonda malinconia, la voglia che si cancellasse in un attimo tutto, che il mattino dopo si tornasse a vedere l'immagine di prima ed invece ci sono voluti anni ed anni.

Q. Quando è successo ?

Nel 1990, gli anni 90 sono stati duri. Alluvione, incendio ed il fatto del Bormida.

Il Bormida ci ha toccato meno, noi essendo in collina lo vivevamo solo quando veniva sulla nebbia e sentivi l'odore dei fenoli che tra l'altro andava a dare il gusto le patate l'uva.

Quando andavo verso valle, verso Cortemilia vedevo il Fiume Nero e questo gli dispiaceva tantissimo.

Q. Che emozione sentivi ?

L'impotenza, la voglia di vedere l'acqua trasparente, vedere i pesci.

Poi però nel momento in cui è cominciata la lotta allora ho partecipato volentieri. Bisognava cogliere la possibilità di recuperare il fiume e di restituire alle generazioni che venivano qualcosa di valore.

Io sono orgoglioso anche del Bormida. L'anno scorso ad esempio abbiamo fatto quella bella manifestazione in cui siamo andati a nuotare nel Bormida, è stato bellissimo dire "la gente può di nuovo andare a nuotare in un fiume" che significa riconquistare un qualcosa che si era perduto.

Q. Cosa ti piace fare quando pensi ai quei momenti degli anni 90?

Mi piace ricordare queste cose perché sono parte della storia e si impara da tutto e poi perché mi fanno apprezzare ancora di più il fatto di vedere che adesso è tutto recuperato, mi dà più felicità.

Io sono molto ottimista, cerco sempre di vedere il bicchiere mezzo pieno, è una cosa anche mi ha trasmesso mio padre.

Q. Secondo te a cosa serve l'orgoglio per il luogo? Serve a livello personale o anche per il luogo?

A livello personale io ricevo tantissimo da questo luogo e l'orgoglio serve a sentirsi bene. Se io fossi a Milano a Torino o anche solo ad Alba non mi sentirei così bene. E io penso che un giorno anche i miei figli che ora sono a Cortemilia o ad Alba, un giorno torneranno e si sentiranno molto bene.

Q. Mi sono reso conto che la gente è molto orgogliosa dei propri luoghi e mi chiedo a cosa serve questo orgoglio, perché si sia sviluppato ed evoluto. Secondo te perché abbiamo l'orgoglio?

Io penso che sia proprio ancestrale, è nel Dna.

Se tu stai bene in un posto e cerchi di migliorarlo ne guadagna il posto ma tu stai bene, ne guadagni in benessere.

Io non capisco come fai a vivere in quattro mura di una città dove apri la finestra e vedi un muro, dove senti solo odori di asfalto, solo puzza di macchine, di fabbriche. Che qualità è che qualità di vita hai? Sei come un pollo d'allevamento.

L'orgoglio dà un senso di vita. E' proprio il senso della vita, con la famiglia. Cosa c'è di migliore. Io non vedo altre cose migliori. Accumulare dei soldi? ma assolutamente no, i soldi quando ne hai abbastanza per fare le tue cose, il fisico? ma per carità.

Le amicizie vere sono importanti, gli amici sono parte di te se condividono il tuo amore per il luogo.

Quando arriva un amico e dice "che bel panorama che c'è qua" ti senti orgoglioso e poi allora inizi a spiegare che ci sono i castelli, che abbiamo le viti, le nocchie, il tartufo, la carne, il latte e questo ti fa sentire nel tuo posto che è il più bello del mondo e se loro condividono un po' di questa tua immagine ti fa sentire contento.

Q. Secondo te a cosa serve la vergogna?

La vergogna secondo me dovrebbe servire a dare una scossa alle persone, a far l'anima e dire "devo migliorare, non posso accettare una cosa del genere".

Quando ti vergogni devi fare in modo che questa cosa non si ripeta più. Fa venire in mente il buon proposito.

La vergogna secondo me deve costringere le persone a cambiare atteggiamento, a fare qualcosa per cambiare.

Quelli che non si vergognano è perché non sentono niente, gli indifferenti, e purtroppo ce ne sono.

Mi dispiace tantissimo vedere l'indifferenza nei giovani, vederli senza orgoglio.

Ma l'indifferenza c'è anche negli adulti, ad esempio nella scuola ho dei colleghi che non sono interessati a trasmettere l'amore per il luogo, secondo me invece è importante e continuo a farlo volentieri.

Le lezioni fuori sono lezioni che poi restano nella memoria, e così porto i ragazzi nei boschi, sul fiume, a Monteoliveto o in Val Bormida.

A volte quando sono in quinta chiedo ai miei alunni "Cos'è che vi ricordate di questi anni?" E loro mi dicono "ah si quella volta che siamo andati là" oppure "ti ricordi quella volta, maestro, che avevamo preso il pesciolino e quando il nostro compagno ha portato a scuola il gattino".

## Italy Urban area: Participant [ITU1]

Q. Mi puoi parlare della relazione che hai con i tuoi luoghi ?

Io tendo a stringere con i luoghi rapporti molto forti che addirittura a volte mi sembrano più forti rispetto a quelli umani. Quando ho bisogno di un po' di tempo per me sto da sola e scelgo uno dei miei luoghi particolari dove so che posso ricaricarmi e ritrovare nuova energia. Di solito sono luoghi che sono collegati ai miei ricordi, ai miei ricordi di quando ero bambina o ragazza.

Il mare per me è fondamentale appunto essendo nata a Genova, in Liguria, essere anche solo in prossimità del mare mi fa sentire già meglio.

Q. Come vedi in genere i rapporti tra gli umani ed i luoghi ?

Quello che ho notato, soprattutto in Liguria, è che le persone rimangono molto legate al loro luogo di nascita. Questa cosa però non l'ho vista in tutti i posti in cui sono stata. Ad esempio quando ho studiato a Padova ho visto che i veneti non hanno lo stesso livello di attaccamento all'ambiente rispetto ai Liguri. Quindi secondo me dipendevolmente dalla bellezza del luogo.

In generale i ragazzi della Liguria erano molto più legati ai loro ambienti e facevano proprio più fatica a lasciarli. Penso sia dovuto in parte alla bellezza dei posti ed in parte perché certi luoghi evidentemente scatenano un livello di attaccamento nelle persone che è maggiore.

Q. Quali caratteristiche hanno secondo te i luoghi dove si crea più connessione?

Una maggiore biodiversità.

Quindi un luogo che è più ricco di risorse, ad esempio la Liguria ha veramente tutto come ambiente perché abbiamo le montagne, abbiamo una grande vegetazione, abbiamo spiagge di sabbia, spiagge di scogli, un mare che è rimasto abbastanza pulito.

Q. Tu prima dicevi che se legata a quei posti in cui hai dei bei ricordi, puoi dirmi di più ?

Secondo me potremmo dire che il nostro cervello si crea una memoria dei luoghi in cui siamo stati bene nel passato e quindi automaticamente quando ci troviamo in quei luoghi è come se la registrazione di quei ricordi fosse più viva e quindi anche se magari in quel momento non stiamo proprio bene dentro di noi, solo stare in quel luogo porta ad un maggiore benessere.

Q. Secondo te vediamo i posti più belli quando c'è un ricordo?

Sì, almeno nel mio caso.

Q. Provi orgoglio per un luogo ? Se sì, qual'è? La città di Genova, la Liguria, l'Italia o per un luogo più circoscritto come un quartiere ? Qual'è il livello geografico dell'orgoglio che provi per il luogo?

Io sento l'orgoglio soprattutto nei confronti della Liguria in generale, non solo per Genova, il livello per me è regionale.

Q. Cosa significa la Genova per te, che rapporto avete ?

Negli ultimi dieci anni ho vissuto in tanti posti diversi però ho notato che tutte le volte che avevo bisogno di centrarmi e di stare tranquilla avevo il bisogno di tornare a Genova o di richiamarla alla mente anche ascoltando della musica. Ad esempio De André, che per me rappresenta casa quando sento nostalgia per i miei posti.

Q. Che cosa significa Genova o la Liguria per te ?

Significa tornare in contatto con me stessa ma significa anche rapporti importanti con le persone. A Genova, in Liguria, a parte la mia famiglia ci sono tutte le persone a me care da quando sono piccola.

Q. Possiamo dire che questi luoghi fanno parte della tua identità ?

Sì sì tantissimo.

Q. Ti vedi più come genovese o più come ligure?

Sicuramente quando mi definisco davanti a una persona che non conosco dico che sono genovese.

Q. Cosa ti viene in mente quando pensi all'orgoglio per questi luoghi? Mi viene in mente soprattutto la bellezza e qui non mi riferisco tanto a Genova, quanto più alla Liguria. Ad esempio penso alle Cinque Terre, Portofino, o tutti quei luoghi che lasciano veramente a bocca aperta da quanto sono belli.

L'orgoglio è legato a dei luoghi che conosco bene e che secondo me hanno una grande bellezza di paesaggio.

Q. La bellezza dei luoghi che conosci bene si riferisce solo alla natura o anche all'architettura, alla storia ?

L'architettura mi ricorda più i fatti umani, sicuramente è importante però mi ricorda più la città e le cose dell'uomo.

Come ti dicevo prima essendo più legata ai luoghi che alle persone, quando parlo di bellezza mi riferisco di più a guardare

l'orizzonte, il mare o salire su una montagna e guardare il panorama dall'alto.

In Liguria per me l'orgoglio è legato a San Desiderio ed Apparizione che sono quei luoghi in cui andavo quando ero ragazza, prendevo lo zaino e scappavo là.

Q. Quando pensi all'orgoglio per il luogo quali sono le prime parole che ti vengono in mente? ( massimo dieci )

Bellezza

Maestosità

Emozioni

Fiducia

Sicurezza. Perché quando sono in quei luoghi mi riconnetto con me stessa e sono più sicura di me.

Calore

Ricchezza. Nel senso di ricchezza naturale

Q. Quali sono tra queste le tre parole più importanti ?

Fiducia

Sicurezza

Bellezza

Q. Quali sono specifici punti o zone a cui sei legata che colleghi all'orgoglio per il luogo ?

Apparizione, San desiderio, Vernazzola, vicino a boccadasse.

Quando sto tanto via dalla mia città ed ho bisogno di ricollegarmi vado lì. Soprattutto Vernazzola che è questa spiaggetta che conoscono solo i genovesi, non è stata invasa dai turisti e quindi rimane un luogo molto autoctono, molto vero, sembra che negli anni non sia mai cambiato ma sia rimasto sempre uguale a se stesso.

Q. Hai mai sentito vergogna per questi luoghi ?

la vergogna è legata solo ai fatti umani. In questo periodo storico l'Italia in generale non è in grado di valorizzare la bellezza che ha.

La politica, la mala politica, tutte le schifezze che avvengono a livello regionale e statale poi purtroppo influiscono anche sul sentimento dell'individuo che non ha più speranza per il futuro.

I fatti umani purtroppo riescono ad influenzare anche la connessione che si ha con il proprio posto, che invece dovrebbe essere sganciata da queste cose.

A volte mi capita di sentire questo senso di vergogna legato al non saper gestire bene un luogo e soprattutto a renderlo inospitale per i giovani, motivo per cui c'è una grande emigrazione degli italiani all'estero.

Q. Secondo te la vergogna quindi è molto legata alla politica o diresti più alla mentalità?

Prima a livello politico poi c'è da dire che i genovesi sono famosi per essere un popolo poco ospitale, chiusi verso il nuovo.

Per me che al contrario ho una mentalità molto aperta nei confronti di quello che non conosco, questa attitudine può essere motivo di vergogna ma in realtà a livello storico secondo me questa chiusura dei genovesi non va legata alla vergogna ma proprio all'orgoglio, come se il genovese non volesse che i suoi luoghi venissero inquinati da presenze esterne.

C'è un senso di conservazione che chiude ma aiuta anche a preservare la ricchezza del posto.

Q. Quindi abbiamo una stessa fonte per orgoglio e vergogna ?

Esatto

Q. C'è un punto della Liguria o di Genova che associ alla vergogna?

una zona del centro storico in cui ho anche vissuto per un anno e mezzo che si chiama "il ghetto di Genova"

Lì, con un mio amico, avevamo fatto anche un comitato di quartiere per cercare di togliere la spazzatura, i topi.

È una zona veramente abbandonata di Genova, una delle tante perché ce ne sono parecchie di zone così, mi era piaciuto molto essere parte attiva, andare nelle camere politiche per parlare di queste cose.

Diciamo che la partecipazione aveva alimentato la mia identità legata a Genova.

Allo stesso tempo però mi rendevo conto dei gravi problemi in cui è immersa quella zona e ovviamente anche abituarci.

Mi fa sentire molto la vergogna perché non è dignitoso vivere in mezzo alla spazzatura, ai topi, ai tossici.

Anche una persona forte, che magari non se ne rende conto però è influenzata sicuramente a livello psicologico dal fatto di vivere in un ambiente che è inquinato e pieno di criminalità.

La vergogna l'ho sentita solo in quel caso lì, un quartiere storico con palazzi del 1400 che ha un valore incredibile, abbandonato diventava vergognoso.

Q. Quale pensi che sia l'origine del tuo orgoglio per il luogo? Sei nata già con l'orgoglio intrinseco o si è formato nel corso della vita?

Nella storia della mia famiglia mia madre veniva dal Sud Italia, dalla Basilicata mentre mio padre dall'Emilia Romagna quindi io stessa non ho delle radici Liguri ma essendoci nata ovviamente ho creato poi un grande legame con essa. In più è anche il luogo dove la mia famiglia è riuscita a emergere dalla condizione operaia e contadina di povertà, trasferendosi a



Genova hanno iniziato a costruire delle basi più solide, che permettevano loro, grazie al lavoro, di vivere meglio, quindi direi che è possibile che fin da piccola abbia sentito questa sorta di rivalta storica della mia famiglia che ha scelto un luogo, che tra l'altro è molto bello, che è stato poi la base per costruire una vita migliore.

Q. Quindi Senti gratitudine per la tua città ?  
Sì assolutamente sì.

Q. Questa gratitudine si unisce all'orgoglio ?  
C'è sempre una base di orgoglio nel parlare dei miei luoghi quindi sì sicuramente questo senso di gratitudine è collegato a tutto quello che la Terra mi ha potuto offrire mentre vivevo lì.

Q. L'origine della vergogna invece ?  
L'avevi provata anche prima di vivere in quel quartiere ?  
Dal punto di vista umano, quando ero a Genova ho avuto delle brutte esperienze a scuola e trovarmi male in quella scuola, provare vergogna ha segnato per me l'inizio dell'età adulta. In questo caso comunque erano altri esseri umani che mi portavano a sentire la vergogna.  
Dal punto di vista dei luoghi, invece, ho iniziato a sentirla quando mi sono allontanata da Genova e non potevo tornare quando volevo.  
Quando sono andata ad abitare per la prima volta fuori da Genova, a Padova, ho iniziato a sentire un pò di sofferenza perché essendo a cinquecento chilometri non potevo tornare tutte le volte che volevo e quindi quindi mi è nata fuori.

Q. A questa domanda in realtà hai già risposto ma se vuoi aggiungere qualcosa, ci sono aspetti del luogo, materiali o immateriali, che sono associati all'orgoglio ed alla vergogna?  
Sicuramente una cosa che mi fa male dei miei luoghi, che però è sempre solo legato alle persone, perché sono loro il problema non i luoghi, è la chiusura.  
Mi capitava di portare delle persone di Padova a Genova e mentre io cercavo di far conoscere loro i miei gruppi di amicizie, queste amicizie si dimostravano molto chiuse nei confronti di ciò che era diverso. Il luogo in sé mi scaturiva sempre orgoglio, per la sua bellezza, ma il confronto con le persone del luogo, invece, mi faceva nascere un senso di vergogna perché mi sarebbe piaciuto che avessero un approccio più aperto e disponibile nei confronti di chi non conosce i loro luoghi.

Q. Mi puoi raccontare un ricordo in cui ti sei sentita orgogliosa dei tuoi luoghi?  
Nel 2016 con un gruppo di amici andavamo spesso a fare arrampicata su roccia a Finale Ligure e grazie allo sport ho conosciuto delle zone della Liguria fantastiche che non conoscevo ed in cui mai sarei andata.  
In quell'occasione il senso di orgoglio è aumentato.

Q. Questo ricordo che emozioni o pensieri ti fa scaturire?  
Senso di pace, di unione e di connessione.  
Gioia, felicità e gratitudine

Q. Quando pensi a questo ricordo, cosa vorresti fare ?  
Se penso all'orgoglio che provo per i miei luoghi, mi piacerebbe tornarci e dare il mio contributo, portare innovazione nella valorizzazione di quei luoghi

Q. Mi puoi raccontare un ricordo in cui ti sei vergognata dei tuoi luoghi ?  
Quando vivevo nel ghetto stavo sviluppando con un'amica un progetto per migliorare il quartiere ma purtroppo lo dovetti abbandonare perché mi occupava tantissimo tempo e non mi permetteva di guadagnare nulla. Se ci fosse stato un contributo di riconoscimento al lavoro che stavo facendo, anche minimo, avrei continuato.  
Doverlo abbandonare nonostante ci credessi molto mi ha fatto vergognare della cattiva gestione delle risorse.

Q. Quali sono le altre emozioni legate a questo ricordo?  
Rabbia e tristezza

Q. Quando pensi a questo ricordo, cosa vorresti fare ?  
Creare un progetto stabile che possa rimediare al sentimento di vergogna che ho provato per i miei luoghi.  
Cambiare le dinamiche del quartiere all'interno di un progetto riconosciuto.  
Dare spazio ad un gruppo di persone che possano lavorare attivamente per migliorare l'ambiente in cui vivono.

Q. Secondo te questi sentimenti di vergogna ed orgoglio nei confronti dei luoghi a cosa servono ?  
Sono un modo per entrare in contatto con l'ambiente e che ci danno delle indicazioni sulle nostre azioni: se abbiamo dei comportamenti che sono coerenti ed in sintonia con quello che siamo, proviamo orgoglio e siamo più sereni, se invece abbiamo dei comportamenti che per vari motivi non coincidono con ciò che abbiamo dentro, cadiamo in un senso di vergogna.

Q. Vuoi condividere qualche altro pensiero ?

Tutte le persone dovrebbero essere aiutate a provare sentimenti positivi per i loro luoghi, dovrebbe essere un diritto umano.

Bisognerebbe rendere i cittadini più attivi nei cambiamenti dei propri luoghi dando loro la possibilità di essere orgogliosi di essi.

Q. Come si può fare ?

Creando tanti comitati di quartiere. Creare dei luoghi in cui le persone possono parlare, conoscersi, fare dei progetti, magari avendo anche la possibilità di accedere a dei fondi.

## Italian Urban Area: Participant [ITU2]

Q. Che rapporto hai con la tua città?

Io abito a Genova da quando sono piccolo perché sono Nato in Venezuela, da genitori migranti che sono andati in Venezuela con il barcone, poi per problemi di salute di mio fratello hanno deciso di tornare, io avevo un anno e mezzo, e si sono fermati a Genova nonostante fossero di origine Modenese, quindi mi ritengo di origine genovese al 100% dopo sessantasei anni.

Io mi sono sempre trovato benissimo a Genova, nonostante i genovesi abbiano un carattere poco sociale, però è una bellissima città, dove puoi trovare tutto, è una città storica, se vuoi andare al mare puoi farlo, se vuoi andare in montagna, anche.

Sono molto attaccato alla mia città, la amo.

Q. Cosa significa Genova per te? Io ho lavorato a Genova, anche se adesso sono in pensione, ed ho fatto attività sociali a Genova a favore di molti lavoratori, abbiamo creato un coordinamento a cui hanno aderito circa mille persone, io ero il presidente, per ottenere benefici per esposizione all'amianto, con l'aiuto di un avvocato.

Ho avuto la possibilità di confrontarmi con tantissime persone e di essere anche aiutato da molti di queste, colleghi amici. Sono anche entrato all'interno di una associazione consumatori, che poi ho lasciato perché quando uscivo da lì ero sempre arrabbiato per come le grandi società, compagnie telefoniche e quant'altro, cercavano di fregare i cittadini.

Per questi motivi ho avuto molti contatti con i genovesi e con la città, ho avuto modo di incontrare sindaci, assessori e adesso con la nuova associazione di cui sono presidente stiamo organizzando delle gite per la città perché moltissime persone non la conoscono bene ed è invece giusto che si conoscano tutti gli angoli della città.

Qualche anno fa avevamo fatto una gita di un giorno nella città, ed avevo scoperto luoghi che non conoscevo, in cui non ero mai stato. Ad esempio il centro storico è il più grande d'Europa come dimensione quindi non si finisce mai di scoprire nuovi palazzi, strade, monumenti, insomma è una città da scoprire.

Quando ho compiuto sessanta anni figli ed amici mi hanno regalato un viaggio in moto dall'Olanda alla Georgia passando per la Turchia.

In Turchia ho scoperto delle cose dei genovesi pazzesche, non so se sai che la bandiera genovese era temuta dai pirati di allora perché i genovesi li massacravano ogni volta, quindi la bandiera veniva comprata dagli armatori per evitare che venissero attaccati. La bandiera fu venduta anche all'Inghilterra che aggiunse al croce di Sant'Andrea, la bandiera inglese è nata dalla bandiera genovese.

In Turchia ho trovato delle postazioni genovesi che mi hanno anche inorgoglito, che venivano usati come basi per i viaggi dall'Asia.

Come sono tornato da questo viaggio ho cercato dei libri che parlassero della storia della repubblica genovese.

Quella vacanza quindi ha fatto sì che io mi inorgogliessi ulteriormente di Genova.

Eravamo passati dalla città di sanzioni che i genovesi avevano raso al suolo e bruciato, erano tremendi.

Q. Quindi andando fuori ti sei inorgoglito ancora di più ?

Sì, poi in Turchia abbiamo trovato un'ospitalità incredibile cosa che invece manca ai genovesi che infatti sono famosi per il loro essere inospitali.

Q. L'orgoglio che provi per Genova è basato solo sulla storia o ci sono altre cause?

No, anche per il pesto o per il panettone genovese, che da qualche anno preparo per Natale, che è un dolce tipico.

Nonostante io abbia più origini modenesi, emiliane, cerco di portare avanti le tradizioni della città in cui vivo.

Non so bene da dove derivi questo orgoglio genovese ma mi ritengo genovese a tutti gli effetti e sono contento di esserlo.

Q. Questo orgoglio non ti è stato trasferito dai tuoi genitori, che provenivano da altri luoghi

Sì, è cresciuto nel tempo, vivendo insieme ai genovesi.

Io sono una persona abbastanza ospitale, questa mia indole mi ha portato a conoscere tanta gente, anche molto brava, e a nutrire rispetto per i genovesi.

Ho tanti amici genovesi e ci vado veramente tanto d'accordo.

Q. Hai mai provato vergogna per Genova?

Non mi sembra di essermi mai vergognato della mia città, anzi, quando ci sono state le colombiane, il cinquecentenario della scoperta dell'America, ho scoperto alcune cose su Cristoforo Colombo o che mi hanno fatto vergognare di essere genovese.

Quando ha scoperto l'America sembra che non abbia rispettato i nativi ma anzi li abbia decapitati.

Per il resto non mi vengono in mente motivi per cui non dovrei essere orgoglioso.

Q. Come ti senti riguardo alla fama dei genovesi di non essere ospitali ?

Io sono molto ospitale ma in effetti la non ospitalità ligure è molto famosa e io ne ho avuto anche a che fare. Ad esempio una volta sono andato a comprare un gelato e sembrava che mi stessero facendo un favore nel servirmi, tanto che stavo per andarmene senza gelato.

Q. Orgoglio

Ho lavorato in una grande azienda genovese con sede a Genova che mi ha reso molto orgoglioso, lavoravamo in tutto il mondo, eravamo famosi nel mondo per la nostra opera, impianti.

L'acciaieria di Taranto ad esempio l'abbiamo profettata e costruita noi, poi centrali elettriche, centrali a carbone. Ho girato il mondo grazie alla società, in Cina sono stato 30 volte.

Un altro aspetto è la geografia

Abbiamo mari, monti, un clima perfetto, non conosciamo la nebbia

Q. Ci sono anche aspetti materiali che ti rendono orgoglioso di Genova? Un luogo specifico?

Boccadasse. Un piccolo borgo tipicamente genovese sul mare, dove le case hanno i colori genovesi, c'è la spiaggia, ci sono gli scogli, le barche dei pescatori, una gelateria buonissima ed un bar famoso per la grande scelta di whisky.

Il porto antico dopo essere stato riprogettato dall'architetto Renzo Piano, altro orgoglio genovese.

Q. Mi potresti dire 3 o 4 parole che ti vengono in mente quando pensi all'orgoglio per un luogo?

Parlando di Boccadasse

-Tipicità

-Colori. Nella provincia di Genova ed in Liguria in generale, le case vengono dipinte con i tipici colori pastello, verde, giallo, rosa.

-Armonia. Tutto ciò che si trova a Boccadasse

- Bellezza

- Alimentazione e bontà. Troviamo la focaccia che fa il panificio "dau pestun" che è un simbolo genovese fortissimo, ed i gelati di Amedeo, buonissimi.

Q. Mi puoi raccontare un momento in cui ti sei sentito molto orgoglioso di Genova?

In Giappone, ero all'aeroporto di Osaka, stupendo, e un giapponese mi aveva detto che era stato progettato da Renzo Piano.

Disse "È genovese come te" ed in quel momento mi sentii molto orgoglioso di essere genovese come Renzo Piano.

Che emozioni hai sentito in quel momento oltre all'orgoglio?

La gioia di far parte di una città che ha dato i natali a molte persone famose che hanno fatto la storia.

Partendo da Colombo ed arrivando a Renzo Piano.

In Spagna, ma anche in altri stati, mi è capitato di dire di essere di Genova e mi la risposta è stata "Ah, la città di Cristoforo Colombo che ha scoperto l'America", tralasciando il fatto che Colombo non si comportò bene con i nativi americani, comunque scoprì un nuovo continente, e questa è una cosa che inorgolisce perché ti senti parte della storia mondiale.

Q. Pensando a quando ti sei sentito orgoglioso, faresti qualcosa di pratico?

Io come tu dicevo sono stato molto attivo dal punto di vista sociale, ora un po' meno ma comunque lo sono ancora.

Ad esempio ho aiutato un politico che si era candidato sindaco alle ultime elezioni perché mi piaceva la sua idea di pulire e riqualificare la zona dei vicoli che ad oggi in alcune zone sono ancora fatiscenti, sporchi e problematici. Purtroppo non ha vinto ma io almeno ho dato il mio contributo, perché alcune situazioni per essere cambiate hanno bisogno della politica, problemi di mafia, droga, furti, prostituzione, se fossero eliminati la zona diventerebbe davvero bellissima.

Q. Puoi raccontarmi invece un momento in cui ti sei vergognato di Genova o dei genovesi o anche solo di una persona in particolare?

La più grossa vergogna è stata la caduta del ponte Morandi. Persino a Siviglia, dove siamo stati a Capodanno sapevano del crollo del ponte. Non si può accettare una cosa del genere, è una vergogna enorme che siano morte delle persone per la mancata manutenzione del ponte.

Q. Che emozioni provi quando pensi a questo fatto?

Paura. Passammo sul ponte il giorno prima per andare all'aeroporto

Rabbia. È inaccettabile che non abbiano fatto la manutenzione corretta. Sentimento di rabbia che ho tutt'ora quando percorro le autostrade liguri che sono piene di cantieri, carreggiate da tre corsie dove solo una è utilizzabile, mi chiedo "servivano quarantatré morti per far fare i lavori di manutenzione".

Q. Secondo te questo fatto ha cambiato il rapporto che hanno i genovesi con Genova?

C'è del rancore verso le amministrazioni passate che non hanno controllato, perché si è il ponte era sotto la responsabilità di Autostrade per l'Italia ma essendo su Genova anche l'amministrazione comunale/regionale avrebbe dovuto essere attenta.

Rancore anche per il disagio che abbiamo avuto e continuiamo ad avere nella viabilità. Avevo anche proposto a 3 studi legali una class action contro autostrade ma non mi hanno dato seguito.

Q. Secondo te a cosa serve questo orgoglio che le persone provano per la loro città ?

In un momento di globalizzazione come questo fissarsi sulla propria città sarebbe contraddittorio, ma se una città ti ha dato tanto e ti piace, nasce comunque un legame che rimane per sempre.

## Italian Urban Area: Participant [ITU3]

Q. Incominciamo con un paio di domande sul tuo rapporto con Genova.

Parlami della relazione che hai con i luoghi che sono importanti per te, cosa significano e perché sono importanti.

Allora, noi abbiamo la fortuna di avere il mare che secondo me per i genovesi e per i liguri è la libertà. Abbiamo la fortuna di poter vedere verso l'orizzonte e questo ci dà libertà, ci dà apertura e ci dà, per quanto possa essere assurdo, sicurezza. Il mare è il nostro porto sicuro, è il punto di riferimento per l'anima. Per un genovese avere il mare, vuol dire casa. per un genovese è difficile andare a vivere in un luogo dove non ci sia il mare, perché non ci può essere casa senza il mare.

Ad esempio io quando facevo il tirocinio, spesso, dopo aver fatto la notte, mi fermavo a Santa Chiara, che è un punto panoramico di Genova dove puoi vedere la riviera di levante fino al monte di Portofino, mi sedevo lì e guardavo l'alba. A Genova ti puoi godere un momento così, in cui ti centri un po' su te stesso e sulla natura.

Genova mi dà questa opportunità allo stesso tempo però non me la dà altre.

Genova rimarrà sempre la città che amo, in cui io sono nata e cresciuta, ma in cui non voglio continuare a crescere.

Per quanto io sia legata a questa città in modo carnale, non riesco a vederla come una città in cui si possa crescere ininterrottamente, ad un certo punto inizia a starti stretta e la vorresti abbandonare.

Così la lasci per vedere altre realtà, ma la cosa bella è che quando torni ti senti nuovamente a casa, segui le correnti del mare alla ricerca di altre terre e sempre il mare è lì ad aspettarti, maestoso ed accogliente, quando torni.

Genova è sicurezza, come una mamma protettiva da cui vuoi scappare per andare all'avventura, libero e spericolato, e da cui torni quando hai voglia di un abbraccio, rendendoti conto di quanto sia bella e di quanto ti sia mancata.

Q. Genova è un porto sicuro per la come città in se o anche per la sua anima sociale ?

Anche per l'aspetto sociale, Genova è dove c'è la mia famiglia, dove ci sono i miei amici, molti dei quali non sono disposti ad andarsene, altri invece si sono trasferiti ma appena possono tornano. Genova è una piazza dove ci sono tante cose e che raccoglie tutti. E' sempre diversa per il via vai delle persone ma la sua essenza rimane immutata, non si evolve, rimane statica.

Il genovese è abitudinario.

A me Genova ha dato la possibilità di formarmi professionalmente, prima osteopatia e poi ostetricia, non tutti hanno la fortuna di studiare quello che vogliono nella loro città natale, anche solo dal punto di vista economico, mi ha permesso di restare con la mia famiglia senza dovermi trasferire.

Genova è una buona base, un trampolino di lancio.

Q. prima hai detto che gli amici che si sono trasferiti altrove, tornano, secondo te perché tornano?

Per la famiglia sicuramente, per gli amici, e poi perché a Genova si sta bene, se tu vieni qui tra maggio e ottobre è vacanza perché con il motorino in un quarto d'ora sei in spiaggia.

Genova poi è come un paese, incontri 10.000 persone in una giornata, se giri incontri persone con cui sei stata alle elementari, alle medie, al catechismo, agli scout.

È bella perché è casa, è meno bella perché non è crescita, non è opportunità... magari anche per colpa nostra, perché non ci siamo mai sbattuti per farla crescere, perché alla fine ci va bene così. Il progresso fa paura, uno può decidere di rimanere nel proprio orticello a coltivare la sua insalatina e finché mangi insalata va tutto bene, non muori di fame.

Q. Tu sei orgogliosa di Genova ?

Si è no.

Sono fiera di dire "vengo da Genova " perché ci sono molte cose belle, quando vengono a trovarmi degli amici da fuori ho tantissimi posti da mostrar loro, tanti cibi ottimi da fargli provare ... ma sono tutte cose che ci sono da sempre, il pesto c'è da sempre, spianata castelletto c'è da sempre, anche solo uscire dall'autostrada a Genova nervi il paesaggio è bello, se venisse un olandese gli direi di andare a Camogli, perché è stupenda, ma tutti questi simboli della città, non sono cose innovative.

Orgogliosa per risultati ottenuti, ni, abbiamo il gaslini, siamo bravi nella medicina pediatrica ma non so in che cosa abbiamo reso il mondo un posto migliore. L'orgoglio inteso in quel senso non lo sento.

Orgoglio per l'eredità culturale invece si, abbiamo dei palazzi incredibili, i vicoli, i rolli.

Anche dal punto di vista botanico abbiamo un clima pazzesco, una grandissima varietà di piante, l'orto botanico di via balbi è bellissimo ma purtroppo è aperto solo al mattino ed in questo modo i bambini ad esempio non lo possono visitare perché al mattino sono a scuola.

Abbiamo ereditato tanto è stiamo portando avanti ciò che ci è stato tramandato senza migliorarlo o incrementarlo.

Q. Pensando all'orgoglio che provi per Genova, mi puoi dire le prime parole che ti vengono in mente ?

Arrangiarsi

Economy

Genialità

Di gusto

Ricchezza interiore

Passione

Fantasia

Resilienza

Q. Tra queste parole quali sono le tre più importanti ?

Resilienza

Genialità

Arrangiarsi, il genovese sa tirare fuori il meglio da ciò che lo circonda. Ad esempio nel mondo dell'agricoltura, riuscire a crearsi uno spazio tra mare e monti, o la capacità di rimboccarsi le maniche ad ogni calamità naturale che ha colpito la città.

Il genovese si piega ma non si rompe mai.

Q. Hai mai provato un senso di vergogna per Genova ?

Si perché troppo spesso non dimostriamo di essere quello che siamo, io mi vergogno quando non tiriamo fuori i denti, quando ci lamentiamo e non usiamo le nostre risorse.

Ad esempio, quando il ponte Morandi è caduto le persone hanno iniziato subito a lamentarsi, ma le parole non cambiano la realtà, la cambiano i fatti. È un peccato perché quando invece i genovesi si uniscono e si rimboccano le maniche riescono a fare grandi cose, e si è visto con l'alluvione.

Io mi vergogno quando vedo che le persone si comportano egoisticamente e non dedicano abbastanza delle loro energie solo per il fatto che una faccenda non li tocchi da vicino, ma tutti siamo parti di una città e di un mondo.

Se tutti fossimo più attenti e ci impegnassimo di più riusciremmo a fare molto.

Q. Questa attitudine pensi sia tipica dei genovesi o credi che si estenda anche alla Liguria e all'Italia ?

Penso sia una problematica degli uomini, di solito si tende a curare solo il proprio orto.

Q. Tornando invece alla sensazione di orgoglio, quale pensi sia l'origine ?

La scuola. Io ho frequentato la scuola germanica che ci hanno fatto conoscere e studiare le bellezze della città; ci facevano fare delle lezioni in cui parlavamo a dei ragazzi tedeschi della nostra città.

In generale raccontare ai non genovesi la mia città, sono sempre stata felice di far vedere loro cos'è casa mia e questo mi ha portata ad individuare le qualità della città, le sue meraviglie e trovare sempre degli interlocutori entusiasti ha fatto nascere in me un orgoglio da feedback, vedere chi viene da fuori ammaliato dalla bellezza di Genova, mi fa essere fiera di essere genovese.

Q. Quali sono i luoghi o gli aspetti specifici, anche non materiali, che ti rendono fiera ?

La parte marittima, il porto.

Il centro storico

Q. Quali invece ti hanno fatta vergognare rispetto al ponte ?

La differenza di trattamento riservata al quartiere sottostante il ponte, non essendo un quartiere ricco hanno lasciato le persone senza una casa per mesi. Mi vergogno quando le questioni economiche e burocratiche prevalgono sull'umanità.

Q. Mi puoi esporre una situazione in cui ti sei sentita molto orgogliosa della tua città?

Nel 2014 durante l'ultima alluvione.

Stavo camminando per la strada con la divisa della croce e molte persone mi hanno fermata per chiedermi come potevano aiutare.

Ora, durante il coronavirus, qualcuno ha messo davanti agli ospedali e le croci rosse dei lenzuoli con sopra scritto : grazie per non mollare mai.

Sembra una cosa da poco ma senza voler riconoscimenti, senza imbrattare i muri, si sono espressi con umiltà e hanno manifestato la loro vicinanza e riconoscenza.

Q. Quali sentimenti provi quando ripensi a questi accadimenti?

Gioia, Fierezza.

Q. Ripensando sempre a quei momenti, cosa vorresti fare, ad oggi come contribuiresti ?

Io non sono una persona che inizia, ma sono brava a portare avanti. Ad esempio ho pubblicizzato la campagna di un mio amico che ha fatto delle lezioni di allenamenti per raccogliere fondi da devolvere all'ospedale San Martino.

Sostengo le iniziative valide, utili e che possono apportare un cambiamento positivo

Q. Momenti specifici in cui ti sei vergognata di Genova ?

Ora con il coronavirus, mi vergogno dei cittadini che non rispettano le regole ed escono di casa tanto per fare una passeggiata. È una vergogna mista a rabbia.

Q. Provi altre emozioni oltre alla rabbia ?

Mi da fastidio rendermi conto del fatto che siamo persone stupide, perché basterebbe davvero poco per non esserlo. Comunque anche se provo rabbia cerco di vedere quello che accade di positivo.

Q. Quando pensi a questi momenti di vergogna, ti vengono in mente delle azioni da fare a riguardo ?

No, più che altro cerco di convogliare le energie su quello che c'è di positivo. Per il resto ci penserà la selezione naturale.

Se c'è il coronavirus, esci di casa, te lo prendi e poi muori, te la sei andata a cercare.

Così come quando fai qualcosa di male e ti sporchi la fedina penale, sono affari tuoi.

Q. Secondo te le emozioni di orgoglio e vergogna a cosa servono per l'uomo ?

Servono per migliorarsi.

L'energia che senti quando sei orgoglioso, è positiva, così come lo è la vergogna.

Se io mi vergogno e tengo ad una cosa, allora faccio di tutto per migliorarla.

Se una persona a cui voglio bene fa qualcosa in pubblico che secondo me non è appropriata o rovina la sua persona o lo mette in una brutta posizione, dicendoglielo lo aiuto a migliorarsi o a proteggersi, comunque lo aiuto.

I feedback positivi e negativi fanno nascere delle energie che creano del positivo. Soprattutto in un periodo come il nostro in cui quello che gli altri pensano di noi a volte è più importante di quello che pensiamo noi di noi stessi.



## Netherlands Rural Area: Participant [NLR1]

Q: Wat is het eerste wat in je opkomt als het gaat over de relatie tussen de plaats waar je woont en de mensen zelf, of tussen mensen in het algemeen?

De plaats waar mensen wonen vormt een beetje hoe mensen zichzelf zien, maar ook andersom. Wat is bij jou iets wat als eerste in je opkomt als het gaat over die relatie tussen de mens en de plaats van herkomst?

A: Ik vind het wel een hele prettige plaats om in te wonen. Ik heb wel interactie, want ik doe natuurlijk ook het volksfeest. Dat heb ik gedaan, en dat doe ik nu weer. Je probeert de mensen dan toch wel iets te krijgen, dat dan nu de zondag in Aalten erbij is. En dat hebben we dan geprobeerd, en dat is nu gelukt. Daar ben ik wel heel trots op. Dat we dat samen met de bevolking... En toch alle groepen in hun waarde laten. Mensen kunnen 's morgens toch eerst naar de kerk gaan. Vanaf één uur kun je op de markt, het gezellig samenzijn dus.

Q: Dat die verandering er is? Dat mensen ook wel bereid zijn om te veranderen?

A: Zeker. En dat heeft denk ik te maken met dat we allemaal jonger worden en niet meer dat ouderwetse van vroeger: de zondag is echt helemaal heilig. Want twee of drie supermarkten in Aalten zijn ook open.

Q: Ja, dat is wel heel erg veranderd.

A: Dus ja, ik vind het wel leuk dat we dat bereikt hebben. En dan ben ik ook wel echt trots op ons clubje dat we dat toen gemaakt hebben. En ik heb hier natuurlijk mijn vrienden. Mijn ouders waren hier komen te wonen. Ja, en dan is het toch wel leuk om hier te wonen dan.

Q: Wat betekent eigenlijk deze plaats voor jou?

A: Ik ben hier eigenlijk... Ik ben hier niet geboren, maar ik ben hier wel opgetogen. En ja, ik vind het wel een hele leuke plaats. Maar als ze zouden zeggen: 'Je moet morgen ergens anders zijn', dan is het ook goed. Dat heb ik van huis uit wel geleerd. 'Waar je werk is, is je vaderland' wordt er dan gezegd. Ik zal er altijd wel naar blijven trekken, maar het is niet zo dat ik hier echt permanent moet blijven wonen.

Het is nu gewoon omdat we hier gesetteld zijn en Ton werkt in Aalten. Maar stel je voor dat hij naar een ander gedeelte moet, dan gaan we daar ook heen. Daar sta ik wel voor open.

Q: Maar je bent wel heel actief bij de plaats betrokken. Ondanks dat je zegt: het kan best zijn dat ik in de toekomst ergens anders ga wonen.

A: Dat vind ik (onverstaanbaar) opzeggen, en je kunt in een andere plaats ook weer zoiets gaan doen. Ik doe ook vrijwilligerswerk bij het (onverstaanbaar) met die oudjes. Dat is ook met dementerende mensen. Nou, die weten het toch niet meer. Na 5 minuten zijn ze me weer vergeten. Maar dat geeft ook wel voldoening. Maar het is nog niet zo dat ik daarvoor hier moet blijven.

Q: En als het gaat over trots zijn. Of het nu jouw trots is of trots in het algemeen, wat komt er dan als eerste in je op? Trots zijn op waar je vandaan komt?

A: Dat vind ik wel een hele moeilijke vraag. Dat geef ik wel eerlijk toe. Ja, waar ben ik dan trots op? Ja, eigenlijk wel wat we in Aalten bereikt hebben. Van echt een heel fijn dorp naar dat Aalten toch wel iets meer toegankelijker is geworden. Nog niet helemaal. Kijk, Lichtenvoorde worden we nooit. Die zijn veel opener en doen veel meer dingen. Maar ik vind toch wel: door de loop der jaren heen is Aalten wel naar mijn idee erg vooruitgegaan. Ja, daar ben ik dan wel trots op.

Q: En zijn er ook nog andere dingen waarvan je zegt: 'Nou, daar ben ik nou echt wel trots op'? Dat mag ook wat breder: de Achterhoek, dat hoeft niet persé Aalten te zijn.

A: Ik denk dat we natuurlijk wel trots op de Achterhoek moeten zijn, dat we toch nog een beetje het noaberschap hebben. We kijken om naar de mensen. Nu is het wel iets anders, dat er iets meer jongelui in de buurt zijn komen wonen. Maar vroeger, als ik papa dan misschien een paar dagen niet gezien had, de buurman van: 'Hee, wat is hier aan de hand?' Of 'Hee, hier klopt iets niet, die auto staat al zo lang.' Op zich vind ik dat wel heel goed.

Mijn oma heeft in Den Haag gewoond, en dan praat ik echt wel over meer dan 25 jaar geleden. Toen wisten ze soms niet eens of die ene buurman er nu wel was of niet. Kijk, dat zal hier niet gebeuren.

Q: Ja, dat klopt. Dat zie ik wel vaker. Ook wel gezien dat mensen dat noaberschap heel fijn vinden. Naar elkaar omkijken als het ware.

A: Het hoeft niet zoals nu.... Sjors vroeg laatst, iets met startkabels, en dan vraagt hij even 'Moet ik je helpen? Want ik ga zo weg en dan is er niemand thuis...' Nou, dat doe je gewoon even. Maar in de grote stad zouden ze denken: 'Oh die is bezig met zijn auto, gauw wegwezen.' Gewoon het begrip dat hier in de Achterhoek nog... Wat je dan ook ziet, de Zwarte Cross, dat het allemaal zo leuk kan. Dat mensen van heinde en ver komen van: 'Hoe krijgen jullie dat voor elkaar?'

Ja, dat geeft mij dan wel een gevoel van trots van: 'Dat doen wij toch wel mooi even!'

Q: Dus ook festivals of activiteiten?

A: Ja ook in Ruurlo, dat is toch ook 'Manana Manana'? (onverstaanbaar)

Dat zijn van die festivals waar toch een hele gemoedelijke sfeer is, en waar toch heel veel mensen uit bijna het hele land komen.

En twee jaar geleden waren wij naar André Rieu in Maastricht. En daar waren mensen uit België die zeiden: 'Oh wij gaan zelfs naar de Zwarte Cross! Waar komen jullie dan vandaan?'

'Ja, Aalten, Aalten!'

'Zwarte Cross?'

'Ja ja, daar komen we vandaan, daar in de buurt.'

Dat geeft dan toch wel iets van... Ja, dat redden we dan wel even. Maar wat mij zelf wel heel erg stoort is dat heel veel Nederlanders de Achterhoek en Twente door elkaar halen.

Dan ben ik echt trots op de Achterhoek, maar niet op Twente. Maar dat vind ik wel jammer dat ze ons over één kam scheren.

Q: Ja, dat heb ik ook, ja. Dat ze dat bij elkaar zeggen.

A: Ja, dat stoort mij soms heel erg. Maar goed, dat is mijn optie. Dat zeg ik wel heel eerlijk.

Q: En naast die dingen die je noemt, dus bijvoorbeeld ook nog een landschap ofzo? Vind je er ook nog iets...?

A: Ja, ik vind het glooiend landschap en dat coulisse landschap wat we hier hebben... Als je het dorp maar uitgaat en je gaat richting Haart. Dat vind ik allemaal wel heel erg mooi. Ja, ik hoop wel dat we dat een beetje in stand houden. Ondanks dat elke keer veel meer wordt bijgebouwd. Toch liever niet die kant op waar het mooi is.

Q: Er zijn heel veel dingen die Aalten of de Achterhoek uniek maken. Misschien is het niet zozeer beter dan andere streken, maar gewoon uniek en anders.

A: Ja, klopt.

Q: Dat merk ik ook vaak met de interviews, dat ook veel mensen mentaliteit noemen. Dat noaberschap. Dat ze dat iets heel prachtigs vinden, heel erg waarde aan hechten. Of landschap, ook heel vaak. Als je denkt aan jouw trots, kun je dan vijf woorden noemen die als eerste in je opkomen?

A: \*Stilte\*

Q: Dat valt een beetje rauw op je dak?

A: Bedoel je dan het stedelijk gebied?

Q: Gewoon een aantal woorden... Je noemde al eerder noaberschap. Een aantal van dat soort woorden.

A: Daar overval je me wel heel erg mee.

Q: Je noemde al noaberschap. Dus dat zou er al één zijn. En dan misschien landschap als de tweede.

A: Oh zo! Ja, de gemoedelijkheid ook. Dat de mensen hier toch nog wel even wachten en wat voor elkaar overhebben.

Waar ben ik dan nog meer trots op? Ja, eigenlijk wel hoe het hier een beetje gaat. Maar daar valt noaberschap, gemoedelijkheid...

Q: Misschien veiligheid of vertrouwen, of...?

A: Veiligheid vind ik ook wel minder worden, moet ik wel eerlijk zeggen. Je doet tegenwoordig toch wel de deur gauw op slot. Ze komen ook deze kant op, het is niet dat...

Q: Een stuurslot...

A: Ja, dat doen we ook, omdat het een geliefd onderwerp is. Daar ben ik niet trots op, dat dat moet. Ik wil liever ook de auto los laten, maar dat kan echt niet meer. Mijn fiets zet ik zelfs nog op slot.

Q: Ja, dat klopt.

A: Ja, dat vind ik eigenlijk best wel erg, maar daar ben ik dus niet trots op.

Q: Nee, dat is wel iets vervelends. En als je dan een nummer één van die woorden zou moeten aanwijzen, dat noaberschap of één van die andere woorden, welke springt er echt voor jou uit?

A: Het noaberschap, het coulisselandschap of het landschap op zich, en de gemoedelijkheid. Dat zijn toch wel drie dingen die... Je gaat ook bijvoorbeeld nog even ergens een meiboom zetten. Of je maakt eigenlijk van een scheet een donderslag. Je wilt toch wel graag...

Al wordt dat ook allemaal wel wat minder. Maar met je vriendinnen, zo heb je dat toch nog echt wel over. Of er belt er één op van: 'Wil je alsjeblieft even komen helpen? Want ik zit ergens erg om verlegen...'

Dan doe je dat. En ik denk niet dat dat verderop in het Westen iets meer gebeurt. Dat idee heb ik tenminste. Kijk bijvoorbeeld, de buurman moet de spullen opruimen en vraagt: 'Kan ik even de bus krijgen?' Dan hoeft hij twee keer te rijden, en anders moet hij tien keer rijden. Dat doe je gewoon voor elkaar. Als het kan, dan kan het en als het niet kan moet je maar even wachten tot ik weer terug ben. Makkelijk zat is dat.

Q: Maar dat is mooi.

Even een ander onderwerp. Want ik zei in het begin al, er zijn ook mensen die zich die zich schamen voor waar ze vandaan komen.

A: Oh, maar dat heb ik niet.

Q: Heb jij dat wel eens gevoeld?

A: Nee. Wel dat ik weleens denk van: 'Man, wat ben je toch halsstarrig!' Maar niet omdat ik nu ook Aalten kom dat ik denk van: 'Oh.'

Q: Dat heeft niets met de plaats te maken?

A: Nee.

Q: Ken je dan mensen, heb je wel eens gezien dat je mensen zag die zich dan misschien schamen dat ze uit Aalten of de Achterhoek komen?

A: Ik hoorde wel eens een opmerking, iemand zeggen: 'God, zullen ook geen Achterhoekers weer zijn!' Maar dat is dan meer op vakantie geweest, dat die mensen wat deden dan dat iemand die bij mij was zei van: 'Daar hoor ik even niet bij.'

Maar dat heb ik zelf niet zo. Dan denk ik: Zij doen zo gek, niet ik. Maar goed, een ander heb ik dat wel eens horen zeggen, ja. Maar zelf heb ik dat niet. Heb ik nog niet gehad.

Q: We zien weleens dat jongeren als ze dan vanuit hier naar de stad gaan, dat ze zich dan schamen dat ze uit de Achterhoek komen. En dan niet zo van: 'Nou, ik kom niet uit de grote stad', maar meer zo van... Bij jongeren zie je dat wel eens.

A: Maar dat heb ik niet. Dat heb ik gelukkig nooit gehad, want ik was altijd wel trots waar ik vandaan kwam.

Q: Mooi!

Het is ook niet nodig natuurlijk, uiteindelijk.

A: Nee.

Q: Als we even weer terug gaan naar die trots. Waar denk je dat de oorsprong daarvan ligt bij jou? Is dat iets wat je van huis uit hebt meegekregen?

A: Ja.

Q: Of misschien later ook aangeleerd en nog versterkt?

A: Ja, ik leg natuurlijk wel makkelijk contact. Ik ben wel eerlijk. Ze zeggen altijd wel: 'ik heb een grote mond', maar ze weten ook allemaal heel goed wat ze aan mij hebben. En dat merk ik wel dat mensen dat toch wel waarderen. Daar komen ze toch wel op terug. Van: 'Ja, je hebt altijd de mond wel los', maar als ik zeg: ik doe dat, dan doe ik het ook. En hoe ik het dan voor elkaar krijg is mijn pakkie an.

Maar er was laatst ook weer iemand... En ik zeg van: Nee, dat gaan ze niet doen. Als jij dit antwoord geeft, nee. Dat moet je niet... Dat moet je anders aanpakken. Je snapt er allemaal niks meer van. Maar dat is in de Achterhoek niet. Klaar uit! Dat moet je gewoon leren.

Mijn ouders zijn hier komen wonen en werden gelijk goed door de burens opgevangen en zijn overal lid van geworden van verschillende verenigingen.

En ja, dat hebben ze ook wel een beetje op ons besmet. Dus ja, ik heb altijd aan sport gedaan en in het volksfeest heb ik al heel lang gezeten. Inmiddels weer. En ja, ze kunnen je overal voor vinden. Op school, Jo z'n school, tussenschoolse opvang heb ik 12,5 jaar gedaan totdat het een continu rooster werd.

Wat doe ik nog meer? Bij AVA ben ik vrij actief. Bij de atletiek vereniging. Ik ben vrijwilligster bij (onverstaanbaar). Ze kunnen je altijd overal voor vinden.

Q: Je hebt het dan vanuit huis meegekregen die trots voor...?

A: Ja.

Q: In het begin zei je: we hebben er met de volksverenigingen hebben we dat voor elkaar gekregen, dat je dan op zondag dan... Misschien ook dat je daar actief een bijdrage aan levert, dat ook nog weer wat versterkt of misschien onderhoudt?

A: Ja, je probeert...

Q: Die gevoelens van trots dan...

A: Dat (onverstaanbaar) is er doorgekomen en nu vinden heel veel mensen zondagmiddag de leukste middag die er is. Dan hoeft die zaterdag niet meer zo heel nodig. Of dat ze dan toch moeten werken, dat ze dan: 'Nou, we hebben de zondag nog!' Ja, en dat vind ik wel heel mooi.

Q: Zou je voor mij een moment kunnen beschrijven waarop je echt heel trots was?

Eigenlijk aan het begin deed je dat al. Dat je zei: We hebben dat dan voor elkaar gekregen. Is er misschien nog een ander moment dat je zegt van: Toen voelde ik me echt trots omdat ik uit de Achterhoek kwam of uit Aalten?

A: Nee, dat kan ik niet zo 1-2-3... Dat ik dan nu zeg van: Daar was ik heel trots op. Ja, waar ik ook wel heel trots op was; toen Ton in Aalten kwam, toen werd er voor hem een lijn gespannen. Toen kreeg hij een Achterhoeks paspoort, omdat hij wel uit Twente komt. En toen dacht ik: Ja, dit vind ik wel heel mooi, dat die vrienden van... Ja, trots op de Achterhoekers dat ze toch zo'n Twentenaar de kans gaven om een Achterhoeks paspoort te krijgen om hier Achterhoeker te worden.

Ja, dan word ik wel heel trots op mijn vrienden dat ze dat deden. Dat kan ik wel waarderen. Maar verder dat ik zeg van dat ik trots op Aalten ben...

Ja, dat zou ik vroeger... Maar toen was ik wel jong. Dat ze met de zeskamp meededen. Dat ze dan toch wel Aalten op de kaart zetten, dat toch later heel veel mensen wel wisten dat Aalten in de Achterhoek lag en dat ze de zeskamp gewonnen hebben.

Maar ja, ik weet wel dat wij altijd mee gingen. En ik was natuurlijk hartstikke blij. En dat zal toen ongetwijfeld een vorm van trots geweest zijn dat ze het zo goed gedaan hebben. Dus daar ben je dan wel trots op je plaats, want dat heeft Aalten wel op de kaart gezet.

Q: En behalve trots, wat voor gevoelens had je daar dan bij of emotie?

A: Heel blij. Ik was natuurlijk ontzettend blij dat ze het steeds zo goed deden en dat ze elke keer wonnen. En dan ga je mee schreeuwen. Van alles doe je dan. Je ging mee, ook naar Sliedrecht mochten we mee. Hele bussen werden er georganiseerd om maar toch zo goed mogelijk die groep aan te moedigen. Ja, en dan ben je wel heel trots. En als je nu zegt met de kinderen was ik ook heel trots dat ze met atletiek (onverstaanbaar).

Wij waren maar zo'n kleine vereniging uit Aalten. Want als je daar Nijmegen bijvoorbeeld... Die kwamen met honderd en wij kwamen met twintig, maar dan met die twintig wonnen we wel. Dan had ik als ouder wel een heel trots gevoel dat we uit Aalten kwamen, dat we dat met zo weinig kinderen bereikt hadden. Ja, als je dat dan misschien een beetje wilt.... Ja, al pratende kom je daar dan wel...

Q: Maar er zijn altijd wel heel veel momenten waar je dan trots op bent. En dan ben je vaak heel blij ook. Fijne gevoelens horen daarbij.

A: Ja.

Q: En een andere vraag, die daar dan nog wat dieper op ingaat: Wat wilde je dan altijd graag doen als je die trots voelde? Toen met de zeskamp?

A: Heel blij, delen, met iedereen juichen en feestvieren. Dat je dan heel trots bent.

Q: En denk je ook dat jij of mensen daardoor meer actiever zijn geworden in de samenleving? We staan nu op de kaart met de zeskamp. We moeten meer van dit soort dingen organiseren.

A: Dat denk ik wel. Alleen dan valt het wel op, als we dan heel trots zijn... Ook met een volksfeest. En dan hebben mensen toch wel een opmerking... 'Leuk dat je dat zo vindt, kom erbij bij de volgende keer!'

'Oh nee, nee...'

Dat merk je dan heel erg, dat mensen dan wel commentaar hebben en je zegt dan op een nette manier van: 'Het zou leuk zijn als je er de volgende bespreking eens bij bent, kun je eens zien hoe het gaat achter de schermen.'

Er wordt zoveel geoordeeld. En dan ben je op dat moment heel trots en dan vraag je mensen, en dan 'oh nee, nee, daar beginnen we niet aan.'

Wel altijd commentaar leveren, maar niet helpen dan om het nog mooier en beter te kunnen maken. Dat vind ik wel eens heel moeilijk.

Q: Dat is natuurlijk heel makkelijk.

A: Ja, commentaar geven kan iedereen en de beste stuurlui staan aan wal. Mensen weten ook heel vaak niet wat er achter de schermen... Wat je ook van de gemeente niet mag. Die zijn natuurlijk ook weer van regels van hogerhand gebonden. En dan wordt er gezegd: 'Waarom doe je dit? Of waarom doe je dat?'

Nee, dat moeten wij. En dat daar meer openheid van zaken moet zijn. Dat is mijn persoonlijke mening. Dat mensen ook eens weten waarom je iets niet mag of niet doet.

Q: Want dan voelt de kritiek eigenlijk onterecht.

A: Ja.

En als je dan heel trots bent en blij en je viert dat met mensen, en die zegt: 'Goh wat leuk, maar ik zou de volgende keer...  
Waarom moest dat nou zo?'

Nou goed, dat wil ik je wel uitleggen, kom eens een keer bij een bespreking, misschien vindt je het wel leuk om in zo'n commissie te zitten. En dan is het gelijk 'ohhhh'.

Q: Oh nee, dan zit ik ergens aan vast.

A: Ja. Dat is erg moeilijk.

Q: Dat is wel herkenbaar.

Die schaamte heb je nooit echt gevoeld. En je kent ook niet echt iemand die zich wel eens geschaamd heeft, dat je zegt van: 'Nou ik kom uit Aalten, uit de Achterhoek.'

A: Uit de Achterhoek wel, ja. Ik heb wel eens gehad dat ik met mijn vriendin naar mijn oma ging, dat we in de tram zaten te praten, dat er van die meiden zijn: 'Oh waar komen die dan vandaan? Van die boertjes!' Dat ik denk van: Maar jullie praten ook met een accent. Nou ja, goed... Dan deden wij niks op uit. Wij zijn wij.

Q: Maakte je dat dan ook een beetje boos?

A: Verdrietig. Maar ja, dat is ook zo'n leeftijd dat je denkt van: Misschien had ik het gedaan in de Achterhoek, en dat je dan die stadsen ziet lopen en wat praten die dan?

Ik denk dat je dan hetzelfde... Misschien wel. Dan ben je wel in zo'n leeftijd, dat geef ik wel toe... Ik was wel zo wijs om op dat moment mijn mond dicht te houden, want ik zit natuurlijk ook niet te wachten dat ik in de stad waar je geen boe of ba kent dat je daar trammelant krijgt.

Maar ik vermoed wel dat ik hetzelfde had gedaan. Dat je misschien bij de Radstake, dat je: wat zijn dat voor stadsen? Dat had ik vast zelf ook gedaan in die leeftijd.

Q: Dat valt gewoon op.

A: Ja, ik had niet zo iets van: Ik kom uit de Achterhoek, van... Ja God, wij praten nou eenmaal zo. Ik ga daar niet moeilijk over doen.

Q: Nog een laatste vraag. We onderzoeken waar die gevoelens van schaamte en trots, omdat dat nooit goed onderzocht is. En meer een beetje een hypothetische vraag van: Waar denken jullie dan eigenlijk dat dat voor dient, die gevoelens? Wat voor nut heeft dat nou eigenlijk?

A: Ik denk dat als iemand heel trots op zijn plaats is dat zo'n gemeentebestuur dat ook wel op een gegeven moment merkt en die dan de plaats of de stad beter op de kaart wilt zetten, meer voor de mensen gaat doen, dat de mensen nog trotser op hun plaats worden.

En dat je kunt zeggen: 'Kijk, daar is het fijn wonen, goed toeven.' Daar wordt naar de inwoners geluisterd en we moeten wat meer dingen organiseren.

Ze willen graag toch nog een terrasje erbij, want het is dan toch zo gezellig, maar niet iedereen kan zitten. Dan moeten we die horeca ook de gelegenheid geven om dat te doen en niet altijd en overal maar gelijk weer geld gaan vragen, omdat ze weer op de gemeentegrond zitten.

Daar baal ik wel eens een beetje van, dat mensen dan initiatief hebben, maar ze moeten er zoveel voor betalen dat het niet leuk meer blijft. Hier zouden ze zeggen van: je moet wel bij de weg blijven, dat je iets doet.

We hebben dan een zwembad, maar bijvoorbeeld zouden ze overwegen een zwembad te nemen: Zijn er veel toeristen? Waar kunnen we die mensen nog een plezier mee doen?

Het zijn tegenwoordig wel wat ik van sommigen, zoals Marveld en Groenlo, heel erg goed vind, die speelt wel op de behoefte in. Daar is nu een hotel bijgekomen, want daar willen weleens een opa en oma bij komen, maar die willen niet in zo'n huisje slapen of een tent niet, maar die willen wel... Die hebben wel het geld ervoor over om...

Het zwembad is aangepakt. Ze hadden laatst een ijsbaan. Ze spelen wel in op de seizoenen. Met zo'n wagentje rijden met gasten naar het centrum. Die zijn actief. En dan is ook (onverstaanbaar) bereid om veel in Marveld te steken. Of Marveld de hand toe te reiken, van: we geven je toch de vergunningen.

En dat zal hier ook wel zijn. Ik geloof dat (onverstaanbaar) ook veel oude campings weg doet. Daar nieuwe neerzetten. Het oogt mooier. Mensen komen, besteden weer meer. Dan heb je zo'n beetje het cirkeltje rond.

We hebben een mooi natuurbad. De Slingerplas komt inmiddels in handen van de gemeente of dat gaat eerdaags gebeuren.

Zorg dat je er wat op hebt, en dat ook 's avonds de jongelui er mogen komen en niet dat ze dan weer weg worden gejaagd, omdat ze een vuurtje stoken. En dat komt in de krant en weer het hele verkeerde beleid. En dat vind ik dan wel eens jammer.

Dan moet ook iedereen daar goed op inspelen. En persoonlijk vind ik wat de pol was, wat nu de Hoffenaar is geworden. Ik vind het keurig. Frank (onverstaanbaar) is dan van horen zeggen niet zo'n leuk persoon, maar hij doet het toch maar wel en hij haalt toch wel iedereen naar Aalten toe. Dat is smullen. En weet ik wat ik dan allemaal hoor...

Hij doet het maar wel, en iedereen heeft een grote mond. En nu, we kennen dan wat mensen van de horeca. En die zeggen ook wel: Ja, hij doet het wel en hij heeft wel de tent elke keer vol. En daar mag menigeen jaloers op zijn.

En dan denk ik van: Ja, het is toch wel zo dat ze hem de kans hebben gegeven. Nadat hij het bij de (onverstaanbaar) een beetje verpest had. Of hij het allemaal goed doet is een tweede, maar hij krijgt de tent vol en dat vind ik wel...

En daar zit naar mijn geweten... De gemeente zit hem daar niet veel bij dwars. En dat vind ik natuurlijk mooi, want nu blijven de yurt of die mensen allemaal wel in Aalten. En anders gingen ze of naar de Radstake, of ze gaan naar Groenlo en nu houden we ze dan toch wel hier.

En daar ben ik dan wel trots op. Dat dat toch hier in Aalten toch ook wel kan. Dat had vroeger niemand gedacht.

Q: Nee, klopt. Aalten is ook wel... Tenminste, die indruk heb ik nu zelf, omdat ik dan niet altijd hier ben. Maar als je dan terugkomt, zie ik wel veranderingen. Ik heb wel het idee dat het steeds jonger wordt. Vroeger voelde het altijd een beetje oubolliger.

A: Ja.

Q: En dat vind ik wel heel leuk, want dat zie ik bijvoorbeeld ook bij voetbal. Zoals die kinderen van Judith, die gaan nu naar voetbal en die doen echt heel andere dingen dan wij vroeger deden.

Gisteren gingen ze met z'n allen Viva spelen. Dat is zo'n winterprogramma. Voetbal is dan te koud buiten. En die kleintjes gaan dan de hele dag... Dan hebben ze dus allemaal televisie en PlayStation, dan gaan we met z'n allen dat doen.

Ik vind dat heel leuk, dat je dan ook iets meer luistert of kijkt naar van: Wat vinden jongeren dan leuk? En niet zozeer van wat hoort.

Zo van: We zijn een voetbalclub, dus dat doen we hier niet, spelletjes. Dat vind ik leuk, dat er echt mensen daar voor open staan. En van het volksfeest zie ik dat dan minder.

Maar dat zijn ook wel goede voorbeelden.

Vanuit de gemeente of vanuit de volksvereniging, dat zij daar dan echt meer voor openstaan.

A: Je noemt nou zelf, (onverstaanbaar) had vroeger gedacht dat zij Sportpark Zuid zou kopen, dat een paar dingen bij elkaar zouden zijn. Ze waren mij laatst ook wel eens aan het uithoren waarom AVA daar niet op kan.

Nou goed, wat ik gehoord heb heb ik toen verteld: dat dat ook niet samenging. Want je kunt niet voetballen en speerwerpen op hetzelfde veld. Die zoon die daar dan ook nog naartoe gaat en dat werkt gewoon niet.

En waarom dan niet AZV? Naar mijn mening komt dat gewoon zuiver door dat het hier dan christelijk is. Een zaterdag club krijgt dan de meeste velden. Zo was het vroeger.

Inmiddels is het beleid wel iets anders geworden. Maar dat was ten nadele van AVA. Om die kleine basketbal, korfbal... En dat ging altijd maar naar voetbal.

Het was AZV, AD en dan kwam de rest nog eens een keer. Of tennis. En die hebben toen wel even een balletje opgegooid. En dat is inmiddels wel iets veranderd. En dat vind ik wel heel goed.

Ik vind nog dat AZV een monopolie-positie heeft, qua voetbal hier in Aalten. Dat vind ik verschrikkelijk en ik vind dat het veel beter verdeeld kan worden. Ik hoop niet dat het gebeurt, maar ik zie AD nog wel een keer opdoeken. Dat ze zo klein naar (onverstaanbaar) zijn. Ik bedoel, het moet ook allemaal haalbaar zijn.

Ik hoop het natuurlijk niet, maar dat denk ik wel.

Q: Wat ik nu zie, en wat ik ook een beetje hoor, van Judith en Mathijs die dan hun kinderen daar hebben bij voetbal. Die zeggen dat AD zich iets meer probeert te profileren als een soort plezier voetbalclub.

En dat ASV toch iets meer prestatie voetbal is. Als je daar niet in het eerste zit, dan tel je eigenlijk niet mee. Je hebt dan het eerste en de rest, terwijl ze proberen om bij AD iets meer van het moet leuk zijn voor iedereen en het moet vooral leuk zijn.

En als dan prestaties erbij zijn, dat is hartstikke mooi. Maar het moet vooral... En dan met name voor kinderen. Ik denk dat als ze daar dan mee slagen dan hebben ze denk ik ook wel iets meer bestaansrecht ofzo.

A: Ja, draagvlak. Het is hier nog wel zo, als je christelijk bent ga je toch echt niet naar die he? Het is toch meer de katholieke.

Of het moet net dat je echt dichterbij zit en al je klasgenoten gaan erheen. Ik weet wel wat kinderen op de joodse school, die hele buurt zit op AZV. Dat meisje ging wel naar AZV hoor. Hoe de ouders ook graag wilden dat ze naar AD ging.

Dat heb je nu wel veel meer. En dat ik ook echt helemaal verbaasd dat sommige mensen zeggen van: 'Wow.' En dat leeft nog wel. Het is niet meer zoveel, maar ik merk het wel.

Q: Ja, het is nog wel een beetje.

A: Vind ik wel.

Q: Maar wat ik hoor, dat het vroeger veel erger was.

A: Oh, man! Maar ik weet een Jehova op de joodse school die naar AZV ging, die wordt afgekeken.

Q: Ja dat klopt, ja. We hadden in onze klas ook eentje die ging, zonder camping, die ging naar AZV. Ik weet niet of je die kent, maar die zat bij ons in de klas. Die woonde hier op de Orion.

A: Ik denk die ken ik wel, van die vrachtwagenchauffeur die vader. Hier het tweede straatje links ofzo?

Q: Ja, Orion.

A: Orion is een ander.

Q: Ja, vroeger hadden zij een horloge winkel.

A: Oh nee, nee. Ik denk de verkeerde.

Q: Maar goed, die was ook de enige die zo'n beetje van de hele school die naar ASV ging. De rest ging naar HD.

Mooi, dank je wel Rolien.

A: Ja, dit was het?

Q: Wil je nog iets wat je als laatste misschien nog te binnen, dat wil je nog kwijt?

A: Nee. Succes jij met je studie.

Q: Dank je wel.



## Netherlands Rural Area: Participant [NLR2]

Q: Om te beginnen... Even wat meer in het algemeen, wat later ga ik iets meer toespitsen. Kun je mij vertellen wat er in je opkomt of waar je aan denkt als we het hebben over de relatie tussen de mensen en de plaats waar ze wonen in het algemeen?

Het eerste wat in je opkomt.

A: De mensen en de plaats waar ze wonen. Ik denk dat...

Q: Hoe die relatie is...

A: Ja, die relatie ontstaat door enerzijds waar je opgroeit en anderzijds waar je verzeild raakt, denk ik. En waar je opgroeit bedoel ik dat je per plaats, stad of dorp verschillende normen en waarden hebt. Ruimte. Groei je op in een groen gebied met veel ruimte om je heen en leefbaarheid, speelmogelijkheden? Of word je geboren in een appartement in een heel druk bezette stad, waar eigenlijk geen ruimte is?

En vervolgens ga je denk ik door de opvoeding, studie en dergelijke, kom je ergens terecht. Dat kan in een andere stad zijn, omdat je daar naar de universiteit gaat of naar een hogeschool.

En vervolgens, nadat je die studie hebt afgerond, is het denk ik afhankelijk van onder andere wat je zelf wilt. Of je weer terug wilt keren, of waar je gaat werken, of waar je je geliefde treft. Hoe dat voor de rest eruit komt te zien. Dus ik denk dat je je op verschillende plekken wel thuis kunt voelen. Maar ik denk dat het heel erg...

Ja, dat is een goeie. Ik denk dat het heel erg afhankelijk is van waar je mee in aanraking komt. Dat is het eerste wat eigenlijk in mij opkomt.

Als ik denk aan een goede relatie tussen de mensen en (onverstaanbaar) waar je woont en waar je je thuis voelt.

Q: Want jullie zijn allebei hier geboren en zijn op een gegeven moment naar Nijmegen gegaan. Of naar Arnhem en Nijmegen. En toen hebben jullie allebei heel bewust weer gekozen om terug te gaan.

A: Ja, dat komt denk ik, omdat ik... Bij mij werd het ook wel deels bepaald, doordat ik het nog steeds fijn vind om hier te wonen, ik familie heel erg belangrijk vond. Mijn vader was ziek.

En daarnaast, ik ook een hechte vriendengroep had. Die allemaal ondanks hun studies ook weer heel erg veel terugkeren. In de weekenden bijvoorbeeld.

Dus als je mij vraagt... Ik woonde, studeerde en na die tijd werkte in Nijmegen, maar was eigenlijk nog veel te veel in Aalten, in de Achterhoek. Voor iemand die eerst studeerde, toen woonde en werkte in Nijmegen. Dus ik heb het eigenlijk nooit helemaal losgelaten.

Q: Je bent eigenlijk altijd met één been hier blijven staan, want je voetbalde ook hier nog.

A: Precies. Alleen het grappige is wel dat het allemaal heel anders had kunnen lopen. Omdat bij mij de liefde ook een enorme rol speelt.

Aangezien Judith ook studeerde. En ik op dat moment echt dacht van: Ik werk bij een bank en die bank werkt landelijk. Judith doet geneeskunde. Zij wil later arts worden. En ik zie wel aan welk ziekenhuis zij gebonden raakt. En dan ga ik wel met haar mee.

Wij waren al vrij jong bij elkaar en hebben alles samen opgebouwd. We waren allebei ook wel heel gek op waar we vandaan kwamen. Maar als zij een andere studie had gedaan of althans een ander specialisme, en ze had nu in het ziekenhuis in Groningen gewerkt, hadden we in de buurt van Groningen gewoond. Dat durf ik ook wel te zeggen.

Dus dat is ook wel bepalend geweest. Ik was wel heel erg blij dat zij uiteindelijk ervoor koos om huisartsgeneeskunde te gaan doen. Huisarts te willen worden. Want ja, uiteindelijk... Hier is een enorm tekort aan huisartsen. Toen zijn we vrij snel weer teruggekeerd. Je hoort nog wel eens dat mensen later weer terugkeren naar hun roots.

Wij hebben het eigenlijk op heel jonge leeftijd gedaan, omdat het kon. Ik kon hier gaan werken bij de Rabobank en Judith kon hier gaan werken, omdat hier een enorm tekort is aan huisartsen. Dus ja, perfect. Dus ik was weer dicht bij de plek

waar ik graag wil zijn, dichtbij familie. Ik had geen enkel probleem om hier werk te vinden en Judith ook niet, dus dan was de keuze gemakkelijk gemaakt.

Q: Je zei: dit is een fijne plek om te wonen. En wat maakt het dan precies zo fijn om hier te zijn?

A: Dat is lastig uit te leggen aan buitenstaanders. Jij bent natuurlijk geen buitenstaander, maar als ik dat aan een ander uit moet leggen... Ik heb namelijk heel veel in het land gewerkt. Ik kom overal, maar het is een gevoel. En gevoel kun je altijd heel erg moeilijk uitleggen.

Ik reis heel erg graag. Ik ga graag overal naartoe, maar ik vind het altijd heerlijk om weer terug te keren en dat heeft denk ik mede te maken met...

Ik ben heel erg gesteld op mijn privacy. Die kan je in een stad ook vinden, dus dat is misschien een slecht argument, hoor ik dan ook nog wel eens.

Maar aan de andere kant, ik ben ook heel erg graag buiten. Ik ben opgegroeid in een jonge woonwijk waarin een veld was, waarin niet alleen mijn eigen ouders, maar ook ouders van mijn vrienden... Het was een bepaalde sociale controle. Sociale controle heeft altijd een beetje zo'n negatieve sluiër over zich heen, terwijl het juist iets heel moois kan zijn.

Want je kunt als ouder je kinderen heel erg vrijlaten. Hier ook, omdat je weet dat er niks gebeurt. Omdat je weet dat anderen een oogje in het zeil houden. Omdat je weet met wie ze omgaan. En omdat je dus heel erg veel ruimte om je heen hebt. En je merkt dat anderen, en bijvoorbeeld verkeersdeelnemers, of andere ouders, of wie dan ook... Iedereen houdt rekening met elkaar, en dat vind ik mooi. Tevens waren ook enorme vergissingen gemaakt.

Laten we dan onze woonplaats Aalten als voorbeeld nemen. Dat er enorm veel voorzieningen zijn. Hoe vet is het nou dat je dus in een vrijstaand huis, een betaalbare woning kunt wonen?

Vrijstaand, veel privacy, de lagere school op circa 400 meter hiervandaan en waar mijn kinderen vanaf 7 jaar alleen naartoe kunnen fietsen.

En of zij nu een lagere opleiding, of een middelbare opleiding, of een hogere opleiding, zelfs een wetenschappelijk onderwijs willen volgen... Dat is op 600 meter.

Ik vind dat fantastisch. Neemt niet weg dat ze persé naar die school moeten of dat ze een andere richting op willen, maar in principe kunnen ze gewoon opgroeien tot en met een middelbare school in Aalten. En ja, dat vind ik wel waardevol.

Ik merk persoonlijk ook dat mijn beste vrienden... En dat heb ik enerzijds... En Judith omdat wij elkaar troffen... Stel dat om welke reden dan ook dat zou eindigen. Kan ik nooit meer opbouwen met een andere, wat ik met haar heb opgebouwd.

En hetzelfde geldt met mijn vrienden, die ik hier heb ontmoet.

Waar ik mee ben opgegroeid, waarvan ik de ouders ken. Dat lukt niet met studievrienden bijvoorbeeld. Ik geloof daar niet in, want ik heb nu ook heel veel studievrienden waar ik nog steeds contact mee heb.

Alleen dan gaat het gewoon vooral over hoe het met jezelf gaat en met je leven gaat, met je kinderen, met je ambities en dat soort zaken. Maar het gaat er nooit over van: Hoe gaat het met je ouders?

Q: Die ken je niet.

A: En dat is ook niet erg he. Maar we kennen elkaar niet.

Q: Je hebt een andere relatie. Je hebt gewoon een tijdje samen...

A: Precies.

Q: ...een tijdje in je leven gedeeld. Terwijl, met die vrienden van hier ben je opgegroeid.

A: Ja, precies. Zeker.

Q: ...kinderjaren gedeeld.

A: Ja, precies.

Q: Ik wil iets meer inzoomen op trots, want je hebt mij een keer gezegd dat je trots bent op Aalten. Op de Achterhoek. Dat kan ik me nog herinneren. Dat vond ik mooi.

Dus ik had eigenlijk... Ja, in het Engels gebruiken we altijd *pride of place*. En dat is dus eigenlijk trots op de plaats. Maar in Nederland associeer je dat heel gauw met de woonplaats, maar dat hoeft niet persé.

Dus als je dan... Plaats of plek, dat kan dan Aalten zijn, of misschien zelfs de woonwijken, of de Achterhoek of Aalten-Zuid, Aalten-Noord. Dat maakt allemaal niet zoveel uit.

Maar als jij het hebt over plaats, over jouw plaats of jouw plek... Waar denk je dan aan?

A: Ja, dat is wel een beetje ingegeven door... Wat ik net zei.

Ik heb in het hele land gewerkt. Iedereen is natuurlijk trots op een bepaald gebied, precies zoals jij het net beschrijft. Ik ben zelf Feyenoord supporter. Dan merk je: Rotterdammers zijn heel trots.

Amsterdammers hebben eigenlijk in de afgelopen jaren zelfs... Voor mijn gevoel glipte hun stad hen door de vingers, maar ze zijn nog steeds trots op Amsterdam. Terwijl het eigenlijk gewoon een internationaal bolwerk is geworden. En als je dan mij vraagt hoe dat voor mij geldt...

Ja, wat ik echt een fantastisch mooi voorbeeld vind over trots... En dat heb ik zelf namelijk ook een klein beetje.... Is dat Achterhoekers eigenlijk nooit heel erg uitgesproken zijn. Ik krijg heel erg vaak in het land te horen dat ik altijd een beetje de... Hoe omschreven ze dat nou ook alweer? Een afwachtende houding innemen, maar als ik wat zeg dan snijdt het ook hout. Dat kreeg ik nog weleens te horen van: Je moet misschien wat assertiever zijn en dat soort dingen.

Ik vroeg mij elke keer af van: Waarom zeggen ze dat? Want ik heb altijd zoiets van: Als je veel praat, dan herhaal je alleen maar dingen die je al weet. En ik heb altijd zoiets van: Als ik dan ook een beetje luister, dan leer ik ook nog eens wat nieuws. Ik probeer alleen te praten op een moment dat het zin heeft en niet zozeer om aanwezig te willen zijn.

Dat is wel denk ik een klein beetje Achterhoeks. En waar ik dus ook nu... Als je het dan hebt over trots, daarom noem ik ook bewust de Achterhoek is dat je toch ziet dat...

Je kunt ervan vinden wat je wil... Ik vind hem ook lelijk.

Die Achterhoekse vlag die er op dit moment is, zou ik ook niet snel zelf hebben uitgekozen. Al heb ik er wel op gestemd. Maar je ziet hem nu overal. Je ziet het bij mensen achterop de auto, je ziet hem bij mensen in de voortuin. Je ziet hem op bedrijfspagina's. Je ziet hem overal. En dat vind ik mooi om te zien.

Dat je toch ziet... Daar hebben we eigenlijk nooit een reden voor gehad om te laten zien van: Waar komen we nou precies vandaan?

Onderling hadden we het er wel over dat we op zo'n mooie plek wonen, maar nu zie ik als ik in Zeist of in Driebergen ben, waar ik de afgelopen maanden veel geweest ben voor mijn werk. Dan zie je op de snelweg gewoon ineens die Achterhoekse vlag wel voorbijkomen.

Dus ja, we kruipen een beetje uit onze schulp. We voelen ons aangevallen op het moment dat mensen zeggen dat na Arnhem de wereld ophoudt en dat hier een enorme vergrijzing is. Terwijl als ik kijk... Ik vind de huizenmarkt ook interessant om te volgen.

Hier stonden 5 jaar geleden 400 huizen te koop in Aalten, en op dit moment zijn dat er nog 65. Er zijn geen woningen onder de 180.000 euro (onverstaanbaar), omdat alles wordt opgekocht door jongeren. Dus ik denk van: Ja, het zal nog wel meevallen...

Q: Er komen woningen tekort.

A: Ja, dat is gewoon een woningentekort eerder, ja.

Q: Iets meer algemeen. Als we het hebben over plaats, voel je dan die trots meer voor de Achterhoek of voor Aalten?

A: Beiden.

Dat klinkt heel stom, maar buiten Aalten ben ik een Achterhoeker. Maar ik zal binnen de Achterhoek eigenlijk niet snel ergens anders gaan werken dan als Aalten. Of wonen, bedoel ik. Dus ja, dat is een beetje dubbel.

Q: En wat betekenen die plaatsen dan voor jou, de Achterhoek en Aalten in het algemeen?

A: Aalten is de plek waar je bent geboren en getogen.

En omdat de afstanden hier zo gemakkelijk te bereiden zijn en te bereiken zijn, zie ik geen enkele reden om... Als je familie en iedereen die je kent, je netwerk hier, als je dat om je heen hebt opgebouwd, dan zie ik geen reden om hier snel uit Aalten te vertrekken.

Ondanks het feit dat er in de Achterhoek nog veel meer mooie plekken zijn om te wonen.

Q: Het is eigenlijk een beetje een veilige haven waar je iedereen kent, veel kent.

A: Ja, een veilige haven. Zeker. Dat is denk ik goed.

En we zijn nu gebonden, doordat Judith haar eigen huisartsenpraktijk hier heeft en die moet sowieso in de buurt wonen. Dus ja, dat maakt het alleen maar nog vaster.

Q: Ik heb nog een andere vraag, maar die heb je al een beetje beantwoord.

Wat komt er in in je op als je denkt aan trots voor de Achterhoek of aan Aalten? Dat mag je dan zelf kiezen.

A: Wat ik een beetje heb beantwoord, maar wat ik eigenlijk bedoel is dat ik het idee heb dat ik er nu... En dat durfde ik misschien minder, ook nog wel toen ik jonger was... Want je bent... Als je jonger bent, heb je altijd het idee dat iedereen een mening over je gaat vormen, en misschien heb je het helemaal niet juist.

Maar dan merk je al vrij snel dat je zegt van: In de buurt van Doetinchem, in de buurt van Arnhem. Om maar geen gekke antwoorden te krijgen.

Als je het nu hebt over trots, merk ik dat ik geen enkel obstakel meer zie om te zeggen dat ik hier vandaan kom. Omdat je juist ook nog wel heel vaak van mensen terug hoort wat de Achterhoek ook allemaal te bieden heeft. En dat is denk ik de trots. Dat iedereen er nu veel meer voor uit durft te komen waar je vandaan komt.

Q: Nou, even een soort van woordspelletje eigenlijk. Als je dan denkt aan je trots. Kun je dan gewoon een aantal steekwoorden opnoemen die in je opkomen?

A: Trots op... in de zin van?

Q: Trots op de Achterhoek, of Aalten. Dat loopt een beetje door elkaar.

A: Ja, veiligheid, leefbaarheid, natuur. Doe maar normaal, dan doe je al gek genoeg. Dat zal je mij niet snel horen zeggen, maar het zegt wel iets over hier.

Q: De mentaliteit eigenlijk?

A: Ja, mentaliteit. Ja, dat is wel een goede. Dat zou het eerste zijn.

Q: En zit daar ook nog een volgorde in? Dat je zegt van: één van die woorden springt er echt uit?

A: Nee. Nou ja, veiligheid en ruimte. Leefbaarheid. Ik denk dat ik het daarmee mooi.... De leefbaarheid is hier heel goed.

Q: Jij ziet het echt vooral ook als een vader zijnde eigenlijk?

A: Ja ook wel. Ja, dat komt... Daar ben ik ook in veranderd doordat je zelf kinderen hebt. Ik merk dat ik...

Als je zelf kind bent en je groeit hier op, dan heb je dat helemaal niet in de gaten. Maar als je nu zelf vader bent van drie kinderen, dan ben ik zo blij dat ik ze dit kan bieden. Dat ze gewoon naar buiten kunnen gaan. Dat ze gewoon veilig over straat kunnen. Dat ze goed onderwijs hebben. Dat ze vriendschap voor het leven kunnen opbouwen.

En nu zie ik dat.

Q: Ik had aan het begin gezegd: schaamte is ook nog wel eens een emotie die mensen met de plaats kunnen associëren. Heb jij dat ook wel eens gevoeld? Dat je schaamte voelde voor Aalten, of dat je hier vandaan kwam?

A: Ja, misschien eerder. In mijn jongere jaren, als je dan aan het stappen was, of je was een weekend met vrienden in Amsterdam, en men vroeg waar je vandaan kwam, dan merkte je wel dat je om de hete brij heen draaide. Maar dat waren echt maar incidenten.

Over het algemeen, dat is geen schaamte, maar... Schaamte is ook eigenlijk een vorm van... Niet persé van boosheid, maar ik noem het altijd de rode knop, maar eerder misschien soms boosheid over hoe minderwaardig men over deze regio kan zijn. Dat wel.

Dus ik schaam me er juist niet voor, maar ik schaam me soms wel voor hoe kortzichtig anderen daarover kunnen denken. Dat wel.

Q: Dat is mooi, daar kom ik zo nog even op terug. Heb je ook bepaalde specifieke plekken of aspecten van Aalten of van de Achterhoek waar je dan trots op bent?

Meer fysieke dingen. Dat je zegt van: Bijvoorbeeld het voetbalstadion van De Graafschap. Ik noem maar wat, he?!

A: Nee, eigenlijk wat minder.

In die zin dat de... We hebben hier... Dat is voor mij geen trots, maar laat ik het zo zeggen... Wat ik terugkrijg van anderen. Die zeggen wel van: Ja, het is zo'n mooi gebied en Het Wold in Winterswijk is een prachtig natuurgebied. Het is hier zo heerlijk rustig om op vakantie te gaan.

Dat soort dingen. Dat hoor je van anderen terug. Maar daar heb ik zelf.... Zie ik dat eigenlijk niet zo, omdat het voor mij geen vakantiebestemming is. Wat ik wel heel erg mooi vind is dat wij op zondag als de zon schijnt, gaan we naar het bos. En dan hoef je daar maar drie minuten voor te fietsen. En dan ben je er ook. En dat is wel mooi, maar niet echt...

Ja, we hebben geen Eiffeltoren en we hebben geen... Of zelfs in het klein.... Een groot voetbalstadion of bezienswaardigheid, dat niet. Nee, niet fysieke plekken ofzo.

Q: En als het nou gaat over bepaalde evenementen, materiële dingen of immateriële dingen? Zoals bepaalde geschiedenis?

A: Ja. De Achterhoek heeft juist een hele rijke geschiedenis. Ik heb een aantal vrienden die... Ik ben zelf minder geïnteresseerd in de geschiedenis.

Ik word ook wel eens weggezet als cultuurbarbaar, omdat ik zo iets heb: ik leef meer in het heden en in de toekomst, dan in het verleden. Alleen zijn er een aantal vrienden van mij die kunnen vol hartstocht vertellen over families die in de Achterhoek bepalend zijn geweest zijn. Als je langs boerderijen rijdt, als je aan het teken kunt zien wat voor type huis het is. Dat we hier in een heel veilig gebied zitten, omdat we heel erg hoog wonen met grondplaten en veengebieden.

Vol hartstocht wordt daar over gesproken door een aantal vrienden van mij die wel geïnteresseerd zijn in geschiedenis, en vanuit jacht... En dat hier de flora en fauna fantastisch in balans is. En dat soort dingen allemaal.

Ik zie dat wel, en ik beleef dat ook wel. Alleen ervaar ik het als doodnormaal, terwijl het eigenlijk schijnbaar helemaal niet zo normaal is.

Q: Voor jou is dat niet een ingrediënt voor de trots?

A: Nee, nee.

Q: Voor jou is meer vanuit jouw vaderrol. Het is leefbaar, het is veilig, de afstanden zijn dichtbij...

A: Maar dat neemt niet weg dat als je bijvoorbeeld de Achterhoek neemt... En je kunt dus bijvoorbeeld... Een vriend van mij woonde in Deventer. Even voor de beeldvorming en ook voor het gesprek, dat is ongeveer ruim een uur rijden.

En je kunt daar naartoe rijden zonder dat je op de snelweg komt. En je komt daar, vooral in de herfst en in de winter, je komt door binnenweggetjes en je komt langs plaatsen, je komt langs gebouwen, en je ziet gewoon...

Dat is voor mij wel... Als je het dan hebt over... Lastig uit te leggen, maar dat is niet zozeer een fysieke plek, maar daar geniet ik wel van. Als ik in een auto zit, en ik heb bewust een auto met een open dak, en ik kan nog gewoon naar Deventer rijden zonder dat ik over een snelweg kom, een uur lang. Gewoon 70 kilometer afleggen. Dat vind ik wel mooi. Ja, zeker. Daar kan ik van genieten.

Q: Dan heb ik een andere vraag. Dat gaat weer eventjes over de trots. Waar denk je dat de oorsprong van die trots ligt in jouw geval?

Heb je dat meegekregen of heb je dat later pas...?

A: Nee, dat heb ik later pas gerealiseerd. Eigenlijk een beetje door wat ik net aangaf. Als je jong bent, heb je het niet in de gaten. Als je ouder wordt en ouder bent, dan kun je het meer waarderen. Maar ik denk dat het hier ook een beetje vandaan kwam. Dat het niet zozeer... In mijn geval is het de Achterhoek, maar in Nederland heb je dat ook met Limburgers, met Friezen en met de mensen uit Groningen.

Je merkt gewoon dat waar je wieg staat is ook wel heel erg bepalend van hoe je tegen een bepaald gebied aankijkt, denk ik.

Want uiteindelijk, wij zijn nog steeds niet een groep mensen die heel snel uitvliegt. En als je ergens aan gewend bent geraakt, ergens bent gaan wonen en door werk of door liefde een bestaan hebt opgebouwd, dan merk je heel snel dat de mensen dan ook blijven hangen. En dat is misschien ook wel weer meteen een tekortkoming, want als je ergens anders niet bent geweest, dan heb je ook geen vergelijkingsmateriaal. En daarom ben ik wel blij dat ik nu waardeer wat ik heb, en daar ook wel naar op zoek ben geweest, omdat ik in Arnhem heb gewoond.

Ik heb in Nijmegen gewoond. Ik ben naar Afrika op vakantie geweest, in Zuid-Amerika op vakantie geweest. Maar nu heb ik zoiets van...

Nu waardeer ik eigenlijk pas dat je ook kunt genieten van de plek waar je woont en dat zelfs Nederland heel veel te bieden heeft en Europa ook. Dat klinkt heel stom. En uiteindelijk heb ik nu ook al eens zoiets van: ik hoef niet persé naar heel ver weg om tot mijn rust te komen. Want ja, ik heb het gezien, ik heb het kunnen vergelijken en dit is het voor mij.

Q: Bedoel je dan eigenlijk dat je dan ook andere plekken hebt gezien, dat je daardoor een soort vergelijkingsmateriaal hebt gezien, van: waar wij vandaan komen is eigenlijk echt heel mooi?

A: Ja, zeker. Absoluut.

Als je in Mexico bent is het heel erg mooi dat je daar fantastisch kunt duiken. Als je in Kenia bent is het heel mooi om te zien hoe de natuur daar is. Maar dat hebben we vaak voor de foto's en voor de filmpjes. Want uiteindelijk als je ziet... Ik heb het net over waar je wieg staat. Maar als je wieg in Kenia staat heb je wel een ander leven dan wanneer die hier de Achterhoek staat.

En dan kunnen wij hier natuurlijk lopen klagen dat hier niks te doen is en dat er weinig voorzieningen zijn. Ik zie dat heel anders, want ik denk dat je gewoon echt gelukkig mag zijn als je in Nederland geboren wordt. Dan hoef je eigenlijk, tenzij het natuurlijk opvoedkundig... Dan kun je er zelf niks aan doen, of er later zelf een potje van maakt. Maar eigenlijk heb je gewoon een ontzettend veilige plek om je heen.

Er hoeft wat dat betreft niks te gebeuren met je, laat ik het zo zeggen.

Q: En vanuit jouw familie, heb je daar ook een beetje trots uit meegekregen? Zijn die ook trots? Waren ze trots op Aalten of op de Achterhoek?

A: Ik denk niet dat ze persé trots zijn op Aalten of op de Achterhoek, maar aan de andere kant denk ik wel dat... Ik kom uit een gezin dat geen vergelijkingsmateriaal had. Dit klinkt altijd oneerbiedig, maar zo bedoel ik het helemaal niet.

Maar mijn ouders waren hardwerkende mensen in een arbeidersgezin en die leefden om samen te zijn, om op vakantie te kunnen, om hun twee zoons te kunnen onderhouden. En ja, dat was het eigenlijk. En dat was hun leven. En toen werd mijn vader ziek, en toen was het helemaal niet meer breed.

En ja, ze wilden ons gewoon goed afleveren. Ze gunden ons alles. En dan bedoel ik... Wij gingen altijd op vakantie, en we konden altijd studeren. Dat hoefden we ook zelf niet te betalen. Alleen ik realiseer me nu pas dat... Ik zat nog wel eens te klagen over dat bij wijze van spreke de gehaktbal te klein was, maar ik merkte gewoon dat het was om uiteindelijk gewoon potjes te kunnen creëren, waardoor wij in ieder geval wel alles konden zien en meemaken.

Dus ja, trots op Aalten, trots op de Achterhoek... Zij zijn denk ik een voorbeeld van: wij zijn hier opgegroeid en we zijn hier blijven hangen. En ja, op zich niet erg natuurlijk. Dat realiseer ik me nu. Maar uiteindelijk ben ik blij dat ik hier vandaan kom.

Q: En je zei: Toen je jonger was, voelde je ook wel schaamte en ook wel vaker.. Jonge mensen die zich schamen... Maar als je dan ouder wordt dat diezelfde bron van schaamte een bron van trots wordt...

En wat denk je dat daar de oorsprong van is? Van dat gevoel van schaamte?

A: Groepsdruk.

Q: Groepsdruk?

A: Ja. Als je jong bent wordt je volgens mij gevormd door je omgeving, door opvoeding, door je ouders, maar ook door je vrienden. En als er een aantal vrienden zijn die maar blijven zeggen van: Hier is niks te doen, en in Amsterdam is het veel mooier. Dan geloof je dat misschien, omdat zij er zijn geweest. Maar dan moet je het zelf gaan meemaken om het te ervaren.

En dan denk ik: als je jong bent is dat natuurlijk ook wel, laten we eerlijk zijn. Ik ben ontzettend blij dat ik in Nijmegen heb gewoond en dat ik veel in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht en overal ben geweest.

Je wilt dan ook kunnen zeggen dat als je in Spanje op vakantie bent met je vrienden en men zegt van: Jullie komen uit Nederland, Nederland is Amsterdam! Dat je zegt: Dat klopt ja, we komen uit Amsterdam.

Dan ga ik niet zeggen van: we wonen in een little place, in the back corner.

Q: ...dichtbij Duitsland.

A: Dichtbij Duitsland, ja precies.

Dan ben je ook trots op Amsterdam. Ja, dus dan wordt je gebied ineens groter als je in het buitenland bent.

Q: Als je jong bent... Ik herken dat ook wel dat heel veel jongeren... Als je dan 18 bent, een beetje rond die tijd zeggen: Er is hier niks te doen. En misschien is dat ook voor een jongere van 18....

Die wil eigenlijk gewoon iedere dag kunnen feesten. Als je dat dan vergelijkt met Amsterdam, dan is er ook niks te doen. Maar als je nu in een andere levensfase zit, dan interesseert je dat minder om iedere avond te kunnen uitgaan, of te kunnen zuipen of wat ook. En dan worden andere dingen belangrijker.

A: Precies.

Q: Dan heb ik nog een laatste blok. Het is veel tekst, maar maak je niet druk. Het zijn korte vragen.

Het gaat over de gevolgen van die emoties. Als een korte inleiding, kun je nog misschien één moment kort beschrijven waarop jij je echt heel trots voelde op de plek hier, of op de Achterhoek of Aalten?

A: Ja, dat is nog vrij recent.

Ik heb hier gewerkt bij een pensioenfonds. Het pensioenfonds zit in Driebergen, bij Zeist/ Utrecht, en een collega van mij had een huis gekocht voor 1,1 miljoen met 487 vierkante meter grond en dat was een twee-onder-één-kap-woning.

En toen dacht ik bij mezelf: Wacht even! Ik woon op iets van 650 vierkante meter grond, vrijstaand en meer woonoppervlakte dan zij. En toen heb ik dat verhaal verteld van een goed jaar, maar moet je je eens even voorstellen...

Je kunt hier naar een restaurant waar je heel veel eten voor weinig geld krijgt. Je kunt naar een restaurant waar je dus op een gegeven moment kunt zeggen: daar gaan we met de familie heen. Daar zijn we met kerst nog geweest. Daar kun je heel erg fatsoenlijk eten tegen een goede prijs en wat exclusiever. Of je kunt zeggen van: ik wil een culinaire avond, het mag mij aan niks ontbreken en ik wil graag dingen eten die ik normaal gesproken niet te eten krijg. Dat kan allemaal.

Toen heb ik dat verteld. Toen heb ik ook verteld wat ik eerder in het interview ook aangaf. Dat mijn kinderen op 400 meter van huis naar school gaan en of zij nou mavo, havo, vwo of vmbo gaan doen, ze kunnen op 600 meter van huis naar school. Toen ik dat vertelde viel mijn collega zowat van zijn stoel. Hij zegt van: Je maakt een geintje.

Ik zeg van: Nee, dat is echt geen geintje.

En toen zei die andere weer van: Ja, maar als jullie een keer een avondje naar de bioscoop willen, dan gaat dat niet.

Ik zeg: Nou, maar weet je wat het grappige is? Die bioscoop is 13 kilometer verderop in Winterswijk. Ik zeg: Maar als jij van lijn 5 over moet stappen op lijn 7 en je staat na 23 minuten voor de bioscoop van deur tot deur. Ik zeg: Ik pak mijn auto en ik sta over 18 minuten in Winterswijk, waar je in heel Winterswijk gratis kunt parkeren.

Dan sta ik ook voor de deur van die bioscoop, dus waar hebben we het over?

Dan zien mensen wel aan mij dat je dus niet aan Aalten moet komen, want dan hebben we altijd wel een... (onverstaanbaar).

Q: Je hebt het al kort beschreven, maar heb je er ook specifieke gedachten dan nog bij? Misschien een beetje een rare vraag, maar je hebt het eigenlijk al...

A: Dat zijn die... Wat ik denk ik aangaf is dat mensen heel vaak kortzichtig zijn over wat hier allemaal voor voorzieningen zijn.

Q: En behalve dat je dan trots voelt, heb je er dan nog andere emoties of gevoelens bij?

A: Jawel, die heb ik ook gehad. En dat is wel een ander voorbeeld. Ik heb hier daarvoor ook gewerkt en het mooie was... Dat is echt niet gelogen, en ik heb me dat ook pas later gerealiseerd... Want als je in een sollicitatiegesprek zit, dan probeer je altijd jezelf te verkopen.

Het enige waar je eigenlijk mee bezig bent is van: Ja, ik wil hier graag werken, en ik hoop dat zij mij oké vinden. En toen was ik nog jong, en ik ben nog steeds jong, maar ik merkte heel sterk dat ik graag dat werk wilde doen, en dat ik daar terecht moest komen. En toen heb ik mij mee laten slepen in iets waarvan ik achteraf dacht van: Hoe hebben ze me dat in vredesnaam kunnen vragen?

Als ze dat nog een keer hadden gedaan, dan was ik ontzettend boos geworden. En dat is het volgende.

Ik zat in een sollicitatiegesprek en ze hoorden na twee zinnen dat je uit de Achterhoek komt. Daar ben ik dus nu trots op. Op dat moment werd er echt letterlijk aan mij gevraagd: Ben jij bereid om je accent aan te passen?

En als je dat zelf niet lukt, zou je dat bijvoorbeeld met een... Ik weet niet eens hoe ze het noemen, maar dat zou je volgens mij met een taalcoach kunnen doen. Om je verstaanbaar te kunnen maken, omdat wij landelijk werken. En op dat moment heb ik mij echt helemaal niet gerealiseerd wat men aan mij vroeg, want ik dacht van: Ja, dat komt door spanning of het komt doordat ik mij prettig voelde, dat ik terugviel in mijn accent.

Maar achteraf gezien dacht ik echt van: Dat is de meest belachelijke vraag die ik ooit heb gekregen tijdens een sollicitatie procedure. Dus als je het hebt over emoties, daar zou ik nu heel erg kwaad om worden. En dat is wellicht ook de reden dat ik daar nu niet meer werk. Niet dé reden, maar één van de redenen.

Dat ik denk van: Ja, dan weet je eigenlijk meteen weer met wat voor type mensen je te maken hebt. En dat bleek achteraf ook, laat ik het dan maar zo zeggen.

Na verloop van jaren liep ik tegen heel veel andere dingen aan waarvan ik dacht van: Nee, dit past zo niet bij mij. Dus daar werk ik dan ook niet meer.

Maar dat is dus werkelijk waar gebeurd. En toen dacht ik er eigenlijk niks van, want ik was alleen maar bezig met: Ik wil die baan. Maar achteraf gezien, nee. Nee, dit is echt te zot voor woorden. Het is echt waar!

Q: Maar zij spraken zelf ook met een Nijmeegs accent?

A: Nou ja, ik weet niet wat zij doen. Zij denken volgens mij volledig neutraal Nederlands te praten. Ik weet het niet maar...

Q: Dat heb ik nog nooit gehoord.

A: Dat sloeg helemaal nergens op.

Q: Je beschreef daarvoor dat je met je collega's aan het praten was, of de ex-collega's inmiddels. Dat je die vergelijking maakte met de plek van hier en die collega die dat huis had gekocht. Op het moment dat je dan die trots voelt, ben je dan ook heel blij, of...?



A: Ja, ik ben blij dat ik geen 1,1 miljoen hoeft te betalen voor een plek. Enerzijds omdat ik dat niet kan, maar op de andere plek dat ik denk van: Ik kan ook op zo'n plek wonen, maar voor één derde of één vierde van dat geld, dus dat vind ik wel lekker.

Dus dat is meer een financiële kwestie.

Op dat moment dacht ik misschien wel: Dan moet je een hoop geld betalen voor een plek die nog niet eens in de buurt komt bij een plek waar ik zou willen wonen. Dus met andere woorden: mij krijg je niet snel meer weg, laten we het daar maar op houden.

Q: Wat zou je dan graag willen doen als je die trots voelt op zo'n moment? Zou je dan mensen willen overtuigen dat het hier heel mooi is bijvoorbeeld, of wil je het dan eigenlijk meer een beetje beschermen?

A: Misschien wil ik dan juist wel dit een beetje promoten. Maar aan de andere kant denk ik ook wel eens van... (onderbreking).

Aan de ene kant wil je het idee dat mensen over deze regio hebben misschien wel beschermen door het te weerleggen en soms aan te dikken dat die voorzieningen er wel zijn. Dat merk ik wel eens.

Dan kom je weer op die leefbaarheid. Maar aan de andere kant denk ik ook van: Eigenlijk ook wel prima dat iedereen wegblijft. Dan blijft het hier ook lekker rustig.

Q: Ja, laat ze maar lekker daar blijven.

A: Ja, want vanuit mijn werk... Ik zit in de financiële kant, bekijk ik het ook wel eens. En ik snap bijvoorbeeld niet waarom heel Nederland zich (onverstaanbaar) tot Amsterdam. Want alles gaat tegenwoordig via internet. Als je via internet werkt snap ik soms echt niet (Maar nogmaals, blij alsjeblieft weg!) waarom je dan een kantoor, een opslagruimte of een fabriekshal in regio Amsterdam wilt hebben.

De grond is hier 20 procent van wat het daar is. Alles gaat toch via internet. Je zit hier dichtbij Duitsland, transport. Niet bij het water, dat dan weer niet. Maar volgens mij is het veel goedkoper om je ergens anders te vestigen.

Q: Omdat ze dicht bij de klanten zitten.

A: Ja, precies, maar als je klanten landelijk zijn, omdat het via internet gaat, snap ik niet dat je een distributiecentrum in Utrecht of Amsterdam gaat bouwen. Dat kun je veel beter in Groningen, Friesland of in Drenthe...

Q: Even terug naar die schaamte. Zou je misschien een moment kunnen beschrijven waarop je schaamte voelde voor hier? Je hebt het net al wel gedaan, maar misschien komt er iets anders in je op.

A: De manier waarop we soms worden weggezet. Als je naar de Nederlandse televisie kijkt, dan is het beeld wat men had van Achterhoekers twintig jaar geleden hetzelfde als dat het nu is. Want op het moment dat je hier jongeren, Radstake, Zwarte Cross, zuipfeesten, hokken, zoals we dat dan noemen.... Van die bierhokken waar jongeren aan het indrinken zijn, omdat het veel te duur is om te stappen, omdat er geen uitgaansgelegenheden zouden zijn... Die worden altijd op dezelfde manier weggezet.

We praten onverstaanbaar Nederlands. We zijn ontzettend lomp. We drinken de hele dag en weten niet wat more is. Dat is een beetje het beeld dat je op televisie krijgt.

Q: Voel je dan ook schaamte als je dat ziet?

A: Ja, schaamte in die zin, omdat ik dus weet dat dat het beeld is wat anderen van je krijgen.

Q: Waarom?

A: Omdat wat er op televisie gezegd wordt, dat is de waarheid. Dus je hebt een hele grote groep mensen die gewoon niet verder kijkt dan hun neus lang is. En dan schaam ik mij wel voor hetgeen wat ik daar op televisie zie.

Q: Is het dan voor het imago?

A: Ja, ik schaam me niet zozeer voor die mensen op televisie, maar ik schaam me meer voor het feit dat wij als Nederlanders op die manier onze regio op televisie willen laten zien. Dat snap ik niet.

Q: En welke gedachten komen daar dan bij op?

A: Boosheid.

Q: Ja, dat is dus meer een emotie. Boosheid.

A: Ja.

Q: Onrecht?

A: Ja, onrecht misschien wel. Onrechtvaardig, dat is het juiste woord.

Q: En wat zou je dan graag willen doen op dat moment? Als je dat ziet, heb je dan ook dat je denkt: daar moet ik wat aan gaan doen?

A: Soms heb ik wel het gevoel dat je dat wil verdedigen, dat je ook graag een andere kant wilt laten zien. Maar aan de andere kant denk ik ook van: Als ik mijn kant van het verhaal zou moeten belichten op televisie, dat is ook voor niemand interessant natuurlijk.

Dus dat snap ik ook wel. Dus, ja, laat lekker gaan.

Q: En dan een laatste vraag om het af te ronden... (einde opname)

## Netherlands Rural Area: Participant [NLR3]

Q: De eerste vraag is wat meer algemeen, om te beginnen. Of je me wat kunt vertellen over wat direct in je opkomt als je denkt aan de relatie tussen mensen en de plaatsen waar ze wonen, waar ze vandaan komen. Het eerste wat in je opkomt.

A: Gewoon in het algemeen?

Q: In het algemeen. Het mag ook over jou specifiek gaan. Wat ik je net al verteld heb, waar mijn onderzoek een beetje over gaat. Tussen de plek waar mensen wonen en dat dat zich wederzijds beïnvloedt. Misschien komt er wel direct iets bij op.

A: Je hebt de algemene oordelen en vooroordelen over mensen die in een bepaald gebied wonen. In Amsterdam inderdaad, in Rieel. Als je met die mensen in aanraking komt, dan is het vaak... Dan geldt dat vooroordeel helemaal niet. Omdat mensen mensen zijn en mensen graag met andere mensen een gesprekje willen beginnen.

De plek en hoe mensen zijn, heb ik eigenlijk niet zo... Daar kan ik eigenlijk helemaal niet zoveel over vertellen.

Q: Want hoe is dat voor jou dan? Jij bent in Aalten geboren.

A: Ja.

Q: Klopt he?

A: Ja.

Q: En wat betekent Aalten voor jou, of de Achterhoek misschien?

A: Aalten betekent voor mij vertrouwde. Je thuis voelen. Ik ben heel erg op mijn plek hier. Ik hou van het dorpsleven. De Achterhoek. Veel meer dan van de stad. En ik heb wel in een stad gewoond en gewerkt. Maar, Aalten is gewoon... Daar voel ik me thuis, op mijn gemak.

Q: Dus een soort veiligheid en gemak?

A: Ja, veilig en vertrouwd.

Q: Veilig en vertrouwd?

A: Ja.

Q: We gebruiken in het onderzoek in het Engels de term pride of place. En dat is de trots voor de plaats. Maar in het Nederlands denk je bij plaats al heel gauw aan de woonplaats, terwijl het in het Engels eigenlijk gaat om een plaats. Dat kan misschien een woonwijk zijn, of een dorp waar je woont, de stad of de streek, of zelfs de regio. Dat is eigenlijk iets minder duidelijk; wat nou eigenlijk de plaats betekent.

Als je dan denkt aan trots die je voelt, zou het dan misschien gaan over Aalten, of zou dat dan meer gaan over de Achterhoek? Maar ik ga er dan maar vanuit dat jij trots bent.

A: Ik ben eigenlijk... Dat trotse gevoel, dat ken ik eigenlijk helemaal niet zo.

Ik heb dat trotse gevoel op de Achterhoek of op het dialect wat ik spreek, of ooit als kind hoe ik gesproken heb, daar heb ik eigenlijk niet zoveel mee.

Ik heb wel veel meer met je ergens thuis voelen. Dat vind ik veel belangrijker dan trots zijn op Nederland, trots op de Achterhoek. Trots op dat... Nee, daar heb ik eigenlijk heel weinig mee. Dat zegt mij niet zoveel.

Ik heb veel meer oog... Als ik in kranten lees over het nieuws over de wereldburger. Dat vind ik eigenlijk veel belangrijker dan het kleine stukje waar je leeft.

Trots heb ik eigenlijk niet zo, dat ken ik eigenlijk niet zo.

Q: Als ik het goed begrijp vind je Aalten bijvoorbeeld wel een hele fijne plek om te zijn?

A: Ja, dat wel.

Q: En wat maakt nou voor jou dan bijvoorbeeld Aalten uniek, of anders dan andere dorpen?

A: Nou, ik denk gewoon... Toch kom ik weer terug op dat thuisgevoel.

Omdat ik ook als kind hier heb gespeeld, ben ik hier opgegroeid. En ik ben naderhand wel Aalten uit geweest, maar ik heb toch altijd wel last gehad van heimwee.

En ook je sociaal kunnen settelen in een vreemde plaats. Dat vind ik moeilijke dingen. Daar heb ik heel veel moeite mee. Maar dat heeft te maken met mijn karakter. Dat heeft niet zozeer te maken met de plek waar je woont, maar je wilt wel weer terug naar die plek waar je je veilig voelt.

Q: En wat maakt nou dat Aalten dan veilig is?

A: Ja, dat is denk ik toch dat je hier opgegroeid bent, en dat je de straat goed kent. Je kent de omgeving. Je weet eigenlijk ook wel een beetje hoe de mensen zijn en het dorpsgevoel, niet dat hectische.

Dat vind ik toch ook heel belangrijk.

Het is toch weer dat rustige, veilige, vertrouwde gevoel. Dat is het gewoon.

Q: Dat hoor ik wel vaker, dat een dorp dat te bieden heeft. En misschien Aalten. Dat het iets heel prettigs is en dat het ook het fijn maakt om hier te zijn.

Dan misschien even in het algemeen, niet zozeer over jouw trots... Want je zegt: dat voel je dan misschien niet echt, maar als ik nou bijvoorbeeld trots noem, of trots voor de plaats waar je woont, wat zijn dan woorden die in jou opkomen? Een aantal steekwoorden? Mag ook negatief zijn hoor.

A: Ja, ik snap het. Trots op Aalten, bedoel je?

Q: Dat hoeft niet zozeer...

A: Of überhaupt trots?

Q: Ja, trots op een plaats. Dus dat mag dan misschien trots zijn op Aalten, maar het kan ook zijn... Misschien wekt het bij jou wel een beetje irritatie op. Dat kan ook he?!

A: Dat vind ik heel moeilijk. Ik ben wat dat betreft ook helemaal niet zo sociaal, in die zin dat ik alles weet van Aalten, en hoe het allemaal... Of bepaalde mensen enzo, dat heb ik helemaal niet zo, trots op zijn.

Maar ik vind wel het museum wat we in Aalten hebben....

Wij werken daar toevallig ook, maar dat vind ik wel mooi van Aalten, dat ze heel veel dingen laten zien over het verleden, de oorlogstijd, hoe de mensen toen gehandeld hebben in Aalten.

Daar ben ik wel trots op. Ja, dat vind ik toch wel iets moois. En dat is natuurlijk heel lang geleden, maar ik vind het wel mooi dat Aalten daarin is opgevallen als bevolking, om goede dingen te doen.

Q: Dus dan wel anders dan bijvoorbeeld de dorpen eromheen; Lichtenvoorde, Winterswijk.

A: Ja.

Q: Ik weet er niet genoeg van om daar echt een idee van te... Ik weet dat het museum daar is, en ook wel dat het... Verzetsmuseum is het toch? Of heet dat niet meer zo? Aalten museum?

A: Oorlogsmuseum.

Het nationaal onderduikmuseum.

Q: Is het ook een paar keer van naam veranderd?

A: Ja, het is van naam veranderd. Nu moeten we dus ook... Nu heet het eigenlijk... Omdat ze ook zoveel belangstelling hebben, ook nationaal... En nu heet het ook het Nationaal Onderduikmuseum, en het gaat ook met name over de onderduikers die in Aalten ook heel veel onderdak hebben gekregen.

Door heel veel Aaltenaren zijn mensen opgevangen en dat is gewoon opvallend veel.  
Dat vind ik wel mooi.

Q: Ja, dat is heel menselijk.

A: Ja, en verder zijn er wel opvallende dingen, zoals het christelijke karakter van Aalten. Dat is van oudsher. Ja, was dat ook een beetje... Te verdeeld. Iedereen leefde dus heel erg in hokjes.

Q: In zuilen?

A: Ja, in zuilen.

En dan had je de gereformeerde zuil, de hervormde zuil... Maar ik ben hier opgegroeid en als kind heb ik daar eigenlijk niks van gemerkt. Maar achteraf pas kom je mensen tegen waar je vroeger helemaal geen contact mee had. En nou ja, dat is eigenlijk jammer aan de ene kant. En aan de andere kant, zo is het gegaan.

Zoals jullie familie... Ja, die heb ik van vroeger uit... Jouw ouders ook eigenlijk helemaal niet gekend. Jullie zijn katholiek, en wij waren gereformeerd.

Wij leefden in ons clubje.  
En dat is natuurlijk wel jammer. Dat vind ik nu stukken beter.

Q: Ja, dat klopt, want die indruk heb ik ook wel. Daar had ik het ook met iemand over, met mijn vader, of mijn ouders, ik weet niet meer...

Iemand zei dat... Tegenwoordig voor jongeren speelt dat ook helemaal niet meer.

A: Dat speelt helemaal niet meer.

Q: Jongeren die... Dat mixt en dat is eigenlijk ook helemaal geen thema.

A: Ja, en dat was in mijn tijd nog... Omdat Piet dus ook onderwijzer was aan de openbare basisschool. Ik was dus gereformeerd, vanuit de gereformeerde basisschool geweest, dus dat was voor mijn ouders, de generatie van voor de oorlog, dat was eigenlijk not done.

Q: Heel rebels?

A: Voor hen was dat toch best heel moeilijk.

En plus dan ook, wat ik ook wel een beetje een dorpse eigenschap vind, dat is dan ook dat.... Dat daar dus ook over gepraat wordt, ook in negatieve zin. Van: heb je het wel gehoord? Die gereformeerde, die gaat met...? Dat zijn niet zulke mooie dingen eigenlijk. Dat vind ik wel jammer.

Q: Ja, dat hoort er dan ook wel bij.

A: Maar dat hoort er dus ook weer bij. En dat heb je natuurlijk in de stad minder.

Q: Ja, dat klopt.

A: Maar dat is echt dorps.

Q: En dat mensen soms ook wel nieuwsgierig zijn, en vooral naar negatieve dingen. Maar dan heb ik liever dat ik niks weet, dan dat ik luister naar die roddels.

Als je niks weet ga je ook onbevagen met je medemens om. Als ik niet weet of iemand vervelende, erge dingen heeft gedaan, of wat dan ook. Als ik dat niet weet, dan speelt dat ook geen rol.

Q: Het beïnvloedt je toch hoe je naar die persoon kijkt. En je weet vaak nog niet eens of het dan echt waar is.

A: En dan weet je nog niet eens of het echt waar is.

Q: Je hoort het maar van één kant dan...

A: En dan beïnvloedt het jou wel in je relatie met je medemens.

Q: Dat is heel moeilijk om dat dan niet te zien.

A: Ja, dat kun je niet... Als je het weet, dan kun je niet doen net alsof je het niet weet. Dat kan niet, want het heeft altijd invloed.

Q: Is dat dan ook bijvoorbeeld... Een volgende vraag die gaat daar iets meer over, schaamte. En dat hoeft niet heel erg, de schaamte, maar als je dan de mindere aspecten van het dorp hebt... Zou dat ook iets zijn waar je misschien soms weleens naar buitenstaanders of misschien andere mensen wat schaamte voor zou kunnen voelen?

A: Ja, dan vind ik ook wel dat... Mensen die het gewoon veel minder hebben. En het verschil in mensen die het financieel beter hebben dan anderen. Dan zie je ook alweer dat ze toch wel weer in hokjes gaan leven. En je gaat eigenlijk ook weer om met mensen die het ook weer goed hebben.

En dat vind ik ook wel jammer. Maar ja, dat is wereldwijd. Dat is iets, daar kun je je voor schamen... Maar, echt schamen... Ik noem nu net al wat negatieve dingen. Maar echt schamen, ik kan eigenlijk niet iets bedenken.

Q: Dat kan ook, ook goed.

A: Dat mensen soms... Daar schaam ik me dan wel eens voor... Dat mensen zo nieuwsgierig kunnen zijn, en dan nieuwsgierig zijn vooral ook in gesprekken over anderen, of dat mensen gaan scheiden, of whatever. Dat daar dan een beetje besmuikt over gepraat wordt. Dat vind ik niet leuk. Daar schaam ik me eigenlijk wel een beetje voor. En dat is ook wel een beetje dorps hoor.

Maar goed, dat is nou eenmaal een beetje zo.

Q: Ja dat is nou eenmaal zo, dat hoort er ook bij.

A: Het hoort erbij.

Q: Dat klopt.

A: De volgende vraag heb je eigenlijk al gezegd... Die trots die je dan voelt, of dat aan iets specifiek in Aalten gekoppeld is? En dan zei je: dat is dan echt wel aan het museum? Dat is specifiek iets waar je trots op bent?

A: Vroeger zou ik dat denk ik helemaal niet gezegd hebben. Maar ik vind wel: het museum omhelst eigenlijk ook een beetje... Heeft alles te maken ook met Aalten en de omgeving en met het verleden, met het heden. Ze zijn ook bezig met toekomst dingen, dat ze nog dit of dat willen doen.

Q: In het museum of gewoon in Aalten?

A: In het museum. Ja, ze hebben ook mensen die... Verhalenvangers. Mensen die gaan in de omgeving mensen af die ooit iets ook met de oorlog te maken hebben gehad. Die verhalen worden hier vastgelegd en op papier gezet en dat vind ik toch wel hele goede dingen.

Q: Dat is iets moois.

A: Er zijn heel veel mensen die heel veel te vertellen hebben, maar uit bescheidenheid dat niet doen. Of omdat ze daar niet over kunnen vertellen. Dat gebeurt ook vaak.

Q: Ja, dan doet het nog pijn.

A: Maar dat is met de Aaltense bevolking, de oorspronkelijke Aaltense bevolking, die zijn eigenlijk ook wel bescheiden, terughoudend. Ze zijn ook wel een beetje achterdochtig. En met name zijn ze ook achterdochtig naar de mensen die van buiten komen.

Q: Ja, dat klopt. Dat heb ik ook weleens gemaakt.

A: Dat vind ik eigenlijk ook een negatieve eigenschap, want dan is het vaak wel kritiek op de mensen die van buiten komen. Dat die dan in het bestuur gaan zitten van een vereniging, of weet ik wat... Daar hebben ze een grote mond over, maar zelf doen ze het ook niet.

Q: Ja, dat klopt.

A: Maar dan in eigen kring kunnen ze vaak wel tegengas geven. Maar in het openbaar zullen ze dat niet zo gauw doen.

Q: Ja, klopt. Ik herken dat wel, want...

A: En dat is wel een beetje een negatieve eigenschap.

Q: Ja. Het is moeilijk om geaccepteerd te worden.

A: Ja. Dat vind ik wel een negatieve eigenschap. En ik heb heel vaak opmerkingen gehad toen onze kinderen klein waren, naar de kleuterschool gingen. Toen zat ik ook in de oudercommissie. Maar dat mensen van buiten vaak heel verbaasd waren dat ik een geboren Aaltense ben. Maar dat komt denk ik ook, omdat ik wel een tijd lang Aalten uit ben geweest. En ik ben weer teruggekomen.

Ik denk dat je dan ook een beetje... Toch een beetje verandert en toch een andere kijk op Aalten, op het dorp... Niet minder en ook niet beter, maar gewoon: je kijkt anders.

Q: Je hebt ook een andere werkelijkheid gezien.

A: Ja, je hebt andere mensen ontmoet, ook vreemde mensen, andere collega's die weer uit een heel ander gebied komen. En ja, daar word je toch wel door gevormd. Dat geloof ik zeker. Dat heb ik dus wel gehad. Maar ik heb wel altijd ook, wat ik net zei, die heimwee naar dat je hier gewoon alles kent, en je kent de wegen... Je voelt je hier gewoon thuis. Je komt mensen tegen die je van vroeger kent. Ze kennen jou. Ja, dat vind ik wel prettig. Daar hou ik wel van.

Q: Komen bij jou ook jouw ouders en grootouders allemaal uit Aalten?

A: Ja, mijn moeder komt dan van Zinderen. Dat is Breedenbroek, maar dat is hier dichtbij, dat is 10 kilometer hier vandaan.

Dus we zijn echte Achterhoekers, ja. En mijn vader ook. Ik ben ook met het dialect opgegroeid. En ik denk ook dat we wel qua karakter echte Achterhoekers zijn, toch ook wel... Ook die bescheidenheid. Mijn ouders hadden dat ook heel sterk; ook gewoon je eigen leventje leiden, maar ook wel opkijken tegen mensen die gestudeerd hadden.

Dat was wel de dokter, de schoolmeester. En daar keken mijn vader en moeder wel tegen op, die hadden daar wel ontzag voor.

Q: Dat is tegenwoordig ook minder natuurlijk.

A: Dat is nu ook niet meer zo. Dat heb ik zelf ook niet. Mijn ouders hadden dat heel sterk. En je dienstbaar opstellen.

Q: Je zei ook in het begin dat die verbondenheid voor jou belangrijk is. Heb ik dat goed onthouden?

A: Ja.

Q: Maar is dat verbondenheid met het Aalten van nu, of is dat ook verbondenheid met jouw voorouders, jouw familie, jouw ouders en jouw grootouders? Dat je je daar ook als het waren nog mee verbonden voelt op een bepaalde manier, door hier te wonen? Dat je zegt: hier heeft iedereen van mijn stamboom, van mijn voorouders, gewoond?

A: Nee, het heeft meer met de plek te maken dan met familiebanden, met ouders, voorouders enzovoort. Het heeft veel meer met de plek en met de omgeving te maken.

Dat vind ik gewoon heel prettig. Ja, daar heeft het vooral mee te maken.

Q: Dus om dat even samen te vatten, dat zijn dan dus vooral heel veel de sociale aspecten, maar is het ook nog iets van het museum, of misschien het landschap? Dat je zegt van: dat is ook iets wat ik heel uniek vind?

A: Dat is ook weer zoiets waar ik eigenlijk niet zo duidelijk een voorkeur in heb. Ik vind de Achterhoek ook prachtig. Een mooi gebied, maar ik heb ook heel veel... Maar dat komt ook weer een beetje door Piet... De kust, de zee, de duinen. Dat vind ik heel erg mooi.

Terwijl ik al een jaar of elf of twaalf was, dat ik pas voor het eerst de zee heb gezien.

Dat zijn dingen die je eigenlijk heel weinig zeiden, want je kende het helemaal niet. Dat vind ik ook heel mooi, maar toch het wonen hier.... Dat is toch iets wat blijvend voor mij veilig is. Een veilig thuis is het eigenlijk.

Q: Een andere vraag gaat dan meer over de oorsprong van die gevoelens die je dan hebt ten aanzien van Aalten. Waar denk je dat de oorzaak...

A: Oh, waar het vandaan komt?

Q: Heb je dat meegekregen? Of denk je dat je dat pas hebt ontwikkeld toen je ergens anders woonde, toen je niet in Aalten woonde?

A: Ik denk dat dat toch in de jeugd al is ontstaan. Dat je toch een veilige jeugd hebt gehad. Dat je het thuis ook goed naar de zin had, dat je je op je gemak voelde op school. Dat de plek waar je was, dat dat jou een fijn gevoel gaf.

Ik denk dat het vanuit de jeugd komt.

Terwijl wij helemaal niet zo'n close gezin waren. We gingen wel met elkaar om, maar niet dat we alles van elkaar wisten. We gingen ook wel weer een beetje als kinderen onze eigen gang. Maar ik denk wel dat daar dat gevoel vandaan komt.

Dat je je hier lekker voelt.

Q: Dus eigenlijk in de jeugd dan.

A: Ik denk dat het toch wel een beetje in de genen zit ook. Omdat je dus... Voorouders zijn ook allemaal Achterhoekers, dus niemand komt oorspronkelijk, overgrootvader of moeder, uit Rotterdam, Amsterdam of weet ik veel, dus het is echt heel erg gebonden aan de grond waar je geboren bent.

En ik denk dat die karaktertrek, dat bescheiden, je zeker niet méér voelen dan een ander, eerder minder... Dat dat soort dingen allemaal, dat dat heel diep in je karakter zit, in je genen.

Q: Ja, dat denk ik ook wel.

A: Ik denk dat dat wel met name toch door de voorouders komt. Zeker omdat ze dan ook weer, de twee ouders ook beiden weer echte Achterhoekers zijn, dus dan versterkt dat eigenlijk nog meer. Als ik kijk naar mijn broer en zus, dan zie je toch wel hetzelfde.

Q: Die wonen ook in Aalten?

A: Diezelfde inslag, en ook die Achterhoekse mentaliteit.

Q: En die wonen ook nog hier in Aalten?

A: Ja, mijn zus woont in Zelhem, maar ook in de Achterhoek. Ja, mijn zus is dan pas een maand geleden overleden.

Q: Oh, gecondoleerd. Sorry.

A: Ja, dank je. Maar die is dus ook altijd in de Achterhoek gebleven. Zelhem is net als hier.

A: Dat verschilt niet zo heel veel.

Q: En jouw ouders, als je daar nu zo aan terugdenkt, hadden die dan ook dat ze actief over Aalten spraken, dat het heel mooi en fijn was?

A: Ja, mijn vader was ook een echte Aaltenaar. Die hield ook echt van Aalten, van het dorpsleven. Ze waren ook natuurlijk binnen de kerk, nou niet zo actief, maar daar binnen hadden ze natuurlijk ook hun contacten.

Ik denk dat dat zij ook erg gesteld waren op Aalten en op het wonen hier.



Q: De vraag is of je een moment zou kunnen beschrijven... Maar goed, je hebt al gezegd dat je dat niet hebt... Misschien heb je een moment dat je kunt beschrijven waarop jij je heel erg trots voelde op Aalten, of misschien op de Achterhoek?

Maar je zei al: Dat heb ik niet echt.

A: Nee. Ik heb eigenlijk niet echt... Ik kan ook geen mensen noemen hier in de Achterhoek, dan meer in zijn algemeenheid. Dat mensen die zich dus inderdaad voor... Nou, dan kom ik weer op het museum, of via een vereniging veel doen voor de gemeenschap. Dat vind ik mooi.

Dat zijn dingen die moeten ook in je karakter liggen en dat zijn vaak autochtone mensen, maar ook best wel heel vaak mensen die dan toch ook weer van buiten komen en zich inzetten om wat actieve dingen te organiseren.

Q: Mensen willen vaak ook een bijdrage leveren aan waar ze bij horen, waar ze iets van ontvangen.

A: Ja, dat klopt.

Q: Ken je dan misschien iemand waarvan je zegt: die persoon spreekt ook echt heel erg uit dat die heel trots is op Aalten. Ken je zo iemand?

A: Ik zou het niet weten. Nee, weet ik niet.

Q: En eigenlijk zou hetzelfde dan zijn voor schaamte. Ken je dan iemand dat je zegt van: bij die persoon herken ik dat die zich schaamt voor Aalten of voor misschien wel de Achterhoek? Dat die hier vandaan komt en misschien naar Amsterdam is gegaan, zoiets?

A: Nou, eigenlijk ook niet echt. Ik kan daar geen persoon bij denken. Nee, er komt niks in me op. Ik zou er echt niemand voor kunnen aanwijzen. Trots niet, en in het geval van schaamte evenmin, nee.

Q: Nou, dat gaan we er snel doorheen.

Maar dat is goed hoor.

De laatste vraag is meer een beetje hypothetisch. En dat is iets wat we dan aan het onderzoeken zijn. Meer eigenlijk het waarom mensen dat zouden kunnen ontwikkelen. Want er zijn best wel een aantal mensen die ik ook gesproken heb die heel trots zijn op de Achterhoek, of jongeren die zich toch schamen voor de Achterhoek.

Waar zou het eigenlijk voor dienen, de trots en de Graafschap? Dat is bijvoorbeeld ook iets waar mensen heel trots op zijn. Je ziet dan tegenwoordig ook de Aaltense vlag helemaal. En mensen willen dat echt uitdragen. Zo van: dit zijn wij en daar zijn we trots op. En ook met de Graafschap. De trots van de Achterhoek noemen ze zichzelf, zoiets. Waar zou dat allemaal voor dienen? Wat zouden mensen daar voor baat bij hebben?

Q: Dat zie ik wel, dat is eigenlijk in heel Nederland wel, dat de regio's zich gaan manifesteren. En dat ze dus inderdaad door die Achterhoekse vlag, de Graafschap, het voetbal... Maar ja, ik heb daar niet zoveel mee, met voetbal. Een vlag heb ik eigenlijk ook niet zoveel mee. Ik ben eigenlijk een beetje wars van dat, ik weet niet waar het vandaan komt, van nationale gevoelens, en ook van regionale gevoelens.

Dat vind ik ook dat dat nationale gevoel van dat trots zijn op Nederland, en wij zijn Nederlanders. Dan denk ik: Ja hallo, wij zijn Nederlanders. Wij zijn toevallig hier geboren, en we krijgen daar wel een heleboel van mee. Wat ik ook verteld heb, met je karakter en hoe je in elkaar zit. Maar voor de rest denk ik van... Ook die vlag, wij verkopen hem in het museum. Ik zou hem wel willen hebben, daar niet van. Maar ik heb niet iets van: trots op de Achterhoekse vlag. Ik ben ook niet trots op de Nederlandse vlag.

Ik heb dat niet.

Q: Het is maar een vlag, he.

A: Ik heb dat gewoon niet. Ik vind het ook nog vaak, als je de geschiedenis nagaat... Ik vind het ook nog vaak gevaarlijk dat mensen steeds trotser worden op hun eigen gebiedje. Dat houdt ook in dat je dus mensen gaat weren. Mensen die dat niet zijn. Die voelen zich dan niet meer welkom in, en die voelen zich dan steeds minder op hun plek.

En ik denk dat je dat sowieso niet moet doen, maar ik voel het ook niet. Ik voel het niet.

Ik vind het best wel leuk, zo'n Achterhoekse vlag ook. En bijvoorbeeld het Achterhoekse volkslied, prima. Dat mag van mij allemaal, maar je moet er niet mee te koop lopen. Je moet het niet omhoog tillen.

Q: Aan de ene kant past het natuurlijk ook niet... Vind ik het tegenstrijdig met de Achterhoekse mentaliteit. Het verbindt wel, maar de andere kant zeg je ook: Dit zijn wij en wij zijn anders, en misschien zelfs een beetje beter. Soms hoor je dat er impliciet een beetje in.

A: Ja, je moet ook oppassen dat die inderdaad... Trots op de Achterhoek, dan ga je al gauw als je trots bent, dan ga je ook al gauw de ander het gevoel geven dat die minder is. En dat zit eigenlijk een beetje vast aan dat gevoel van trots zijn.

Q: En dat past niet bij jouw waarden, denk ik?

A: Nee, het is niet gelijkwaardig. En dat is net als met schaamte. Als jij je heel erg schaamt voor de Achterhoek, en bijvoorbeeld voor dialect, dat vind ik ook een hele slechte zaak.

Dat moet je ook niet doen. Ik vind het dialect helemaal niet zo'n mooi dialect.

Maar ik ben wel geneigd altijd... Ik heb vaak veel in ziekenhuizen gewerkt. Ik was wel geneigd om bij mensen die je voor het eerst ontmoet geen dialect te praten, maar Nederlands. Dat deed ik altijd wel, maar ik heb daar ook wel eens via via commentaren op gehad dat ik me wat verbeeldde.

Toen ik in het ziekenhuis in Winterswijk werkte, en toen kwam ik daar en dan word je... Nonnetje was hoofd van het lab. Je stelt je voor en je maakt een praatje, dan praat ik uiteraard, dan vind ik het de normaalste zaak van de wereld dat ik dan gewoon Nederlands praat en geen dialect.

Q: Als dat zo ontstaat...

A: Dan blijft dat vaak zo. Dan ga je dus binnen die omgeving, dat zijn allemaal nieuwe mensen, dan praat je Nederlands en dan, dat is goed, en dat deed je ook vaak. Daar komen ze tegenwoordig ook weer steeds meer van terug, omdat je dus in een ziekenhuis ook veel oudere mensen hebt. En om dan toch met die oudere mensen dialect te praten. Dat vind ik ook heel goed.

Q: Die voelen zich dan misschien wel weer thuis.

A: Ja, die voelen die zich dan wat meer thuis.

Maar je moet ook niet mensen die... Nu doen ze dat ook niet meer hoor, maar dat was zo'n veertig jaar geleden... Toen had je nog wel dat als je dus inderdaad in een bepaalde setting waar mensen dialect spraken en Nederlands, en jij sprak Nederlands en er zaten ook dialect sprekenden bij dat er dan al gauw geoordeeld werd van: Oh, die voelt zich te goed om dialect te praten, terwijl dat natuurlijk helemaal niet zo hoeft te zijn.

Q: Je wilt iedereen er dan bij betrekken?

A: Ja.

Q: Je sluit mensen direct uit als je dialect gaat praten.

A: Ja, en dat is net als we trots zijn op de vlag, trots zijn op... Nou ja, dat is eigenlijk hetzelfde, je kunt ook trots zijn op het dialect. En dan zeggen van: en ik praat altijd dialect. Ik blijf erbij, of er nou mensen van buiten komen of wat ook, dat is onze taal, en ik praat dialect.

Dat vind ik onzin. Dat is een verkeerde, misplaatste trots.

Q: Ja, dat doen we in ons onderzoek: we maken onderscheid in twee soorten trots. Trots is best wel veel onderzocht, maar meer met studenten bijvoorbeeld.

Ten eerste zien ze dan... En dat zie ik ook wel met de plaats met de trots, er is een soort... Je identificeert je met datgene waar je dan trots op bent.

De Achterhoekers identificeren zich dan met de plek met een witte vlag...

A: Ja, met de Graafschap bijvoorbeeld.

Q: Ze zien daar een stukje van zichzelf in. Dus dat is een hele sterke identiteit. En wij maken onderscheid tussen twee soorten trots. De ene heet authentieke trots en de andere heet hubristische trots.

A: Hubristische?

Q: Hubristisch. Zo, ik denk dat ik dat goed vertaal. Het is een meer een Griekse term, maar ik weet eigenlijk niet exact wat die betekent.

En het verschil is eigenlijk: Stel, jongeren op de universiteit of op school...

Je kunt trots zijn op als je echt heel hard je best hebt gedaan voor een tentamen. Als je je stinkende best gedaan en je slaagt ervoor, dan ben je trots.

En dat is een andere trots dan als je misschien aan de universiteit studeert en daar helemaal niks voor doet. Maar gewoon omdat je nu eenmaal een goed stel hersenen hebt gekregen, dat je daar trots op bent.

En dat is eigenlijk een heel andere trots. Dus de ene vorm van trots is meer authentiek. Daar heb je gewoon echt je best voor gedaan. Dat kun je beïnvloeden. En die andere, dat kun je niet beïnvloeden. Dat heb je gekregen. Daar kun je niks aan doen. Dan zeggen ze: dat is eigenlijk een andere vorm van trots. Dan zien ze ook mensen die dan weer die authentieke vorm van trots hebben, dat die vaak iets meer zelfvertrouwen hebben, dat er daar iets mee verbonden is.

En die andere is iets meer gerelateerd aan wat narcistische trekjes als het ware. Die voelen zichzelf beter dan de rest. Gewoon niet eens door wat ze gedaan hebben, maar door wat ze... Hoe ze geboren zijn.

A: Ja, die zijn eigenlijk al trots... Jij bedoelt op bijvoorbeeld afkomst.

Q: Afkomst, ja.

A: Op ouders, voorouders, hun geslacht, dat die veel geld hebben...

Q: Of de status in het gezin, ofzo.

A: En dat zijn dingen waar je niet voor gewerkt hebt.

Q: Ja, precies.

A: Waar je niets voor gedaan hebt.

Q: En dan zie je toch ook dat de gevolgen daarvan in het gedrag heel anders zijn.

A: Dan krijg je ook een beetje autoritair gedrag, en ook een beetje boven de rest te staan. En dat geeft natuurlijk naar de omgeving toe niet zo een prettig beeld.

Q: Nee, en hetzelfde is eigenlijk ook een beetje op plaats niveau, op nationaal niveau. Wat jij ook zei, van: mensen zijn trots dat ze Nederlanders zijn, maar je bent hier nou eenmaal geboren. Wat heb je daarvoor gedaan?

A: Nee, je hebt er niks voor gedaan.

Q: Nee, maar toch zijn mensen daar dan heel trots op. En tegelijkertijd sluiten ze daarmee ook een heleboel mensen buiten. Die willen ze dan niet, want dat is dan weer een bedreiging voor die trots.

En dat willen we dan eigenlijk ook een beetje onderzoeken. Als het nou gaat over de plaats waar mensen wonen, als mensen bijvoorbeeld heel trots zijn op mentaliteit. Waar je dan ook actief een bijdrage aan levert eigenlijk. Dat je zegt van: nou, dat onderhouden wij.

Of mensen die zeggen van: Ik ben nou eenmaal trots op de Achterhoek, want dat is van ons, daar ben ik geboren. Of dat je dan op een gegeven moment ook ziet dat mensen daardoor anders naar de wereld, en naar nieuwkomers kijken. Dat is eigenlijk een beetje wat we willen onderzoeken.

Dus heel fijn dat je daar...

A: Wat jij nu zo noemt, dat vind ik ook heel erg interessant. Want inderdaad, dat is hetzelfde eigenlijk als dat je ook mensen hebt die...

Bijvoorbeeld ook die tegenstelling van arm, rijk. Kinderen die gaan studeren en die rijke ouders hebben, die studeren dan af en ja, toch maar mooi gedaan. Maar die ouders hebben hun ook financieel enorm gesteund. Als ze ook nog een goed verstand hebben, van de ouders geërfd. Als jij alles erft, geestelijk en financieel...

Q: Dat is makkelijk, he.

A: Dan is het voor jou veel gemakkelijker, en dan kun je ook een beetje neerkijken op de rest die dat niet kan.

Maar die andere trots van mensen die niets hebben, die moeten werken en studeren, en moeten zien om hun hoofd boven het hoofd te houden, dat is een heel ander punt. En dan mag je eigenlijk veel meer trots zijn.

En meestal is dat niet zo.

Q: Er is een beetje een vloek op, dat verachten wij eigenlijk... Als mensen zo arrogant trots zijn, want dat is ook een beetje de arrogantie.

A: Ja, dat zit er ook in.

Q: Maar dat anderen... Dat is eigenlijk iets heel moois. Dat vinden we allemaal mooi als je bijvoorbeeld iemand zou zien, die er echt zo hard voor heeft gewerkt, die is gaan studeren, die heeft zelf voor het collegegeld hard gewerkt, en alles gehad. Daar kunnen we oprecht blij voor zijn voor zo een persoon. Dat je zegt van: Dat vind ik hartstikke mooi voor je. Maar bij die andere dingen denk je toch van...

A: En zo iemand gunnen wij het ook. Het heeft ook te maken met een gunfactor, en mensen die het al gewoon van oudsher altijd goed hebben en eigenlijk alles kunnen doen en laten, die gunnen we het veel minder.

Die gunfactor speelt daar niet.

Maar mensen die gewoon eerlijk en hard werken voor iets wat ze willen bereiken, dat is gewoon mooi, en dat wordt hen ook gegund.

Dat speelt daar denk ik ook heel veel mee. En dan mag zo iemand trots zijn. Dat mag je dan ook hardop zeggen. Dan zullen mensen dat beamen.

Q: Ja, dat is dus ook een beetje één van de vragen die we hebben in het onderzoek. Hoe werkt het dan in de plaats? Wat zijn dan de gevolgen daarvan voor gedrag? Hoe mensen actief betrokken zijn bij de samenleving, of hoe ze zich ook gedragen naar mensen die van buiten komen.

A: Ja, precies. En dat is ook het verschil natuurlijk tussen dorp en stad. Jij woont in Italië. Daar heb ik ook wel bewondering voor. Maar ik heb ook bewondering voor onze kinderen, die wonen in Groningen. Dat is wel in Nederland, maar...

Q: Maar dat is ook ver van huis.

A: Maar ik vind het wel een eind weg, en je moet daar wel een bestaan opbouwen: sociale omgeving, zorgen dat je je daar thuis voelt. Ze voelen zich allebei heel erg thuis, en... (einde opname).

## Netherlands Rural Area: Participant [NLR4]

Q: Je hebt drie hulplijnen!

Om te beginnen, vertel maar wat er in je opkomt als je denkt aan de relatie tussen mensen en de plaatsen waar ze wonen. In het algemeen, maar het mag ook specifiek over jou gaan. Het eerste wat in je opkomt!

A: Dat ze vaak wel een bepaalde trots hebben waar ze vandaan komen, dat kan wel zo zijn in bepaalde wijken, steden of regio's.

Q: En hoe is dat voor jou dan? Wat Aalten, de Achterhoek voor jou betekent?

A: Op zich ben ik denk ik wel trots op Aalten, de Achterhoek. Maar dat zal meer de... Dan gaat het er denk ik meer over wat je als Achterhoeker een beetje bent? Hard werken, niet te veel zeuren. En als je wat afspreekt, dan doe je dat vaak.

Q: Oké, dus dat is echt meer mentaliteit.

A: Verder, op zich vind ik de Achterhoek wel mooi.

Ik moet zeggen dat het me zelf vaak niet zo opvalt, maar wel als ik collega's of kennissen spreek die hier zijn geweest, dat ze dan wel vinden dat de Achterhoek een mooi gebied is.

Q: Oké, en als mensen dan positief praten over de Achterhoek, wat doet dat dan met jou?

A: Ik weet niet of me dat heel veel doet. Het is op zich wel leuk om te horen, dat ze iets mooi vinden van de plek of de regio waar ik vandaan kom. Ik weet niet of ik er dan heel trots op ben, maar ik vind het wel leuk om te horen.

Q: Oké. En je hebt het al een beetje beantwoord, maar wat komt in je op als je denkt aan trots zijn op de plaats waar je vandaan komt of waar je woont?

A: Van mij specifiek of in het algemeen?

Q: Mag allebei, maakt niet zoveel uit. Wat er in je opkomt.

A: Wat er in me opkomt als ik denk aan trots....

Q: Moeilijk?

A: Ik weet niet zo goed wat er in me opkomt. Het is meer dat ik dan wel eens.... Als ik in het algemeen denk, en dat zal ook wel een beetje gelden voor de.... Kijk, als je uit een bepaalde plaats komt, dat je dan trots bent op iets. En dat is eigenlijk meer omdat je daar dan geboren en getogen bent, en dat je daardoor wat automatisch trots op bent dan.... Waarschijnlijk als ik in Amsterdam was geboren, dan was ik heel trots geweest op Amsterdam en als ik in China was geboren, dan was ik heel trots geweest op China.

En dus ik denk dat als je in een bepaalde plek of regio of stad ofzo woont, en omdat je daar veel tijd doorbrengt, zie je dan veel mooie dingen die je dan uiteindelijk wel trots maken.

Q: Met name dan schoonheid en zo, mooie dingen? De positieve dingen?

A: Ook wel dat mensen, als mensen willen dat bepaalde dingen aan een plaats of een regio ofzo dan niet zo mooi zijn dat ze het wel weten, maar dat doordat ze trots zijn op zo'n plaats dat ze dat accepteren en akkoord mee gaan, omdat ze dat prima vinden.

Q: Oké, hmmm. Denk je dat dat in het geval van Aalten ook zo is? Of de Achterhoek?

A: Ik denk wel dat mensen, dat er veel mensen, trots zijn op de Achterhoek. Dat denk ik wel ja. Als je kijkt naar dat een paar jaar geleden die \*onverstaanbaar\* Achterhoekse vlag is ontworpen.... Daar kom ik waarschijnlijk op, omdat als je daar op let, je dat ziet.

Maar er zijn heel veel mensen die hebben dat op hun auto geplakt met zo'n stickertje.... Eigenlijk best wel veel, als je hier in de regio rijdt, mensen die een vlaggenmast hebben, dat ze die standaard als vlag hebben hangen, \*onverstaanbaar\* en die man heeft gewoon een vlaggenmast, hangt altijd achter op zijn vlag.

Q: Oké. Nou volgende vraag... Als je denkt aan zeg maar.... Misschien eerst een andere vraag. Ben je trots op de Achterhoek of op Aalten?

A: Trots vind ik een groot woord denk ik. Ik vind het een leuke plek om te wonen, maar waarschijnlijk bij wat ik zei als ik in de twintig was. Als er altijd in Twente een Twente had gelegen, dan was ik daar net zo trots op geweest. Dus niet dat ik zeg van 'Aalten of Achterhoek boven alles' ofzo.

Q: Maar zie je dan Achterhoek, Aalten, als onderdeel van wie je bent?

A: Nee, ik woon daar en daar kom je vandaan en ik heb het prima naar mijn zin. Waarschijnlijk als ik ergens anders had gewoond, had ik het daar ook gewoon naar mijn zin gehad. Iets dat je vooral zelf creëert.

Ook had ik zelf, wat ik wel, ofzo, als je kijkt naar dat het een heel klein dorpje is. Maar als je kijkt naar wat er van zo'n klein dorp gebeurt... In Aalten heb je best wel veel activiteiten die er worden georganiseerd. Ik vind dat zelfs wel dat ze, of we, dat we dat als Aalten altijd wel goed doen.

Q: Oké. Daar kom ik zo nog even op terug.

Je zei dat dat je daar wel wat trots op bent, dat in Aalten dan zoveel evenementen, activiteiten of dingen worden georganiseerd, maar zijn er nog andere dingen, of plekken of misschien een gebied, of iets anders dat je associeert met trots voor je plaats? In Aalten, of in de Achterhoek?

A: Ik vind veel dingen over de oorlog wel interessant, en als je dan kijkt dat in Aalten en ook wel in de Achterhoek best wel veel mensen hebben ondergedoken gezeten, omdat ze zijn geholpen door mensen uit Aalten of deze regio... Dat is ook wel iets waar ik trots op ben, dat ze dat hebben gedaan in de oorlog. Uiteindelijk zijn het de individuele mensen die dat hebben gedaan.

Maar voor Aalten en de Achterhoek zijn er heel veel mensen die dat hebben gedaan, dus je kan het wel als collectief zien.

Q: Als onderdeel van de geschiedenis ofzo. Van de plek.

Ook dat zijn dan de geschiedenis en ook, uhm in het begin noemde je ook nog mentaliteit.... Dan noemde je daar hard werken en betrouwbaar afspraken nakomen. Betrouwbaarheid.

Zijn er nog andere dingen die je daarbij vindt horen, bij die mentaliteit?

A: Ik denk dat de mensen ook wel veel naar elkaar om kijken.

Dat komt denk ik ook omdat het een klein dorp is, maar dat je wel veel meer contacten met je burens en met de mensen waar je leeft en waar je mee wil met je zijn hebt \*onverstaanbaar\*

In veel grote steden weten mensen niet niks van elkaar. Al jaren naast elkaar wonen, maar niet eens weten wie de burens zijn. Je denkt niet zo snel. Zal niet zo snel gebeuren. Als je hoort in de steden dat iemand al jarenlang dood in de flat ligt, dat zie je niet snel gebeuren.

Q: Nobelschap! \*onverstaanbaar\*

Kun je, als je denkt aan jou, aan de trots voor die dingen die je nu beschrijft, en misschien voor Aalten en de Achterhoek, kun je dan een aantal steekwoorden noemen die in je opkomen? Gewoon een aantal woorden. Een stuk of vijf.

A: Nou, betrouwbaarheid, nobelschap (heb ik dit goed verstaan?)....

Q: Landschap?

A: Ja het landschap.....

Stilte.

Daar moet ik even over nadenken....

Q: Is goed. En van die drie die we nu genoemd hebben, welke zou je dan echt als belangrijkste er uitpikken?

A: Dat je als buur, of als gemeenschap veel voor elkaar doet, dat je betrokken bent bij elkaar.

Q: Saamhorigheid.

A: Ja.

Q: Oké. En dan een beetje een ander onderwerp. Heb je dat ook wel eens? Schaamte? Dat heb ik ook wel gezien, dat mensen zich ook wel schamen voor de plek waar ze vandaan komen. Heb jij dat ook wel eens gevoeld? Dat je je schaamde dat je uit Aalten kwam of uit de Achterhoek of uit dit gedeelte van de wereld?

A: Nee, niet zo, niet echt. Ik zou niet weten waarom ik me daarvoor zou moeten schamen.

Q: Ken je nou mensen die zich wel eens schamen daarvoor?

A: Ja, er zijn nog wel een aantal die ik wel kan bedenken, die zich daar wat voor schamen. Als je dan buiten deze regio komt, en dan vooral iets verder weg....

Ik zou eerder zeggen van: ik kom van ergens anders, ik kom uit het Oosten, dan - zeg maar - ik kom uit de Achterhoek en uit Aalten.

Q: En waar denk je dan dat zij zich voor schamen?

A: Ja, misschien een beetje het idee dat zij het gevoel hebben ofzo dat andere mensen zich beter voelen ofzo.

Q: Die niet hier vandaan komen? Zij voelen zich dan misschien minderwaardig ofzo? En waarom zou dat dan zijn? Zou het echt zijn om iets wat dan hier aanwezig is of afwezig is?

A: Ja, weet ik niet zo goed. Ik weet niet. Ik denk dat zij dat zij zich.... Dat zij wel het gevoel hebben dat mensen uit de grote steden.... Dat de Achterhoek of Aalten, omdat het kleiner is dat het niks voorstelt. Dat ze dat gevoel hebben.

Q: En denk je dat het ook gewoon een fase is? Dat je in een bepaalde fase van je leven.... dat mensen zich daarvoor schamen en dat dat dan weggaat? Of is dat iets wat je denkt dat blijft?

A: Dat weet ik eigenlijk niet zo goed. Ik kan me ook wel voorstellen dat als mensen eenmaal het idee hebben dat dat ook wel blijvend is. Als ik een voorbeeld kan noemen, bijvoorbeeld mama heeft best wel het idee dat mensen uit het Westen heel erg neerkijken op mensen uit het Oosten. Maar ik heb dat nooit zo nooit zo gevoeld.

Q: En waar denk je dan dat zij zich voor schamen? Zou het misschien zijn voor dialect of misschien voor de geschiedenis en voor het landschap, voor de mentaliteit of iets anders?

A: Ja misschien dialect, maar ook wel dat ze zeggen van ja 'domme boeren' of zoiets dergelijks...

Q: Een beetje de reputatie of het imago?

A: Ja.

Q: En in jouw geval, waar denk je dat zeg maar de oorsprong van jouw trots ligt voor Aalten of voor de Achterhoek?

A: Uiteindelijk dat ik er geboren en getogen ben, dat is de grootste oorsprong.

Q: En denk je dat je dat ook hebt meegekregen ergens van mensen om je heen, van voorouders of op school of bij voetbal?

A: Euhm ja, misschien niet altijd bewust. En sommige dingen wel denk ik. Op de ene manier gaat dat ook wel een beetje automatisch. Denk dat, onze vader ?? \*onverstaanbaar\* ook wel trots is op Aalten en dat je dat van jongs af aan ook wel een beetje meekrijgt, of dat die stickers op de auto plakt met: 'Ik ben blij dat ik uit Aalten kom.' Dat soort dingetjes. Ik denk dat je dat onbewust ja, toch wel, meekrijgt.

Q: Oké, dus een beetje een combi van zeg maar vanuit ouders, maar dan op een gegeven moment ga je dat ook zelf zo ervaren...

A: Ja, dan ga je dat ook als een ervaring voelen.

Q: Oké, en zijn er nog andere specifieke dingen van de plaats die jou trots maken en die kunnen dan zijn, wat je dan zei al, evenementen, maar ook de geschiedenis noemde jij....

Zou er eventueel nog iets anders kunnen zijn? En je noemde al mentaliteit, maar zou er bijvoorbeeld ook nog iets anders kunnen zijn waar jij of mensen algemeen trots op zijn die in de Achterhoek?

A: Dat weet ik niet zo goed, nee....

Q: Goed, dan volgende vraag... Ik kijk af en toe of die het goed doet, omdat ie er een paar keer mee stopte.

Uhm, goed, kun je mij een moment beschrijven waarop jij je trots voelde op dat je dat je hiervan vandaan kwam? Hoeft niet iets heel groots te zijn, kan ook iets kleins zijn.

A: Ik zit te denken. Er zijn best wel veel van die momenten... Dat is met iemand die hier niet vandaan komt.... dat je die spreekt en dat ze in Aalten zijn geweest of iets hebben gehoord over Aalten wat wel positief is...Dat je dat wel.... Oh ja, daar kom ik vandaan. Dat vind ik leuk om te horen.

Ik zoek even een specifiek voorbeeld. Een collega heeft een tijdje geleden een hele toer met de fiets door de Achterhoek gemaakt en toen gaf die ook een aantal keer aan dat het een mooi gebied was, veel mooie plekjes, veel leuke dingen. Als hij dat een beetje zo vertelt, dan vind ik het wel leuk om te horen. Wel trots op dat je daar vandaan komt.

Q: En wat denk je dan op zo'n moment? Welke gedachte komt dan in je op? Weet je dat nog?

A: Uhm. Ik denk dat ik het dan leuk vind dat hij ook ziet waar je vandaan komt en dat het ook wel een mooi gebied is waar je vandaan komt, wel leuk is om te wonen....

Q: Dus een soort bevestiging, hoor je dan.... Of misschien erkenning?

A: Nou ik denk niet eens erkenning, maar dat gewoon iemand die jouw regio niet kent, maar hij is er een keer geweest.... dat hij daar dan vol lof over is. Dat je dan een beetje het gevoel hebt van 'oh ik vind het leuk dat je hebt gezien waar ik vandaan kom en dat je dat je mooi vindt.'

Q: Ja, oké, en wat voor emoties en gevoelens heb je daar dan bij? Misschien een beetje rare vraag... Je voelt je dan misschien trots en je vindt het leuk, maar ben je dan ook blij of enthousiast of....?

A: Ja, wel blij.... En zeker als hij dan vertelt van ik ben naar bepaalde plaatsen geweest, en bepaalde dingen die hij heeft bezocht, dat je dan bepaalde herkenning hebt van 'oh daar ben ik ook weleens geweest, dat ken ik'. Als je dan nog eens een keer komt, dan moet je ook eens daar of daar naar toe. Ja een bepaalde vreugde heb je dan wel om te zien dat iemand anders het ook wel mooi vindt waar je woont... En als je dan zoiets vertelt dat hij dan ook enthousiast is om het nog een keer te bezoeken....

Q: Oké.... En wat zou je dan graag willen doen? Welke intenties heb je dan eigenlijk om dat te doen? Wat voor een gedrag hoort daar dan eigenlijk bij? Dat is misschien meer zo'n vraag van.... Als je dat dan voelt of hoort, heb je dan ook het idee om dat te gaan delen met nog meer andere mensen? Of denk je eigenlijk zoiets van 'dat is mooi, maar je moet niet te vaak komen, want dan wordt het hier zo druk....'

A: Oh nee, absoluut niet.

Q: Maar wil je dan nog meer delen, of met andere mensen....? Of denk je van, ik wil eigenlijk nog meer bijdrage leveren aan Aalten?

A: Misschien niet persé aan andere mensen dat je zegt 'ik ga het aan Jan en alleman vertellen'.... Die behoefte heb ik niet echt, maar wel als je weet dat iemand geïnteresseerd is in je regio, dat je daar dan meer over vertelt. Dat je dan meer dingen zegt of elkaar een keer uitnodigt voor bepaalde festiviteiten ofzo.... Maar dan wel specifiek op die persoon gericht, niet aan Jan en alleman.

Q: Oké mooi. En dan eigenlijk dezelfde vraag, maar gaat dan meer op die schaamte. Je zei je hebt nog nooit gehad dat je je schaamde voor een plaats of dat je hier vandaan kwam?

A: Nee, nee.

Q: Heb je wel eens gehad dat je zag dat iemand zich daarvoor schaamde? Dat je daarbij was?



A: Ja, het is een natuurlijk een bepaalde interpretatie die je dan hebt. Dat mensen een beetje terughoudend zijn om te zeggen van waar ze dan vandaan komen, dan zou je kunnen zeggen of kunnen denken van 'dat doet hij uit schaamte'. En dat heb ik weleens gehad ja....

Q: Oké, en wat dacht je toen?

A: Ja, dat hij zich daar niet voor hoeft te schamen. Dat je daar gewoon trots op mag zijn.

Q: Je ziet eigenlijk niet waarom dat nodig is?

A: Nee, nee. Ik kan me wel ergens iets bij voorstellen, maar ik ben het er niet mee eens.

Q: En welke gevoelens of welke emoties voelde je je daar dan bij? Misschien boos of een beetje teleurgesteld? Of een beetje verdrietig?

A: Nou, dat is geen verdriet, maar meer een beetje... Ik zit even te denken welke emotie past. Maar meer dat je het idee hebt dat je je schaamt of een beetje terughoudend opstellen om te zeggen waar je vandaan komt. Niet echt woede ofzo, maar meer dan je dan hebt van 'nou dan vertel ik wel gewoon waar we vandaan komen', maar dat is meer....

Q: Een beetje irritatie?

A: Ja, misschien wel een beetje irritatie.... Ja, ook niet echt.... Ik weet niet zo goed hoe ik het gevoel moet omschrijven, maar het is een beetje alsof je dan een beetje, of heel betweterig zegt van 'nou, ik vertel wel waar we vandaan komen!' Maar het is niet echt irritatie ofzo, maar meer om te laten zien van nou.... tegenover de ander die zich daar een beetje voor schaamt... Ik zal je laten zien dat je je er helemaal niet voor hoeft te schamen, zo meer.... Snap je wat ik bedoel?

Q: Wat zou je dan willen doen op zo'n moment? Dus eigenlijk wat je dan gedaan hebt, dat je juist laat zien: je hoeft je er niet voor te schamen... Dat je juist met trots of met zelfvertrouwen zegt waar je vandaan komt?

A: Ja.

Q: Praat je daar dan daarna ook met zo iemand over? Schaam je je daarvoor, of is dat nodig, dat je daar een gesprekje over aangaat?

A: Echt een gesprek weet ik niet, maar wel een keer een opmerking van 'dat je je daar niet voor hoeft te schamen', ja.

Q: Oké. Mooi. Laatste vraag... Meer een beetje een algemene hypothetische vraag. Waar denk jij dat deze gevoelens van trots en schaamte eigenlijk voor dienen? Meer omdat dat we dat niet echt zeker weten.... Welk nut zouden die hebben? Wat zouden ze bijdragen?

A: Goeie vraag.... Trots en schaamte zijn natuurlijk bepaalde gevoelens, maar die kun je ook wel laten zien. Ik kan me wel voorstellen dat door wat je laat zien, en dan met name trots, dat je als persoon of groep jezelf een beetje laat zien en dat je jezelf daardoor dan sterker probeert te maken, als het ware.

Q: Helpt dat een groep zich te verenigen?

A: Ja, en ik denk dat mensen daar wel behoefte aan hebben en dat je een bepaalde acceptatie ofzo verwacht. En dat je misschien ook wel een bepaald respect weet af te dwingen?

Q: Naar elkaar toe of naar buiten de groep?

A: Ook wel binnen de groep. Dat we zeggen van 'nou we zijn één groep', maar ook wel naar buiten, eigenlijk wel. En dat is dan meer over trots...

En schaamte... In het algemeen denk ik dat je je natuurlijk op verschillende manieren kan schamen, maar dat je in de meeste gevallen dat is omdat je iets niet hebt wat anderen wel hebben.... En dat je je daar dan voor schaamt.

Als mens wil je niet minder zijn dan iemand anders. En als je dan op bepaalde manieren daarop wordt gewezen, of dat je denkt dat je daar op gewezen wordt, dat je je dan schaamt. Maar wat daar het nut van is, dat vind ik lastig. Misschien... Het zou kunnen zijn dat je bepaalde gevoelens in jezelf of in een mens losmaakt die ervoor zorgen dat je je daarin ontwikkelt. Al kan het soms natuurlijk niet. Je kan je bij wijze van spreken schamen omdat je iets niet goed kan, een

bepaalde hobby of een competentie.... Dat je daar niet zo goed in bent en dat je daar je daarvoor schaamt. En dat je door de schaamte juist meer innerlijke drive hebt om je daarin te gaan ontwikkelen.

Q: Een soort motivator?

A: Ja. Alleen is dat in het geval van een regio of een plaats heel lastig om dat als individu te doen.

Q: Oké, dank je wel.

A: Dat was het?

Q: Ja dat was het... Wil je nog iets kwijt?

A: Even denken.... Ik zat er over na te denken van: eerder vroeg je of ik me weleens heb geschaamd. Nou eigenlijk niet echt.... En of ik trots ben?

Je hebt natuurlijk wel situaties gehad waarin iemand anders iets negatiefs zei over de Achterhoek of over Aalten.... En dat ik dan merk aan mezelf dat je daar dan toch wel een weerwoord op geeft. Of wilt geven in ieder geval, en dat komt denk ik ook wel door een bepaalde trots...

Als Achterhoeker kun je wel zeggen dat de Achterhoek niks voorstelt. Dat het niet zo groot is, en dat het allemaal niet zo veel doet..... Maar als een buitenstaander daar wat van zegt, dan voel je toch wel een bepaalde trots en dan wil je daar eigenlijk meer weerstand tegen bieden of een.....

Q: Ja, weerwoord aangeven of je weer verdedigen.

A: Ja.

Q: Da's dan ook wel een goeie.

A: En dat gaat eigenlijk niet zozeer over de regio. Maar als je dan bijvoorbeeld kijkt met de ...Ivan? \*onverstaanbaar\* en heel veel Chinezen hebben dat eigenlijk ook.... Onderling kun je over heel veel dingen over China zeggen, dat het bijvoorbeeld niet goed is, dat dingen slecht zijn. Maar als buitenstaander, dan moet je daar niks van zeggen, want ze zijn dan ineens wel één groep. En ik denk dat dat op heel veel plekken wel zo is.

Q: Ja, dat klopt. Da's mooi, dat is een goeie. Dank je wel!  
Keurig binnen de 30 minuten.

## Netherlands Rural Area: Participant [NLR5]

Q: Om te beginnen een vraag. Wat komt er in je op als je denkt aan de relatie tussen mensen zelf en de plek waar ze wonen? Wat is het eerste wat in je opkomt?

A: Verbondenheid, vertrouwd, vertrouwen.

Q: En verbondenheid, wat bedoel je daarmee?

A: Dat de mensen zich verbonden voelen met de streken of met de plaats waar ze wonen.

Q: En hoe is dat voor jou?

A: Dat is heel sterk in Aalten. Ik ben nooit uit Aalten weggeweest, althans qua wonen. Ik heb altijd in Aalten gewoond. Dus die gebondenheid is best heel sterk. Wel een paar keer per jaar en met het werk elders in Bocholt en in Varsseveld gewerkt, maar daarna, daarvoor en daarna, altijd in Aalten gewerkt.

Q: Dus je zegt gebondenheid, en.... Twee woorden noemde je. En de tweede was?

A: Betrokkenheid.

Q: Betrokkenheid. En wat bedoel je daarmee?

A: Eigenlijk is dat hetzelfde. Betrokken bij de gemeenschap.

Q: Maar is dat dat je ook actief deelneemt of bijdraagt?

A: Ja. \*onverstaanbaar\* werken ook bij de gemeente. Bij de plaatselijke voetbalclub voetballen, dan ben je gebonden met de club.

Q: Oké, dus die gebondenheid, en dat gaat ook een beetje samen.

A: Ja.

Q: Nou, dan heb ik een paar vragen over trots. Maar eerst even kijken... Als je het hebt over... In het Engels gebruiken ze Pride of Place. Trots op de plaats waar je woont. Maar in het Nederlands gaat dat heel gauw over de woonplaats waar je zit, maar eigenlijk bedoelen we met plaats ook... Dat kan ook een dorp zijn, of misschien de Achterhoek, of misschien heel Gelderland, Oost Nederland.

A: Een heuvel!

Q: Een heuvel, of misschien zelfs Aalten Zuid of Noord of deze kant van het spoor. Dat kan ook. Maar als je het hebt over jouw plaats, waar denk je dan als eerste aan?

A: Aan het centrum, waar ik nu woon.

Q: In de Achterhoek, of in Aalten?

A: In Aalten! Daar heb je het toch over?

Q: Ja, wat voor jou de plaats is.

A: Ik heb in Aalten Zuid gewoond, maar daar heb ik eigenlijk geen betrokkenheid meer mee.

Q: En wat betekent die plek voor jou dan, je plaats?

A: Dat ik me daar vertrouwd voel. Een groot gedeelte van mijn leven heb ik daar door gebracht. Soms wel overdag met het werk, en dan 's avonds gewoon elders wonen. Of wel in Aalten wonen, maar een andere dag kom je toch weer terug.

Q: En dan veiligheid, is dat dan fysieke veiligheid of meer dat je weet waar alles is en weet wat je kunt verwachten?

A: Fysieke veiligheid, ja. Bescherming van het politiebureau. Als er echt wat is, dan zijn ze er toch niet.

Q: Nee, dat klopt. Dan zijn ze altijd te laat.

A: Dus die fysieke bescherming, daar heb je toch niets aan.

Q: En als je nou praat over trots zijn op de plaats, is dat dan.. Waar ben je dan trots op? Ook op Aalten en op de Achterhoek?

A: Ja.

Q: Op allebei eigenlijk?

A: Maar zo erg trots ben ik er ook nog niet op, want ik heb onlangs van vorig jaar een vlag van jou gekregen en die ligt volgens mij nog steeds op de kast. Als ik heel trots was geweest, dan had die nou al...

Q: Opgehangen!

A: Ja. Dan had die al gewapperd.

Q: Was dat anders geweest met de Aaltense vlag?

A: Nee, nee, nee.

Q: En wat komt er in jou op als je denkt aan trots zijn op je plaats?

A: Gemoedelijkheid om te wonen, fijn wonen, ja. Het verenigingsleven is goed, en als je ergens naartoe wilt ben je ook zo in grotere steden.

Q: En als je nou denkt aan jouw trots die je dan voelt voor Aalten of misschien voor de Achterhoek, kun je dan een paar steekwoorden noemen die in je opkomen? De eerste woorden die in je opkomen. Wat maakt nou dat je dan trots bent misschien? Gaat dat misschien over natuur? Gaat het over mentaliteit?

A: Ja, de mentaliteit ook wel iets, en de mooie omgeving. Dat is het wel wat...

Q: Mentaliteit, mooie omgeving, maar ook... Wat maakt dat je misschien wel trots voor Aalten, maar niet voor Dinxperlo voelt? Wat maakt daar nou het verschil?

A: Ik heb die samenvoeging meegemaakt, dat vond ik nooit zo'n prettige vergadering. Ik heb dat overleg meegemaakt, met die burgemeesters enzo. En ja, die mensen komen de toezegging niet na. Het zijn vooral (?) heel ontevreden mensen.

Q: De mentaliteit is daar anders?

A: Ja, en die spreekt mij helemaal niet aan. Het was ook meer een gedwongen huwelijk van Dinxperlo. Het was bijna niet doorgegaan, in de Eerste Kamer spande het erom. Maar uiteindelijk is het toch doorgegaan.

Q: En hoe zou je dan de mentaliteit hier in Aalten omschrijven als anders? Want je zegt, daar is het ontevreden?

A: Ja, en onbetrouwbaar ook.

Q: En hoe zou je dat dan in Aalten omschrijven, die mentaliteit?

A: Bij de meeste mensen waar ik mee omga, die zijn betrouwbaar hier. Als je daar wat mee afspreekt, dan komen ze het ook na.

Q: En heb je dan ook wel eens aan de andere kant schaamte gevoeld voor misschien de Achterhoek of Aalten? Dat je zegt 'daar schaamde ik mij voor?'

A: Nee. Omdat er iets gebeurd was bijvoorbeeld?

Q: Nou, dat weet ik niet... Er kunnen op verschillende manieren meer redenen zijn. Misschien kan het zijn dat... Ja, inderdaad, dat er iets gebeurd is dat je zegt van, 'Nou, daar heb ik mij voor geschaamd. Dat dat bij ons in het dorp is gebeurd of bij ons in de streek.'

Of misschien wat met jongere mensen nog wel eens gebeurd, dat ze dan jong zijn, en dan gaan ze naar een stad ofzo, en dan is het 'Oh, kom je uit het platteland?'

A: Oh, mensen zeiden weleens van, dat is het Bethlehem van de Achterhoek, of het Jeruzalem. Omdat er zoveel gelovigen waren, kerkelijke gelovigen. Maar dat heeft mij nooit iets gedaan.

Q: Niet dat je je daar dan voor schaamde?

A: Nee, ik ben toevallig hier geboren. En het bevalt heel goed, anders was ik hier al eerder weggeweest. Maar ik had ook best in een andere plaats kunnen aarden hoor.

Q: En waar denk je dat de oorsprong ligt van die gevoelens van trots? Is dat je aangeleerd of aangeboren?

A: Ja, dat heb ik vermoedelijk van huis uit meegekregen. Ouders... Mijn moeder kwam uit Winterswijk, mijn vader is een geboren en getogen Aaltenaar. Die is ook nooit Aalten uit geweest. Hij heeft een baantje gekregen bij de gemeente, anders had ik dat nooit gehad.

Maar als je omgeven bent door een bepaalde werkkring, en het bevalt je goed, dan ga je niet zo makkelijk weg. Zo zal het George (?) ook gaan, die zal ook niet zo makkelijk meer weggaan, schat ik in. Maar ik weet natuurlijk nooit weer (?).

Q: Dat kan. Oké, dus jij denkt dat je dat van huis uit hebt meegekregen?

A: Ja.

Q: En die trots, is dat dan nog... Heeft dat ook nog met iets.... Jij zei al, dat heeft dan misschien.... Ik weet niet of ik dat goed invul, maar je zei dat je dan misschien wel trots voelt voor de mentaliteit, als je dat vergelijkt met andere dorpen eromheen?

A: Ja.

Mensen zeggen weleens van 'nou in Winterswijk, daar zou ik ook niet kunnen zitten..', maar daar zou ik ook best kunnen aarden. Het ligt er meer aan in wat voor buurt je woont, of je fijne burens hebt. Ze zeggen niet hallo (?).

Q: En wat maakt het nou dat fijne burens zijn? Wat maakt nou een fijne buurt?

A: Die jongelui die nu hier een benedenhuis hebben, dat zijn prima mensen. Alleen het feit ook al, op 1 januari kwamen ze even een half uurtje bij ons zitten... \*onverstaanbaar\* Ze komen toch wel even. Dat betekende al dat het hele fijne mensen zijn.

Q: Maar betekent dat ook dat dat ook iets unieks is voor deze kant van Nederland?

A: Ja, dat vind ik wel. Ik geloof dat als je zo in een flatje zou zitten in de stad, dat je dan niet gaat.

Q: Dan zouden ze niet langskomen?

A: Nee. Dat geloof ik niet. En ik wil niet zeggen dat het alleen Aalten is, maar eigenlijk \*onverstaanbaar\*.

Q: Zijn er nog andere dingen misschien waar je trots bij voelt, dat je daaraan denkt? Misschien een bepaalde plek, of misschien evenementen, of misschien wel materiële of immateriële zaken, misschien de geschiedenis, of misschien de muziek van \*onverstaanbaar\* en Jovink, of misschien de concerten van Jovink, of de Zwarte Cross of een voetbalclub? Noem maar iets.

A: Ja, met voetbal heb ik natuurlijk wel een binding gehad. Maar dat wordt uiteraard minder. Hoe ouder je wordt, hoe minder dat je er ook opkomt. En bij de gemeente... Ik had een best leuke functie daar, en dan probeer je er toch van te maken wat er van te maken is. En dat is ook best goed gelukt.

Q: En zijn er dan nog andere dingen waarvan je zegt, 'nou dat maakt Aalten of misschien de Achterhoek echt uniek?' Ten opzichte van andere plekken in Nederland, of over de grens, of...?

A: Ik kan het niet zoveel met andere gemeenten vergelijken of andere plaatsen, daar heb ik nooit gewoond. Maar sport en de verenigingsactiviteiten, die zorgen best wel voor een hechte binding.

Ik heb altijd gevoetbald. Had ik dus best veel zelf georganiseerd om aan het voetballen te blijven. Tot mijn 61<sup>e</sup>. En toen kreeg ik die hartstilstand, en daarna ben ik dus aan het tennissen gegaan. Toen voor die tijd tenniste ik ook al, anders had ik helemaal met een nieuwe sport moeten beginnen. En wat moet je dan doen? Maar dat is prima, we hebben een leuk clubje nu.

Q: Dus het verenigingsleven bevalt goed?

A: Ja.

Q: En wat maakt het dan... Ja, ik ken het natuurlijk ook wel een beetje, dat is heel informeel, heel gemoedelijk eigenlijk.

A: Ja.

Q: En zorgen voor elkaar ook weer...

A: Ja. Ik ben zelf ook wel een beetje een type wat aan het organiseren gaat. De laatste jaren doe ik niet meer zoveel, omdat Corrie ziek is. Meestal zo bijvoorbeeld rond deze dagen, dan had ik al lang bijvoorbeeld zoals vrijdag een partijtje tennis georganiseerd. Welke vier mensen hebben er zin om even een partijtje te tennissen? Gewoon in z'n algemeenheid. En dan trek je toch wel met elkaar op. En ja, dat is zo best gezellig.

Q: Maar even kijken... Dus dan eigenlijk, om even samen te vatten, als je dan zegt 'nou, wat maakt je nou dat je vindt dat het fijn is om hier te wonen in Aalten, dat je dat trots maakt misschien?' zou dat zijn veiligheid, geborgenheid, gemoedelijkheid heb je genoemd en zorgen voor elkaar?

A: Ja. Goed verenigingsleven...

Q: Verenigingsleven... Dat zijn nou echte zaken, oké.

Ja, dat is mooi. Dan... Kun je mij misschien een moment beschrijven waarop je zegt, 'nou dat moment voelde ik me wel echt trots op waar ik vandaan kwam'?

A: Eerder was er de biljarter Hans Vultink, die werd Nederlands-, Europees-, en wereldkampioen en toen die tijd biljarte ik zelf ook en daar was ik.. \*onverstaanbaar\* Dan waren wij gewoon trots, dat je een Aaltenaar in de gemeente had die gewoon wereldkampioen was.

Elfstedentocht.. Nee, de elfstedentocht niet. Hoe heet dat nou toch?

Q: Hardlopen?

A: Nee, dat was met zo'n zes gemeenten in Nederland, België...

Q: Ook weer een andere sport?

A: Ja, hebben we een behendigheidsspel... Hoe heet dat toch? Het schiet me zo nog wel te binnen.

Q: Dat was ook iemand die uit Aalten kwam?

A: Ja, dat was een hele ploeg, en die hebben toen gewonnen... Zeskamp! Dat was echt een mooi feest. Een Italiaanse deden mee, ik dacht zes landen die deden mee. Met een hele sportploeg. Dat was leuk!

Q: Dus dan voel je echt trots?

A: Ja.

Q: En wat voor gevoel had je daar toen bij? Was je heel blij?

A: Ja, heel blij. \*onverstaanbaar\* en dan begon je te feesten en deed iedereen ook mee. Was leuk.

Q: Ja, dat was leuk... En had je dan ook het gevoel dat je daar misschien iets aan bij wilden dragen, of misschien...?

A: Nee, meer de derde helft was dat meer...

Q: Met het feest?

A: Ja, en \*onverstaanbaar\* die heeft nu een memorial, die heeft nog bij mij in de klas gezeten.

Q: Van jouw leeftijd?

A: Ja.

Q: Maar heb je dan bijvoorbeeld ook het idee dat je echt heel graag andere mensen wil laten zien hoe mooi Aalten is, of hoe mooi de Achterhoek is? Of heb je dat niet zo actief?

A: Nee, zo actief niet. Maar ik heb... Bij de familie in Lichtenvoorde, daar ben ik toch wel een beetje extra over aan het opscheppen. En een beetje om te jennen natuurlijk.

Q: Een beetje uitdagen?

A: Ja.

Q: En voel je misschien dat je misschien ook Aalten moet beschermen?

A: Nee, nee. Ook al zeggen ze geen leuke woorden over Aalten, dat doet me niks.

Q: En schaamte daarvan zei je, dat heb je nooit gevoeld?

A: Nee.

Q: En als laatste vraag... Er zijn best veel mensen die echt heel trots zijn op de plek waar ze vandaan komen. Waar denk je dat dat goed voor is? Het is meer een vraag, omdat we dat niet weten. Dat is niet bekend, dat weet niemand. Of in de literatuur of in een onderzoek weten ze dat niet, maar het is echt meer een vraag van 'Goh, wat denk jij dan dat het voor zou dienen?'

A: Dat ze heel trots doen dat ze uit Aalten komen?

Q: Ja, dat mensen zeggen van 'ik ben heel trots dat ik uit Aalten of uit de Achterhoek kom'.

A: Ja, da's eigenlijk best... Dat is de moeilijkste vraag. Waarom denken ze dat?

Q: Ja, waarom zouden ze dat voelen?

A: Ze voelen zich in dit geval een Aaltenaar en dat willen ze ook met hand en tand verdedigen. Sommigen, daar kun je helemaal geen kwaad woord over zeggen... Dat heb ik dan niet...

Q: Wat zou dat dan betekenen? Wat denk je dat het verschil dan zou zijn tussen de mensen die wel trots voelen en die geen trots voelen? Die niet zo heel trots zijn op Aalten, en sommigen die zijn wel heel erg trots op Aalten? Wat zou het verschil zijn?

A: Onverschilligheid.

Q: In meer algemene zin, niet specifiek...

A: Onverschilligheid. Er zijn mensen die interesseert dat niet. Die wonen wel in Aalten. Vermoedelijk ook wel met veel plezier wonen ze in Aalten, maar die hele poespas eromheen, daar geven ze niks om. Althans, dat denk ik.

Q: Ja. Maar ben je bijvoorbeeld ook trots dat je uit Aalten komt? Met jouw vader, en ook zijn vader en al die anderen die ook uit Aalten kwamen?

A: Ik kan niet zeggen dat die trots zo ver terug gaat, nee. Mijn vader had ook uit Duitsland kunnen komen, bij wijze van spreken. Nee, zo ver gaat dat niet terug.

Q: Oké, mooi. Dat was het. Wil je nog wat toevoegen?

A: Nee. Dat was het.

## Netherlands Urban Area: Participant [NLU1]

Q: Om te beginnen, je weet dat ik dus een onderzoek doe en je weet volgens mij ook wel wat over de relatie tussen de mensen en de plaatsen waar ze wonen. We hebben het er al een keer eerder over gehad. Om echt heel breed te beginnen, zou je misschien wat kunnen vertellen over wat als eerste bij je opkomt over die relatie tussen mens en de plaats? Of misschien heel specifiek voor jou, als het over je eigen situatie gaat?

A: Als mens neem je altijd je omgeving waar en je wordt ook beïnvloed door je omgeving. En dus een omgeving waar je je niet fijn voelt, daar ga je jezelf ook vervelender voelen. En in een omgeving waar je waar je je prettig voelt, daar voel je jezelf ook beter.

En wat heel belangrijk ook is... Ja, ik verdiep me dan in de band van de mens met de natuur. Waar we een connectie of een verbinding mee hebben, daar zorgen we ook beter voor. Mijn band met de omgeving is dat... Ik woon in de Bijlmer en daar woon ik al 25 jaar en ik houd er van dat het heel multicultureel is en ik merk bijvoorbeeld, als ik dan in Zwolle ben... 'Jeetje wat is het hier wit, dat is echt niet normaal.' Dus ik merk dat wat voor mij een normale woonomgeving is en wat niet...

En bijvoorbeeld als ik dan bij mijn zoon in West kom, dan zie je veel meer mensen met hoofddoekjes. Dat zie je hier weer veel minder, dus dan valt dat op. Maar als ik hier bij de metro sta, en er staat een groep donkere mannen bij elkaar, denk ik helemaal niet van: 'Oh jee, ik moet uitkijken.'

Ik weet wel dat toen ik hier net woonde, dat ik wel meteen dat dacht. Maar nu voel ik me heel veilig in mijn buurt. Dit is mijn buurt. En ja, en ik weet wel, het kan hier ook onveilig zijn in de Bijlmer. Maar dat hangt van het tijdstip af. Ik ga niet in het donker midden in de nacht door de Bijlmer fietsen bijvoorbeeld.

Q: Je houdt er wel rekening mee?

A: Ja.

Q: Met veiligheid bedoel ik?

A: Met veiligheid, ja.

Q: Je gaf al wat aan, wat dan de plaats voor jou betekent. De Engelsen gebruiken voor het onderzoek 'Pride of Place' en in Nederland is het 'plaats'... Als je dat zou vertalen 'trots op je plaats'. Dan denken mensen al heel gauw aan de woonplaats, maar in het Engels, als het gaat over plaats, dan is dat niet zo heel specifiek gedefinieerd. Dus dan kan het zijn op de woonwijk, in jouw geval de Bijlmer. Maar het kan ook zijn op Amsterdam, of misschien zelfs over de hele Randstad, of nog weer een ander specifiek gedeelte daarvan. Dat kan ook zijn.

Tot nu toe had je met name over de Bijlmer. Is dat ook waar je ziet dat je woont of zie je meer van 'ik woon in Amsterdam'?

A: Ja, ja, ja, da's een mooie vraag inderdaad. Wat ik voel als mijn leefomgeving is hier met de Bijlmerweide, en het Diemberbos waar ik ga hardlopen en wandelen.

En dat voelt wel... Maar dat is meer als ik thuis ben... Maar als ik andere mensen vertel waar ik woon in Amsterdam, dan denk ik meer aan heel Amsterdam. En dan hebben mensen het nu ook altijd meteen over de toeristen in Amsterdam. Dat merk ik wel dat dat veranderd is. Want vijftien jaar geleden kon je heel makkelijk heel hard door de stad fietsen, door de binnenstad.

Maar nu moet je echt gewoon vertragen, want de hele tijd zijn de toeristen op het fietspad, die snappen daar niks van. En dus... Het voelt meer alsof Amsterdam ook veel meer van de toeristen geworden. Ook de winkelstraat en ook de talen... Je hoort overal... In de winkelstraat wordt ook wel Engels gesproken. Dus het is veel meer internationaal geworden ook. En ik vind het niet goed of slecht.

Het is eigenlijk verschillend inderdaad, het hangt een beetje af van... Ik gaf ook bijvoorbeeld een training aan Turkse en Marokkaanse vrouwen in Rotterdam. Dan zeg ik 'ja, ik woon in de Bijlmer' en dat zeg ik dan om aan te geven: voor mij is het normaal multicultureel. Dus of ik zeg Amsterdam of de Bijlmer... Dat is wel verschillend inderdaad.

Q: Wat betekent de plaats waar jij woont voor jou? Dan mag je zelf kiezen of je het dan meer hebt over de Bijlmer of over Amsterdam of allebei?



A: Ja, de betekenis voor mij.... Amsterdammer staat heel erg voor vrijheid en om te zijn wie je bent. Toen ik achttien was, ben ik in Amsterdam gaan wonen. Ik kwam uit een katholiek gezin, heel strikt. Ik mocht niet uit en toen ik weg kon gaan, wilde ik gewoon naar Amsterdam, want daar voelde ik gewoon 'ja, daar is de vrijheid'. Daar had je niet die sociale controle, en dus... En zeg nog eens, wat was de vraag?

Q: Wat de plaats voor jou betekende. Je mag kijken of je dat wil specificeren voor Amsterdam of voor de Bijlmer of allebei.

A: Ja, wat dan de Bijlmer nu heel erg voor mij betekent is... Wat ik heel belangrijk vond, ook voor mijn kinderen, om hier te gaan wonen, is om te voelen van: we wonen in een multiculturele samenleving en ook dat het voor hen normaal is om op te groeien... Ze hebben nu ook vrienden die Surinaams of Marokkaans zijn, dus dat is voor mij wel heel belangrijk. Dus voor mij betekent de Bijlmer: inclusie, tolerantie. Het Nederlands perspectief is maar één van de perspectieven.

Dus ja, dus dat betekent de Bijlmer voor mij. Voor Amsterdam vrijheid, en de Bijlmer tolerantie, inclusie, met elkaar in gesprek gaan. En beiden eigenlijk dat je mag zijn wie je bent. In Amsterdam was het heel normaal, met punk haar, met punk kleren. En dat is die vrijheid om.... Ja, ja.

Q: Het is mooi dat je dus eigenlijk de plek, de locatie waar je dan woont, hebt gekozen, die past bij jouw waarden.

A: Ja, die past bij me. Dat is een heel mooie observatie inderdaad, die past bij mijn waarden. En eerst woonde ik in de binnenstad, en een andere belangrijke waarde voor mij is de natuur.

Maar we wilden niet helemaal weg, ik vond het wel fijn ook dat onze kinderen in Amsterdam zouden opgroeien in een grote stad. En hier ben ik wel weer vlakbij de natuur, dus inderdaad... De plek waar ik woon, die past bij mijn waarden. En ik denk dat ik daarom ook zo gelukkig ben hier, ja.

Q: Voel je je ook trots op Amsterdam, of op de Bijlmer?

A: Ja, trots vind ik een moeilijk begrip. Want wat betekent trots? Als ik in internationale projecten vertel waar kom je vandaan, dan ben ik eigenlijk wel altijd trots om te zeggen dat ik uit Amsterdam kom. Ook omdat mensen altijd reageren van 'ah wauw Amsterdam, een mooie stad.' Het is ook een prachtige stad, elke keer als je daar naar kijkt. Vanuit de ogen van de toerist is het echt heel erg mooi, maar vooral ook - toch denk ik ook dat gevoel van vrijheid in Amsterdam.

Ik denk toch die waarde van vrijheid, want ik kom uit een nieuwbouw dorpje ook. Ik wilde ook echt niet in een klein dorpje op een... Nee, ik wilde echt niets... Dus ja, ik ben trots. Dus ik ben er trots op vanwege de vrijheid, de tolerantie en de schoonheid van de stad.

Q: En voel je dat ook voor de Bijlmer, een bepaalde trots?

A: Ja, maar de Bijlmer is wel... Ik vind qua architectuur en schoonheid vind ik de Bijlmer minder mooi. De Bijlmer vind ik gewoon niet.... veel grijze blokken. En natuurlijk alles is verlaagd. Maar bijvoorbeeld als ik in Italië ben en ik ben in een dorpje, dan hou ik meteen van het dorpje en denk ik: 'hier wil ik wonen, hier hoor ik thuis.'

Maar dat is hier niet. Nee, het is gewoon niet... En de natuur wel, hè?! Dus ik ben blij dat de natuur vlakbij is. Maar wel met de mensen die er wonen, dat wel.

Q: Oké. Want je hebt gevraagd, wat betekent dan trots? Wij maken onderscheid in de literatuur tussen twee vormen van trots. En dan de eerste is de authentieke trots, de tweede noemen ze dan de hubristische trots, wat eigenlijk meer een beetje een arrogante trots is. En dan de authentieke... Ze hebben heel veel onderzoek gedaan op universiteiten, waar je dus als voorbeeld de authentieke trots, die zie je dan meer terug als de studenten echt gewoon heel hard hun best hebben gedaan voor een bepaald tentamen en het dan halen.

Dan hebben ze een bepaalde trots van 'Nou, dat heb ik toch echt verdiend. Dat heb ik gedaan.' En dan zijn mensen vaak ook echt blij voor die persoon. 'Je hebt echt je stinkende best ervoor gedaan, dus dat heb je ook verdiend en dan mag je trots op zijn.'

Maar stel dat iemand een tentamen haalt eigenlijk alleen maar, omdat hij gewoon super intelligent is en verder helemaal niks doet. En daar dan toch ook heel trots op is, op iets wat je als ware meegekregen hebt... Dan wordt dat toch vaak een iets andere vorm van trots. Hubristisch noemen ze dat dan. En dat is dan weer een beetje aan de arrogante kant.

Dus de ene kant is meer over het authentieke, iets waar je controle over hebt. En bij die arrogantere is het eigenlijk iets waar je geen controle over hebt, wat je mee hebt gekregen. Dus misschien dat mensen trots zijn op een bepaalde status die ze hebben vanuit de familie, of misschien bepaalde rijkdom, of dat ze misschien uit Nederland komen of in Nederland

zijn geboren, of ergens anders... dat het toch een iets meer arrogante vorm van trots is. En daar zie je ook dat mensen daar ander gedrag bij vertonen.

Dus bijvoorbeeld mensen die dan dat authentiekere hebben, over trots over wat ze doen, dat ze ook veel meer open zijn naar andere mensen, het willen delen en veel meer zorgzaam zijn voor anderen. Terwijl bij dat arrogantere is het veel meer dat je dat afsluit en dan wil je dat beschermen.

Misschien ook veel meer omdat je weet dat je daar niks voor hebt gedaan, omdat je het nou eenmaal gewoon cadeau gekregen hebt. Dus daar zien we dan...

A: Ja, een mooi verschil inderdaad. Het ene is nemen, toe-eigenen en het andere is van 'Kijk, dit is mooi en hoe kan ik jou hierin laten delen?' Het ene is naar buiten en het andere is meer naar binnen. Ja, mooi! Voor mij meer naar buiten dan inderdaad.

Q: Ja, dus daar zien we dan een verschil in... En ik merk ook wel met de interviews dat mensen, als je vraagt naar trots... Daar zit dan ook een beetje.... Het is ook vanuit het christelijke of katholieke een beetje een zonde natuurlijk om trots te zijn. Daar hangt een heel zwaar zwaard boven. Terwijl eigenlijk, als je trots op iets heel moois bent, iets waar je een bijdrage aan levert... Wat jij zegt, die tolerantie, dat is helemaal niet erg om daar in feite trots op te zijn, want het zijn hele mooie waarden.

A: Ja, inderdaad die dubbelheid voel ik ook in die trots. Ik heb daar niet iets toe bijgedragen aan de schoonheid van Amsterdam, of wat dan ook. Maar inderdaad, ik wil wel bijdragen aan de tolerantie en de inclusie met mijn gedrag.

Q: Oké, dat is mooi. Mijn volgende vraag is: Als je nou denkt aan Pride of Place, wat zijn dan een aantal woorden die zo in jou opkomen? Misschien een aantal steekwoorden?

A: Steekwoorden die opkomen zijn acceptatie, schoonheid, verbinding. Zorgen voor elkaar en dus ook tolerantie, inclusie. Samenwerken. Actief burgerschap. Communicatie, in gesprek zijn met elkaar, en ook discussie. Ook de natuur. Ook subculturen. Dus ook diversiteit. Ook misschien de geschiedenis, en ook gewoon ja, geschiedenis ook.

Q: Zou je daar ook een top drie in kunnen maken? Zou dat ook kunnen zijn? Dat je zegt van, 'nou maar dit is wel echt het belangrijkste voor mij' of de belangrijkste drie van de woorden die je nu genoemd hebt?

A: Ja, dan denk ik wel vrijheid, verbinding en communicatie.

Q: En zijn er in Amsterdam misschien ook speciale, of in de Bijlmer, misschien specifieke plekken waar je die trots mee associeert?

A: Ja, gewoon als ik naar het winkelcentrum ga. Daar kom je met mensen uit heel veel verschillende culturen. Dan komen we daar allemaal samen en de één spreekt de taal goed en de ander niet. Maar je wilt ook communiceren en wat ons verbindt is ook daar wonen en dat we daar samen die boodschappen doen.

En ook bijvoorbeeld de markt hier. Dat is gewoon een heel erg Surinaamse markt ook. Soms noemen mensen het ook klein Suriname en dan denk ik ook, 'ja zo mooi!' En daar ben ik dan trots op, daar maak ik ook onderdeel van uit. En ik merk het vooral als we dan op vakantie zijn geweest, en dan zijn we weer terug. En dan komen we langs het centrum hier, waar vaak Ghaneze vrouwen in prachtige kleding lopen met mooie, prachtige lange jurken met geel en kleuren.

En dan, ja, dan voel ik me heel trots, dan denk ik ja... 'Hier. Ja, dit is mijn plek, hier hoor ik thuis.' Ja, dat raakt me echt inderdaad, mooi.

Q: Oké. Dus het winkelcentrum van de Bijlmer zou je dan zeggen? Het culturele hart misschien wel van de Bijlmer dan?

A: Ja. Ook soms als ik fiets, en dan fiets ik langs de Ghaneze kerk, en dan hoor ik daar gospelzang wat zo mooi is, en dan denk ik 'Wauw ja!' Er zijn wel 200 religies hier in de Bijlmer en in allemaal kleine zaaltjes is dat. En je komt langs de moskee en langs de \*onverstaanbaar\* en dan denk ik, 'dat vind ik mooi.' Dat staat hier allemaal, dan ben ik trots. Dat het allemaal gewoon naast elkaar kan bestaan, in verbinding met elkaar.

Q: Het is eigenlijk net als een bos, daar denk ik ineens aan... Daar is ook heel veel diversiteit, vaak als er meer diversiteit is, is er ook veel meer veerkracht. En veel meer vruchtbaarheid ook. Monocultuur is heel vatbaar voor ziektes.

A: Ja, wat mooi. Ja ja, wat mooi! Inderdaad, dus die diversiteit zorgt ervoor ook dat het gezonder blijft.

Q: Ik denk het wel.

A: Want anders heb je zo'n tunnelvisie en dan leef je in zo'n bubbel. En mijn zoon zegt ook: 'Ja mam, ik ben zo blij dat ik niet in zo'n bubbel leef, dat ik in Amstelveen (woon), dan naar het gymnasium, dan naar de universiteit.' Maar ik weet gewoon... Ja, ik...

Als sociaal geograaf moet hij ook in heel veel posities zich kunnen inleven, en dat kan hij ook. Dat gaat eigenlijk vanzelf. Dus dan denk ik 'ja, dat vind ik mooi.' Dan heb je echt die waarde... Jouw perspectief, dat is maar één perspectief en anderen kunnen een andere mening hebben, en ik merk dat dat heel erg belangrijk voor me is. Ik raak er helemaal ontroerd door.

Q: Dat heb je goed gedaan.

A: Ja, leuk! Want ook mijn dochter, die komt ook thuis met een Marokkaans vriendinnetje, en dan denk ik: 'Ja, dat klopt!' In deze samenleving leven we namelijk! Zij zijn net zo goed... Wij zijn allemaal Nederlanders.

Q: Heel mooi, prachtig. Ik vind het echt heel mooi! Het zet me wel aan het denken, maar we gaan toch even verder.

We onderzoeken naast de trots die mensen misschien voelen voor de plaats, ook een stukje schaamte die mensen eventueel voelen. We hebben gezien dat mensen of nu, of in het verleden, ook schaamte hebben gevoeld voor waar ze wonen op een bepaald moment. En de vraag is eigenlijk: Heb jij dat ook wel eens gevoeld voor de Bijlmer of voor Amsterdam? En zo ja, waar was dat?

A: Even kijken hoor, schaamte voelen... Ja, schaamte is voor mij een emotie... Schaamte gaat meer over mijzelf... De Bijlmer heeft niet een goede... Als je zegt 'ik woon in de Bijlmer,' dat geeft geen status ofzo. Maar status is voor mij niet een heel onbelangrijke waarde. En ik hou wel van provoceren. Ik zei dat altijd wel graag. En dan kijken wat de reacties zijn, en de schaamte wel...

Mijn dochter werd op een gegeven moment gepest, ook op de basisschool. En er was een Arubaanse moeder uit het Caribisch gebied. En die waren echt kei- en keihard. En op een gegeven moment heb ik ze er ook op aangesproken, en toen gingen ze vreselijk tegen mij tekeer, en toen heb ik wel schaamte gevoeld. Dat het me niet lukte om mijn dochter te beschermen tegen.... \*onverstaanbaar\*

En toen ging ze naar een andere school, want ik dacht: 'het moet wel veilig zijn'. Als zij niet meer bij de groep hoort, kan ze zich niet ontwikkelen. Dat is niet goed. En daar heb ik heel veel schaamte voor gevoeld, ja.

Q: Maar is dat voor jezelf, of meer echt voor de plaats ook dan?

A: Ja, dat is waar he? Want heeft dat dan met de plaats te maken? Nee.

Maar verder, nee. Jawel, toen in het begin dat ik er woonde, had je nog van die kelderwoningen waar dingen gebeurden. Dan schaamde ik me wel dat dat soort dingen gebeurden. Maar ja, ik had daar natuurlijk geen invloed op.

Dus... In het begin (voelde ik) wel meer schaamte, ook omdat er nog een heel oud winkelcentrum was en er werd heel veel heroïne gebruikt. Daar schaamde ik me wel.... Die heroïne dealers die daar dan staan.

Ja, maar ja, da's ook lastig, schaamte is dat...

Q: Dan gaan we gewoon door naar de volgende vraag. Weer terug naar de trots! Dus we schommelen een beetje tussen de trots en de schaamte. Waar ligt de oorsprong van jouw trots die je hebt beschreven? Jij bent niet geboren in Amsterdam. Je bent er later naartoe verhuisd. Waar denk je dat het vandaan komt? Waar liggen de wortels? Waar ligt de oorsprong?

A: Ik kwam uit een klein dorp met veel sociale controle en heel erg beperkend in het denken. Mijn ouders, die waren bijvoorbeeld tegen homo's. En als meisje mocht je veel minder en eigenlijk vanuit dat... Dat vond ik gewoon heel onrechtvaardig. \*onderbreking\*

Dus de oorsprong van de trots ligt in mijn gevoel van rechtvaardigheid. Een rechtvaardige wereld vind ik belangrijk... En de oorzaak ligt dus toch eigenlijk bij mij wel, in die ervaring van...

Waar ik woonde, zat ik eerst op een middenschool en dat was één van de tien scholen... In Nederland was een middenschool, een experimentele school, waarbij er heel veel gelijkheid was en je geen hiërarchie tussen ouders, tussen leraren en leerlingen (had), en er werd heel erg gediscussieerd. Een heel erg maatschappelijk betrokken school was het, er waren ook kringgesprekken.

OSB is nu ook nog zo'n school, zo'n middenschool. In Nederland was dat één van de eerste middenscholen en ik denk dat daar ook heel erg belangrijke wortels liggen van in gesprek gaan, rechtvaardigheid, communicatie... En ook bij mij op de basisschool zaten ook Turkse en Marokkaanse kinderen. Dat vond ik ook heel interessant. Mijn vader was ook actief met de vluchtelingen. Dan gingen we naar... Dan waren er Vietnamese vluchtelingen en gingen we daarheen en dan gingen we ook dat eten eten. Dat vond ik geweldig. En ik kwam ook dan thuis bij de Turkse en Marokkaanse kinderen. Dus nieuwsgierigheid en rechtvaardigheid!

Q: Dus voor mijzelf even om aan te vullen, dat ik dat straks terug lees... Wat je ook zei in het begin, dat je de stad hebt gekozen die paste bij jouw waarden, en misschien ook de woonwijken. Dus je hebt dat heel bewust opgezocht en daarin dan misschien ook de trots gevonden?

A: Ja.

Q: Is dat een omschrijving die klopt?

A: Ja.

Q: Met dat stukje daarvoor dus eigenlijk... Wat je zei, toen je nog naar school ging, dat je bepaalde basiswaarden hebt aangeleerd en hebt ontdekt voor jezelf wat jij heel belangrijk vindt en dat je dan later hebt gezien: 'Nee, dat vind ik dus niet in waar ik nu woon in het dorpje, maar dan wel in Amsterdam.'

A: Ja, en toen ik in Amsterdam woonde, ging ik eerst als student in de stad en op een gegeven moment gingen mijn man en ik een huis zoeken. En toen kwamen we in de Bijlmer, en ik wilde ook heel graag niet alleen maar in de stad, maar ook vlakbij de natuur. Dus dat was ook een belangrijke reden. En de diversiteit. We voelden ons meteen thuis toen we dit huis zagen. Eigenlijk ben ik gewoon elke dag nog blij met deze plek en het huis.

Q: Heb je ook gezien dat die trots zich ontwikkeld heeft over de jaren, of heb je altijd wel vanaf het begin af aan gezegd: 'ik vind het fantastisch dat ik hier woon, dat die vrijheid er is en alle waarden van de stad, die communicatie en interculturaliteit'. Is dat er altijd geweest of is er ook zoiets van 'mijn gevoel heeft zich versterkt' in de afgelopen jaren of is het altijd wel gelijk geweest?

A: Nee, dat heeft zich zeker versterkt. Vooral ook toen we kinderen kregen. Want dan ga je naar het judo clubje, en dan ga je naar de dansles en naar de school ga je mee, dus dan... Dan ga je een veel meer belangrijke rol in de woonwijk spelen of ontwikkelen. Elke keer was ik gewoon heel erg trots dat ik liep tussen Surinaamse mensen, Marokkaanse mensen... en dat ik ook gewoon geaccepteerd werd zoals ik was. Ja, want dat ben ik net zo goed anders. We zijn dan allemaal anders.

Dus dat heeft zich wel verdiept merk ik ook. Zo'n training die ik gaf aan Turkse en Marokkaanse vrouwen die dan de taal amper eigen zijn... Dan denk ik: 'Wauw, dat privilege! Ik spreek de taal en wat ben ik bevoorrecht.' Ik ben mij daar heel erg van bewust.

Q: En ten aanzien van Amsterdam als stad? Want je zei wel, het wordt steeds meer een toeristenstad en een trekpleister. Zie je ook dat in verhouding misschien de trots die je dan voelt voor Amsterdam dat het ook verandert of blijft het eigenlijk hetzelfde?

A: Nou, voor de binnenstad van Amsterdam wordt het minder, en ook door Airbnb. Maar dat is eigenlijk niet voor de stad, maar meer door het gedrag van mensen die dan de stad gebruiken voor hun eigen gewin. Bij Airbnb komen de studenten en die zorgen voor geluidsoverlast.

Dus dat zijn allemaal een beetje lastige ontwikkelingen op dit moment, waar ze nog geen oplossing voor hebben gevonden. Een stad is voortdurend in ontwikkeling, dus dat er nu veel toeristen zijn en wat ze nu doen is zeggen van: 'Nou, Amsterdam wat groter maken...' Dus dat Zaandam erbij hoort. Dat Amsterdam eigenlijk de Randstad is om de toeristen een beetje te foppen. Dat het songfestival nu naar Rotterdam gaat, in plaats van Amsterdam. Dat is bijvoorbeeld ook een reden om Amsterdam een beetje te ontlasten. Al die toeristen.

Q: Ja, dat is waar. Ik hoor van Bastiaan ook vaak dat het gewoon echt veel is.

A: Het zit gewoon helemaal vol, het is gewoon een mierenhoop dan...

Q: Het blijft een mooie stad.

A: Ja!

Q: En je noemde nog eventjes... Voor mij voor een overzichtje. Je noemde vooral dingen waar je trots op bent, zijn dat dan al die sociale aspecten van de stad? Zijn er eventueel meer materiële dingen waar je trots op bent?

A: Ja, de musea bijvoorbeeld, en ook de universiteiten die er zijn, het niveau van het onderwijs of de scholing. Je hebt gewoon heel veel scholen. Andere materiële dingen kan ik eigenlijk niet bedenken.

Q: Dat kan misschien architectuur ofzo zijn... Bijvoorbeeld de grachten.

A: Ja, de grachtenpanden, de architectuur, die vind ik gewoon echt prachtig. En ook Amsterdam-Zuid vind ik ook heel mooi. In Watergraafsmeer heb je ook mooie jaren dertig huizen. Het IJ, het water. En wat heel belangrijk is de muziek, de concerten. Ziggo Dome, Paradiso en de Melkweg. Ja, Amsterdam is zo'n rijke stad. Gewoon alles is er gewoon. Voor iedereen, de muziek, de cultuur, de kunst.

Maar vooral voor iedereen. Dus de vrijheid om te ontwikkelen wat ze willen. En om te gaan en staan waar je wilt.

Ik was ook in Jeruzalem, in Israël. Nou, dan voel ik me dus echt niet veilig. Mijn zoon had er ook heel veel last van. Dan zie je op de hoek ook mensen met een mitrailleur staan. Nou, dat is dus een ongelooflijk contrast met Amsterdam. En dan, ook door het contrast te ervaren, dan neemt mijn Pride of Place enorm toe. Dan weet ik ook wel, 'hier hoor ik niet thuis'm, naar dit soort steden waar ik voel dat ik niet welkom ben.

Ik werd er ook op aangesproken dat ik mijn schouders niet helemaal bedekt had, dus heel veel sociale controle. Maar bijvoorbeeld ook de orthodoxe joden die geen contact maken, die gewoon wegstijven. Dat vond ik ook heel erg vervelend. In de supermarkt, die was dan orthodox en we wisten niet hoe het moest, en je kon niet de taal...

En dan denk ik ja, in Amsterdam, als je Engels praat... Iedereen praat Engels, dus iedereen... Er is contact, er is communicatie. Dus eigenlijk op moment dat ik het... Voor mij is het best wel vanzelfsprekend natuurlijk al, maar ik merk het vooral dat ik trots ben als ik in andere steden ben, waar dat helemaal niet zo is.

Q: Het is inderdaad wel heel mooi hoe je dat omschrijft, als je het contrast ziet, dan zie je eigenlijk wat je thuis hebt, als het ware.

A: Ja.

Q: En ik merk ook hier met die Erasmus Plus projecten heel vaak dat als je een jongere vraagt om een soort nationale avond te presenteren, of hun stad of hun land te presenteren, dan zie je toch altijd wel een bepaalde trots. Dat ze dan ook wel blij zijn dat ze daar onderdeel van uitmaken. En dan bepaalde waarden met name meestal.

A: Ja mooi, hele mooie observatie!

\*onderbreking\*

Q: Ik heb nog drie vragen eigenlijk. De eerste is of je misschien een moment zou kunnen omschrijven waarop je echt zegt 'nou, dat moment was ik gewoon trots?' Je hebt het al wel gedaan eerder hoor, dat je zei dat je trots bent op je plaats...

A: Zal ik een moment noemen? Ja, ik heb het een heel mooi moment. Mijn zoon was zes jaar. Het was Sinterklaas en we staan allemaal aan het hek. En daar komt Sinterklaas met pieten, die zijn blauw, groen, geel geschminkt. In de Bijlmer was het allang normaal dat Pieten gewoon ook allerlei andere verschillende kleuren hadden. Dat was helemaal geen issue. En toen was ik trots. Wauw! Nu is de Zwarte Pietendiscussie, in 2015 werd dat heel erg aangezwengeld...

Maar dit was 2004 ofzo. En dat vind ik trots, die creativiteit, het gevoel van: 'Hé maar dit klopt niet en we doen het gewoon zo.' En voor de kinderen was het doodnormaal en voor de ouders ook. Dus dat je gewoon zegt: 'Oké dit past niet, we doen we iets anders...' Nou prima, helemaal geen discussie! Het is zoals het is, en dat vind ik heel mooi. Ik ben super trots!

Q: Ja, en die creativiteit en dat jij daar dan onderdeel van uitmaakt. En misschien ook het respect wat daarin zit voor de multiculturaliteit die er dan is....

A: Ja!

Q: (Het respect) voor een mens eigenlijk.

A: Ja, en dat het niet is van 'vasthouden, we raken iets kwijt en dat mag niet' maar gewoon van: 'Oh oké, nu is het zo. Prima, wat leuk!'

Q: En behalve trots, had daar je ook nog andere emoties of gevoelens bij?

A: Ja, dus ook verbinding. Dat je onderdeel uitmaakt van het geheel. Als Sinterklaas komt vind ik het altijd spannend, dat is een oud gevoel van 'oh jee!'

Q: Was je misschien ook heel blij of vreugdevol?

A: Ja, vrolijkheid en samen zingen, dansen en verbinding. Op zo'n moment vier je gewoon samen het feest, en alle verschillen vallen dan ook weg. Dus eigenlijk telt dan alleen het feest en de vrolijkheid en de kinderen die blij zijn. En we zijn gewoon allemaal moeders, kinderen, ouders, vaders met kinderen. Een organisme dat zich op elkaar afstemt, synchroniseert met de waarden die daar leven.

Q: En had je dan ook nog andere emoties, wat misschien nu als je eraan terug denkt in je opkomt?

A: Als ik eraan terug denk, dan voel ik heel veel dankbaarheid.

Q: Dankbaarheid, dat is een mooie. Wat zou je dan graag willen doen als je deze trots weer terug voelt?

A: Nou, altijd in gesprek gaan met mensen. Ik ga altijd in gesprek om het andere perspectief te laten zien. Dus niet bang zijn om de confrontatie aan te gaan, maar altijd... Ja, ik sta voor mijn waarden. Dus op het moment dat er sprake is van exclusie of geen respect voor andere visies, dan ga ik altijd in gesprek.

Q: Ja, heel mooi. Dankjewel!

En ik wil eigenlijk hetzelfde vragen, dat ging dan over een moment van schaamte. Eerder zei je dat niet echt iets in je opkwam. Heb je inmiddels iets? Dat je zegt: 'hou toch wel, dat was een momentje dat ik mij schaamde voor Amsterdam.' Misschien dat ik me schaamde dat ik onderdeel uitmaakte van de Bijlmer.

Is er al iets wat je bedenkt?

A: Ja, nu komt er wel een beeld. En dat is het beeld van de rosse buurt waar vrouwen bloot achter de ramen zitten. Mensenhandelaren. Dat geeft mij heel veel schaamte. Dan denk ik, 'mensen worden daar uitgebuit.' Ook schaamte voor dat er achter het station dan ook heroïne hoeren waren. Ja, dat vervult mij wel met schaamte dan ook. Als ik zie hoe disrespect... Dat vrouwen worden uitgelachen... Het is vaak gedrag van anderen waar ik dan op die locaties de schaamte voor de intolerantie (voel). Ik voel ook schaamte als anderen discriminerend zijn.

Maar dat zet me dus ook aan tot actie. En dan ga ik daardoor ook in gesprek. Dat met die hoerenbuurt daar kan ik natuurlijk niks aan doen.

Q: En met wie ga je dan bijvoorbeeld in gesprek? Met mensen wanneer het onderwerp opkomt? Of zoek je dat heel bewust op?

A: Op moment dat het plaatsvindt, dan zeg ik er iets van. Mijn dochter zegt ook vaak van: 'Ja, mama! Niet iets zeggen, niet iets zeggen!' En wie kent me? \*gelach\*

Ja, maar als het onrechtvaardig is, dan zeg ik er iets van.

Q: Ik denk ook dat je intolerantie ook niet moeten accepteren ofzo, dat per definitie.

A: Nee, het moet benoemd worden. Ik denk ook vaak dat mensen zich niet realiseren hoe ze zich gedragen. Wat het voor effect heeft. Dus als niemand daar iets van zegt, dan weten ze dat ook niet. Dus is het altijd zaak om het te benoemen, zodat de ander weet 'ik heb een keuze hoe ik er mee om wil gaan, of ik het zo wil doen.'

Q: En dan ligt het ook nog aan de manier hoe je brengt, want je kunt het natuurlijk op een heel botte manier brengen. Of meer in de stijl van de Non Violent Communication.

A: Ja.

Q: Dan is het veel makkelijker voor mensen om het aan te nemen. Ik denk ook wel hoor, het gaat een beetje off topic, maar als je dus heel bot en direct heel persoonlijk gaat aanvallen over hoe mensen ergens tegen aankijken, dan is wat ze doen zichzelf verdedigen en dan staan ze helemaal niet meer open voor wat je eigenlijk over wilt brengen. Dan gaan ze zichzelf verdedigen.

Of ze gaan juist jou aanvallen, dus dan komt er al helemaal niet meer binnen wat jij eigenlijk wilt zeggen. Dus als je dat al op een heel vriendelijke manier, of misschien op een geweldloze manier zegt, dan zijn mensen meer open voor de boodschap denk ik.

A: Ja, mooi. Ja, ik ben ook heel erg voor non-violent communication en het op die manier te brengen inderdaad.

Q: En nog een vraagje, had je ook bepaalde emoties genoemd? Wat je dan voelt bij de rosse buurt, of dat er destijds nog heroïne hoeren waren achter het station?

A: Ja, misselijkheid. Misselijk, ook fysiek. Gewoon walging. Niet voor de vrouwen, maar vooral voor de reacties erop. Ik vind (het) ook wel (getuigen van) lef, dat ze lef hebben om daar te gaan zitten. Dus het zijn ook dubbele emoties.

Ja, het is ook heel makkelijk om er een oordeel over te hebben. En er zijn natuurlijk ook vrouwen die er wel voor kiezen. Dus ik vind het ook belangrijk om respectvol te zijn voor de vrouwen die dat werk doen.

Maar ongemakkelijk ook. Ja, waar moet je kijken? Mensen lopen daar om naar de vrouwen te kijken. Maar ik ga natuurlijk niet naar de vrouwen kijken.

Q: En voelde je dan ook schaamte voor het feit, misschien suggestief, maar voor het feit dat... Ik weet dat ze inmiddels ook een heel groot gedeelte hebben gesloten, omdat er heel veel mensenhandel plaats vond in de rosse buurt. Dat er heel veel dwang prostituees waren. Is dat dan ook iets waar je ook schaamte voor voelt? Toen was het misschien 2010 ongeveer, dat dat nu nog plaatsvindt in Amsterdam?

A: Ja, gewoon inderdaad schaamte voor die mensenhandel. Schaamte voor... Als het gaat om vrijheid, als het gaat om mensen die zelf hun leven kunnen bepalen, en dit is het gevolg van mensenhandel... En we zijn dus eigenlijk niet in staat om als gemeente daar iets aan te doen. Ja, ik vind dat wel schaamtevol, ja.

Q: Oké. Nog een allerlaatste vraag! Het is meer een hypothetische vraag, de literatuur, de wetenschap weet ook nog niet precies waar dit dan het doel van is. Waar denk je dat de gevoelens van trots en schaamte eigenlijk voor dienen ten opzichte van de plaats?

Niet zozeer in het algemeen, dus echt die Pride of Place of misschien de schaamte voor de plaats, waar dienen die voor, welk nut hebben die?

A: Het nut van schaamte is... Schaamte voel ik van...

\*onderbreking\*

Schaamte is voor mij een emotie die ervoor zorgt dat ik me.... Want ik voel heel snel schaamte als ik iets zeg, en dan denk ik: 'O jee, wat heb ik nu gezegd?' En dan schaam ik me. En dus dat zorgt ervoor dat ik me hou aan sociale regels.

Dus ik denk dat schaamte een gevoel is dat je aanzet om actie te ondernemen, zodat die omgeving gaat passen bij die \*onverstaanbaar\*... De buurvrouw loopt altijd met een grote vuilniszak door, die kom ik altijd tegen met een hond en een grote vuilniszak, want alle troep die ze op de grond vindt, die doet ze er meteen in, want ze schaamt zich zo voor die troep. En door die actie voelt ze zich meteen dan beter.

Dus ik denk dat het belangrijk ook is om schaamte te voelen, omdat het betekent dat er iets in jou, een gut feeling is, die zegt 'dat klopt niet!' Je moet iets doen, dat moet anders. Volgende keer doe je dat zo.

Q: O ja, da's mooi.

A: Dus zo zie ik die schaamte.

Q: Mooi, heel mooi.

A: En de trots die zorgt ervoor... Als ik ergens trots op ben... Maar dan de egoïstische trots van 'kijk mij nou is hier geweldig wonen en jullie?' \*onverstaanbaar\* \*onderbreking\*

Trots is een authentiek gevoel dat er voor zorgt dat je verbindt met de plaats waar je woont. En dat is dus volgens mij die verbinding waar we die band bij voelen, betrokkenheid voor, waar we bij betrokken zijn. Dan gaan we er voor zorgen. En dus beide emoties zorgen er toch voor... Bij de trots dan worden die waarden geleefd. Dus wat je belangrijk vindt.

\*onderbreking\*.

Beiden (schaamte en trots) zetten je aan tot actie. Dat je wil dat het zo blijft, of dat anderen er ook in kunnen delen. En daarmee kun je ook zeggen, maar dit is echt belangrijk voor mij. Ik woon in Amsterdam...

\*onderbreking\*

Dus het is ook die trots... Ja, dat relateert ook een beetje aan je identiteit. Wie ben ik? Wie ben ik, omdat ik op deze plek woon?

Q: Het is heel sterk gerelateerd aan je identiteit, de trots.

A: Ja, mooi.

Q: Als je je niet ergens mee identificeert, dus van: 'de Bijlmer is een stukje van mij, of Amsterdam is een stukje van wie ik ben' dan is het ook heel moeilijk om daar trots voor te voelen. Jij zult waarschijnlijk geen trots voelen voor Aalten, daar voel je je geen onderdeel van. Of van Deventer of iets dergelijks. Je moet wel echt... Die identificatie is wel een heel belangrijk onderdeel daarvan.

A: Ja.

Q: Nou, heel fijn. Dit waren mijn vragen.

A: Mooie vragen!

Q: Heb je nog iets wat je zou willen delen of wat je kwijt wil zo aan het einde? Of nog iets wat op je hart ligt of op de tong?

A: Ja, ik merk bijvoorbeeld dat schaamte... Dat vind ik moeilijke vragen, want schaamte is ook een nare emotie, dus daar wil je liever niet zijn. Dus het is goed dat je daar op het eind dan op terugkomt.

\*onderbreking\*

Daarmee zeg je ook veel over jezelf. Wil je dat wel bloot geven? De schaamte is moeilijker om te onderzoeken dan trots, denk ik.

Q: Ja, mensen praten er niet graag over, dat klopt wat je zegt. Ik heb ook in andere interviews heel vaak gehad dat mensen zeggen: 'Ik heb me nooit geschaamd, nooit.' En het kan, maar waar je soms denkt van... Ik kan me niet voorstellen dat in de afgelopen... Er was een man van zeventig, die zei van: 'Nou in de afgelopen zeventig jaar,' dat je dat nooit echt gedacht hebt... 'Wat er nu toch aan de hand is hier in ons dorp of in de stad', dat je dat nooit een keer hebt gevoeld, maar kan zijn hoor.

Ok, nou dankjewel Oda!



## Netherlands Urban Area: Participant [NLU2]

Q: In het algemeen, misschien een introductie vraag.... Of je misschien wat kunt vertellen over hoe jij de relatie ervaart tussen de mensen in het algemeen en de plaatsen waar zij zijn en waar zij wonen.

A: Ik denk dat de plaats waarin wij wonen of willen wonen hetgeen moet bieden wat wij zoeken. En dan heb ik met name over aanbod aan activiteiten en sociale dingen, zoals restaurants, culturele evenementen, maar ook ruimte bijvoorbeeld. En mijn eigen situatie, en dit geldt denk ik voor meerdere (mensen), het type mensen wat er woont is ook belangrijk, of dat past.

Ik denk dat we zoeken naar een plek waar je dat aanbod hebt aan activiteit, cultureel, uit eten, sportclubs en dergelijke. Ruimte... Wil je groen, wil je huizen, wil je stenen, wil je bos? En het type mensen dat er woont. Wat internationaal, heel lokaal, boeren, expats... Dat het een combinatie van die drie dingen is. Hoe wij onze stad, dorp, gehucht ervaren, waar wij willen wonen of waar wij ons settelen.

Q: En hoe is het voor jou specifiek?

A: Ik woonde ergens en ik wilde weg uit Aalten. Ik ging naar Londen en dat vond ik heel fijn. En daar wilde ik eigenlijk blijven, want ik vond daar zoveel diversiteit in mensen, wat ik heel belangrijk vond. Maar ook het aanbod... En dat is een hele brede keuze ten opzichte van waar ik vandaan kwam, van wat je kon doen en wie ik kon zijn. Het sprak me heel erg aan en de vrijheid daarin. Vanwege de financiële situatie en studeren ging ik terug naar Nederland en toen was the next best thing Amsterdam.

Dus toen ben ik hier gaan wonen en ik heb hier heel lang gewoond met het idee: 'Oh ik wil weer terug naar Londen, daar vond ik alles wat ik zocht.' Maar uiteindelijk heb ik het hier ook gevonden en ben ik hier eigenlijk heel blij. En nu heb ik zelfs ook.... Ik ben veel nog op reis, dus ik moet wel veel weg zijn. Maar ik ben wel heel blij om hier in Amsterdam te wonen. Met de mensen dus die ik om me heen verzameld heb in de loop van de jaren, het aanbod ook dat Amsterdam heeft... Maar dus ook wel het gemak waarmee ik, als ik iets mis, er even uit kan en het daar kwam zoeken. Zoals dus even naar Londen gaan of naar \*onverstaanbaar\* gaan.

Dus nu vind ik waar ik woon heel fijn en ik ben ooit verhuisd. En toen heb ik heel goed gekeken naar: 'Oké, ik wil wel groen, en ik hou van joggen bijvoorbeeld', dus ik wilde wel een park om mij heen hebben en niet te ver uit de stad wonen, uit de binnenstad, want daar woonde ik daarvoor.

Ik wilde wel makkelijk toegang hebben tot uitgaansgelegenheden en een diversiteit aan uitgaansgelegenheden, en ik wilde ook de mensen om mij heen hebben. Dus ik ben denk ik bewust, maar misschien wel onbewust, zeven jaar geleden hier gaan wonen en ik ben er nog steeds heel blij mee.

Q: Wat betekent dan Amsterdam voor jou?

A: Ik dacht heel lang niet zoveel, want Amsterdam is voor mij meer een plek waar veel van datgene is wat ik zoek in Nederland en in Nederland was het de beste plek, want ik ben best wel buitenlands georiënteerd. Of ik was altijd best wat buitenlands georiënteerd, door dus die verademing die ik in Londen tegenkwam toen ik negentien of twintig was. Maar nu ik dus.... Ik ben nu dus ook net terug weer terug van het buitenland, en ook al was ik er maar twee weken, dan is Amsterdam eigenlijk heel fijn. Het is klein, dus behapbaar. Er is wel een diversiteit aan aanbod.

En mijn loved ones wonen hier en dat is voor mij nu heel belangrijk. Ik heb gewoon echte vrienden hier die ik al heel lang ken en daar kan ik makkelijk naar toe. En ik merk dat naarmate ik ouder word, dat denk ik dat dat wel heel belangrijk is. En Amsterdam heeft dus een goede ligging, is makkelijk bereikbaar, ik kan er makkelijk uit als ik wil, en het heeft wel een aanbod van dingen waar ik goed op ga, dus: groen, leuke horeca tentjes, een leuk cultureel aanbod...

En nu eigenlijk ook wel, sinds ik voor mijzelf werk... Werk is ook wel echt Amsterdam. Daar ben ik achter, omdat ik hier gewoon heel veel mensen ken. Het sociale netwerk is ook wel heel sterk in bepaalde delen van de stad. Niet stadsbreed, maar wel heel erg in Zuidoost bijvoorbeeld. Dat vind ik wel fijn.

Q: Zie je het ook als onderdeel van jouw identiteit, Amsterdam?

A: Die vind ik spannend, want Amsterdam heeft natuurlijk ook een hele branding op zich. De marketing van Amsterdam is: 'Oehhh Amsterdam!' Iedereen vindt Amsterdam heel tof. En dan heb je natuurlijk dat ding van 'Oh ja, ik woon hier nu, maar ik ben niet van hier.' Ik ben niet hier geboren, dus ik vind dat altijd een heel erg interessante, over de identiteit van 'Ben je Amsterdammer?' Dat is ook zo'n ding. Dat je denk van: 'Ja ik woon hier, maar....' Misschien wel... Nee... Ik weet het

niet, maar ook omdat er zo'n ding op ligt van.... Maar dus ook als je naar de Achterhoek gaat bijvoorbeeld, dat mensen zeggen van 'maar je bent gewoon van hier'... Ik woon hier sinds 2006, dat is ook 14 jaar. Ja, ik denk dat ik Amsterdammer ben, maar ik heb niet zo heel veel met dat label persé. Maar ik zou ook wel in Rotterdam kunnen wonen bijvoorbeeld, denk ik. Dus meer dat het dus... die drie dingen die ik zei. Rotterdam is nu niet (aan de orde) omdat ik hier heel veel fijne vrienden heb, heel veel liefde om me heen voel en ervaar en echt mensen heb die ik mis als ik weg ben... Maar de stad op zich....

Ik merk wel dat ik nu een beetje die Amsterdamse arrogantie heb, dat het wel de beste plek is in Nederland nu. Maar ik vind nog steeds Londen leuker dan Amsterdam of ik vind \*onverstaanbaar/naam van een stad\* ook super interessant.... Of Berlijn, heeft ook heel veel.... Dus van mijn eigen identiteit: niet Amsterdam op zich, maar wel het stadse dat Amsterdam heeft.

Q: Ben je ook trots op Amsterdam?

A: \*Gemompel\*... Het heeft een heel goed imago, dus op die manier werkt het. Ik vind het wel fijn dat het vrij links is en dat er veel aandacht voor cultuur is nu... Met Groenlinks, dat vind ik wel fijn.... Hoe kneuteriger Nederland ook is, dat Amsterdam misschien het minst kneuterige is. Dus in Nederland ben ik het meest trots op Amsterdam denk ik, omdat het nog het beste past bij mijn normen en waarden.

Maar, ja ook niet persé ofzo. Het is heel erg een beetje van hoe ik filter, hoe ik kijk. Als ik kijk naar Aalten en naar Amsterdam, dan denk ik 'Oh mijn god, ik ben wel echt blij met Amsterdam.' Als ik kijk internationaal naar hoe men kijkt naar Amsterdam... Ja, ik woon daar, en ik vind het fijn dat ik met mijn fiets overal heen kan. Ja, we kunnen wiet roken op straat als we dat willen, maar dat doe ik niet. Maar persoonlijk, ik ben graag hier omdat mijn mensen hier zijn.

Ik vind het fijn dat je mooie plekken hebt, maar trots op Amsterdam ben ik niet persé...

Q: Wat komt er dan wel in je op als je dat hoort: trots zijn op je plaats, pride of place?

A: Ik moet gelijk denken aan Zuidoost, wat natuurlijk een deel is van Amsterdam. Daar ben ik denk ik wel trots op. Maar het is meer een community van mensen die daar bezig is, of waar ik een soort van warmheid of een manier van doen vind, die ik heel fijn vind. Maar er zit ook wel weer een soort van: 'de buitenwereld kijkt negatief naar ons', maar als wij die erin zitten snappen hoe het zit....Dus een beetje een 'wij/zij', een underdog positie zit daarin, dus dat vind ik wel heel fijn.

Als ik denk aan trots zijn op je plaats... En dan denk ik al snel 'Oh, dan moet je er ook geboren en getogen zijn...' Als mijn broer zegt: 'Ik ben echt trots op Aalten', dan denk ik 'Oh ja, je bent ook heel je leven al daar, en je hebt misschien ook bijgedragen aan het maken ervan.' Misschien denk ik aan het er geboren zijn of misschien aan het maken van de plek, dat er op een bepaalde manier naar wordt gekeken... Dus meer echt een binding met de plek, en ik heb misschien niet persé binding met de plek, maar meer met de faciliteiten die de plek biedt en de mensen die ik om mij heen heb. Die voor mij niet persé gebonden zijn aan die plek. Is dat antwoord op je vraag?

Q: Het is jouw antwoord. Even een hele simpele vraag. Kun je een aantal woorden noemen die in je opkomen, gewoon een aantal steekwoorden, die volgens jou horen bij pride of place?

A: Thuis voelen, staan achter bepaalde ontwikkelingen, belonging (dus dat thuis voelen), vrijheid vinden... En vrijheid is natuurlijk heel subjectief, maar....

Q: Autonomie?

A: Ja, ja. Die dingen.

Q: Zit er ook een volgorde in? Wat is het belangrijkste voor jou?

A: Ik denk thuis voelen. Voelen dat je er mag zijn, dat je er hoort, dat je er 'belongt'. Dat je hetzelfde voelt, maar dat de plek jou ook... Bijvoorbeeld als ik in Accra of Lagos ben, dat ik wit ben in een zwarte context, dan zal ik altijd op mijn anders-zijn gewezen worden. Toen ik daar lang was, toen ik ook echt voelde van 'ik woon hier, ik ben hier'.... maar als je altijd door de ander wordt gewezen op jou niet-vandaar zijn is dat best lastig.

En dat vind ik het mooie van Amsterdam, allerlei type mensen zijn hier, dus er is niet die discourse van 'oh je hoort niet hier'. Als ik in Aalten loop met iemand die er anders uit ziet, is het meer van 'oh ja bent niet van hier, dus...' Ik vind het heel belangrijk dat iedereen zich mag thuis voelen. Dat iedereen daar onopgemerkt kan rond bewegen.

Q: Maar daar zei je in feite twee dingen, thuis voelen en erbij horen.

A: Ja, erbij horen weet ik niet precies, want waarbij?

Q: Dat jij ook onderdeel bent van de plaats....

A: Ja, dat je dat mag zijn. Misschien kies je ervoor dat niet te zijn, maar dat je niet door de ander wordt gewezen op het niet erbij horen, op je outsider... Dus dat je gewoon er mag zijn en dat je dan zelf kiest van 'oh ik doe hier wel of niet iets mee', maar je kan er wel gewoon zijn.

Q: Heb je misschien ook weleens schaamte gevoeld voor Amsterdam of misschien voor Zuidoost?

A: Nee, want dan schrijf ik het toe aan bepaalde mensen. Als hooligans weer stomme dingen doen, of als.... Nee, nee. Nee, dus het is voor mij niet gebonden aan de plek, maar aan de mensen die iets doen op die plek. Ik zou dus daarom.... In Aalten schaam ik me wel voor Aalten, omdat voor mij de hele plek bijvoorbeeld een bepaald type mensen is. Wat natuurlijk niet zo is, maar zo... In mijn hoofd werkt dat zo.

Q: Dus de mentaliteit?

A: Ja, bijvoorbeeld ja. Aan het klein denken, of aan het gedrag dat bij die mentaliteit komt. Bijvoorbeeld, ik was op de kermis aan het werk deze zomer, achter de bar, en toen waren er drie... volgens mij Noord-Afrikaanse vluchtelingen die een biertje aan het drinken waren, heel blij, zo drie van die jongens met elkaar... En toen gingen een paar mensen echt van 'oh kijk dat nou', en toen dacht ik echt... Het deed me echt pijn ook, ik schaam me echt voor hoe jullie doen, en ik wil echt niet dat die mensen denken dat ik van hier ben, dat ik ook Aaltens ben, dus ik wilde daar echt afstand van doen. Maar dat is omdat ik het ook niet ken. Terwijl hier weet ik omdat je er in zit... 'Oh dat zijn dat soort, dat is dat.... maar de rest is gelukkig wel een beetje oké.'

Q: En voor Amsterdam... Heb je dan bijvoorbeeld voor de geschiedenis ofzo, of bepaalde aspecten, misschien op het materiële vlak, schaamte gevoeld?

A: Nou als je het wil hebben over... Dan ik moet gelijk denken aan de Gouden Eeuw en de kolonisatie waar Amsterdam en heel Nederland rijk door is geworden... Ik schaam me niet, want dat was toen. Dat is gebeurd en dat vind ik wel heel stom en heel zuur, maar tegelijkertijd besef ik ook dat bijvoorbeeld onze welvaart, mijn vrijheid en rijkdom daar een uitvloeisel van is. Ik schaam me weleens bijvoorbeeld voor Femke Halsema die nu domme dingen zegt. Maar schamen voor haar... Dat weet ik ook niet.

Ik zie het meer op het individuele vlak, of op tijden.... Van: er zijn domme dingen gebeurd. Ik heb niet dat ik mezelf daar dan persé mee identificeer, dus ik schaam me dan niet.

Zoals je het hebt over geschiedenis, en ik moet dan natuurlijk gelijk denken aan het slavernij verleden... Als ik dan die pakhuizen nu zie, hele mooie pakhuizen.... Met ook Afrika en al die dingen.... Dan denk ik van 'oh mijn god', daar vond het allemaal plaats en dat zijn dan nu allemaal hele dure appartementen geworden... Daar heb ik wel een dubbel gevoel bij. Maar geen schaamte.

Q: En andere fysieke plekken, misschien de Wallen ofzo of iets anders in Amsterdam?

A: Ik heb altijd wel een beetje een dubbel gevoel bij... Maar omdat het meer.... Je hebt in het Oosterpark de Schreeuw van Theo van Gogh die ooit vermoord is. En volgens mij staat het beeld voor vrijheid van meningsuiting, want dat had hij natuurlijk. En hij is vermoord, omdat hij misschien dingen zei die niet aansloot bij bepaalde opvattingen. Ik vond hem gewoon een pannenkoek, want hij zei dingen waar ik het echt niet mee eens was. Dus ik vind zo'n beeld of zo'n standbeeld, wat refereert naar hem.... Maar volgens mij refereert het meer naar de vrijheid van meningsuiting.... Maar het is naar aanleiding van zijn moord... En volgens mij ook zijn silhouet ofzo. Dat denk ik wel van 'hey getver', want hij is toch wel gewoon een rechtse klojo, en Amsterdams is volgens mij lekker links, dus ik vind dat stom. Maar tegelijkertijd sta ik tot op zekere hoogte ook wel achter vrijheid van meningsuiting...

Maar de Wallen, hmmm... Wiet roken... Hmmm. Ik schaam mij als wij heel kneuterig mee gaan doen met de rest van Nederland, zo van 'je mag niet door rood licht fietsen' ofzo. Voor de politie schaam ik me, ze doen echt stomme dingen. Maar dat is voor mij ook weer een orgaan... Dat identificeert de stad niet en dat is voor mij meer Nederland, en niet persé Amsterdam.

Q: En voor je trots... Heb je daar nog specifieke plekken, of gebieden, of evenementen, of misschien materiële of immateriële zaken, die echt volgens jou te maken hebben met trots zijn op je stad... waar je trots op zou kunnen zijn?

A: Ik trots? Nee, ik vind het wel mooi of fijn. Of als ik misschien bijgedragen aan een cultureel evenement in Zuidoost bijvoorbeeld, dan kan ik daar trots op zijn. Maar dat is meer dat ik ook zelf actief bij heb gedragen aan iets. Ik heb niet het

gevoel dat ik mijn stad maak ofzo. Als ik iemand help, dat ik een zwerver een euro geef en dat andere mensen ook doen... Dit is wat ik herken van hoe ik mijn Amsterdam zie, maar ik ben niet veel trots op dingen.

Ik vind dingen wel mooi of fijn. Weet je, als ik op zo'n zonnige dag als dit ook door de stad fiets met mijn muziek in mijn oren, dan denk ik wel 'Ah, heerlijk!'... Als ik dan in de Indische buurt ben, daar heb je zo'n man met een hele versierde fiets die altijd loopt te zingen en weet ik wat allemaal.... Iedereen kent hem. Dat vind ik wel mooi dat die er is, maar ik voel daar niet een persoonlijke trots voor. Want ik heb daar niks mee gedaan, dus voor mij is het toch ook heel erg gebonden aan.... Heb ik daar zelf direct input opgedaan ofzo?

Q: Oké mooi, daar kom ik straks nog op terug... Zie je ook wel waar andere mensen trots op zijn in je omgeving?

A: Nee, weet ik niet. Ik heb heel veel mensen om me heen... Ja Ajax, Zuidoost wel.... Wat mensen die ook vandaar zijn, geboren en getogen bijvoorbeeld.

Q: Waar zijn ze dan specifiek trots op volgens jou, bijvoorbeeld op Zuidoost?

A: Lokaal ondernemerschap denk ik, heel erg.... Dat ondanks alle negatieve, of de slechte verhalen, dat het toch is gelukt, zoiets.... Dus weer heel erg dat 'wij/zij'. Dat saamhorigheid, samen binnen iets... Dat je dan samen iets kan neerzetten, of samen iets hebt gemaakt. Door altijd die ondernemer te hebben gesteund is hij nu uitgegroeid tot.... Zoiets meer.

Q: En waar denk jij dat jouw oorsprong ligt van... Nee wacht even, jij voelde geen trots. Maar waar denk je dat.... (mag ook over jezelf gaan, maar ook niet).... Waar denk je dat doorgaans bij mensen of jou dan de oorsprong van trots ligt? Mag ook over de Achterhoek gaan hoor.

A: Nou wat ik al zei, ik denk dat ik zelf het gevoel moet hebben dat ik er zelf iets aan bij heb gedragen. En bij mij is het, volgens mij ben ik wel een humble persoon, dat voor mij dat dus heel gebonden is aan directe actie. En dan vaak ook bewust... Als het onbewust is gebeurd dan nog niet eens.... Want dan is het een soort toevalligheid, waar ik niet eens moeite voor heb gedaan.... Maar als ik dus bewust ergens naar hebt gehandeld met een bepaald doel, en als dat dan lukt, dan voel ik echt denk ik trots.

Of, ik kan ook heel trots zijn op... Ik moet gelijk denken aan mensen trouwens.... Ik ben trots op mijn mensen. Stel dat Marije nu een nieuwe baan heeft, dan ben ik al trots, want ik hou van haar. Dan ben ik heel trots, van 'dat is mijn vriendin!' Maar ik vind het moeilijk wat het dan is....

Trots is in ieder geval heel persoonlijk denk ik. En ik heb trots minder... Als ik zou bijdragen aan de bouw van een nieuw gebouw en de stad die heel mooi is, zal ik heel trots zijn denk ik. Maar ik kan niet persé trots zijn op hoe mooi de stad is. Ik vind de stad wel heel mooi. Maar daar heb ik allemaal niks mee gedaan, maar ik kan het wel fijn vinden om daarheen te fietsen. Dat ik denk: 'oh ik mag hier zijn, wat fijn dat ik hier mag wonen!' Maar ik zal het geen trots noemen. Dus trots is meer een directe actie, een soort van naastenliefde ofzo en dan daar trots op zijn?! Ik weet het niet zo goed.

Q: En voor schaamte eventueel... Je zei voorheen, je schaamde je wel eens voor Aalten, of misschien iets kleins van Amsterdam, is dat ook heel erg gerelateerd aan het sociale aspect van de plek?

A: Ja, maar ook wel aan (stenen? steden? \*onverstaanbaar\*).... Schaamte is meestal wel het sociale. Als bepaalde mensen bepaalde dingen doen, dan denk ik: 'Nou, dit kan toch niet?' Maar dan moet ik me wel met die mensen identificeren, of al dan niet zelf, of door de buitenwereld, worden gezien als hetzelfde. Dan kan ik me schamen. Maar hierachter wordt er nu een winkelcentrum gebouwd dat heel erg op Almere lijkt... Wat voor mij heel erg Nederlands is.... Met bepaalde normen en waarden waar ik niet persé achter sta, dat ik denk 'he getver'. Maar daar schaam ik me niet voor, want ik heb daar niks mee gedaan of te doen. Maar ik denk wel 'ieuw!'

Schaamte is meer dat ik zelf iets heb gedaan. Of als mensen mij als iets.... Premier Mark Rutte zegt dingen.... Dat ik denk: 'Oh Jezus!' Maar ik schaam me daar niet voor. Ik heb dan niet, dat ik denk 'Oh ik heb daar een link mee'... Ook al kan de buitenwereld denken 'Oh het is jouw premier of burgemeester Halsema?' Maar ik heb.... Ik voel me niet daarmee verbonden. Dus ik schaam me dan niet, nee. Schaamte voor een stad, niet persé... Als er heel veel dingen gebeuren waar ik niet achter sta, dan zou ik denk ik weggaan.

Q: Kun je mij een moment beschrijven of een herinnering, of misschien een ervaring waarop je echt trots voelde voor de stad?

A: \*smaalt\* Ik weet het niet! Nou misschien.... Maar dat heeft bij mij ook weer te maken omdat ik dus hier ben gaan wonen, niet persé omdat ik het zelf heel graag wilde, maar omdat het the next best thing was ten opzichte van Londen... Dus ik heb altijd gedacht 'Oh ja, dit is geen Londen dus.... Mmmm.' Maar je hebt met Koninginnedag bepaalde feestjes... En

ik vind Londen dus heel leuk, omdat daar een diversiteit van mensen is, en mode en muziek waar ik me heel erg in kan vinden...

En er waren hier feestjes waarbij je dat weer zag, dat ik dacht 'Oh vet! Dit is gewoon Amsterdam, dit is gewoon in mijn stad...' En toen was ik heel blij en een soort van trots. En toen dacht ik van, ik hoef dus niet persé naar Londen, want het is hier wel. Dus meer dat ik iets vond wat ik meende niet te vinden hier, of dat er niet was, en dat het er toen wel opeens was... Maar dat is niet persé... Is dat trots?

Ik ben niet persé heel trots op de stad, denk ik ofzo...

Q: Hiervoor noemde je op Zuid-Oost? Dat je wel heel trots was op bepaalde activiteiten...

A: Ja, dat zijn dan de mensen en die wonen dan in Zuid Oost. Door de framing van Zuidoost en de othering, maakt het dat het Zuid-Oost voelt. Maar het is niet persé... Omdat het zo wordt geframed als een plek of als iets door de buitenwereld... Voelt het al heel snel verbonden met die plek, of voelt het al snel dat het met die plek te maken heeft... Maar of dat echt zelf.... \*Onderbreking\*

Q: Welke emoties of gevoelens horen daarbij volgens jou, als je aan één van die evenementen denkt?

A: Blijheid, ook wel trots... Van 'we hebben dit samen gefixt', dat meer.

\*Onderbreking\*

A: Ja, dan zou ik toch wel 'trots' zeggen. Blijheid, een voldaan gevoel ook wel heel vaak... Blij, trots.... Kracht, dat is geen emotie, maar...

Q: Empowerment ofzo?

A: Ja.

Q: Oké, en als je dan nu zou denken, wat voor gedrag hoort daarbij? Wat zou je graag willen doen als je daar nu aan denkt? Is dat iets van delen, of weer bijdragen, of...?

A: Vaker doen, delen.... Vooral ook door meer mensen daarin mee te nemen. Nog meer mensen daarbij te betrekken, dat nog meer mensen het kunnen doen. Het vaker doen en het delen met de wereld van 'Kijk, dit is leuk, dit is tof, dit kunnen wij samen!' Vooral omdat het dus gaat over een wijk waar een ander imago op heerst. Dat.

Q: Oké, we zijn er bijna hoor.

A: Ik heb geen haast.

Q: En als je denkt aan een moment waarop je schaamte voelde (mag voor de stad, maar ook voor de Achterhoek)... Hoe zou je dat omschrijven?

A: Ik vind het moeilijk, want volgens mij neem ik heel erg afstand van de plek, en zijn het meer dus mensen. Maar als ik niet het idee heb dat ik zelf.... Ik heb niet het gevoel dat ik bij mensen hoor ofzo, dus dat het maar mensen zijn. Dus dan schaam ik me ook niet, omdat het niet direct met mij te maken heeft. Ik distance me daar zelf heel erg van.

Nu zit ik gelijk te denken over schaamte, dat ik denk 'oh ja, dat is'.... Ik ben heel erg met kleur bezig en volgens mij is het heel erg witte privilege dat wij als individu kunnen handelen. Bijvoorbeeld... Sorry, een beetje off track: Ik had laatst een bijeenkomst, en we moesten allemaal iets persoonlijks delen en een jongen zei dat zijn voorvoorbader slavenhandelaar was, en hij schaamde zich daar niet voor.

En ik zei 'oh knap dat je dat zegt, want dat is toch niet echt iets waar wij over het algemeen trots op zijn?' En hij zei 'Ja, maar daar heb ik toch niks mee te doen?' En toen dacht ik van 'Oh ja, maar als dit een zwart persoon zou zijn... Een zwart persoon kan niet... Een zwart persoon staat voor een soort van collectief.' Je kan bijna niet zeggen: 'Daar heb ik niks mee te doen.' Want de maatschappij waarin wij leven ziet jou nog steeds als een groep. Dus als jij iets doet, doe je dat namens een hele groep, of voor een hele groep. Dus je bent heel erg één collectief, omdat het zo wordt gezien. Terwijl als je wit bent is dat niet zo. Dus je bent gewoon een individu. En op een moment dat je heel erg bent losgetrokken van bijvoorbeeld mijn familie... En ook qua naam, niemand kent mij als Hogenelst, iedereen kent mij als Hoch. Ik ben heel erg ik en ik kies heel erg bewust met wie ik omga, en met wie en waar ik me aan verbonden voel. Schaamte treedt niet heel snel op, en dat ik denk: 'Oh maar je hoort niet bij me...'

Ja, of misschien als Marije soms iets zegt... Dat ik denk: 'Nou kom op, hé!' Maar dan denk ik nog steeds, 'dat ben jij....' Dus... Wat was je vraag? Sorry....

Q: Of je een moment kunt benoemen waarop je schaamte voelde voor een plaats? Mag voor Amsterdam, voor Zuid-Oost, voor iets anders... Of voor Aalten....

A: Ja, ik moet dan als eerste aan Aalten denken. Maar ik denk dan nog steeds: 'Ja, ik ben daar opgegroeid, maar ik ben ook weggegaan.' Nou onder andere dus om zoiets, als ik me ergens voor schaam. Dus dat meer. Ja, ik vind het wel moeilijk... Vooral als ik hier tegen een vriendin vertel dat mijn vader dus bakjes eten krijgt, terwijl mijn broer naast hem woont. Dat doet me wel pijn in mijn hart. Dat ik denk: 'Ja kom op, heel!' Maar dat is daar dus normaal. Maar of ik me daar voor schaam? Nee, want daar heb ik niks... Dat is niet van mij, ofzo.

Q: Schaamte en trots zit heel erg met je identiteit \*onverstaanbaar\*...

A: Ja, omdat ik heel erg ben losgeweekt van dingen, en mijn identiteit niet haal uit een plek persé, maar uit mezelf wel heel sterk, denk ik. Uit de dingen die ik doe, of waarmee ik me bezig houd, de dingen die ik consumeer... Ik heb minder met een plek... Denk ik hoor. Maar misschien zeggen mijn antwoorden wel heel iets anders. Maar in mijn eigen bewustzijn, denk ik, heb ik niet persé.... Het is wel als ik ergens ben, bijvoorbeeld op een verjaardag in Eindhoven ofzo, waar ik al honderd jaar niet ben geweest... Maar als mensen zeggen van 'Oh waar woon je dan?', en als ik zeg 'Amsterdam', dat ik dan wel een soort van 'ik ben niet van hier weet je, ik kom wel uit de tofste plek'... Dan heb ik wel zoiets van 'oh ja, ik woon daar wel', terwijl het eigenlijk helemaal nergens op slaat. Maar dat het dus het beste past bij mijn normen en waarden, en dat is dus diversiteit, stad, vrijheid, kunnen doen en zijn wie je wil. Dat kan naar mijn idee het beste in Nederland, in Amsterdam.

Q: Heb je ook weleens gezien dat andere mensen zich schamen voor Amsterdam of voor een bepaalde plek, voor de Achterhoek, of voor Aalten?

A: Voor een plek? \*Zucht\*... Ik kan me voorstellen dat Sylvia zoiets wel eens heeft gezegd, en die wil ook echt niet naar Aalten toe, die \*maakt vies geluid\*.... Maar dat is het niet, dat is geen schaamte denk ik... Eerst hadden we afgunst, van 'ik vind het stom, want...' Schaamte heeft denk ik ook veel te maken met keuzes, want als er nu iets gebeurt in de Achterhoek of in Aalten waarvan ik denk van 'ja Jezus, dit kan toch niet?' Ja, ik ben weg... Vandaar, dus. Niet omdat ik dat wilde, maar omdat het toen zou was...

Q: Oké, dan kunnen we dat stukje overslaan. En dan de laatste vraag, wat meer hypothetisch...

A: Sorry, maar waar ik nu wel even aan denk.... In Zuidoost is er laatst een jongen weer.... Je hebt nu van die drillrap ofzo toch? Wat nu gaande is met messen, en al dat soort dingen... En steeds jonge jongens? Ik weet het niet precies. Dat is media framing wat ik nu vertel. Rappen, en in de rap daag je elkaar uit, en dan lopen ze op straat met messen. En als je elkaar dan tegenkomt kan het zijn dat je elkaar neersteekt. Laatst was een jongen in Zuidoost vermoord. En de media kijkt nu nog heel erg naar Zuidoost, omdat het daar dus schijnbaar, of volgens de media, plaatsvindt.

Maar dan heb je heel erg dat de mensen in Zuidoost denken van 'Oh fuck, we kunnen dit niet gebruiken als Zuidoost', terwijl de mensen die er in zitten weten: 'Dit zijn jonge jongens. Het gebeurt overal.' Maar omdat je dus weet: de media gaat het framen als Zuidoost. Dan denk je al 'Kut, dit is niet handig. We hebben dit nu niet nodig.' Schamen? Nee, meer kut. Hypothetisch.

Q: Ja. Laatste vraag, hypothetisch. Waar denk jij dat de gevoelens van trots en schaamte voor dienen? Welk nut hebben die? Misschien moet je eerst de trots benoemen. Waar zou dat voor dienen? Waar zou het ons voor helpen?

A: Goed voelen over jezelf. Liefde kunnen voelen, liefde kunnen uiten. Ook wel een stukje belonging. Tot mensen, of tot plekken. Of tot evenementen. Waar zou het voor kunnen dienen? Ik denk wel voor saamhorigheid, ook voor verbinding met elkaar. Maar als we allebei trots zijn, dan kun je dat delen, dan heb je het daarover.

Q: En schaamte, waar zou dat voor dienen?

A: Ook het onderscheid. Eigenlijk het tegenovergestelde van trots, waarschijnlijk. Dus ook wel die verbinding. Het zijn allemaal dingen die normen en waarden hebben die je deelt met elkaar. En dus dat groepsgevoel. Groepscohesie denk ik, trots ook... Als ik me ergens voor schaam... Want als ik alleen ben, schaam ik me nergens voor. Maar er is in relatie tot een context van mensen tot een norm. 'Dat hoort niet!' Ik heb het wel gedaan, ook schamen. Dus het is ook heel erg sociale orde denk ik. En dus de verhoudingen met elkaar en het groepsgevoel. Bij elkaar horen of niet.

Q: Oké thanks!

## Netherlands Urban Area: Participant [NLU3]

Q: Oké, goed. Zoals je weet is dit interview voor mijn Phd over Pride of Place. Ik stuur je ook nog even zo'n informed consent dingetje, dat moet je even ondertekenen. Dan weet je achteraf wat je rechten waren, voor dit interview. De omgekeerde weg.

Nou, de eerste vraag. \*onderbreking\*

Om te beginnen, kun je me vertellen wat er in je opkomt als je denkt aan de relatie tussen mens en de plaats? Aan place, dus niet zozeer woonplaats, maar gewoon echt place. En dat mag dan echt gaan over het algemeen, maar ook over jouw eigen ervaring.

A: Ik denk direct aan een huis, aan een home, zeg maar thuis. Want dat is iets waar we allemaal naar op zoek zijn. Wat ik heel fijn vind is om dat als base te hebben, en die base, dat thuis wil ik dus hebben in een omgeving waar ik me heel fijn en veilig voel, in de directe omgeving. En om dat te connecten, ik denk dat we allemaal wel op zoek zijn naar een huis, een thuis.

Q: En wat maakt dan een plek thuis?

A: Dat is voor iedereen anders, maar voor mij denk ik een plek waar ik mijn waardes kwijt kan en waar ik me ook veilig en geborgen voel. Ik denk ook dat veilig voelen, dat maakt een plek thuis.

Q: Maar is dat fysiek veilig voelen of emotioneel?

A: Beiden. Fysiek en emotioneel. Maar om een beetje te vergelijken met Los Angeles en Amsterdam... In Amsterdam voel ik me super veilig. Hier loop ik over straat. Zeker als het donker is, kijk ik twee, drie keer achter me. Voel ik me toch minder veilig. Dan denk ik niet dat ik deze stad ooit thuis zou kunnen noemen.

Q: Maar is het echt een gevaarlijke stad, of meer omdat je het nog niet kent?

A: Beide.

Q: Jij komt dan uit Amsterdam. Als het gaat om pride of place, is dat dan ook jouw place waar je het over hebt?

A: Nee, echt in Amsterdam.

Q: Of misschien ook over de wijk waar je dan zit in Amsterdam?

A: Ook wel, maar ik zou dan echt zeggen Amsterdam.

Q: En wat betekent Amsterdam voor jou?

A: Amsterdam betekent voor mij voornamelijk vrijheid en kunnen zijn wie je bent... Als stad en qua waardes die ze hebben. De Nederlandse tolerantie zie ik heel erg terug in Amsterdam. Jij mag doen wat je wil, als je mij er niet mee lastig valt. Dat vooral. Dus vrijheid, maar wel vrijheid met grenzen. Dat is dus meer de tolerantie. Tolerantie en vrijheid.

Q: En zijn dat dan ook de waarden waar je het over had? Zijn het ook voor jou belangrijke waarden?

A: Door de vrijheid in Amsterdam kan ik heel veel lol hebben. En ja, liefde. Dat is ook een belangrijke hoofd waarde. Maar die kan ik ook wel anders (vinden), maar die vind ik ook wel Amsterdam.

Dat is een gevoel dat ik moeilijk kan omschrijven waarom dat is. Als ik over de grachten fiets of loop, en in het zonnetje sta, dan ben ik echt intens gelukkig.

Q: Omdat het een mooie stad is?

A: Ja, juist ook wel vanwege die waarden, die vrijheden, dat Amsterdam ook zo'n tolerante stad is... zeker ook vergeleken met de rest van Nederland. Amsterdam zet zich toch altijd wel een beetje af tegen Den Haag, toch een beetje op z'n eigen manier, heel eigenzinnig.

Q: Dat ben jij ook wel een beetje he?

A: Ik ben ook een beetje eigenzinnig, ja.

Q: Ben je trots op Amsterdam?

A: Ja.

Q: Omdat je daar woont?

A: Omdat ik daar woon, ja. Maar ik ben ook zeker trots op Amsterdam. Ik denk ook wel vanwege de geschiedenis, dan val ik toch weer terug op die waarde van vrijheid... Ik vind wel dat vrijheid in het DNA van Amsterdam zit. Je mag doen wat je wil, als je maar rekening houdt met anderen. Dat is iets wat ik zelf ook heel erg beaam.

Amsterdam is één van de eerste steden die zich uitsprak tegen het apartheid regime. Dus dat soort dingen, dat heeft ook weer met vrijheid te maken.

Q: Wat komt er in je op als je denkt aan trots zijn op je plaats? Gewoon in het algemeen?

A: Erasmus Plus... Nee, voor mij betekent trots zijn op die plek waar je vandaan komt, dat als iemand je vraagt, je er met een glimlach over vertelt. En als iemand zegt: 'Vertel eens wat je daar kan doen', dat je dan kan zeggen, 'oh dit kun je doen en dat'... 'En vertel eens hoe je vrije dag eruit ziet?' 'En dan ga ik het liefst hier en daar heen...' En dat je echt zo trots vertelt... Ik wil het met jou delen.

Dat is trots. Als je trots ben op een plek, dan wil je 'm delen.

Q: En de volgende vraag, zou je een paar steekwoorden kunnen noemen als je denkt aan de trots van jouw plaats?

A: Sowieso vrijheid, fietsen, lol, eten en drinken.

Q: En zit er ook een volgorde in, kun je het rangschikken? De eerste twee, drie ofzo?

A: Sowieso staat vrijheid bovenaan. Daaronder valt denk ik ook fietsen, vrijheid om gewoon te gaan waar je wil... Dus ik denk eigenlijk vrijheid, lol, ja liefde voor de stad.

Q: Passie?

A: Ik vind het moeilijk, omdat... Dat is gewoon voor alles. Daar hoort ook die vrijheid bij, die lol. Dat ik echt liefde voel, dat dat misschien ook trots is. De liefde voelt voor je plek en dat je het wil delen.

Dat betekent wel dat we nog dingen kunnen veranderen, dat die beter kunnen, maar wel die key woorden. Dat zijn vrijheid, lol, eten, drinken.

Q: Heb je ook wel eens schaamte gevoeld voor Amsterdam, omdat je uit Amsterdam komt?

A: Nee, ik heb nooit zelf schaamte gevoeld. Ik heb wel bepaalde dingen die nu gebeuren in de stad of dingen die in het verleden zijn gebeurd, gewoon politieke keuzes.... Ja, dat is niet Amsterdam waardig bijna.

Q: Zoals?

A: Aan de andere kant ook weer wel.... Wat strikter op het horeca beleid, de vertrutting van de binnenstad... Maar ja, dat gezeik is natuurlijk ook wel weer lekker echt Amsterdams... Dus in die zin kun je er altijd wel een draai aan maken dat het toch weer Amsterdam wordt.

Zeiken dat een mooi uithangbord vijf centimeter verder is dan het zou moeten. Maar het is een heel mooi ambachtelijk uithangbord, terwijl de burens van een Argentijnse steakhuis met vieze neonlichten een kleiner bord hebben, maar die mogen het wel (op)hangen. En dat oud geschilderd, ambachtelijk bord niet omdat het te ver uitsteekt, dan denk ik van 'ja, dat is echt betutteling'.

Q: Het gaat een beetje aan het doel voorbij?

A: Ja.

Q: Ken je mensen die schaamte voelen voor Amsterdam?



A: Nee, daar blijf ik ver van weg. Ik zou echt niet weten wie.

Q: Dan kunnen we dat overslaan. En zijn er in Amsterdam misschien plekken, gebieden of iets anders dat je associeert met die trots?

A: De grachtengordel denk ik wel, omdat het mooi is. Maar ik denk nog meer de oude arbeiderswijken, zoals mijn eigen wijk De Pijp en de Jordaan. En een straat zoals de Javastraat, waar je echt alle culturen bij elkaar hebt zitten.

Q: Is dat dus vanwege de geschiedenis en misschien de rol die die wijken hebben gespeeld in de stad vroeger?

A: Nee, echt zeker de rol die speelde.... De arbeiders die Amsterdam groot hebben gemaakt.

Q: Waar denk je dat de oorsprong van je trots ligt voor Amsterdam? Is dat aangeboren, heb je dat meegekregen van thuis?

A: Nee, zeker niet, dat is echt iets wat ik zelf heb aangeleerd door er gewoon te zijn en doordat de stad zo erg op mijn eigenwaarde lijkt, de waarden die de stad ook heeft. Misschien vind ik dat wel... Heel veel mensen hebben zoiets van 'Je bent geen echte Amsterdammer', of 'Je bent geen echte Rotterdammer', 'Je bent geen echte New Yorker' als je er niet geboren en getogen bent voor minstens zoveel generaties. En dat vind ik eigenlijk niet bij Amsterdam... Je bent Amsterdammer, zodra je je Amsterdammer voelt.

Daarom denk ik, het is wel heel makkelijk voor mij om trots te worden, want ik voel me gewoon trots... Het hoeft niet legitiem te zijn, zo van 'ik ben hier geboren en getogen'.... Ik voel het. Dus ik ben het. No nonsens.

Q: Zie je dan ook dat als je trots op de stad bent, dan ben je een Amsterdammer?

A: Niet persé. Als je je Amsterdammer voelt, dan ben je een Amsterdammer.

Q: Wat zijn de specifieke elementen zijn voor de trots? Dat heb je al een beetje genoemd, waar vind je de oorsprong van jouw trots? Jij noemde al de waarde van de stad, en misschien ook specifiek... Zijn er nog andere dingen? Misschien bepaalde evenementen, of andere misschien materiële dingen of immateriële dingen?

A: Nee, ik denk het niet. Dus gewoon dat rijtje. Maar ik denk dat het vooral allemaal vanuit die waardes is, want ik kan wel zoiets noemen als Koningsdag. Dat is een event in Amsterdam dat ik heel vet vind, maar dat vind ik vooral vet, omdat er zoveel vrijheid is, dus dat je daar gewoon kan doen wat je wil, zo lang je maar niet iemand anders lastig valt.

Q: Dus daar komt uiteindelijk alles op terug?

A: Bij mij wel ja.

Q: Maar hoe zie je dan bijvoorbeeld... Een vriendin van mij, die woont ook in Amsterdam en zij verdiept zich heel erg in de Afrikaanse geschiedenis. Ook in Amsterdam. En ze zei bijvoorbeeld dat Amsterdam voor een heel groot gedeelte is gebouwd met zwart goud. Het V.O.C. goud dat niet altijd echt gekregen is, maar meer op een dwingende manier.

A: Zeker.

Q: Dat Amsterdam daar op gebouwd is. En zij voelt wel schaamte voor dat stukje geschiedenis van de stad. Herken je zoiets?

A: Nee, geen schaamte. Maar dat is wel iets wat we moeten benoemen. En ik vind dat het inderdaad wel bij de geschiedenis hoort. Maar als ik eerlijk ben, voel ik geen schaamte. Als ik er zo over nadenk, dan denk ik dat ik misschien wel schaamte zou moeten voelen, maar dat doe ik niet. En ja, dan heb ik wel zoiets van.... We moeten er wel over praten en blijven bestuderen en kijken of we er iets mee kunnen doen.

Dus in die zin, ik ben niet trots op die periode, maar om nou te zeggen dat we dan gebouwen omver moeten werpen die daarmee zijn gebouwd... Dat vind ik ook heel somber. Juist omdat ze blijven staan, want het is dus wel weer een herinnering aan die slechte tijd die ons juist nu zoveel rijkdom heeft gebracht.

Voornamelijk wat bij mij is... Kom ik inderdaad weer terug op die vrijheid. Dat die, in Amsterdam tenminste, er altijd wel is geweest en dat dus wel... Door de rijkdom, als we daarover gaan praten... Dat is misschien wel iets waar ik misschien minder trots op ben, maar niet iets wat me belemmert in mijn trots.

Q: Het gaat ook samen als het ware? Niet het één of het ander uitsluiten?

A: Ja.

Q: Kun je mij een moment beschrijven waarop je echt heel erg trots voelde op Amsterdam?

A: Ik heb het elke keer als ik door de stad loop, zeker als het zonnetje schijnt, of boven de Albert Cuyp... Als ik om me heen kijk, dat is een geluismoment. Als ik onderweg ben tussen kroegen of onderweg naar vrienden toe, of gewoon een rondje ga lopen... En ik kijk om me heen. En ook als ik hoor van mensen die het bezoeken.... Van: 'Oh zo'n geweldige stad!' Dan ben ik wel extra trots op mijn stadje, ja.

Q: Voel je dan extra trots als mensen dat benoemen dat het zo'n mooie stad is?

A: Ja.

Q: Dus als het erkend wordt, dan is het wederom een gevoel van trots?

A: Jazeker.

Q: Welke gedachten komen er bij je op het moment dat je daaraan denk, aan dat moment?

A: Blijheid. Ik wil dit voor altijd als mijn basis hebben. Veilig. Vooral gewoon een geluismoment, niet meer andere gedachtes. Voornamelijk... Wat kan ik me toch gelukkig voelen, wat heb ik toch een geluk. 'Hier mag ik wonen en dat ik dit mijn stad mag noemen', dat er zoveel mooie emoties bij komen... Dat is voornamelijk geluk.

Q: En vrijheid! Die vrijheid had toch ook iets met Amsterdam te maken? En behalve geluk, komen er ook nog andere emoties bij? Geluk en blijheid zei je al?

A: Voornamelijk dat, als ik die trotsheid voel, dan is het geluk en blijdschap.

Q: En wat is het dan wat je graag zou willen doen met die trots? Waar zet die trots jou toe aan, om te doen?

A: Nou, ik denk wel dat die trots me aan zet door goed voor de omgeving te zorgen. Bijvoorbeeld door iets te zeggen van... 'Oh, ik vind dat al die kleine bedrijfjes ook bij Amsterdam horen', dus ik koop liever bij die kleine bedrijfjes, dan bij een supermarkt of bij een webwinkel. Als ik die trots voor Amsterdam niet had en ik had een gesjeesde baan ofzo, had ik misschien alles gewoon online besteld de hele tijd.

Maar omdat ik trots ben, dat zaakje heeft dus echt leuke mensen, die moeten blijven, die moeten bij de stad blijven, daar ga ik mijn spullen kopen. Dus ik denk op zo'n manier.

En ook bijvoorbeeld in mijn wijk, dat ik ook die autootjes rond rij.... Ik heb dat al een tijdje niet gedaan, maar het vrijwilligerswerk waarmee ik mensen die slecht te been zijn help... Die trots vertaalt zich dus toch wel in het 'ik wil iets doen voor de liefde voor de stad, liever dan dat ik waterputten in Afrika sla'.

Q: Dus je zoekt eigenlijk liever jouw bijdrage aan een mooie wereld, een mooi Amsterdam, gewoon van dichtbij?

A: Ja, en dan bedoel ik natuurlijk met Erasmus Plus dat andere mensen dit dan ook in hun 'dinges' doen. Maar de dingen die ik zelf actief doe, dan word ik er blij van als ik dat in mijn eigen omgeving doe.

Q: Je wil het ook delen... De stad delen. Hoe werkt dat dan?

A: Bijvoorbeeld met mijn werk als tourgids.

Q: Dan praat je ook met trots over de stad?

A: En over vrijheid.

Q: Wat zie je dat het doet met de mensen die je rondleidt, als je met trots over de stad praat?

A: Dat is wel mooi, want toen Chelsea mij opzocht in oktober, toen zei ze van 'Oh dat is echt wereld van verschil. Ik zie hoeveel blijer je hier in Amsterdam bent en zoveel meer in je element.' Dus in die zin had ik die trots niet eens uitgesproken, maar ik straalde het uit en dat maakte me natuurlijk hartstikke blij.

Ik zeg weleens tegen Chelsea van "Ik hou van jou, maar je moet mijn liefde wel delen met Amsterdam."

\*onderbreking\* over liefde en op welke plaats je geliefde komt

Q: Die schaamte, kom je daar nog op terug? Komt er nog een moment bij je op? Dat je schaamte voelde?

A: Nee, niet voor Amsterdam.

Q: Waar wel voor?

A: Weet ik eigenlijk niet.

Q: Misschien dat ze een gedeelte van de wallen hebben dichtgegooid?

A: Misschien plaatsvervangende schaamte. Dat ik echt denkt van 'Hey! Sommige mensen die gewoon de binnenstad inderdaad naar de mallemoer aan het helpen zijn, met al die Nutella winkels of inderdaad alleen maar een snelle euro willen verdienen over de rug van de stad'... Zeker ook met die woningnood, dat ik denk van 'Ja, als ik jou was, zou ik me hard schamen.'

Dat misschien wel.

Q: Ja, die gedachten die dan in je opkomen van 'Hoe kun je dit nou doen over de rug van de stad?' Welke emoties en gevoelens heb je daarbij?

A: Ja, ik zit er een beetje tweezijdig in, want ik ben niet heel activistisch ingesteld, zo van 'Nou, ik wil er iets aan doen.' Ik heb er wel mijn mening over, maar ik hoef niet persé iets mee te doen. Dus in die zin is het niet echt een sterke emotie.

Q: Maar voel je ook boosheid of irritatie?

A: Ja, wel boosheid. Maar nauwelijks waarneembaar. Als je me naar mijn mening zou vragen... Ik word er niet echt boos van. Maar als je het inderdaad aan emotie zou moeten koppelen, dan zou dat boosheid zijn.

Q: Zou je daar ook iets tegen willen doen? Tegen dat mensen dat doen?

A: Niet actief. Maar bijvoorbeeld dat een politieke partij dat zou doen ofzo. Of een petitie gewoon. Als ik zo min mogelijk zelf hoef te doen, dan zou ik er iets aan doen. Maar eigenlijk is het antwoord nee.

Q: Hoe hangt dat dan samen met die waarde van vrijheid? Want als vrijheid zo belangrijk is, dan zouden mensen....

A: Niet oneindige vrijheid voor een persoon, en dat heeft ook wel met tolerantie te maken. Want bijvoorbeeld nu met de Nutella winkels... Ja, vrijheid om het te openen, zeker. Maar het belemmert daardoor dat bijvoorbeeld echte Amsterdammers... Of sorry, Amsterdammers die in Amsterdam wonen... Dus niet alleen toeristen... winkels hebben dichtbij. Middenstand! Leuke winkels! Dan wordt er een veel leukere sfeer gecreëerd, vind ik. Dus dan beperk je eigenlijk de vrijheid van die Amsterdammers. Hetzelfde met huizen. Als je alleen maar die huizenprijzen opschroeft... Ja natuurlijk, mag je dat doen, dat is vrijheid. Maar ik vind wel dat er grenzen aan moeten zitten, want je beperkt dus weer de vrijheid voor bijvoorbeeld Amsterdammers om in Amsterdam te wonen.

Q: Verantwoordelijkheid? Het is eigenlijk een vrijheid met verantwoordelijkheid?

A: Ja, vrijheid met verantwoordelijkheid, zeker. Niet onbegrensde vrijheden, daar ben ik niet voor.

Q: Ja klopt. Ik ken ook wel iemand, dat is een vriend van Lennart, die koopt ook een heleboel huizen en die knapt hij dan op. In het begin is gooide hij daar dan Airbnb in, maar dat mag dan nu niet meer. Maar dan maakt hij er gewoon een P&B (?) van, maar die verdient ook gewoon echt bakken met geld. Hij heeft nu zeven huizen in Amsterdam, dat is een gast van 35, maar er is ook gewoon echt heel veel geld mee te verdienen.

A: Kapitalisme heeft ons ook heel veel gebracht, maar het is een beetje heel vaak doorgeschoten. Dus daarom vind ik dat sociaal ondernemerschap ook zo belangrijk, want je kan ook geld verdienen als je het wel gewoon netjes doet. En dan denk ik bij mezelf... 'Waarom doe je dat dan niet?' Dat geeft jezelf toch een veel beter gevoel. Zo denken heel veel mensen niet he? We're money driven.

Q: Ja dat klopt, het is echt snel cashen eigenlijk. Oké! Laatste vraag, waar denk je dat de gevoelens van trots en schaamte voor dienen? Welk nut zouden die hebben voor ons?

A: Goeie vraag... Eigenlijk misschien nut als in dat je een band creëert, en door die band wil je het misschien ook verdedigen als er wordt aangevallen. Zowel fysiek als... Als er in jouw hoofd afbreuk wordt gedaan, zoals bijvoorbeeld heel veel mensen vechten tegen de Nutella winkels in Amsterdam... De enige reden waarom ze daartegen vechten is omdat ze trots voelen voor Amsterdam.

Q: Dus dat misschien een stukje van die identiteit verdwijnt dan?

A: Ja.

Q: Hun eigen identiteit misschien ook daarmee?

A: Misschien dat ook trots dient voor de vorming van identiteit en de band met je thuis. En dat is vooral deze trots, want dat is natuurlijk de trots waar zelf weinig voor doet. Ik bedoel, je gaat er wonen, that's it.

Trots dient als bindmiddel.

Q: Maizena dus?

A: Ja, een beetje maizena. Trots is maizena, dat mag de titel zijn van je proefschrift.

Q: Dan krijg jij wel copyright erop he?

A: Nee, dat hoeft niet joh. Sharing is caring.

Q: En om samen te vatten.... Dus die trots, die is zo'n beetje een bindmiddel. Maar is het dan ook een soort bescherming van de identiteit van de stad? Of hoe je jezelf identificeert met de stad?

A: Ik denk dat laatste voornamelijk.

Q: Die identiteit van de stad?

A: Nee, van jezelf.

Q: En schaamte, waar zou dat voor dienen?

A: Schaamte voor een plek? Om dat te veranderen. Dus trots is eigenlijk om het te houden, zoals je vindt dat het hoort. En schaamte, van 'oh ik schaam me over dit deel van waar ik woon, ik ga daar iets aan doen.' Zodat je weer trots wordt.

Q: Toppie. Wil je nog iets anders kwijt?

A: Niets over het interview.

## Netherlands Urban Area: Participant [NLU5]

Q: Het is een interview voor mijn PhD en het gaat erover hoe mensen verbinding hebben met de plaatsen waar ze wonen, met de lokale plaats. En ik doe een aantal interviews in Italië, Nederland en dan voor zowel de stad als in het platteland, en dan zien wat het verschil is.

Er zijn een aantal open vragen die gaan over gevoelens van trots en gevoelens van schaamte voor de plek waar je vandaan komt.

Maar eerst een hele algemene (vraag)... of je misschien wat kunt vertellen over hoe jij ziet dat mensen verbonden zijn aan de plaats waar ze vandaan komen, of de plaats waar ze wonen?

A: In het algemeen?

Q: Het mag ook specifiek over jezelf gaan als je dat makkelijker vindt.

A: Het eerste waar ik aan moet denken is dat ik wel een groot verschil zie, als ik bijvoorbeeld naar de kapper ga... Dat er een wereld van verschil is tussen plekken waarin mensen opgroeien op dezelfde plek als waar ze hun middelbare school en misschien basisschoolvrienden gemaakt hebben, en plekken zoals Amsterdam, wat natuurlijk op een bepaalde manier minder hecht, en wat anoniemer is.

Dus nee, ik heb iets (niets of iets?) tegen het dorp, maar ik vind het ook heel tof dat die mensen zich echt verbonden voelen en op hun gemak zijn, alsof het één grote camping is waar iedereen gewoon iedereen elkaar kent.

En ik vind dat... Ja, ik weet niet of ik nu te abstract te kletsen ben, maar het dorpsmodel heeft wel iets tofs, dat ook de dorpsgek wel een rol heeft en onderdeel van het dorp is... En die zal zich in Amsterdam sneller verloren voelen ben ik bang... En ik persoonlijk, ja ik voel me wel een beetje verbonden aan Amsterdam en aan het idee van wat Amsterdam is.

Q: Wat is dat idee?

A: Dat is natuurlijk voor iedereen anders. Ik denk dat... Ik was een tijdje stadsgids en de Nederlandse cultuur in het algemeen van gelijkheid vind ik wel heel tof. En dat is wel echt bijna uniek denk ik, in ieder geval zoals dat historisch gegroeid is. Dat 'doe maar gewoon' gebeuren, waar ik ook weer uiteindelijk natuurlijk een hekel aan heb... Maar, onze sterren vinden we toch (leuk?) als ze normaal gebleven zijn. En dat dus niemand voor niemand onder doet in Amsterdam of in Nederland. En dat je net zo makkelijk grappen kan maken over de koning, als over iemand anders.

Ja, daar voel ik me wel thuis. En ik kan me eigenlijk niet een samenleving voorstellen waar je echt duidelijk (je hebt het in Nederland ook wel, maar in mindere mate denk ik), waarin het klassenverschil nog veel groter is en mensen nog meer in hun eigen bubbel wonen. En waarom voel ik me gebonden aan...of wat is het idee van Amsterdam? Ja, vrijheid. Radical self expression, en dat is ook aan het verdwijnen, maar in het algemeen vind ik het wel een tof idee.

En ja, in mijn geval gingen 9 van mijn 10 vrienden uit Groningen in Amsterdam wonen. Dus dat zorgde er wel voor dat je je snel thuis voelt ook. En ik denk dat de stad ook wel gebouwd is op het idee van openheid. Misschien is het protestantisme, alle gordijnen open, je kan overal naar binnen kijken. En een soort van welzijn voor iedereen. Volgens mij voel je dat in Amsterdam wel.

Een hoop buitenlanders voelen zich ook heel snel thuis in Amsterdam. Eén, omdat het ook niet zo groot is als veel andere steden. Maar ook het fietsen, dat je overal makkelijk heen kan. Misschien als je fietst dan voel je je meer verbonden met je omgeving dan in de auto. Of als je veel loopt, meer loopt. De laatste paar jaar, maar ik ga van de hak op de tak....

De laatste paar jaar, mis ik duidelijk de natuur wel. Ik denk dat ik een paar maanden per jaar echt wel in de natuur zou willen zitten.

Q: Komt dat ook door waar je bent opgegroeid? En je bent in de buurt van Apeldoorn opgegroeid?

A: Van mijn vierde tot tiende hebben we in Nepal gewoond.

Q: No way! In Nepal?!

A: Ja, toen woonden we... Mijn ouders werkten daar in een ziekenhuis. Ik ben wel even op.

\*onderbreking\*

A: Daar woonden we een uur van onze hoofdstad en dus ook onze school vandaan. En daar groeiden we eigenlijk praktisch op in een bos. Ja, mijn herinneringen aan die tijd.... Ik denk ook omdat het mega vrij was, je kon overal heen rennen, klimmen en whatever. Daar voelde ik me zeker thuis.

Q: Goed. Kun je nog een keer herhalen wat je zei?

\*onderbreking\* internetproblemen

A: Wij woonden dus in een bos daar. En ik denk dat de natuurlijke staat van zijn van de mens, gebaseerd op mijn eigen ervaring, wel is om in de natuur te zijn. We zijn gewoon natuur. Dus ja, ik voelde me daar zeker thuis. Dat je door... Gewoon het idee van een bos.... En als het storm is dat je dat ziet en dat je dat voelt. En de wind die door de bomen waait en de geur van de bomen. Ja, dat hele forest bathing gevoel, glamping... Verzin het maar... Dat is niet voor niets dat dat mensen wel denken van: 'Hé, dat is natuurlijker dan in een betonnen omgeving...'

Q: Ja, ook vooral voor kinderen is dat veel beter. Ook voor volwassenen hoor.... Oké, we gaan even terug naar Amsterdam. Voel je ook trots voor Amsterdam?

A: Ja, de openheid, de tolerantie, als je de kleine trends even wegdenkt van de laatste tien jaar... Dit jaar misschien. Ik hou niet van zo van het woord 'trots'. Ik weet niet eens of als ik zelf kinderen zou hebben, of ik dat woord zou gebruiken. Maar ik snap het idee erachter wel. In de goede zin van het woord, ben ik wel trots op Amsterdam.

Q: Het is een beetje een dubbele betekenis. Enerzijds kun je natuurlijk trots zijn als je ergens met z'n allen aan hebt gewerkt. Als je een heel mooi project neergezet ben je ook trots. Maar je kunt ook trots zijn op een meer arrogante manier. Zo van 'Ik ben trots dat ik uit Amsterdam kon, want ik kom hier vandaan. Hier is alles beter dan bij jullie... Klaar.' Iets meer de arrogante manier.

Maar als je zegt, als jullie een heel mooi project in Amsterdam hebben neergezet, en je kijkt er op terug en dat is echt een topprestatie in Amsterdam, dan is dat ook een vorm van trots, maar wel heel anders. Meer authentieker ofzo.

A: Ik denk dat ik... Bij mij is het meer... Dan zie je ouders zeggen dat ze trots zijn op hun kinderen als ze iets bereikt hebben. En dan heb ik het idee dat het indirect betekent van 'ik hou van mijn kind, want die is net tweede geworden in de piano wedstrijd. Ik ben zo trots', dan denk ik: 'Ja, maar ook als die tiende was geworden zou je je kind moeten vertellen dat je blij bent met je kind'.

Q: Ja, maar dat is waar. Het is een beetje conditional love in die zin...

A: Ik vraag me af hoe groot de schade daarvan is. Altijd maar zeggen van... Dan heeft het ene kind iets bereikt, en dan is papa trots of mama trots. Hoe moeten die andere kinderen zich dan niet...?

Q: Ja, maar dat is waar. Je moet natuurlijk gewoon veel meer... Je kind zeggen dat je blij bent dat hij iets doet wat hij leuk vindt. 'Ik ben blij dat je piano speelt, omdat je het leuk vindt.' Zoiets... Meer dat stimuleren, dat je iets doet wat je leuk vindt en waar je goed in bent. Dat je dat probeert te doen en niet iets doet voor prestaties. Daar heeft niemand wat aan op lange termijn.

A: Nee, mee eens.

Q: Volgens mij zijn we het over heel veel dingen eens. En wat betekent Amsterdam voor jou?

A: Mijn ervaring of het beeld wat ik van Amsterdam heb, als in de wereld?

Q: Gewoon wat het voor jou betekent.

A: Ik denk wel ergens, Amsterdam als hoofdstad, als bastion van vrijheid, gelijkheid. Een beetje dat wereldse, dan vergelijk ik Amsterdam met de rest van Nederland. Er zitten heel veel internationale mensen hier. Er gebeurt meer, meer energie. En, ik vind het een hele mooie stad. Ik vind het serieus één van de mooiste steden ter wereld, denk ik. En de laatste tijd... Ik denk dat iedereen in een grote stad erover zeurt. Maar ook de laatste elf, twaalf jaar dat ik hier woon... Een soort van vercommercialisering van de stad en het hele gentrification gebeuren, vind ik wel jammer. Wij worden ook een soort van luxe bubbel. Probeer hier maar eens een huis te kopen. Volgens mij hebben we nu meer huizen die meer dan een half miljoen waard zijn, dan minder.

Dus ja, dat laat wel zien waar het heen gaat. En dat vind ik wel jammer. De tofheid van de stad is voor mijn gevoel wel langzaam aan het verdwijnen. Terwijl volgens mij Amsterdam vroeger, misschien 100 jaar geleden, of 200 jaar geleden... Was het juist een stad waar heel veel mensen van verschillende religies naast elkaar woonden en elkaar tolereerden en iedereen gewoon werkte voor zijn eigen welzijn of welvaart. Dus er zijn denk ik ook wel veel voorbeelden van hele oude toffe dingen die in Amsterdam gebeurd zijn, die je niet beseft, maar die wel ergens bepalen hoe de stad nu is nog.

We hadden natuurlijk tien jaar geleden, vijf jaar geleden, het gedoe met... Wilders heeft dat een beetje gestart... In die periode hoorde ik ook wel veel mensen zeggen, als homo zijnde op straat voelen wij ons minder vrij... Dan denk ik wel echt, dat is kut. Dus die trend gaat natuurlijk niet alleen maar de goede kant op. Mensen met een joodse kappeltje op, die voelen zich dan ook minder vrij en dat is wel echt zonde.

Q: Amsterdam verliest een beetje zijn waarde dan?

A: Ja, dat iedereen hier gewoon zijn eigen leven kon leiden, dat niemand daar oordelen over zou vellen en dat je de gek hebt die op zo'n opgestapelde, een soort van fiets van 3 meter hoog, door de stad heen fietst. De man met de felgele boxers aan die op zijn skeelers door de straten gaat. Die gekken die zie je steeds minder. Dus nu word je al als gek gezien, als je half zo gek bent als de gekke mensen 15 jaar geleden.

Ja, en ik denk dat ik... Ik ben letterlijk misschien een beetje claustrofobisch, maar ook in die zin... Als ik denk dat ik in een hokje moet passen van de maatschappij, is dat ook niet goed voor mij.

Q: Ik wil nog even teruggaan op dat stukje trots wat je dan wel voelt voor Amsterdam. Wat is het dan precies wat je denkt waar je die trots voor voelt? Is het meer het materiële of het immateriële ook? Hoe zou je dat omschrijven?

A: De trots is denk ik de voortrekkersrol op de positieve dingen die Amsterdam gehad heeft. Het avontuurlijke, de meest welvarende, machtige stad ter wereld gedurende een periode, de hele wereld over gaan.... Los daarvan denk ik dat het negatieve meer aandacht mag krijgen, maar... Ik moet toch steeds aan gelijkheid denken.

Volgens mij waren we redelijk snel met vrouwenrechten, met kinderen die naar school moesten... Of je dan echt op moet letten is een andere vraag. Wij zijn een stad geweest die zonder, of een land eigenlijk.... Toen de eerste mensen in Amsterdam kwamen wonen, was dat stuk land niet van iemand. Terwijl de rest van Europa, al dat land waar je op ging wonen, was al van rijke families. Dus hier was iedereen gewoon vanaf het begin af aan gelijk. En als je tegen iemand anders zei van 'Hé, zo moet je leven' zou die ander je aankijken van 'bemoei je met je eigen zaken.' En mede daardoor denk ik dat wij ook het eerste land waren waar homo's mochten trouwen. Misschien dat ons voetbalelftal, dat denk ik serieus wel een beetje, in de jaren zeventig zo goed was, omdat niet het hele elftal in dienst van twee sterren voetballen, maar iedereen had zijn eigen rol. Liberaal drugsbeleid, vrouwen die achter de ramen mogen, als dat hun eigen keuze is. Euthanasie.

Ja, daar zit wel iets in waar ik lange tijd trots op was als ik aan Nederland of aan Amsterdam denk.

Q: Maar gaat dan heel erg over het immateriële eigenlijk, over de waarde van vrijheid, tolerantie en gelijkheid...

A: Ja, en het individu. Op een positievere manier, ook het individu...

In Parijs en Londen heb je veel van die giga huizenblokken, omdat dat top down georganiseerd was. En hier is het ook gewoon heel... Dat voegt toe aan het welzijn in de stad. Dat iedereen een keuze had hoe die zijn huis wil bouwen. Daar waren een beetje regels aan gebonden. Maar die jaren... Die reflectie van het individu zie je dan ook terug in hoe de stad er uit ziet, en water... Verbondenheid met het water. De zee die bij Centraal Station aankomt. Hoe meer water, hoe meer welzijn.

Q: Heb je ook wel eens schaamte gevoeld voor Amsterdam?

A: Ja, de periode dat ik mensen sprak die zeiden 'ik voel me minder prettig op straat, omdat ik homo ben of joods ben.' Nationaal gezien, Wilders.

Schaamte voor Amsterdam, dat heb ik vast wel... Ja, ik kan me even geen grote gebeurtenissen herinneren. Ja, dan is het meer een beetje de veryupping, dat ik dat erg jammer vind. En als er dan vrienden op bezoek komen die dat heel duidelijk zien, dan ben ik het daar wel mee eens.

Dit is een beetje dat arrogante, maar dan het arrogante vanuit de disconnectie tussen mensen die een hoop geld verdienen, de grotere auto's die je door de stad ziet rijden, die niet passen op de gracht... maar letterlijk bijna niet passen. Schaam ik me daarvoor?

Q: Het is ook bijna een filosofische vraag, of je je nou echt schaamt, of dat je vindt dat dat niet bij de stad hoort. Misschien heeft dat ook wel weer te maken met... Wat je heel belangrijk vindt is eigenlijk de gelijkheid ook op individueel niveau. Je zegt van, we zijn allemaal gelijk, we hebben allemaal evenveel rechten, en als dan de yuppen komen die dan denken dat ze meer zijn, of zich voordoen alsof ze meer zijn... Dat zij zo nodig een grotere auto moeten hebben, zich anders moeten kleden, anders zijn en meer rechten hebben... Dat dat iets is wat je dan tegenstaat.

A: Ja, ik weet niet... Ik vind diversiteit gewoon heel tof, en om een beetje de hippe term te gebruiken... De mensen die kleurenblind zijn en zich daar niet bewust van zijn en denken dat ze natuurlijk recht hebben op de stad, of volledig van een andere stad komen en de stad qua energie in een richting duwen die ik zelf iets minder tof vind, maar dat ook niet beseffen. Daar kunnen ze zelf ook niks aan doen. En ik ben daar onderdeel van. Ik weet dat ook nog dat ik een feestje gaf en dat er een vriend was die zei: 'tering, alleen maar kakkers hier'. Dus vanuit zijn perspectief was dat ook wel... Dat verbaasde mij enorm, want ik zat al heel lang in mijn Groningse bubbel, maar ja, een student is gewoon... Voor half Nederland is elke student praktisch een kakker natuurlijk.

En dan had ik ook nog wat vrienden uit Noord-Nederland die in een wat zwart-wittere wereld opgroeiden, links van het spoor voetbal en boeren, en rechts van het spoor manager en hockey. Dan heb je wat minder een grijs gebied zoals je in Amsterdam, of in Apeldoorn had waar ik opgroeide. Dat uit zich dat nog duidelijker.

Maar ja, wie ben ik? Voor mijn part zouden we qua energie terug naar de jaren negentig mogen in Amsterdam, en dan zou ik daar een huis kopen en verhuren op Airbnb 10 maanden per jaar voor zesduizend euro.

Amsterdam is wel een mooie stad, en misschien het PvdA gevoel, of het D66 gevoel... Vrijheid, maar wel de working class respecteren. Dat was denk ik wel tof.

Q: En als het gaat om schaamte en misschien ook trots, waar ligt de oorzaak van die gevoelens bij jou? Ook al is het miniem, waar denk je dat dat vandaan komt? Iets wat je vanuit je ouders hebt meegekregen? Heb je dat aangeleerd of heb je dat vanuit vrienden meegekregen? Of als \*onverstaanbaar\* (stadsgids?) ontwikkelt?

A: Ja, ik denk dat ik.... Dat je gewoon wel altijd bewust of onbewust vergelijkt en dan denkt: 'Ah, dit vind ik hier beter dan op andere plekken in Nederland of in de wereld.' En dat je dan denkt, 'oh dit vind ik gewoon wel echt tof.' Dat wij dat hebben. Daarom heb ik een naar gevoel bij trots. Alsof jij daar aan bijgedragen hebt. Alsof je zoveel naar... Amsterdam heeft zo'n toffe geschiedenis, en dat is mede omdat ik zo'n tof liberaal persoon ben. En ja, dat hele nationalistische trots op Nederland. Wie is de Amsterdammer? Wie is de Nederlander? Dus ja, waar komt dat vandaan? Ja, dat je het verschil ziet, dat je op een positieve manier verschil ziet met hoe het ook anders kan en blij bent dat het in dit geval beter of mooier is dan ergens anders.

En ja, op een negatieve manier... Dat je denkt dat je zelf beter daardoor, dat je beter bent dan mensen die in andere steden wonen.

Q: En waar denk je dat, in jouw geval.... Je zei voorheen dat je wel bepaalde gevoelens van trots hebt, maar dan meer op het gezonde vlak denk ik... Heb je dat... Hoe zit dat in jouw ontwikkeling? Je bent hier niet geboren he?

A: Nee, toen ik in Nepal opgroeide had ik eigenlijk geen beeld bij wat Nederland was. Maar daardoor... Toen wij hier kwamen wonen, langzamerhand.... Dat is het grote verschil, dat je Nepal vergelijkt met Nederland. Voor mij is dat dan dat je denkt zo van 'Tering, we zijn wel...' Er zijn een heleboel toffe dingen en er zijn een heleboel negatieve dingen. En ja, dat je daardoor alles vergelijkt. Eerst met Nepal. En toen hadden we ook best wel wat gereisd. Mijn ouders hielden wel van reizen. Dat je constant je wel afvraagt van welke delen vind ik tof en welke delen vind ik niet tof, en dat je je daar heel bewust van wordt.

Dus dat je dan.... Toen ik op voetbal ging in Apeldoorn, zei ik elke drie seconden 'sorry' en daar werd iedereen knettergek van. En ook in groep 6, waar ik in terecht kwam, was het 'hondenlul', 'klootzak', iedereen is super schreeuwerig, soort van haantjesgedrag. Dat ik echt dacht van 'What the fuck?'

In Nepal is een internationale, beetje Aziatische omgeving, was er veel meer een groepsgevoel. Vanaf dat moment ben ik dan trots op het groepsgevoel wat ze in Azië hebben, of die familie, sterke familiebanden en in Nederland denk je dan van 'Jongens, waarom hebben jullie dat niet?' Als ik aan vrienden vroeg van 'Hoe gaat het met je broer of zus?' was ik verbaasd hoeveel mensen onverschillig waren of niet die verbondenheid voelden met hun familie, niet zo sterk.

En aan de andere kant merk je dan dus in Amsterdam ook wel van 'Hey, je kunt hier veel makkelijker met mensen...', de openheid waarin je met mensen kan praten. De directheid. Direct zijn is ook een vorm van respect. Wat denk ik mensen ook al voelen. Het is ook een beetje van, ik vertel je gewoon mijn mening. Ervan uitgaande, dat beseft dat je me niet zal haten omdat ik een andere mening heb.



Dat hele idee van 'ik ben Nederlander', dat vind ik altijd maar een beetje een stom idee. En het idee van... Dat is iets positiever, de tofheid die in Amsterdam zit van 'ik ben Amsterdamer'... Daar zit misschien ook wel een tikkeltje arrogantie in af en toe. Ja, het beeld van vrijheid en Amsterdam vind ik wel... Ja, ik was er ook een tijdje voorzichtig mee, elke keer als ik tegen iemand buiten Amsterdam zeg 'Ik woon in Amsterdam', dan hebben we ook weer zo'n.... Of die andere persoon vindt mij een klootzak, of die voelt zichzelf minderwaardig ofzo.

Q: Je bent er heel voorzichtig mee, met dat gevoel van trots en.... Het is ook wel waar, die trots heeft heel snel iets van een soort arrogantie erbij: 'ik ben beter dan jij, wij zijn beter dan jij'. Terwijl dat helemaal nergens op gebaseerd is.

In de studie naar trots maken ze ook onderscheid tussen twee vormen. De eerste is meer de hubristische trots, waarin ze dan ook zeggen: dat is dus dat je trots bent op iets waar je helemaal niks aan hebt bijgedragen, dat gewoon een soort stabiele factor is, die er gewoon is omdat die er is. En jij hebt er zelf helemaal niks voor gedaan. Maar dan ga je daar wel die trots voor uitdragen. En dan zie je ook dat....

Nu is dan de hubristische, een heel arrogante vorm van trots. En dan zie je ook wat daar dan de gevolgen van zijn. Dat je echt buitensluiting krijgt, sociale disharmonie eigenlijk.... En ook narcisme zit er heel erg tegenaan. Dat jij, jezelf of als groep of als individu, beter vindt dan anderen. En dan heb je daarnaast ook nog wel dat meer positievere, dat gezondere, of authentiekere.

Ik heb ook al een aantal mensen gesproken in interviews die hadden ook meegeholpen met een bepaald event. Of, dat is een beter voorbeeld.... Zijn vrouw werkt dan ook bij een soort dorpsvereniging in een christelijk dorp. En ze zei dat in de hele geschiedenis van het dorp mocht nooit op zondag de kermis worden gevierd. Dus altijd donderdag, vrijdag of zaterdag. Terwijl eigenlijk iedereen het op zondag wilde, maar de christelijke gemeenschap was nog zo sterk aanwezig, dat het nooit op zondag mocht. Maar op een gegeven moment hebben we dat toch voor elkaar gekregen dat het toch op zondag mocht. En dan was ik zo trots op mijn hele dorp. Dat mensen zo bereid waren om die geschiedenis achter zich te laten. Er is wel een vooruitgang te maken. En dat is een veel gezondere vorm van trots.

Ik voel daar niet die afstand bij, die arrogantie. Ik zie iets moois en dan zie je ook... Die vrouw wilde dat ook delen met iedereen, die wilde ook dat iedereen erbij uitgenodigd werd, bij die hele beweging. Van goh 'we gaan echt veranderingen in gang zetten, het wordt allemaal mooier en nieuwer, en iedereen mag erbij horen.'

En daar maken ze onderscheid in trots, twee verschillen in die vormen van trots. Die uitwerkingen daarvan, die consequenties zijn heel anders. En dat proberen we dan nu ook een beetje te onderzoeken. Hoe zit het dan met het gevoel op plaats niveau, als mensen dan voor de stad of het dorp waar ze vandaan komen, heb je daar ook die twee vormen van trots in? En wat zijn dan daarvoor de gevolgen van hoe mensen zich met de andere mensen in het dorp bezighouden of hoe ze sociaal betrokken zijn? Dat is een beetje het doel van dit onderzoek ook.

A: Ja, ik denk dat ik ook.... Dat verhaal van die vrouw vind ik ergens heel tof. En ondertussen hoor ik daar direct ook een oordeel in van de mensen die dus niet op zondag wilden, maar er principieel op tegen waren. Dat is dan ook van 'ja, wij zijn wel wat opener en beter dan jullie'.

Q: Ja, hij schaarde zich er vooral achter dat de meerderheid van het dorp dat wilde. En dat oudere mensen dat niet wilden, omdat het vroeger ook niet zo was. Het was eigenlijk altijd de redenering: 'Nou ja, die jonge mensen willen dat....' Eigenlijk iedereen onder 50 wilde graag op zondag en alle mensen boven de 50 willen het niet. Ja goed, je kunt niet iedereen daarmee tevreden houden, dus je moet ergens een keuze maken en mensen teleurstellen. Zij was dan heel blij dat er nu eigenlijk meer geluisterd werd naar de jongere generatie, dat die groter was en dat graag wilde.

A: Nee, en op groepsniveau denk ik ook dat... Kan ik mij ook heel erg voorstellen dat je daar blij mee bent. Van 'Hey, als groep doen we het eigenlijk veel beter dat ik verwacht had' en dat vind ik eigenlijk heel tof.

Q: Het is natuurlijk niet dat het één beter is dan het ander. Het is natuurlijk altijd wel een persoonlijk iets met trots... Je hebt op zich ook wel gelijk hoor, dat je dan zegt dat er zoiets in zit: 'Nou, wat wij willen is beter voor het dorp. Of beter voor iedereen, omdat...' terwijl de mening van de anderen wordt dan eigenlijk onderdrukt.... 'Jullie zijn oud en jullie hebben het allang genoeg gedaan zo, en dat willen wij nu niet meer.'

Maar ja, goed, zo werkt het eigenlijk altijd in de \*onverstaanbaar\* niveau... nu eenmaal. Je moet keuzes maken, concessies doen en de voorkeur geven aan bepaalde prioriteiten.

Ik heb nog een paar laatste vragen. Hoeveel tijd heb je nog, David?

A: Tien minuten?

Q: Ja dat is goed, 10 minuten dan kappen we ermee... Kwart over twaalf.

Kun je me nog een moment beschrijven waarop jij zegt, op dat moment voelde ik toch wel een beetje trots voor Amsterdam? Mag ook om iemand anders gaan. Je zegt dat je samen met een vriend of kennis was en dat jij herkende dat die persoon heel erg trots was, dat mag ook als je dat makkelijker vindt.

A: Als ik in het buitenland ben en ik zeg: 'Ik ben uit Amsterdam', dan heb ik elke keer wel een beetje van... Ik kom van Amsterdam, dat is tof.

Dus op minieme schaal vind ik dat wel leuk om te zeggen. Binnen Nederland dan iets minder, vreemd genoeg. Daar voel ik me dus wel trots, op die momenten.

Ja, ik weet niet... Er zijn wel incidenten geweest van menselijkheid waarin de Amsterdammers juist die waarden waar we het steeds over hebben, waarin dat heel zichtbaar werd. Maar ja, het enige event waarvan ik echt.... De WK finale op het Museumplein. Dat is dan gerelateerd aan voetbal misschien, maar ook aan cultuur. Dat iedereen die daar stond die wedstrijd keek. Was wel echt, ja dat vind ik gruwelijk om te zien dat saamhorigheidsgevoel. Dat moment is echt geweldig.

Met de gaypride heb ik dat ook wel. Dat ik ook wel trots ben.

Koninginnedag... Een beetje. Jaja, het zijn denk ik meer die kleinere dingen die wel in het nieuws komen, maar die een week later, of een maand later, weer vergeten bent. Dat verbaast me niet dat dat in Amsterdam gebeurt is... Wat leuk. Dat bevestigt weer mijn liefde voor de stad ook.

Q: En hoe zou je dat graag willen uitdragen? Die liefde misschien ook, die trots?

A: Uitdragen als in...?

Q: Wat zou je daar graag mee willen doen? Heb je al het gevoel dat je daar graag een bijdrage aan zou willen leveren? Zou je dat graag willen rondvertellen aan iedereen? Of zou je het willen ondersteunen op bepaalde manier?

Q: De dingen waar ik trots op ben of waar ik blij mee ben, daar wil ik wel aan bijdragen. Ik denk niet eens dat het typisch Amsterdams was, maar toen je al die vluchtelingen had stond ik op het station en dan zag je gewoon mensen die in hun vrije tijd met bordjes gingen staan van 'Hee, wij zijn hier om te helpen.' En die hielpen dan de mensen die van de trein afkwamen om een plek te vinden in Amsterdam naar opvangcentra of whatever.

Dat ik wel denk, 'ik vind dat echt heel tof.' Maar ja, door heel Nederland waren er plekken waar er meer mensen wilden helpen dan dat er vluchtelingen waren. Dus ja, op dat soort momenten... Als dat in Amsterdam gebeurt, dan denk ik ja 'dat gebeurt óók in Amsterdam.'

En ja, het homohuwelijk. Dat vind ik ook wel een mooi voorbeeld. Het eerste homohuwelijk ter wereld was in Amsterdam. Volgens mij, als ik dat goed gezien heb... Die twee jongens hebben nep ringen gekocht voor een euro van de kermis. Volgens mij ook... Die ring die ligt nu in een Amsterdams museum ofzo.

De krakersbeweging, de hippiebeweging. Het sociale stelsel dat in Nederland is opgebouwd. Als je dan ziet hoeveel mensen er per jaar in Amerika overlijden omdat ze te laat bij een dokter komen. Dat is echt bizar. Dus dan heb ik wel zoiets als ik ze spreek van 'Jongens, hoe kan het dat jullie dat nog niet... dat jullie die vorm van voor elkaar zorgen nog niet eens hebben?' Op die momenten besef ik ook dat wat we in Amsterdam, in Nederland, hebben is wel mooi.

Q: En kun je ook een moment beschrijven waarop je schaamte voelt voor de stad? Of een herinnering, of een bepaalde gebeurtenis....

A: Ja, tijdens dat hele vluchtelingen gebeuren en de angst voor moslims... Was er op een gegeven moment iemand die werd boos op een vrouw met een hoofddoek. Volgens mij al op Centraal Station was dat en die gooide toen bier over haar heen. Terwijl het gewoon een random persoon was. Dan schaam ik me wel voor mijn medemens.

Q: En welke emoties en gevoelens horen daar dan bij? Behalve schaamte, voel je dan ook wat anders? Boosheid, of...?

A: Teleurstelling is niet echt een gevoel he? \*onderbreking\* Verdrietig... Ik denk niet persé boos ofzo. Meer van, jammer. Moeilijk om te verkroppen dat dat ook gebeurt.

Ja, schaamte, verdriet. Frustratie? Ik denk het niet. Ik weet niet, nee.

Q: En wat voor gedrag zou daar dan bij horen? Een beetje dezelfde vraag als voorheen... Wat voel je dan dat je daar aan zou willen doen, of tegen?

A: Ja, ik denk dan dus dat.... Als ik daarbij zou staan, dat ik er iets aan doe. Maar ik denk ook dat het... In veel gevallen is het gewoon angst en onwetendheid.

Proberen die situatie op de wereld te creëren die je wel wil, in plaats van al die anti-racism achtige campagnes. Het is allemaal heel stoer, maar volgens mij moet je dus ook niet... Al die campagnes die kunnen veel beter. Het is altijd anti, anti, anti. Wij zijn tegen racisme. Er is een wereld van verschil of je je bed uitstapt en denkt 'ik ga vandaag de hele dag niet boos zijn.'

Je kan niet niet boos zijn. Je kan wel denken: 'Ik ga vandaag heel lief zijn tegen iedereen' en dat kan je uiten. Dus als je dat uit, is die boosheid er al niet. In plaats van dat je bezig bent met... Als je struikelt, en je denkt 'ik moet niet vallen' en je best gaat doen om overeind te blijven, dat is een wereld van verschil in houding. Dus ik probeer de positieve houding. Ik hoop dat ik dan de positieve houding aanneemt, als je toch bijdraagt aan...

Q: Aan wat je wel wilt eigenlijk?

A: Ja.

Q: Wij doen nu ook een project dat gaat over natuur intelligentie, dat ontwikkelen we en daar gaan we ook een subsidie voor aanvragen. Hoe je bij jongeren die natuur intelligentie kunt ontwikkelen. Wij zien een beetje op dat hele ding met Greta Thunberg. Het is super mooi dat zij zoveel... \*onderbreking\* maakte ook gebruik van dat negatieve. Er komt heel veel schaamte bij kijken en heel veel schuld. Dat is eigenlijk een beetje de boodschap: 'Wij moeten ons schamen voor dit. We moeten ons schuldig voelen voor dat' en ik geloof dat het wel werkt, maar allemaal op korte termijn.

Mensen willen niet in een gevoel van schuld en schaamte zitten. Dus mensen die verwerpen dat op een gegeven moment. Dus dat duurt nooit lang.

Ik denk eigenlijk dat het veel meer is wat jij ook doet. Je moet een soort positieve richting geven van wat je wel wil en niet wat je niet wil en dat je dat moet doen, ook door meer positieve emoties. Dat die blijdschap of misschien liefde of compassie of bewondering, als je dat soort emoties kunt krijgen voor de natuur... Of misschien in jouw geval, een nieuwe vorm van het romantisch kapitalisme... Dan is het veel makkelijker om mensen bij te laten dragen. Mensen willen bijdragen aan iets wat ze goed laat voelen.

En dan kun je nog steeds een heel goede verandering in gang zetten en die duurt ook veel langer. Dat is ook een beetje wat wij proberen te doen met dat natuurproject.

A: Tof! Ken jij Charles Eisenstein?

Q: Ja, die ken ik, ja.

A: Daar ben ik echt mega fan van geworden. Ik zag een praatje van hem in Amsterdam in oktober en de dag erna in Berlijn... Dus precies wat jij zegt. Hij riep ook een beetje...

Hij sprak zich een beetje uit tegen die vechtersmentaliteit in de klimaat beweging. Dat for us or against us. Op een gegeven moment zei die zelfs: de klimaat fundamentalisten denken dat ze de wereld beter maken. En die hebben ook een houding van 'je bent met ons of tegen ons'. En toen zei hij zelfs 'dat dacht Hitler ook'. In een Extinction Rebellion kamp midden in Berlijn. Waarop die vrouw naast me echt zoiets had van 'Really? Dat is een stevige statement die je maakt.'

Maar ja, ik ben heel erg fan van zijn visie en zijn aanpak. Het laatste boek gaat ook heel erg over klimaatverandering en natuur. Ik vind dat een heel mooi perspectief zoals hij dat heeft.

Q: Ja, ik ken zijn perspectief niet goed genoeg hoor, meer een beetje.

Ik heb dan nu voor het eerst over hem gelezen met dat covid gedoe, dat corona.... Maar hoe hij naar de natuur kijkt had ik eigenlijk niet echt.. Ik zal is wat opzoeken, is wel leuk.

Ik denk ook dat dat fundamentalisme, natuurfundamentalisme, daar zit eigenlijk ook heel veel agressie in op een bepaalde manier. 'Als je het niet doet...' En geweld eigenlijk, inderdaad, dat 'je bent met ons of tegen ons' en als je het niet doet ben je slecht. Het is eigenlijk een heel gewelddadige manier. Het is niet op een vredelievende manier. Meer Gandhi, die stijl ofzo. Dat werkt altijd veel beter op de lange termijn.

A: Precies, en ik vroeg hem na afloop ook: 'Wat zou jij zeggen als Greta Thunberg mocht bepalen wat de boodschap was?' En toen zei hij, ja daar moet ik even over mediteren. Die dude mediteert non-stop volgens mij. Daar had hij niet direct een

antwoord op. Maar in beide praatjes zei hij wel van: De klimaatop, de natuurbeweging in de jaren zestig, laten we de walvis redden. Het is een verschrikkelijk mooi beest en het is gewoon niet oké om die beesten te doden.

We zitten nu in een situatie waarin inderdaad de halve de wereld roept: 'Je moet nu je gedrag gaan veranderen, of binnen vijf jaar gaat de wereld naar de klote'. Dus we gaan mee in een soort van oorlogs- mentaliteit en dat gaat maar tot een bepaalde... Daar krijg je maar een bepaald aantal mensen mee.

Q: Ja, daar zit ook heel veel kapitalistisch denken in eigenlijk. Je moet dingen verdienen en investeren in de natuur. Dat soort termen worden heel erg gebruikt. Nu investeren in de natuur en dan later oogsten, dat is allemaal van dat kapitalistisch denken. Je kunt ook zeggen van 'Jongens, dit slaat helemaal nergens op. We kappen ermee. Afgelopen, basta.'

Ik vind het mooi hoe jij overal naar kijkt.

Waar denk je dat die gevoelens van schaamte en trots eigenlijk voor dienen? Waarom zouden mensen die ontwikkelen?

A: Ja, ik heb altijd het idee dat het iets heel katholieks is en dan weet ik niet of ik dat zelf bedacht heb, of dat ik dat gewoon overgenomen heb en iedereen die dat dan constant roept... Of dat ik het er echt mee eens ben. Dat is wel mijn eerste gedachte... Je groeit op met 'je moet je schuldig voelen als jij je niet gedraagt zoals de bijbel dat zegt.' Dat rekt zich dan door in alles, waardoor ook in mijn familie dat ik af en toe dacht van 'ja, het wordt wel als een als strategie gebruikt. Kom me nu helpen met verhuizen, want anders ben je geen goeie broer.' Dat soort shit.

Ik heb iets goeds gedaan, dus jullie moeten jullie schamen als jullie de laatste tijd niet iets goeds hebben gedaan.

Q: Dus er zit een beetje dat belerende in? Dat sociale normenstelsel bedoel je?

A: Ja, ik denk dat het ook gewoon je je schuldig voelen is. Ik weet niet eens of in een ideale wereld die emotie nut heeft überhaupt, op een positieve manier. Ik denk dat jij... Je ouders geven je dat denk ik gewoon mee. En dan geef jij dat ook weer door. Samen met alle andere mensen om je heen.

# Appendix 4: Overview of results per research question

In the following pages the tables with the results for each of the four subresearch questions are presented as as a schematic overview. Each table presents the dimension, domain, themes, subthemes and descriptions.

The four sub research questions (RQ) that were answered in this study research:

**(RQ1)** What are the important *antecedents* of pride of place?;

**(RQ2):** What are the important *consequences* of pride of place?;

**(RQ3):** What are the important *antecedents* of shame of place;

**(RQ4):** What are the important *consequences* of shame of place?

## Appendix 4.1 Schematic overview results of the pride of place antecedents

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Domain</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Subtheme</i>	<i>Description</i>	
<b>Person</b>		Being born in the place		<i>Feeling proud of the place due to being born there.</i>	
		Being part of the place		<i>Feeling proud due to seeing oneself as part of the place.</i>	
		Aging		<i>Feelings of pride develop or grow as one gets older.</i>	
		Genes		<i>Pride is experienced as something genetic, inherited from ancestors.</i>	
<b>Place</b>	<b>Tangible</b>	Natural		<i>The natural domain of tangible aspects of a place.</i>	
			Nature	<i>Feeling proud of the nature present in the place.</i>	
			Landscape	<i>Feeling proud of the landscape of the place.</i>	
			Geography	<i>Feeling proud of the geographical characteristics of the place.</i>	
			Beauty	<i>The experienced beauty of the tangible aspects of the place as a source of pride.</i>	
			Built	<i>The built domain of tangible aspects of a place.</i>	
			Architecture	<i>Feeling proud of the typical architecture of the place.</i>	
		Historical centre	<i>Feeling proud of the historical centre.</i>		
		Own house	<i>Feeling proud of one's own house.</i>		
		City Architecture	<i>Feeling proud of the city architecture of the place.</i>		
		<b>Intangible</b>	Social		<i>The social domain of intangible aspects of a place.</i>
			Mentality		<i>Feeling proud of the generally dominant norms and values of the place.</i>
			Physical safety		<i>Feeling proud of the experienced physical safety of the place and the consequences it has.</i>
			Social control positive		<i>Living in the rural place has social control which is regarded as something positive.</i>
		Authenticity		<i>Feeling proud because it has remained authentic and kept its unique characteristics.</i>	
		Creativity		<i>Feeling proud of the creativity of people inhabiting the place to resolve social conflicts.</i>	

		Cultural		<i>The cultural domain of intangible aspects of a place.</i>
			History	<i>Feeling proud of the historical aspects of the place.</i>
			Gastronomy	<i>Feeling proud of the gastronomical aspects of the place.</i>
			Ancestors	<i>Feeling proud of the ancestors that lived in the place.</i>
			Events	<i>Feeling proud of cultural events organized in the place</i>
			Traditions	<i>Feeling proud of maintaining cultural traditions from the place.</i>
			Museum	<i>Feeling proud of a typical museum of the place.</i>
			Multiculturalism	<i>Feeling proud due to the multicultural character of the place.</i>
			Archaeology	<i>Feeling proud of the archaeology present in the place.</i>
			Dialect	<i>Feeling proud of the dialect spoken in the place.</i>
		Economical		<i>The economical domain of intangible aspects of a place.</i>
			Real estate value	<i>Feeling proud of the affordable real estate prices in the place.</i>
			Local company	<i>Feeling proud of the achievements and fame of a local company</i>
			Local entrepreneurship	<i>Feeling proud of local entrepreneurship of people from the place.</i>
			Value price ratio	<i>Feeling proud of the high value that can be received for a low price as unique in the place in comparison to bigger places nearby.</i>
		Educational		<i>Feeling proud of the quantity and quality of educational institutes.</i>
		Political		<i>Feeling proud of the political structures in the place.</i>
	<b>Quality of Life</b>	Quality of life		<i>Feeling proud of the quality of life and the lifestyle that is possible or facilitated by the place and its characteristics.</i>
<b>Processes</b>	<b>Affective</b>	Secure base & safe haven		<i>The place serves as a place where the person feels safe as a result of a safe attachment, from where one can leave and return to.</i>
		Connection with ancestors		<i>Feeling connected with ancestors who lived in the place when being in the place oneself.</i>
		Enjoyment		<i>Enjoying living in the place due to place characteristics</i>
		Connection to place idea		<i>Feeling connected to the idea of what the place is</i>

	<b>Cognitive</b>	External recognition		<i>Developing pride when the place is being recognised by people externally from the place, including feeling offended or insulted when the place is not being recognised for what it is.</i>
		Place Identity - people place fit		<i>Integrating the place as part of personal identity and recognising the people place fit.</i>
		Proximity of what satisfies needs		<i>Having that what can satisfy the needs in proximity in or close to the place.</i>
			Social relationships	<i>Having other emotionally important people in proximity to the place as important for needs satisfaction.</i>
			Social Acceptance	<i>Thinking that one is being accepted by the other people of the place as an important need.</i>
			Nature	<i>Having nature in proximity as important for needs satisfaction.</i>
		Learned from others (taught)		<i>Feeling proud as an emotion that has been socially learned from others</i>
			Ancestors	<i>Feelings of pride learned from ancestors</i>
			School	<i>Pride has developed due to school activities.</i>
		Comparison with other places		<i>Comparing the place with other places as a cognitive process to develop feelings of pride</i>
		Aversion for pride		<i>Not feeling comfortable with the idea of being proud of a place due to a negative connotation to 'pride'.</i>
	<b>Behavioural</b>	Active engagement		<i>Participation, contribution and involvement - being active in maintaining, developing and protecting the place.</i>
		Living in the place		<i>Living in the place with the people of the place as an antecedent of the development of pride</i>
		Achievements		<i>Experiencing pride because of achievements of people from the place. (Positive changes made in the place, public achievements)</i>
			Positive changes	<i>Experiencing pride when people perceive the changes achieved in the place as positive.</i>
			Public achievements	<i>Experiencing pride when people from the place gain public success on a higher geographical level (e.g. national).</i>



		Being out of the place		<i>Developing pride when being out of the place</i>
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## Appendix 4.2 Schematic overview results of the pride of place consequences

Domain	Level	Theme	Subtheme	Description	
Affective	Individual	Joy		<i>Feeling joy when proud of the place</i>	
		Happiness		<i>Feeling happy when proud of the place</i>	
		Connection		<i>Feeling connection with the place when proud of the place</i>	
		Light-heartedness		<i>Feeling light-hearted when proud of the place</i>	
		Feeling good		<i>Pride serves to feel good (wellbeing)</i>	
		Gratitude		<i>Feeling gratitude for what the place has offered and for being part of the place when being proud.</i>	
		Negative emotions		<i>Experiencing negative emotions when place is endangered, harmed or doesn't receive what is expected</i>	
				Sadness	<i>Feeling sadness when place is damaged or when no pride is perceived in others from the place</i>
				Anger	<i>Feeling anger when place of pride is harmed</i>
				Empowerment	<i>Feeling empowered when proud</i>
Cognitive	Collective	Social cohesion		<i>Pride leading to increased social cohesion</i>	
		Collective self esteem		<i>Pride of place at a collective level serves to maintain or increase collective self-esteem.</i>	
		Earning respect		<i>pride serves to earn respect from people from out of the place</i>	
		Meaning in life		<i>Feelings of pride of place can lead to experiencing meaning in life.</i>	
	Individual	Self-esteem		<i>Pride can lead to maintaining or increasing levels of self-esteem</i>	
		Sense of identity		<i>Pride can lead to a strengthened sense of identity</i>	
		Being able to die peacefully		<i>Pride can serve people to die peacefully</i>	
		Sense of belonging		<i>Pride can give a sense of belonging</i>	
Behavioural	Collective	Active involvement (collective)		<i>Pride serves to make people more actively involved in improving, maintaining and protecting the place.</i>	
		Active involvement		<i>Pride stimulates people to become actively involved in the maintenance or improvement of the place.</i>	
	Individual	Advertising the place externally		<i>Praising the place, but also defending when criticised by people from out of the place.</i>	
		Sharing the place		<i>Pride leads to wanting to share the place with people from out of the place in the place and invite and involve them in the place.</i>	

		Returning to live in the place		<i>Pride can lead to people returning to live in the place when having been out of the place.</i>
		Advertising the place internally		<i>Pride can lead to wanting make people from the place proud.</i>

### Appendix 4.3 Schematic overview results of the shame of place antecedents

Dimension	Domain	Theme	Description
Place	Intangible	Behaviour	<i>Being ashamed of certain behaviour of people from the place.</i>
		Mentality	<i>Being ashamed of the mentality of other people from the place.</i>
		Politics	<i>Being ashamed of the local politics of the place.</i>
		Loss of authenticity	<i>Being ashamed of the loss of authenticity of the place.</i>
		History	<i>Being ashamed of part of the history of the place.</i>
Process	Cognitive	Comparing	<i>External comparison as an antecedent to shame of place</i>
		Place identity	<i>Place identity as an antecedent to shame of place</i>
		Place reputation	<i>Shame when the reputation of the place is poor.</i>
	Behavioural	Being out of the place	<i>Experiencing feelings of shame when being out of the place</i>
		Not able to protect	<i>Being ashamed when not being able to protect the place</i>

#### Appendix 4.4 Schematic overview results of the shame of place consequences

Dimension	Domain	Theme	Description
Processes	Affective	Anger	<i>Feeling anger as consequence of experiencing shame</i>
		Sadness	<i>Feeling sadness when thinking about shameful events</i>
		Annoyance	<i>Feeling annoyance when ashamed</i>
		Disgust	<i>Feeling disgusted when ashamed</i>
	Cognitive	Social cohesion	<i>Shame leads to social cohesion</i>
	Behavioural	Improving the place	<i>Shame leading to wanting to improve the place.</i>
		Complaining	<i>Complaining as consequence of shame</i>
		Leaving	<i>Shame leading to leaving the place.</i>
		Disguising truth	<i>Disguising true origins due to fear of judgement when ashamed</i>

# Appendix 5: Questionnaires (English, Irish, Portuguese & Italian)

## English

Questionnaire about <INSERT PLACE NAME>

Hi, in the next few pages you will find some questions that are about you and your relation to the <INSERT PLACE NAME>, the place in which you live. There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions. Please remember that this is not a school test and that your answers will be only be visible to the researchers (not to teachers or anyone else). If you have any questions about the questionnaire or if you do not exactly understand the question or the meaning of a word, please ask your teacher for help.

Thank you very much for participating.

To start with, please provide the following information:

What is your unique ID that you just received from your teacher for this study?

1.1 Your year of birth: yyyy

1.2 Place of birth: \_\_\_\_\_

1.3 Place of residence: \_\_\_\_\_

1.4 Do you consider yourself native from <INSERT PLACE>?

Answers: definitely yes – probably yes – might or might not – probably no – definitely no

1.5 Do you consider your parents native from <INSERT PLACE>?

Answers: definitely yes – probably yes – might or might not – probably no – definitely no

1.6 If you are: Girl / Boy/ I prefer not to answer

1.7 Which class you are in: .....

1.8 Please read each statement carefully and respond by using the following scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

ANSWERS:

Strongly disagree – disagree - neutral – agree – strongly agree.

1- Even if I have to live elsewhere at some point in my life, I will return to live in <INSERT PLACE>.

2- As soon as I have the opportunity, I would like to leave from <INSERT PLACE>.

3- I would like to spend my entire life in <INSERT PLACE>.

4- I don't mind if in the future I will live in <INSERT PLACE> or elsewhere.

1.9

Assume that this ladder is a way of picturing your life. The top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you. The bottom rung of the ladder represents the worst possible life for you.

Indicate where on the ladder you feel you personally stand right now by marking the circle.



2. Rosenberg self-esteem scale

Please read each statement carefully and respond by using the following scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

ANSWERS:

Strongly disagree – disagree - neutral – agree – strongly agree.

Statements

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
2. At times I think I am no good at all.
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
6. I certainly feel useless at times.
7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

3. Below are a number of words and phrases that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then indicate the extent to which you generally feel this way towards <INSERT PLACE> using the scale shown below.

SCALE:

Not at all - Somewhat - Moderately - Very Much -  
Extremely

- \_\_\_ Accomplished
- \_\_\_ Like I am Achieving
- \_\_\_ Arrogant
- \_\_\_ Conceited
- \_\_\_ Confident
- \_\_\_ Egotistical
- \_\_\_ Fulfilled
- \_\_\_ Pompous
- \_\_\_ Productive
- \_\_\_ Like I have self-worth





5. For each of the following statements about <INSERT PLACE> please tick the box for the answer that best matches your opinion.

<INSERT PLACE> .....	Not at all	Somewhat	Moderately	Very Much	Extremely
...is a good place to live					
... is thriving					
... is ordinary					
...is poor					
... is improving					
... is prosperous					
... is declining					
... is exciting					
... is unwelcoming					
... is depressing					
... has a strong sense of community					
... is unattractive					
... is supportive					
... is unfriendly					

6.

Please read each statement carefully and respond by using the following scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

ANSWERS:

Strongly disagree – disagree - neutral – agree – strongly agree.

STATEMENTS:

- I am a worthy member of the <INSERT PLACE>
- In general, I'm glad to be a member of the <INSERT PLACE>
- In general, other respect the <INSET PLACE>
- In general, belonging to <INSERT PLACE> is an important part of my self-image

7. Please read each statement carefully and respond by using the following scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

ANSWERS:

Strongly disagree – disagree - neutral – agree – strongly agree.

STATEMENTS:

- <INSERT PLACE> deserves a special treatment
- I will never be satisfied until <INSERT PLACE> gets the recognition it deserves
- It really makes me angry when others criticise <INSERT PLACE>
- If <INSERT PLACE> had a major say in the world, the world would be a better place
- Not many people seem to fully understand the importance of <INSERT PLACE>

8. Please read each statement carefully and respond by using the following scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

ANSWERS:

Strongly disagree – disagree - neutral – agree – strongly agree.

STATEMENTS:

- <INSERT PLACE> is part of me
- It would be very hard for me to leave <INSERT PLACE>
- <INSERT PLACE> is the ideal place for me
- I do not feel integrated in <INSERT PLACE>

9. Please read each statement carefully and respond by using the following scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

ANSWERS:

Strongly disagree – disagree - neutral – agree – strongly agree.

STATEMENTS

1. <INSERT PLACE> is ordinary
2. <INSERT PLACE> is like any other place
3. <INSERT PLACE> has no identity
4. People who were born in <INSERT PLACE> identify with it
5. The inhabitants identify strongly with <INSERT PLACE>
6. People who were born in <INSERT PLACE> feel like it is their own place
7. I strongly identify as an inhabitant of <INSERT PLACE> in its entirety
8. The inhabitants of <INSERT PLACE> reflect its identity
9. I identify more with <INSERT PLACE> than with any other place

10. The inhabitants of <INSERT PLACE> are recognizable


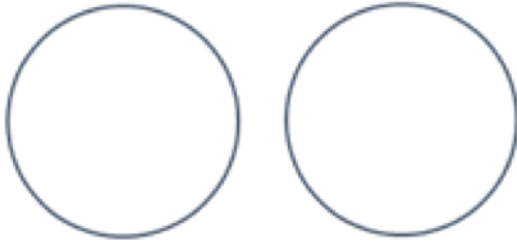
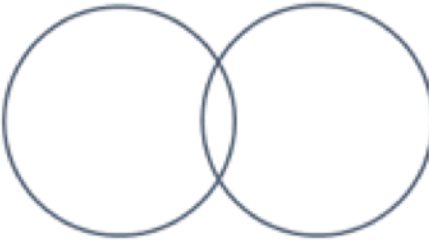
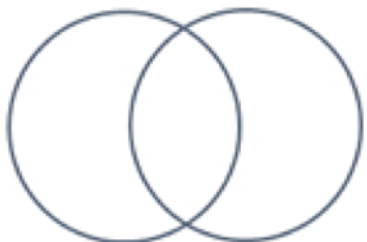

10.

In the image below you will see several circles. The left circles represents yourself ("me") and the right represents <INSERT PLACE>.

Please select the row (A-B-C-D-E) below which best describes your relationship with the <INSERT PLACE> How interconnected are you with <INSERT PLACE>?

Me

<INSERT PLACE>

A. Far apart and separate	
B. Close together but separate	
C. Close together and moderate overlap	
D. Very close together and large overlap	
E. Extremely close and complete overlap	

11.

Please read each statement carefully and respond by using the following scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

ANSWERS:

Strongly disagree – disagree - neutral – agree – strongly agree.

STATEMENTS:

- <INSERT PLACE> is a place I have a good feeling about
- <INSERT PLACE> is a place that I trust
- <INSERT PLACE> is a place that I admire and respect
- <INSERT PLACE> has a good overall reputation

12. How would you value <INSERT PLACE> for the following aspects:

ANSWERS:

Very poor – poor – moderate – good – very good

STATEMENTS:

12.1 The Quality of life

12.2 Safety

12.3 The Cost of Living

12.4 The Weather

12.5 Opportunities and lifestyle

12.6 the Quality of the landscape

12.7 Care for the place and environmental quality

12.8 Public Transport, Connections and Mobility

12.9. Food

12.10 Openness and hospitality

13. Please read each statement carefully and respond by using the following scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

ANSWERS:

Strongly disagree – disagree - neutral – agree – strongly agree.

- I always find beauty in <INSERT PLACE>
- Being in <INSERT PLACE> makes me very happy
- Spending time in <INSERT PLACE> is very important to me
- I find being in <INSERT PLACE> really amazing

14. Please read each statement carefully and respond by using the following scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

ANSWERS:

Strongly disagree – disagree - neutral – agree – strongly agree.

1. When I am in <INSERT PLACE> I understand my life's meaning
2. I am looking for something that makes my life feel meaningful when I am in <INSERT PLACE>.
3. I am always looking to find my life's purpose in <INSERT PLACE>
4. When I am in <INSERT PLACE> my life has a clear sense of purpose.
5. When I am in <INSERT PLACE>, I have a good sense of what makes my life meaningful.
6. In <INSERT PLACE> I am seeking a purpose or mission for my life.

15. Please read each statement carefully and respond by using the following scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

ANSWERS:

Strongly disagree – disagree - neutral – agree – strongly agree.

- The history of <INSERT PLACE> is a sequence of events that are linked to each other.
- The different events in <INSERT PLACE> history have influenced each other.
- <INSERT PLACE> has preserved its traditions and customs throughout time
- The people of <INSERT PLACE> have maintained what they care about over time.

## Irish:

Ceistneoir ar Chorca Dhuibhne

Haigh,

Sna leathnaigh seo a leanas tá ceisteanna mar gheall ar an gceangal a mhothaíonn tusa leis an gceantar ina bhfuil cónaí ort. Níl aon fhreagra ceart ná mícheart; níl uainn ach tuairimí macánta. Cuimhnigh nach scrúdú scoile é agus seachas na taighdeoirí ní fhéachfaidh aon duine eile, fiú múinteoirí, ar na freagraí. Ach má tá ceist agat faoi aon mhír den cheistneoir cabhróidh an múinteoir leat.

Ár mbuíochas as do rannpháirtíocht.

An t-eolas seo ar dtús le do thoil:

1.4 Dáta breithe: Lá \_\_\_\_\_ Mí \_\_\_\_\_ Bliain \_\_\_\_\_

1.5 Rugadh mé: \_\_\_\_\_

1.6 Áit chónaithe: \_\_\_\_\_

1.4 An mbraitheann tú gur ó Chorca Dhuibhne tú ó dhúchas?

1.5 An mbraitheann tú gur ó Chorca Dhuibhne ó dhúchas do mhuintir?

Freagraí: cinnte - is dócha - nílim cinnte - ní dócha - ní fíor

1.6 Is buachaill/cailín mé/ b'fhearr liom gan freagairt

1.7 Táim i rang: (msh.2m) .....

1.8 Le do thoil, léigh go cúramach gach ráiteas agus freagair de réir an scála thíos.

FREAGRAÍ:

Easaontaím go láidir - Easaontaím - neodrach - aontaím - aontaím go láidir

1- Fiú más gá dom lonnú in áit eile uair éigin, fillfidh mé ar Chorca Dhuibhne.

2- A luaithe agus a bheidh deis agam, ba mhaith liom Corca Dhuibhne a fhágaint.

3- Ba mhaith liom mo shaol ar fad a chaitheamh anseo i gCorca Dhuibhne.

4- Is cuma liom más i gCorca Dhuibhne nó áit éigin eile a bheidh mé i mo chónaí amach anseo.

1.9

Seo dréimire do shaoil.

Ar bharr tá an saol is fearr duitse. Ag bun, tá an saol is measa duit. Léirigh le marc i gciorcal conas a mhothaíonn tú go pearsanta faoin saol atá anois agat.

CIRCLE.



## 2. Scála Féinmheasa Rosenberg

Le do thoil, léigh go cúramach gach ráiteas agus freagair de réir an scála thíos.

### FREAGRAÍ:

Easaontaím go láidir - Easaontaím - neodrach - aontaím - aontaím go láidir

### Ráitis

1. Ar an iomlán, táim sásta liom féin.
2. Ceapaim uaireanta nach bhfuil aon mhaith ionam in aon chor.
3. Braithim go bhfuil roinnt rudaí maithe ag baint liom.
4. Táim chomh hábailta le formhór daoine eile.
5. Ní bhraithim go bhfuil mórán agam chun a bheith mórtasach as.
6. Cinnte, braithim uaireanta nach bhfuil aon mhaitheas ionam.
7. Braithim go bhfuil fiúntas ionam mar dhuine, táim ar a laghad chomh maith le daoine eile.
8. Ba bhreá liom mo mheas orm féin a mhéadú.
9. Tríd is tríd, braithim go bhfuil teipthe orm. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
10. Tá meon dearfach agam i mo leith féin.

3. Thíos, tá cur síos ar thuairimí agus ar mhothúcháin éagsúla. Léigh iad, agus ar an scála thíos, léirigh mar a mhothaíonn túsa go ginearálta faoi Chorca Dhuibhne.

SCÁLA:

Níl in aon slí - Beagán - Cuíosach - Mórán - Go hiomlán

- \_\_\_ Lán de bhuanna
- \_\_\_ Go bhfuil ag éirí liom
- \_\_\_ Sotolach
- \_\_\_ Lán dom féin
- \_\_\_ Muinéach
- \_\_\_ Féinspéiseach
- \_\_\_ Lánsásta
- \_\_\_ Mórchúiseach
- \_\_\_ Torthúil
- \_\_\_ Braithim fiúntach ionam féin
- \_\_\_ Féinsásta ar fad
- \_\_\_ Éirí in airde orm
- \_\_\_ Táim mór le rá
- \_\_\_ Ag éirí go hiontach ar fad liom

4. Thíos, tá cur síos ar thuairimí agus ar mhothúcháin éagsúla. Léigh iad, agus ar an scála thíos, léirigh mar a mhothaíonn túsa go ginearálta faoi Chorca Dhuibhne.

SCÁLA:

Níl in aon slí - Beagán - Cuíosach - Mórán - Go hiomlán

- Náirithe
- Áiféiseach
- Náireach
- Uiríslithe
- Dúr
- Páistiúil
- Gan cumhacht gan éifeacht
- Lasta/Dearg san éadan
- Cúis ghéire
- Déisteanach do dhaoine eile

CORCA DHUIBHNE

...áit mhaith le cónaí ann



...faoi bhláth

... gnátháit

...bocht

... ag feabhsú

... rathúil

... ag meath

... sceitimíneach

... gan fáilte

... in ísle brí

... pobal go láidir le chéile

... áit ghránna ghruama

... tacaíocht ann

... níl cairdiúil/muinteartha

5. Do gach ráiteas faoi Chorca Dhuibhne anseo a leanas cuir tic, le do thoil, sa bhosca is mó a théann le do thuairim féin.

Níl in aon slí - Beagán - Cuíosach - Mórán - Go hiomlán

6. Le do thoil, léigh go cúramach gach ráiteas agus freagair de réir an scála thíos.

FREAGRAÍ:

Easaontaím go láidir - Easaontaím - neodrach - aontaím - aontaím go láidir

RÁITIS

- Is ball fiúntach mé de phobal Chorca Dhuibhne
- Go ginearálta, tá áthas orm gur ball mé de phobal Chorca Dhuibhne.

- Go ginearálta, tá meas ag daoine eile ar Chorca Dhuibhne.
- Go ginearálta, is gné tábhachtach de mo fhéiniómhá gur Corca Dhuibhne mo bhaile.

7. Le do thoil, léigh go cúramach gach ráiteas agus freagair de réir an scála thíos.

FREAGRAÍ:

Easaontaím go láidir - Easaontaím - neodrach - aontaím - aontaím go láidir

RÁITIS

- Ba cheart aitheantas speisialta a thabhairt do Chorca Dhuibhne.
- Ní bheidh mé sásta go deo go mbeidh an t-aitheantas ceart ag Corca Dhuibhne.
- Cuireann sé fearg orm nuair a cháineann daoine eile Corca Dhuibhne.
- B'fhearr don domhan ar fad é dá mbeadh níos mó tionchar ag Corca Dhuibhne air.
- Ní mór na daoine a thuigeann ar fad an tábhacht a bhaineann le Corca Dhuibhne.

8. Le do thoil, léigh go cúramach gach ráiteas agus freagair de réir an scála thíos.

FREAGRAÍ:

Easaontaím go láidir - Easaontaím - neodrach - aontaím - aontaím go láidir

RÁITIS:

- Is cuid díom Corca Dhuibhne.
- Bheadh sé an-deacair dom Corca Dhuibhne a fhágaint.
- Níl áit níos fearr domsa ná Corca Dhuibhne.
- Ní bhraithim go mbainim le Chorca Dhuibhne.

9. Le do thoil, léigh go cúramach gach ráiteas agus freagair de réir an scála thíos.

FREAGRAÍ:

Easaontaím go láidir - Easaontaím - neodrach - aontaím - aontaím go láidir

RÁITIS

11. Is gnátháit í Corca Dhuibhne.
12. Is mar a chéile le haon áit í Corca Dhuibhne.
13. Ní áit ar leith í Corca Dhuibhne.
14. Mothaíonn daoine a rugadh ann ceangal le Corca Dhuibhne.
15. Mothaíonn na háitreabhaigh ceangal láidir le Corca Dhuibhne.
16. Mothaíonn daoine a rugadh ann ag baile i gCorca Dhuibhne.
17. Mar áitreabhach, mothaím ceangal láidir le Corca Dhuibhne ar fad.
18. Tá tréithe Chorca Dhuibhne le brath sna daoine ann.
19. Mothaím ceangal níos láidre le Corca Dhuibhne ná le haon áit eile.
20. Is féidir áitreabhaigh Chorca Dhuibhne a aithint go fuirist.

10. San íomhá thíos, tá roinnt ciorcal. Is tusa an ciorcal ar chlé agus tá Corca Dhuibhne ar dheis

De réir an íomha atá ag dul leis, roghnaigh as A-B-C-D-E an ráiteas is fearr a léiríonn an ceangal a mhothaíonn tú le Corca Dhuibhne.

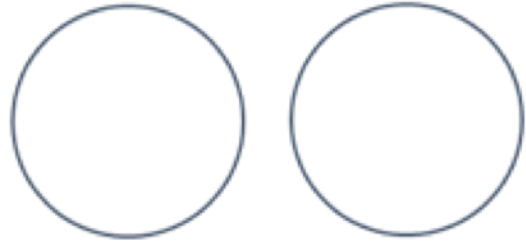
Mise

Corca Dhuibhne

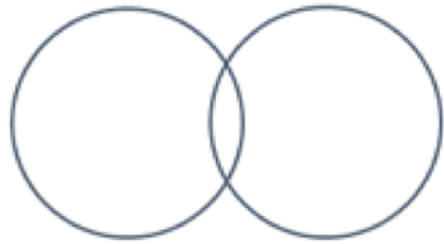
F. Scartha amach ar fad.



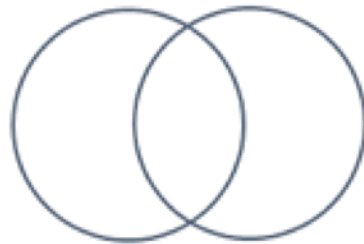
G. Gairid ach scartha.



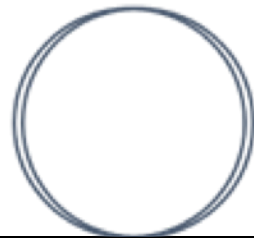
H. Nasctha go pointe.



I. Nasctha go láidir.



J. Nasctha ar fad.



11. Le do thoil, léigh go cúramach gach ráiteas agus freagair de réir an scála thíos

FREAGRAÍ:

Easaontaím go láidir - Easaontaím - neodrach - aontaím - aontaím go láidir

RÁITIS

- Mothaím go maith faoi Chorca Dhuibhne.
- Tá muinín agam as Chorca Dhuibhne.
- Tá ardmheas agam ar Chorca Dhuibhne.
- Tá dea-cháil ar Chorca Dhuibhne.

12. De réir an scála thíos, cén luach a bhronnfá ar Chorca Dhuibhne maidir leis na ráitis a leanas.

FREAGRAÍ:

Go hainnis - Ainnis - réasúnta - go maith - an-mhaith

RÁITIS:

- 12.1 Caighdeán na beatha
- 12.2 Sábháilteacht
- 12.3 Costas Maireachtála
- 12.4 An Aimsir
- 12.5 Deiseanna agus stíl mhaireachtála
- 12.6 Feabhas na radharcanna tíre
- 12.7 Caighdeán na timpeallachta agus slacht na háite
- 12.8 Iompar poiblí, teagmhálacha, bogadh timpeall
- 12.9. Bia
- 12.10 Fáilte agus Féile

13. Le do thoil, léigh go cúramach gach ráiteas agus freagair de réir an scála thíos.

FREAGRAÍ:

Easaontaím go láidir - Easaontaím - neodrach - aontaím - aontaím go láidir

- Braithim áilleacht i gcónaí i gCorca Dhuibhne
- Cuireann sé aoibhneas croí orm a bheith i gCorca Dhuibhne
- Tá sé an-tábhachtach dom am a chaitheamh i gCorca Dhuibhne
- Is iontach ar fad liom a bheith i gCorca Dhuibhne

14. Le do thoil, léigh go cúramach gach ráiteas agus freagair de réir an scála thíos.

FREAGRAÍ:

Easaontaím go láidir - Easaontaím - neodrach - aontaím - aontaím go láidir

- 7. Tuigim brí mo bheatha nuair a bhím i gCorca Dhuibhne.

8. Nuair a bhím i gCorca Dhuibhne, bím ag cuardach rud éigin a thabharfadh brí dom bheatha.
9. Bím de shíor ag iarraidh ciall a bhaint as mo shaol agus mé i gCorca Dhuibhne.
10. Bíonn ciall cinnte le mo shaol nuair a bhím i gCorca Dhuibhne.
11. Nuair a bhím i gCorca Dhuibhne, braithim tuiscint mhaith ar a dtugann brí do mo bheatha.
12. Táim ag cuardach ciall nó cuspóir do mo shaol i gCorca Dhuibhne.

15. Le do thoil, léigh go cúramach gach ráiteas agus freagair de réir an scála thíos.

**FREAGRAÍ:**

Easaontaím go láidir - Easaontaím - neodrach - aontaím - aontaím go láidir

- Is í atá i stair Chorca Dhuibhne ná sraith d'imeachtaí le ceangal eatarthu.
- Bhí tionchar ag na himeachtaí éagsúla staire i gCorca Dhuibhne ar a chéile.
- I gCorca Dhuibhne tá caomhnú déanta riamh ar nósanna agus traidisiúin an cheantair.
- Thar na blianta, tá caomhnú déanta ag muintir Chorca Dhuibhne ar gach a bhfuil meas acu air.

## Portuguese

### Questionário sobre Gondomar

Olá, nas próximas páginas, encontrarás algumas perguntas sobre a tua relação com Gondomar, o local em que vives. Não há respostas certas ou erradas para nenhuma das perguntas. Estamos interessados na tua opinião. Lembra-te de que este não é um teste escolar e que tuas respostas serão disponíveis somente aos pesquisadores (não estarão acessíveis aos professores ou qualquer outra pessoa). Se tiveres alguma dúvida sobre o questionário ou se não entenderes exatamente a pergunta ou o significado de uma palavra, pede ajuda ao teu professor.

Muito obrigado pela tua participação.

Responde, por favor, às seguintes questões:

Qual é o seu código de aluno que você acabou de receber de seu professor para este questionário?

1.1 Ano de nascimento (aaaa):

1.2 Local de nascimento \_\_\_\_\_

1.3 Local de residência \_\_\_\_\_

1.4 És originário(a) de Gondomar? \_\_\_\_\_

1.5 A tua família é originária de Gondomar? \_\_\_\_\_

Respostas: Definitivamente sim – Provavelmente sim – Pode ser ou pode não ser – Provavelmente não – Definitivamente não

1.6 Sexo: Masculino/Feminino/Prefiro não responder

1.7 Em que ano de escolaridade estás?(especifica)

1.8 Lê cada afirmação com atenção e responde usando a seguinte escala que varia de: discordo totalmente a concordo totalmente.

RESPOSTAS:

Discordo Totalmente - Discordo - Neutro - Concordo - Concordo Totalmente.

1. Mesmo que eu tenha que morar em outro lugar em algum momento da minha vida, voltarei a viver em Gondomar.

2. Assim que tiver a oportunidade, gostaria de sair de Gondomar.

3. Gostaria de passar toda a minha vida em Gondomar.

4. Não me importo se, no futuro, morar em Gondomar ou em outro lugar.

1.9

Supõe que uma escada é uma maneira de retratares a tua vida. O topo da escada representa a melhor possibilidade de vida. O degrau inferior da escada representa a pior possibilidade de vida.

Indica em que local da escada te sentes, marcando o círculo nas respostas abaixo da imagem.

Melhor vida possível

Pior vida possível

2. Escala de autoestima de Rosenberg

Lê cada afirmação com atenção e responde, usando a seguinte escala: discordo totalmente e concordo totalmente.

RESPOSTAS:

Discordo Totalmente - Discordo - Neutro - Concordo - Concordo Totalmente.

Afirmações:

- No conjunto, eu estou satisfeito comigo.
- Às vezes, eu acho que não presto para nada.
- Eu acho que tenho várias boas qualidades.
- Eu acho que sou capaz de fazer as coisas tão bem quanto a maioria das pessoas.
- Eu acho que não tenho muito do que me orgulhar.
- Às vezes, eu certamente sinto-me inútil.
- Eu sinto que sou uma pessoa de valor, no mínimo tanto quanto as outras pessoas.
- Eu gostaria de ter mais respeito por mim mesmo.
- Levando tudo em conta, eu penso que sou um fracasso.
- Eu tenho uma atitude positiva em relação a mim mesmo.

3. Abaixo estão algumas palavras e frases que descrevem diferentes sentimentos e emoções. Lê cada item e, em seguida, indica até que ponto te sentes dessa maneira em relação a Gondomar, usando a escala mostrada abaixo.

ESCALA:

Nem um pouco - Um pouco - Moderadamente - Muito - Extremamente

- \_\_\_ Completo (a)
- \_\_\_ Estou a conseguir alcançar os meus objetivos
- \_\_\_ Arrogante
- \_\_\_ Pretensioso(a)
- \_\_\_ Confidente
- \_\_\_ Egoísta
- \_\_\_ Realizado(a)
- \_\_\_ Vaidoso(a)
- \_\_\_ Produtivo(a)
- \_\_\_ Como se eu tivesse valor próprio
- \_\_\_ Presunçoso(a)
- \_\_\_ Snob
- \_\_\_ Bloqueado(a)
- \_\_\_ Bem-sucedido(a)

4. Abaixo estão algumas palavras e frases que descrevem diferentes sentimentos e emoções. Lê cada item e, em seguida, indica até que ponto te sentes dessa maneira em relação a Gondomar, usando a escala mostrada abaixo.

ESCALA:

Nem um pouco - Um pouco - Moderadamente - Muito - Extremamente

- Envergonhado(a)
- Ridículo(a)
- Consciente
- Humilhado(a)
- Estúpido(a)
- Infantil
- Desamparado / Paralisado
- Tímido(a)
- Divertido(a)
- Repugnante





5. Para cada uma das seguintes afirmações sobre Gondomar, marca a caixa da resposta que melhor corresponde à tua opinião.

Gondomar .....	Nada	Um pouco	Moderadamente	Muito	Extremamente
... É um bom lugar para morar					
... Está a florescer					
... É comum					
... É pobre					
... Está a melhorar					
... É rico					
... Está em declínio					
... É estimulante					
... É inospitaleiro					
... É deprimente					
... Tem um forte senso de comunidade					
... É feio/pouco atraente					
... Um lugar que dá apoio					
... É hostil/pouco amistoso					

6. Lê cada declaração com atenção e responde usando a seguinte escala: discordo totalmente e concordo totalmente.

RESPOSTAS:

Discordo Totalmente - Discordo - Neutro - Concordo - Concordo Totalmente.

AFIRMAÇÕES:

- Sou um digno cidadão de Gondomar
- Em geral, fico feliz em ser um cidadão de Gondomar
- Em geral, os outros respeitam Gondomar
- Em geral, pertencera/fazer parte de Gondomar é uma parte importante da minha auto-imagem

7. Lê cada declaração com atenção e responde usando a seguinte escala: discordo totalmente e concordo totalmente.

RESPOSTAS:

Discordo Totalmente - Discordo - Neutro - Concordo - Concordo Totalmente.

AFIRMAÇÕES:

- Gondomar merece um tratamento especial
- Nunca ficarei satisfeito(a) até que Gondomar receba o reconhecimento que merece
- Deixa-me realmente com raiva quando os outros criticam Gondomar
- Se Gondomar tivesse “uma voz importante” no mundo, o mundo seria um lugar muito melhor.
- Poucas pessoas parecem compreender plenamente a importância de Gondomar

8. Lê cada declaração com atenção e responde usando a seguinte escala: discordo totalmente e concordo totalmente.

RESPOSTAS:

Discordo Totalmente - Discordo - Neutro - Concordo - Concordo Totalmente.

AFIRMAÇÕES:

- Gondomar faz parte de mim
- Seria muito difícil para mim deixar Gondomar
- Gondomar é o local ideal para mim
- Não me sinto integrado em Gondomar

9. Lê cada declaração com atenção e responde usando a seguinte escala: discordo totalmente e concordo totalmente.

RESPOSTAS:

Discordo Totalmente - Discordo - Neutro - Concordo - Concordo Totalmente.

AFIRMAÇÕES:


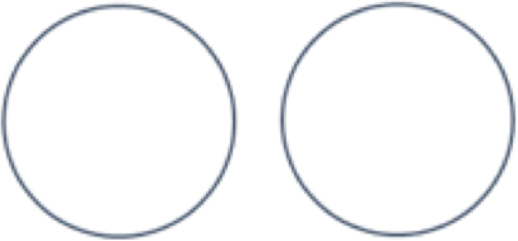
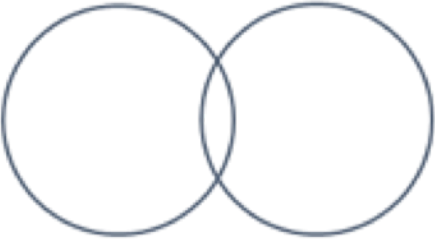
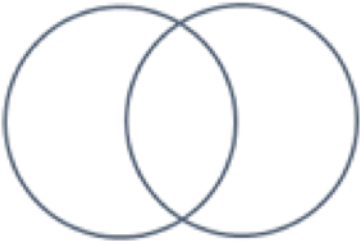

1. Gondomar é um lugar ordinário
2. Gondomar é um lugar como qualquer outro
3. Gondomar não tem identidade
4. As pessoas nativas de Gondomar identificam-se muito com o lugar
5. Os habitantes de/As pessoas que moram em Gondomar identificam-se muito com essa cidade
6. As pessoas que nasceram em Gondomar sentem que esse é o seu lugar
7. Eu me identifico fortemente como cidadão de Gondomar em sua totalidade
8. Os habitantes de Gondomar refletem a identidade do lugar
9. Identifico-me mais com Gondomar do que com qualquer outro lugar
10. Os residentes de Gondomar reconhecem-se

10. Na imagem abaixo, vais ver vários círculos. O círculo esquerdo representa-te a ti próprio("eu") e o direito representa Gondomar.

Indica qual linha (A, B, C, D, E) representa a tua relação com Gondomar. Quão apegado és a Gondomar?

Eu

Gondomar

A. Distantes, separados	
B. Próximos, separados	
C. Juntos, Ligeiramente sobrepostos	
D. Muito juntos, bastante sobrepostos	
E. Pertíssimo, Completamente sobrepostos	

11. Lê cada declaração com atenção e responde usando a seguinte escala: discordo totalmente e concordo totalmente.

RESPOSTAS:

Discordo Totalmente - Discordo - Neutro - Concordo - Concordo Totalmente.

AFIRMAÇÕES:

- Gondomar é um lugar a respeito do qual, eu tenho um sentimento bom
- Gondomar é um local em que confio
- Gondomar é um lugar que admiro e respeito
- No geral, Gondomar tem uma boa reputação

12. Como avaliarias Gondomar relativamente aos seguintes aspetos:

RESPOSTAS:

Muito mau - mau - moderado - bom - muito bom

AFIRMAÇÕES:

- 12.1 Qualidade de vida
- 12.2 Segurança
- 12.3 O custo de vida
- 12.4 O clima
- 12.5 Oportunidades e estilo de vida
- 12.6 A qualidade da paisagem
- 12.7 Cuidado com o local e qualidade ambiental
- 12.8 Transporte público, conexões e mobilidade
- 12.9 Comida
- 12.10 Abertura e hospitalidade

13. Lê cada declaração com atenção e responde usando a seguinte escala de discordo totalmente para concordo totalmente.

RESPOSTAS:

Discordo Totalmente - Discordo - Neutro - Concordo - Concordo Totalmente.

- Encontro sempre coisas belas em Gondomar
- Estar em Gondomar deixa-me muito feliz
- Passar tempo em Gondomar é muito importante para mim
- Estar em Gondomar é realmente incrível

14. Lê cada declaração com atenção e responde usando a seguinte escala de discordo totalmente a concordo totalmente.

RESPOSTAS:

Discordo Totalmente - Discordo - Neutro - Concordo - Concordo Totalmente.

Quando estou em Gondomar, entendo o significado da minha vida/a minha vida faz sentido  
Procuro algo que faça minha vida parecer significativa quando estou em Gondomar.  
Estou sempre a tentar encontrar o propósito da minha vida em Gondomar  
Quando estou em Gondomar, a minha vida tem sentido.  
Quando estou em Gondomar, tenho uma boa noção daquilo que torna minha vida significativa.  
Em Gondomar, procuro um propósito ou missão para a minha vida.

15. Lê cada afirmação com atenção e responde usando a seguinte escala: discordo totalmente a concordo totalmente.

RESPOSTAS:

Discordo Totalmente - Discordo - Neutro - Concordo - Concordo Totalmente.

15.1 A história de Gondomar é uma sequência de eventos que estão ligados entre si.

15.2 Os diferentes eventos da história de Gondomar se influenciaram mutuamente

15.3 Gondomar preservou as suas tradições e costumes ao longo do tempo

15.4 O povo de Gondomar manteve o que lhes importa ao longo do tempo.

## Italian

### Questionario sull'Alta Langa

Ciao, nelle prossime pagine troverai diverse domande relative a te e alla tua relazione con l'Alta Langa, il territorio in cui vivi. Non ci sono risposte giuste o sbagliate a queste domande; siamo interessati alle tue reazioni ed opinioni spontanee. Per favore ricordati che questa non è una verifica e che le tue risposte saranno visibili solo ai ricercatori (non agli/le insegnanti né a nessun altro). Se hai qualche domanda rispetto al questionario o se non capisci bene una domanda o il significato di una parola, per favore chiedi al/la tuo/a insegnante di aiutarti.

Grazie mille per la tua partecipazione.

Per cominciare, per favore, inserisci le seguenti informazioni:

1.7 La tua data di nascita: Giorno \_\_\_\_\_ Mese \_\_\_\_\_ Anno \_\_\_\_\_

1.8 Il tuo luogo di nascita: \_\_\_\_\_

1.9 Il tuo luogo di residenza: \_\_\_\_\_

1.4 Ritieni di essere originario/a dell'Alta Langa?

1.5 Ritieni che la tua famiglia sia originaria dell'Alta Langa?

Risposte per 1.4 & 1.5:

Assolutamente sì - Probabilmente sì - Forse - Probabilmente no - Assolutamente no

1.6 Sei: Ragazzo / Ragazza / Preferisco non rispondere

1.7 In che classe sei?.....

1.8 Per favore, leggi attentamente ognuna delle seguenti affermazioni e rispondi usando la seguente scala da "Fortemente in disaccordo" a "Fortemente d'accordo".

Risposte:

Fortemente in disaccordo – In disaccordo - Neutrale – D'accordo – Fortemente d'accordo.

1- Anche se a un certo punto della mia vita dovrò vivere da un'altra parte, poi tornerò (a vivere) nell'Alta Langa. Even if at some point in my life I will have to live somewhere else, then I will return (to live) in the Alta Langa.

2- Appena ne avrò l'opportunità, vorrei andare via dall'Alta Langa. As soon as I will have the opportunity, I would like to go away from Alta Langa.

3- Vorrei passare tutta la mia vita nell'Alta Langa. I would like to spend all my life in Alta Langa.

4- Non mi importa se, nel futuro, vivrò nell'Alta Langa o da un'altra parte. I don't care if, in the future, I will live in Alta Langa or elsewhere.

1.9 Immagina che questa scala sia un modo di rappresentare la tua vita. La cima della scala rappresenta la miglior vita possibile per te. Lo scalino più basso rappresenta la peggiore vita possibile per te.

Indica in quale punto della scala senti di essere in questo momento colorando il cerchio corrispondente. Imagine that this staircase represents your life. The top of the staircase represents the best possible life for you. The bottom step represents the worst possible life for you. Indicate at which point on the scale you feel you are now by coloring the corresponding circle.

### 2. Rosenberg self-esteem scale

Per favore, leggi attentamente ognuna delle seguenti affermazioni e rispondi usando la seguente scala da "Fortemente in disaccordo" a "Fortemente d'accordo".

Risposte:

Fortemente in disaccordo – In disaccordo - Neutrale – D'accordo – Fortemente d'accordo.

#### Affermazioni

- Complessivamente sono soddisfatto/a di me stesso.
- A volte penso di essere un/a buono/a a nulla.
- Penso di avere un certo numero di qualità.
- Sono in grado di fare le cose bene almeno come la maggior parte delle persone.
- Penso di non avere molto di cui essere fiero/a.
- Senza dubbio a volte mi sento inutile.
- Penso di valere almeno quanto gli altri.
- Desidererei avere maggior rispetto di me stesso/a.
- Sono portato/a a pensare di essere un vero fallimento.
- Ho un atteggiamento positivo verso me stesso/a.

3. Qui sotto ci sono alcuni aggettivi e frasi che descrivono diversi sentimenti ed emozioni. Leggili e indica quanto in genere ti senti così rispetto all'Alta Langa descritta. Below there are some adjectives and sentences describing different feelings and emotions. Read them and indicate how Alta Langa generally stirs in you the described feeling or emotion.

SCALA:

Per niente - Poco - Abbastanza - Molto - Moltissimo

- \_\_\_ Esperto/a
- \_\_\_ Realizzato/a
- \_\_\_ Superbo/a
- \_\_\_ Presuntuoso/a
- \_\_\_ Sicuro/a di me
- \_\_\_ Egocentrico/a
- \_\_\_ Soddisfatto/a
- \_\_\_ Vanitoso/a
- \_\_\_ Produttivo/a
- \_\_\_ Con un'alta autostima
- \_\_\_ Inorgogliato/a
- \_\_\_ Snob
- \_\_\_ Pieno/a di me
- \_\_\_ Apprezzato/a

- Expert (era Accomplished)
- Fulfilled ? (era Like I am Achieving)
- Superb (era Arrogant)
- Presumptuous (era Conceited)
- Confident
- Egocentric (era Egotistical)
- Satisfied Vain (era Pompous)
- Productive
- With high self-esteem (era Like I have self-worth)
- Proud (era Smug)
- Snob
- Full of myself (era Stuck up)
- Appreciated (era Successful)

4. Qui sotto ci sono alcuni aggettivi e frasi che descrivono diversi sentimenti ed emozioni. Leggili e indica quanto in genere l'Alta Langa suscita in te il sentimento o l'emozione descritta.

SCALA:

Per niente - Poco - Abbastanza - Molto - Moltissimo

Mortificato/a

Ridicolo/a

A disagio

Umiliato/a

Stupido/a

Infantile

Indifeso/a/Paralizzato/a

Imbarazzato/a

Sciocco/a

Ripugnante

- Mortified (era Embarrassed)
- Ridiculous
- Uncomfortable (era Self-conscious)
- Humiliated
- Stupid
- Infantile (era Childish)
- Defenseless/Paralyzed (era Helpless/Paralyzed)
- Embarrassed (era Blushing)
- Foolish (era Laughable)
- Repugnant (era Disgusting to others)



5. Per ognuna delle seguenti frasi relative all'Alta Langa per favore indica quanto sei d'accordo (da Per niente" a "Moltissimo").

Per favore, leggi attentamente ognuna delle seguenti affermazioni e rispondi usando la seguente scala da "Per niente" a "Moltissimo".

L'Alta Langa.....	Per niente	Poco	Abbastanza	Molto	Moltissimo
...è un buon luogo dove vivere ... It is a good place to live					
... è fiorente (era is thriving) ...Itisflourishing					
... è un luogo ordinario It is an ordinary place					
...è povera Itispoor					
... è in miglioramento Itisimproving					
... è ricca Itisrich (era is prosperous)					
... è in decadimento Itis in decay (era is declining)					
... è stimolante Itisstimulant (era is exciting)					
... è inospitale Itisin hospitable (era is unwelcoming)					
... è deprimente IT IS DEPRESSING					
... Ha un forte senso di comunità IT HAS A GREAT SENSE OF COMMUNITY					
... è sgradevole Itisunpleasent (era is unattractive)					
... è di supporto Itis supportive					
... è ostile Itishostile (is unfriendly)					

6.

Per favore, leggi attentamente ognuna delle seguenti affermazioni e rispondi usando la seguente scala da “Fortemente in disaccordo” a “Fortemente d’accordo”.

Risposte:

Fortemente in disaccordo – In disaccordo - Neutrale – D’accordo – Fortemente d’accordo.

Affermazioni:

- Mi sento un abitante rispettabile dell’Alta Langa
- In generale sono contento/a di abitare nell’Alta Langa
- In genere gli altri hanno rispetto dell’Alta Langa
- In genere l’appartenenza all’Alta Langa è una parte importante della mia identità

7. Per favore, leggi attentamente ognuna delle seguenti affermazioni e rispondi usando la seguente scala da “Fortemente in disaccordo” a “Fortemente d’accordo”.

Risposte:

Fortemente in disaccordo – In disaccordo - Neutrale – D’accordo – Fortemente d’accordo.

Affermazioni:

- L’Alta Langa merita un trattamento speciale - Alta Langa deserves special treatment
- Non sarò soddisfatto/a fino a che l’Alta Langa non otterrà il riconoscimento che merita - I will not be satisfied until the Alta Langa receives the recognition it deserves
- Mi fa molto arrabbiare quando gli altri criticano l’Alta Langa - It makes me very angry when others criticize Alta Langa -
- Se l’Alta Langa avesse una maggiore importanza, il mondo sarebbe un posto migliore - If Alta Langa had a greater importance, the world would be a better place
- Sembra che tante persone non capiscano l’importanza dell’Alta Langa - It seems that many people do not understand the importance of Alta Langa

8. Per favore, leggi attentamente ognuna delle seguenti affermazioni e rispondi usando la seguente scala da “Fortemente in disaccordo” a “Fortemente d’accordo”.

Risposte:

Fortemente in disaccordo – In disaccordo - Neutrale – D’accordo – Fortemente d’accordo.

Affermazioni:

- L’Alta Langa fa ormai parte di me
- Farei molta fatica a lasciare l’Alta Langa
- L’Alta Langa è un posto ideale per me
- Non mi sento integrato nell’Alta Langa

9. Per favore, leggi attentamente ognuna delle seguenti affermazioni e rispondi usando la seguente scala da “Fortemente in disaccordo” a “Fortemente d’accordo”.

Risposte:

Fortemente in disaccordo – In disaccordo - Neutrale – D’accordo – Fortemente d’accordo.

- L’Alta Langa è un luogo ordinario
- L’Alta Langa è un luogo come tutti gli altri
- L’Alta Langa è senza identità
- Chi nasce nell’Alta Langa ci si identifica

I residenti s'identificano molto con l'Alta Langa  
 Chi nasce nell'Alta Langa la sente propria  
 Mi identifico come abitante dell'Alta Langa nel suo complesso  
 Gli abitanti dell'Alta Langa ne rispecchiano l'identità  
 Mi identifico più con l'Alta Langa che con altri luoghi  
 Gli abitanti dell'Alta Langa si riconoscono

10.

Nell'immagine che segue, ci sono diversi cerchi. I cerchi a sinistra rappresentano te stesso/a, i cerchi a destra rappresentano l'Alta Langa.

Indica la coppia di cerchi che rappresenta meglio la sovrapposizione tra te e l'Alta Langa.

Per favore, indica quale riga (A,B,C,D,E) rappresenta meglio quanto tu e l'Alta Langa siete sovrapposti:

	Me	L'Alta Langa
<p>A. Lontani e separati</p> <p>Far apart, separate</p>		
<p>B. Vicini, ma separati</p> <p>Neighbors, separated</p>		
<p>C. Vicini e leggermente sovrapposti</p> <p>Neighbours, slightly overlapping</p>		
<p>D. Molto vicini e molto sovrapposti</p> <p>Very close, quite overlapping</p>		
<p>E. Vicinissimi e completamente sovrapposti</p> <p>Very close, completely overlapping</p>		

11.

Per favore, leggi attentamente ognuna delle seguenti affermazioni e rispondi usando la seguente scala da “Fortemente in disaccordo” a “Fortemente d’accordo”.

Risposte:

Fortemente in disaccordo – In disaccordo - Neutrale – D’accordo – Fortemente d’accordo.

Affermazioni:

L’Alta Langa è un luogo di cui ho una buona impressione I have a good opinion of Alta Langa

L’AltaLanga è un luogo di cui mi fido- I trust Alta Langa

L’Alta Langa è un luogo che ammiro e rispetto- I admire and respect Alta Langa

L’Alta Langa ha complessivamente una buona reputazione- Generally, Alta Langa has a good reputation

12. Come valuti l’Alta Langa rispetto ai seguenti aspetti:

RISPOSTE:

Molto scarsa – Scarsa – Discreta – Buona – Molto Buona

Affermazioni:

12.1 La qualità della vita

12.2 La sicurezza

12.3 Il costo della vita

12.4 Il clima

12.5 Le opportunità e lo stile di vita

12.6 La qualità paesaggistica

12.7 La cura e la qualità ambientale

12.8 I trasporti, collegamenti e mobilità

12.9 Il cibo

12.10 L’apertura e l’ospitalità

13. Per favore, leggi attentamente ognuna delle seguenti affermazioni e rispondi usando la seguente scala da “Fortemente in disaccordo” a “Fortemente d’accordo”.

Risposte:

Fortemente in disaccordo – In disaccordo - Neutrale – D’accordo – Fortemente d’accordo.

13.1 Trovo sempre qualcosa di bello nell’Alta Langa- I alwaysfindsomething beautiful in Alta Langa

13.2 Essere nell’Alta Langa mi rende molto felice- Being in Alta Langa makes me very happy

13.3 Passare il tempo nell’Alta Langa è molto importante per me - Spending time in Alta Langa isveryimportantto me

13.4 Trovo che stare nell'Alta Langa sia veramente meraviglioso - I thinkthatbeing in Alta Langa istruly beautiful

14. Per favore, leggi attentamente ognuna delle seguenti affermazioni e rispondi usando la seguente scala da "Fortemente in disaccordo" a "Fortemente d'accordo".

Per favore, prenditi un momento per pensare a cosa rende la tua vita importante per te. Per favore, rispondi alle seguenti affermazioni più sinceramente e accuratamente possibile, ricordati che queste sono questioni molto soggettive e non ci sono risposte giuste o sbagliate. Per favore rispondi utilizzando la seguente scala:

RISPOSTE:

Fortemente in disaccordo – In disaccordo - Neutrale – D'accordo – Fortemente d'accordo.

Quando sono nell'Alta Langa capisco il significato della mia vita

Quando sono nell'Alta Langa, sono alla ricerca di qualcosa che renda significativa la mia vita.

Quando sono nell'Alta Langa, sono sempre alla ricerca dello scopo della mia vita.

Quando sono nell'Alta Langa la mia vita ha un chiaro senso.

Quando sono nell'Alta Langa, sono consapevole di ciò che rende significativa la mia vita.

Quando sono nell'Alta Langa, sono in cerca di uno scopo o una missione nella vita.

15. Per favore, leggi attentamente ognuna delle seguenti affermazioni e rispondi usando la seguente scala da "Fortemente in disaccordo" a "Fortemente d'accordo".

Risposte:

Fortemente in disaccordo – In disaccordo - Neutrale – D'accordo – Fortemente d'accordo.

- 15.1 Le fasi più importanti della storia dell'Alta Langa sono legate l'una all'altra
- 15.2 I diversi eventi della storia dell'Alta Langa si sono influenzati a vicenda
- 15.3 L'Alta Langa ha conservato le sue tradizioni e costumi attraverso la storia
- 15.4 Gli abitanti dell'Alta Langa hanno sempre dato importanza alle stesse cose nel corso del tempo