

Threat caused by the establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees: Fact, or fiction?

A cross-sectional study into the impact of the process of establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees on the perception of threat by the local population

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Abstract

The aim of the research is to answer the research question: "To what extent is the host country population's threat perception of asylum seekers and refugees influenced by the process of establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees in the Netherlands according to stakeholders?". The hypothesis which has been formulated in response to this research question is: "if the process of the establishment of an accommodation incorporates public participation in the decision-making processes to a higher extent, it is expected that the local population experiences a lower extent of realistic threats, symbolic threats, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety towards the asylum seekers and refugees inhabiting the nearby accommodations". A cross-sectional research design has been employed, as part of which interviews were conducted. In response to the hypothesis, it can be concluded that the local population perceives symbolic threats to a higher extent than they perceive realistic threats, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety. In addition, the public has not been involved in the decision on whether an accommodation would be established or not. Therefore this indicates that it is not confirmed that the local population has a lower perception of threat when they are more involved in the decision-making process.

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1. Background

1.1. Introduction to the research problem

The research before you is about the process of establishing accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees and its effect on the perception of threat of the local population. The research is connected to recent developments as societies have been challenged in recent times in a sense which has not been witnessed in a long time. The number of conflicts, disadvantageous living circumstances and other dire conditions people have to endure has led societies to be challenged in their capacity to mitigate these circumstances. A consequence of these recent developments has resulted in a high influx of refugees. At the end of 2014, almost 60 million people were on the run as a result of war and violence. More than 4 million Syrians have fled their country and another 7,6 million are homeless. A large share of refugees, 137 000 refugees in the first half of 2015 to be more precise, originating from the North-African countries of Syria, Eritrea and Afghanistan risk their lives by trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea in order to reach Europe. Of these 137 000 refugees, almost 2 000 people did not survive this journey (VluchtelingenWerk, 2016). This high influx of refugees has put considerable pressure on European societies towards which refugees turn in order to find their safe haven. Considerable pressure, more specifically, with regards to the provision of the necessary resources for these incoming populations. In the Netherlands there is the realistic danger of a situation in which there is to be a shortage of places to live for asylum seekers (Vriesema, 2016). Considerable pressure also arises with regards to the scrutiny received by the local population in response to these measures. This scrutiny has particularly manifested itself in response to the establishment of asylum seeker centers. Dutch society is one example of a society in which the establishment of asylum seeker centers in some cases has led to opposition from the local population. In January and February of 2016, 4318 people have applied for asylum in the Netherlands. Of these people, 10 040 were Syrians and 548 were Afghan (VluchtelingenWerk, 2015). The recent upheaval in the Netherlands which has accompanied the establishment of asylum seeker centers has in some cases created a tension between the local population and local authorities, as well as with other local stakeholders involved in the establishment of asylum seeker centers. The establishment of asylum seeker centers in Geldermalsen and Enschede are examples in which the situation has taken a turn for the worst. In Geldermalsen the degree of opposition has been the most extreme to be witnessed in the Netherlands: fifteen vans of riot police agents were present in order to keep more than 500 people at a distance from the city hall, stones, cans and firework bombs were thrown, fences were thrown down and the windows of the city hall were broken in. In Enschede on the other hand, demonstrations against the establishment of an asylum seeker center arrests have been made as a result of assault, insult and portraying the Hitler greeting. In addition, at a later stage pig heads were laid at the location where the asylum seeker center was to be established. Threats which were made have forced the municipality of Enschede to cancel a meeting in which the local population was to be informed about the concept agreement the municipality has agreed upon with the COA, the organization responsible for the accommo-

dation of asylum seekers (Redactie, 2016). However, as these incidents are newsworthy and this is what remains interesting to read, it is also good to put these incidents into perspective: in seven municipalities the establishment of accommodations has led to major opposition, whereas in 41 municipalities there was no or only minor opposition (Kranenberg, 2016).

Moving away from the practical implications of the influx of asylum seekers and refugees and the consequences of the accommodation of asylum seekers and refugees in Europe in general, and the Netherlands in particular, the high influx of refugees in the Netherlands can in turn be depicted as a social problem in the opinion of the local population. According to Henshel (1990), social problems are “social factors that adversely affect significant numbers of individuals in a similar way”. More specifically, the high influx of refugees has resulted in a highly accelerated process of the establishment of accommodations in order to swiftly process the incoming asylum seekers and refugees and to provide them with the necessary resources for them to sustain. The process of the establishment of asylum seeker centers can be classified as an intervention. An intervention in a social problem is “any and all conscious, organized efforts to alleviate that problem” (Henshel, 1990, pp. 3-19, 91). It is exactly the (highly accelerated process of) establishing accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees which is studied as a possible effect of the response of the local population to asylum seekers and refugees. But what is meant within the context of this study when talking about asylum seekers and refugees? The Dutch Immigration and Naturalization Services provides a helpful definition which goes a long way in determining the direction of the research. An asylum seeker is “an alien who has left his or her country and files an asylum application with the Dutch government” and a refugee is “an asylum seeker who is rightfully afraid of prosecution in his or her country. He or she will receive an asylum permit”(Immigratie & Naturalisatiedienst, 2016). Both the definitions of asylum seekers and refugees will be used throughout this research as these two groups are both inhabiting the accommodations subject of this research. The accommodations made available to asylum seekers and refugees are present in a variety of forms. The crisis emergency accommodations are locations which are utilized when incidents, disasters or crises occur. The emergency accommodations are halls and locations for pavilions which can provide accommodation for six to twelve months for about 300 or more asylum seekers. The regular accommodation, or asylum seeker center, is exploited by the “Central Organ Accommodation Asylum Seekers” or COA for a minimum period of two years which can house about 1500 people. Lastly, the accommodation for permit holders is accommodation for the purpose of long-term residency and is secured by municipalities (*Handreiking verhoogde asieliinstroom ten behoeve van het lokaal bestuur en betrokken partners*, 2015). In addition to the previously mentioned distinction, accommodation centers can be distinguished according to the phase of the asylum procedure an asylum seeker is in. According to that distinction there are central reception locations, process accommodation locations, asylum seeker centers, freedom restrictive locations, family locations and locations for asylum seekers who are still minors. In the central reception locations asylum seekers receive housing, access to medical care and support with the preparation of the asylum request, as well as meals. In the process accommodation locations, an asylum

seeker receives legal support, instructions and medical advice, as well as meals. In the asylum seeker centers asylum seekers prepare their own meals, buy groceries themselves and share a kitchen with five to eight other individuals. The freedom restrictive locations houses asylum seekers who cannot remain in the Netherlands. These asylum seekers have to report themselves five days a week and can only leave the location as long as he or she stays within the municipality where the location is situated. In the family location, families with underage children who cannot stay in the Netherlands are housed. Within these locations only the most basic necessities are present but children do receive education and the necessities which are provided at the other locations as well. In the locations for asylum seekers who are still minors, these minors are accommodated in process accommodation locations for a maximum period of three months, in small scale accommodations or in protected accommodations for the purpose of return or integration within the Netherlands. The focus of the research lies on accommodations for a short term, which include the crisis emergency accommodations, the emergency accommodations and the regular accommodations, and on asylum seeker centers and process accommodation locations (COA, 2015).

1.2. Research question

The aim of this research is to better understand how the establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees affects the host country population's threat perception of asylum seekers and refugees. These accommodations have been chosen as a result of their varying establishment success and the differing opinions of the local population surrounding this establishment. This research aims to fulfill the scientific relevance criterion by adding to the existing knowledge on threat perception formation, which has not yet been addressed in the context of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees specifically. In addition, this research aims to fulfill the societal relevance criterion by aiding local governments and other local stakeholders involved in the process of establishing accommodations to be better equipped in handling this establishment without it having negative effects on the perception of asylum seekers and refugees by the local host country population who are faced with accommodations in their direct living vicinity. This awareness can lead to a better understanding between asylum seekers and refugees and the host country population and ultimately stimulate the integration of asylum seekers in their host country in a manner which creates acceptance of asylum seekers and refugees among the host country population.

The research question, and its complementary sub-questions are at the core of research. The aim of this research is to better understand how the process of establishing accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees affects the host country population's perception of asylum seekers and refugees. This understanding is aimed to be achieved on the basis of accounts given primarily by stakeholders such as aldermen, who were involved in the establishment of accommodations from an organizational perspective. However, there were accounts given as well by the chairman of a residents committee and an individual respondent, who have shed light on the perspective of the local population not (entirely) from an organizational per-

spective. To achieve the aim of this research, explanatory research questions have been formulated. To be more specific, the main research question is: “To what extent is the host country population's threat perception of asylum seekers and refugees influenced by the process of establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees in the Netherlands according to stakeholders?” The main research question will be answered as a result of the answering of the following sub-questions:

1. How do the various types of threat perception of asylum seekers and refugees concerning the establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees differ among the local population according to stakeholders?
2. How does the establishment process of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees within the Netherlands differ between various accommodations according to stakeholders?

1.3. Approach of the study and structure of the report

In order to determine the extent to which the process of establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees affects the perception of threat experienced by the local population, the cases of three accommodations have been studied. Of these cases, stakeholders directly involved in the establishment of the accommodations assessed the perception of threat experienced by the local population. Additionally, a cross-sectional research design will be employed in this thesis. On the basis of the theoretical framework, a variety of interview questions on both of the concepts have been formulated and which have consequently been asked to the respondents. The thesis consists of a variety of components and these will be discussed in the following order: In chapter 2, the theory underlying the research and consequently, the research questions, will be elaborated upon. In chapter 3, the methodology through which the empirical research will be conducted will be set out. In chapter 4, the results which have been gathered through the data collection will be discussed. In the same chapter, the results which have been derived will be discussed and analyzed to the extent that they will provide an explanation of the relationship between the phenomena under study. In chapter 5, conclusions will be drawn in reference to the hypothesis deduced from the theory, and the correspondence with the results derived from the empirical research.

2. Theory

In the following section the theory which forms the basis of the research will be set out. For each of the sub-questions the literature which will be used to formulate an answer to the research questions will be discussed. First, the factors which determine perception of threat will be discussed. Second, the process through which accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees can be established will be discussed. Third, these two previously mentioned components will be connected in the shape of an hypothesis which will be formulated and are aimed at forming a preliminary answer to the main research question: “To what extent

is the host country population's threat perception of asylum seekers and refugees influenced by the process of establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees in the Netherlands according to stakeholders?”.

2.1. Perception of threat in general and the local population's threat perception of asylum seekers and refugees in particular

The first sub-question, which is: “How do the various types of threat perception of asylum seekers and refugees concerning the establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees differ among the local population according to stakeholders?”, will be aimed to be answered as a result of the integrated threat theory. Attitudes of citizens of the host country towards immigrants are prevalently characterized by prejudice. Prejudice, in turn, results in hostility and discrimination toward immigrants. Research has suggested that fear and perceptions of threat influence prejudice to a large extent in reference to outgroups in general and immigrants in particular (Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005). A variety of theories approach attitudes towards immigrants from a prejudicial perspective, such as the contact hypothesis, similarity-attraction hypothesis, social identity theory, the stereotype content model, the instrumental model of group conflict and the realistic group conflict theory. This perspective is also the premise of the integrated threat theory (Lee & Fiske, 2006; Van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006). The choice has been made to focus on the integrated threat theory because this theory includes a wide variety of threats which may explain attitudes towards immigrants, whereas the other previously mentioned theories only shed light on a smaller piece of the puzzle. The inclusion of a wide variety of threat theories ensures the perception of threat to be covered as extensively as possible, which increases the reliability of the research. This means that there is overlap with the previously mentioned theories. The integrated threat theory focuses on intergroup attitudes being the consequence of threats (Stephan et al., 2002). In addition, the integrated threat theory adheres to the distinction between ingroups and outgroups in the formation of prejudice, and this distinction is maintained by Allport (1954) as well. Familiarity, attachment and preference for one's ingroups are formed before attitudes toward particular outgroups are formed. In addition, Allport acknowledged that preferential positivity toward ingroups does not necessarily go hand in hand with negativity or hostility toward outgroups. Combinations of attitudes concerning ingroup love and corresponding outgroups are possible, such as mild positivity, indifference, disdain or hatred. Sumner (1906) on the contrary argues against Allport by stating that in addition to the positive feelings toward the ingroup, these positive feelings toward the ingroup do go hand in hand with contempt, hatred and hostility toward outgroups. Most contemporary research implicitly supports Sumner (Brewer, 1999).

According to the integrated threat theory, four fundamental threats exist which determine attitudes towards outgroups in general, and in particular negative attitudes toward immigrants. First, realistic threats are tangible threats which are caused by scarce resources such as economic assets and employment oppor-

tunities. The realistic threat dimension in the case of asylum seeker centers might mean that with the arrival of asylum seekers in their neighborhood, the local population might feel that they would have to compete for employment and economic assets. Second, symbolic threats are differing norms, beliefs and values that are a threat to the worldview of the host country population or “ingroup”. The symbolic threat dimension might entail in the case of asylum seeker centers that the host country population to perceive asylum seekers inhabiting a center in their neighborhood as having differing beliefs. It might also entail the host country population to perceive asylum seekers as having differing values. In one study, the testing of these two types of threat has taken place in a context where students received information about an immigrant group said to pose realistic threats, symbolic threats, both types of threat or no threats to the ingroup. This study resulted in the finding that when the immigrant group caused realistic as well as symbolic threats to the ingroup, then attitudes towards this group were most negative. Third, negative stereotypes are not in the habit of being defined as threats, but negative “outgroup” stereotypes can result in perceptions of threat among the ingroup when they cause negative expectations with regards to the behavior of members of the group that is the subject of stereotyping. In the case of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees, this dimension might mean that the host country population perceives asylum seekers and refugees inhabiting an accommodation in their neighborhood to possess traits which lead to negative expectations of the asylum seekers and refugees. A study into this type of threat presented the immigrant group as having negative traits, positive traits or a combination of the two types of threat. The study showed that negative stereotypes are at the root of a significantly higher degree of negative attitudes toward the immigrant group than the other types of stereotypes. Fourth, intergroup anxiety refers to people experiencing personal threat in intergroup interactions because they fear negative consequences for the self, such as embarrassment, rejection or ridicule. This dimension in the case of accommodations might entail the host country population to experience feelings of personal threat when interacting with inhabitants of the accommodation because they are afraid of feelings of uncomfortability. A study focusing on this type of threat showed that descriptions of groups resulting in high degrees of intergroup anxiety resulted in negative attitudes toward foreign exchange students, and empathy among the respondents for the foreign exchange students diminished these negative attitudes (Stephan et al., 2005; Ward & Masgoret, 2006). The distinction between these four fundamental threats which determine attitudes towards outgroups in general, and in particular negative attitudes toward immigrants harbors an additional underlying distinction, that is, a distinction between threats that are primarily experienced in response to the individual or to the ingroup. In the case of intergroup anxiety it refers to the individual-level process as it refers to the perception of being personally threatened while having contact with individual members of the outgroup. In other cases, this being negative stereotypes and symbolic and realistic threats, it refers to the perception of the ingroup being threatened (Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008). The four types of threat and their corresponding indicators which have been previously discussed can be found in Table 1.

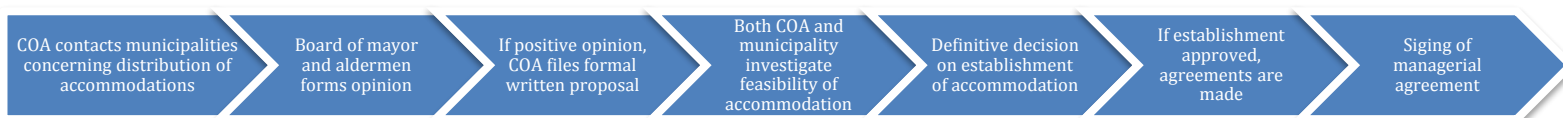
	Types of threats			
Indicators	Realistic threats	Symbolic threats	Negative stereo- types	Intergroup anxie- ty
	Employment op- portunities	Faith	Positive traits	Embarrassment
	Economic assets	Norms and values	Negative traits	Rejection
			Both positive and negative traits	Ridicule

Table 1. The types of threat and their indicators as part of the Integrated Threat Theory

2.2. The establishment process of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees within the Netherlands

The second sub-question, namely “How does the establishment process of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees within the Netherlands differ between various accommodations according to stakeholders?”, touches upon the particularly coordinated endeavor which the establishment process is. The COA carries responsibility for accommodation, support and outplacement of asylum seekers within the Netherlands, as well as ensuring the quality of life and safety within the accommodations. In addition, the COA is responsible for the distribution of accommodations. In doing so, the COA contacts municipalities. The board of mayor and aldermen then forms an opinion on the establishment of an accommodation and if this opinion is positive, the COA subsequently files a formal written proposal. In cooperation with the municipalities the COA conducts an investigation into the feasibility of the accommodation. In this investigation the topics of accessibility, environment, the ownership situation, the potential of the location and capacity are discussed. As a result of this, it will be definitively decided whether the accommodation is established or not. The COA takes into account the technical possibilities of the location and consequently proposes an amount of places of accommodation to the municipality, as well as taking into account the period of availability when proposing an establishment period. If the local situation allows it, the possibility will be discussed if the accommodation can be established for an undetermined period of time. After the municipality approves the establishment, agreements are made concerning the subjects of the place and capacity of the accommodation, the period of establishment, the one-time measures or benefits to enable the establishment, the organization within the accommodation, the implementation of a deliberation committee and education for asylum seekers who are still legally obliged to go to school. When this has been achieved, a managerial agreement is signed. This process of establishing accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees can be found in Graph 1. The municipalities are ultimately responsible for crisis accommodation as well as the housing of permit holders. Municipalities are in charge of the communication surrounding the accommodation of asylum seekers as well. The focus according to the COA in this regard lies on interpersonal communication with citizens in order to make clear whether citizens can only respond, join in on the discussion or actually decide on the establishment of an accommodation. Information letters, information

meetings, or investigations into the public support of citizens can be resorted to in order to address possible concerns of the local population living in the vicinity of accommodations. The focus of the research particularly lies on the involvement of the local population in the decision-making on the establishment of an accommodation and the corresponding communication on the establishment. Additionally, the mayor ensures the maintenance of public order and the relieving task of the police. There is a range of other actors involved with (the establishment of) accommodations. The Safety Region, the National Operational Coordination Center (LOC) and security can act in order to streamline safety processes when safety within the accommodation is endangered. The Minister of Justice, the State Secretary of Justice and the police are in charge of the maintenance of the public and legal order (*Handreiking verhoogde asielinstroom ten behoeve van het lokaal bestuur en betrokken partners*, 2015; COA, 2015)

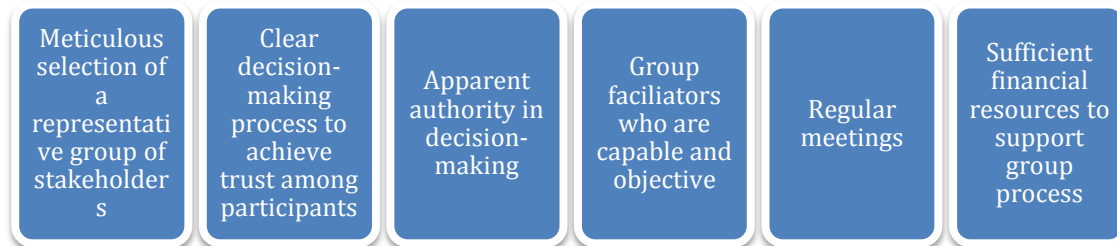


Graph 1. Process of establishing accommodations

However, the establishment of asylum seeker centers as of late has become a particularly laden subject due to the opposition which has been present with the establishment of different asylum seeker centers in the Netherlands. In addition, this would mean that the process through which the asylum seeker centers come to be established has been put under strain as well. The (latent) opposition to the establishment of asylum seeker centers can be regarded as a form of ethnic exclusionism (Lubbers, Coenders, & Schepers, 2006). Ethnic exclusionism is defined as “a multitude of social phenomena related to majorities that try to or set out to exclude minorities”. The ethnic exclusionist social phenomenon of particular interest is resistance to asylum seekers (Coenders, Lubbers, & Schepers, 2004). The opposition to the establishment of asylum seeker centers might exactly be the response of the host country population to their perceived sense of threat, and the various types of threat which have been discussed in the previous section. The establishment of asylum seeker centers in particular is a matter which, like many other matters in which decisions are made by (local) governments which affect citizens, is best realized with the support of those citizens which are affected by this matter. This is where public participation comes into play. Public participation in this sense refers to “the practice of consulting and involving members of the public in the agenda-setting, decision-making, and policy-forming activities of organizations or institutions responsible for policy development” (Rowe & Frewer, 2004). The public participation process is a dimension this specific research fo-

cuses on. More specifically, this research focuses on the degree to which the public is involved in the process. This is an element touched upon by the COA as well, which has previously been discussed. This involvement can firstly entail the public being full and equal partners in the public participation process. It entails dialogue and negotiation taking place between the public and the party initiating the public participation process which can result in a change in opinions of both parties. Secondly, the public can fulfill the role of consultants in the process. In this case, consultation is sought after by the party initiating the public participation process. There is no formal exchange of information between the individual members of the public and the parties initiating the public participation process. The information which has been obtained from the public is believed to be representative of the current opinions on the topic at the center of the public participation process. Thirdly, the public can only receive information in the course of the process and their input in the process is not necessary or sought after (Abelson et al., 2007; Rowe & Frewer, 2005). In various policy sectors, the most important in light of this research being the local government sphere, considerable attention has been paid to public participation processes. As a result of this attention being paid in various fields, there is a variety of perspectives on how public participation can be effective. These perspectives possess overlap, however. According to one such perspective, strategies which contribute to effective participatory practices are the selection of a representative group of stakeholders in a meticulous manner, a clear decision-making process in order to achieve trust among the participants, apparent authority in decision-making, group facilitators who are capable and objective, regular meetings and sufficient financial resources to support the group process during the decision-making process (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004). These components are summarized in Graph 2. This perspective on effective public participation will be at the center of the empirical research as its composition provides a well-rounded and comprehensible approach for determining whether the presence of each of these characteristics has led to the creation of public support among the local population for the decision of the local government to establish an asylum seeker center. Governments have an interest in citizen participation because it is believed to contribute to more democratic and more effective governance. As a result of citizen participation, formulated policies might better incorporate the preferences of citizens, it results in an increased awareness among the public of the hard decisions which government administrators have to make, and the better support from the public might result in citizens being less divisive and combative (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004).

Effective participatory decision-making



Graph 2. Components of effective participatory decision-making

2.3. Hypothesis in relation to the main research question

As a consequence of the previous discussion with regards to the two sub-questions, the hypothesis in response to the main research question of “To what extent is the host country population's threat perception of asylum seekers and refugees influenced by the process of establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees in the Netherlands according to accounts provided by stakeholders?” can be formulated. The host country population, or the local population to be more specific, can perceive realistic threats, symbolic threats, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety towards asylum seekers and refugees to different extents. A perception of these various types of threat might result in a sense of ethnic exclusionism present among the local population, and this, in turn, might lead to opposition against the establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees. It is therefore important that the establishment of asylum seeker centers in particular is a matter which, like many other matters in which decisions are made by (local) governments which affect citizens, is best realized with the support of those citizens which are affected by this matter. The COA is responsible for proposing the establishment of a (type of) accommodation and the conditions within the various accommodations, whereas the municipalities are ultimately responsible for the decision whether to allow the establishment of an accommodation and is accountable to the public in doing so. As there are many municipalities within the Netherlands, each of these municipalities can settle upon a different approach regarding the decision to establish an accommodation or not, as well as how to establish an accommodation. A manner in which local governments can move towards involving and consulting citizens in decision-making amongst others is through public participation and consequently the involvement and consultation in decision-making may contribute to public support for decisions made by local governments. Thus, the hypothesis is: **“if the process of the establishment of an accommodation incorporates public participation in the decision-making processes to a higher extent, it is expected that the local population experiences a lower extent of realistic threats, symbolic threats, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety towards the asylum seekers and refugees inhabiting the nearby accommodations”.**

3. Data

In this section, the manner in which the research has been conducted will be discussed. First, the operationalization underlying the method of data collection will be extensively discussed. Second, the research design will be elaborated upon. Third, the manner in which the data has been collected and from whom the data has been collected will be set out. Fourth, the manner in which the generated data will be analyzed is elaborated upon.

3.1. Operationalization

As has been mentioned in the introduction, there is a minor distinction in the definitions of asylum seekers and refugees. For the purpose of completeness, however, both definitions are maintained throughout the operationalization of the empirical research. In addition, it must also be clarified what is meant with stakeholders, the term which has been used in the research questions. Stakeholders in the context of this study refers to aldermen, a municipal council member, a manager of an asylum seeker center, a project leader of an asylum seeker center, a civil servant, the chairman of a residents committee and an individual resident living in the vicinity of an asylum seeker center. The introductory question, which is question A1, asked the respondents to indicate what they thought of the establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees in the municipality in which the accommodation is located.

3.1.1. Realistic threat dimension

The concept of threat perception of the local population towards asylum seekers and refugees has four dimensions. The first dimension is the realistic threat dimension. The indicator for this dimension is the perception of economic threats experienced by the residents living in the vicinity of an accommodation. The choice has been made to focus exclusively on economic threats, as conflicts between groups and negative group reactions are often the result of a clash of interests originating from a (perceived) competition over scarce resources and the perception that these resources are threatened by outgroups (Velasco González et al., 2008). This indicator is measured through two closed questions: one question on employment opportunities and another on means of existence. One of the questions which has been posed asked the respondent to give an indication of the extent to which he believes that the establishment of the accommodation has resulted in a change in employment opportunities for the local population. The other question asked the respondent to give an indication of the extent to which he believes that the establishment of the accommodation has resulted in a change in the means of existence which the local population has access to. The respondent has been asked to choose between the attributes of decreasing employment opportunities or means of existence, increasing employment opportunities or means of existence or no change in employment opportunities or means of existence, which served as answer categories. The questions also incorporated an “other” answer category, might it be the case that a respondent does not identi-

fy with one of the other answer categories. The two questions in their specific wording can be found in Data Appendices 1 through 5 as questions A2 and A3.

3.1.2. Symbolic threat dimension

The second dimension is the symbolic threat dimension. The indicators for this dimension are perception of faith threats and perception of norms and values regarding worldview threats. These indicators are measured through two closed questions as well, where one question refers to faith threats and the other refers to norms and values threats. The question which has been posed asked the respondent to give an indication of the extent to which he or she believes that the asylum seekers and refugees inhabiting the nearby accommodation have a differing faith and differing norms and values regarding their worldview from the perspective of the local population. In the case of faith threats, the respondent has been asked to choose between the attributes of a differing faith and no differing faith. In the case of norms and values regarding worldview threats, on the other hand, the respondent could choose from the attributes of differing norms and values regarding worldview and no differing norms and values regarding worldview. The questions also incorporated an “other” answer category, might it be the case that a respondent does not identify with one of the other answer categories. For the question concerning the norms and values regarding worldview threats, the respondent was asked to indicate in what sense the norms and values differ when the respondent chooses the answer category of differing norms and values, or chooses the “other” answer category, depending on how the respondent characterizes the situation. The two questions in their specific wording can be found in Data Appendices 1 through 5 as questions A4 and A5.

3.1.3. Negative stereotypes dimension

The third dimension is the negative stereotypes dimension. The indicator for this dimension is the traits possessed by asylum seekers and refugees living in the nearby accommodation and has been measured through one overall closed question consisting of 12 additional questions. The respondent has been asked to what extent he or she believes the inhabitants of the nearby accommodation to possess certain traits from the perspective of the local population. The respondent was asked to indicate if he or she believes that the local population thinks the asylum seekers and refugees possess the attributes of being hard working, intelligent, arrogant, aggressive, modest, athletic, ambitious, trustworthy, sincere, materialistic, loud and clannish. The respondent was asked to indicate the extent to which each of the traits applies to the local population by choosing either entirely not, not, neither no nor yes, yes or entirely yes. The question in its specific wording can be found in Data Appendices 1 through 5 as question A6.

3.1.4. Intergroup anxiety dimension

The fourth dimension is the intergroup anxiety dimension. The indicator for this dimension is the feeling when interacting with asylum seekers and refugees whom the local population did not know. This indicator has been measured through two open-ended questions. The first question asked the respondent to indicate whether the local population has interacted with asylum seekers and refugees. For the cases of one of the asylum seeker centers and the emergency accommodation where there has been nor or limited opposition and which have already been established, this question has been posed in reference to the interaction with asylum seekers living in the nearby accommodation since its inception. For the case of the other asylum seeker center where there was opposition, this question has been posed in reference to the interaction with asylum seekers and refugees in general. The respondent could choose from the answer categories of never, rarely, sometimes, often and very often. The question in its specific wording can be found in Data Appendices 1 through 5 as question A7. Consequently, if the respondent answered question A7 with rarely, sometimes, often or very often, he was asked to indicate whether in this interaction, he believes the local population has experienced the attributes of uncertainty, awkwardness, anxiety, worried, threatened, nervous, comfort, confidence, at ease, trusting, friendly and safe (Aberson & Gaffney, 2008). The question in its specific wording can be found in Data Appendices 1 through 5 as question A8. This question will be formulated differently for the three accommodations as stated before.

3.1.5. The establishment process of accommodations dimension

The concept of the establishment of an accommodation has one dimension. This dimension is the process dimension, which entails the process through which an accommodation has been or will be established. The indicators for this dimension are the involvement of the local population in the decision-making on the establishment of an accommodation and the corresponding communication on the establishment by the individual municipalities in which the accommodation is located. These indicators have been measured through open-ended questions where the amount of questions depends on the answers given by the respondents.

3.1.5.1. Involvement in the decision-making process concerning the establishment of accommodations

The respondents have first been asked to describe the process in which the (decision-making concerning the) establishment of the accommodation has taken place. When respondents who are active in the political field were interviewed they were asked to indicate how the decision-making process occurred from the moment the municipality was approached by the COA to establish the accommodation. When the respondent was interviewed who was working in the asylum seeker center he was asked to indicate how the decision-making process occurred from the moment the COA decided to establish the asylum seeker center. The question in its specific wording can be found in Data Appendix 1 through 5 as question B1. The respondents were also asked to indicate the role in the decision-making process of the local population living

in the vicinity of the accommodation. The respondent could choose between the answer categories of no involvement entirely, reacting to the decision to establish the accommodation or not, participating in the discussion surrounding the establishment of an accommodation and actually deciding on whether the accommodation would be established or not. Additionally, an “Other, namely..” answer category was included in the interview as well. Second, if the respondents answered this question with that the local population could react to the decision to establish the accommodation or not, participate in the discussion surrounding the establishment of an accommodation and actually deciding on whether the accommodation would be established or not, and depending on how the “Other, namely..” answer category was described, they were asked to indicate the extent to which a variety of components was taken into account. These components were whether the selection of a representative group of stakeholders occurred in a meticulous manner, whether a clear decision-making process has occurred and whether this has created trust among the participants, whether the authority in decision-making has been apparent, whether group facilitators are capable and objective, whether regular meetings have occurred and sufficient financial resources to support the group process during the decision-making process were available. Third, the respondents were asked whether the manner in which the local population was involved in the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of an accommodation has contributed to creating public support among the local population for the decision to establish the accommodation. If the respondent answered the question with yes, he was asked to indicate in which manner this involvement in the decision-making process has contributed to the decision-making process. If the respondent answered the question with no, he was asked to indicate why this manner of involvement in the decision-making process has not contributed to creating public support for the decision to establish the accommodation. The questions in their specific wording can be found in Data Appendices 1 through 5 as question B2.

3.1.5.2. Communication on the decision-making process concerning the establishment of accommodations

Lastly, the respondents have been asked to what extent the communication from the municipalities towards the local population in regards to the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of an accommodation has taken place. The question in its specific wording can be found in Data Appendices 1 through 5 as question B3.

3.2. Research design

The aim of this research is to determine the extent to which the process of establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees affects the perception of threat experienced by the local population. In order to determine this, a cross-sectional research design will be employed. A cross-sectional research design collects data at one point in time (Babbie, 2010). As part of this cross-sectional research design, three cases of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees will be focused on. As a result of qualita-

tive research, and more specifically as a result of interviews which will be held with a variety of respondents at one point in time, it has been aimed to reach the purpose of the research.

First, an interview scheme has been developed with a range of open-ended and closed questions relating to on the one hand the concept of threat perception of the local population and on the other hand the concept of the process in which the accommodation has been or is to be established. Second, interviews have been held with the stakeholders involved in the establishment of three most different cases of accommodations. Third, the data gathered as a result of the interviews has been written out to such an extent that only the data of interest to the research will be presented. Fourth, the data has been analyzed on the basis of a systematic comparison of the answers given to the questions relating to the two concepts. For the concept of threat perception, a scheme has been developed according to which the extent to which threat is perceived by the local population can be determined. For the concept of the process of the establishment of accommodations the data has been analyzed by discussing each of the components individually on the basis of the most striking findings. Fifth, on the basis of the systematic comparison, patterns have been aimed to be detected in the results and their (non-)existence will be discussed. Sixth, as a result of the previous step, conclusions have been drawn on the (possible) relationship between the threat perception of the local population and the process of the establishment of accommodations and the extent to which this (possible) relationship is present in order to ultimately accept or reject the hypotheses derived from the theory.

3.3. Data collection

The choice was made to generate new data for this research as there was no data available to the best of the knowledge of the researcher. As previously mentioned, the data has been gathered as a result of interviews. Ideally, citizens living in the vicinity of accommodations would have been interviewed. However, primarily due to time constraints it was recommended to focus on other stakeholders directly involved in the establishment of the accommodations. For the selection of the accommodations, a most different cases design has been applied. Ultimately, three accommodations were selected. Two of the accommodations were asylum seeker centers which varied in the unrest which has accompanied their establishment: the establishment of one of the asylum seeker centers has gone relatively smoothly, whereas the establishment of the other asylum seeker center has led to great unrest. However, in the course of contacting possible respondents it has proven to be difficult to get the respondents who were aimed at being interviewed to respond to the attempts at contact. Therefore, as a result the scope has been expanded by including an emergency accommodation. In addition, this emergency accommodation could prove to be of use as it provided an extra chance to make a comparison between the perception of threat experienced by the local population of an accommodation and the perception of threat experienced by the local population of an emergency accommodation.

Initially, research was done into the specific accommodations in order to determine the stakeholders which could be best interviewed. A range of about ten potential respondents were approached. These stakeholders originated from the political field, stakeholders who are working in the accommodations themselves, neighborhood councils, as well as citizens who organized themselves in response to the establishment of an accommodation. A list was then composed of these stakeholders with the corresponding contact information. These stakeholders were then first approached via e-mail and if necessary also by telephone. For each of the organizations from which the stakeholders originated, a different version of the interview questions was developed. The interviews have been conducted in Dutch. Ultimately, eight respondents were able to be interviewed. These respondents were two aldermen, a civil servant, a municipal council member, the chairman of a residents committee, a project leader involved in the establishment process of an asylum seeker center, an individual citizen and a location director of an asylum seeker center. Unfortunately, representatives from local interest groups such as an action group and neighborhood councils could not be reached or did not respond to my requests for an interview. Despite the fact that one individual citizen involved with one of the accommodations was able to be interviewed, this implies that a well-rounded perspective of opinions and perceptions has not been collected. The respondents were each given a copy of the interview questions for them to be able to read the questions and answer categories as some of the questions were closed. In addition, after the first interview it became clear that two of the questions were more easily answered by asking the respondent to write the answers down, instead of asking the respondent to answer the questions orally. The respondents have been asked questions on each of the dimensions of the two individual concepts. These questions are closed, as well as open-ended. The specific questions which have been posed can be found in Data Appendices 1 through 5. The interviews were conducted face-to-face and at the workplace of the respondents, except for one. The possibility to interview this last respondent presented itself last minute, and therefore the decision was made to send the respondent the questions digitally in advance so she could (shortly) write the answers down, and the details were discussed via telephone. The interviews lasted between half an hour and an hour. The interviews were recorded and consequently have been written out.

3.4. Data analysis method

On the basis of the data which has been gathered as a result of the interviews a comparison will be made between the accommodations where there was no or limited opposition and the accommodation where there was opposition. For these accommodations, the most striking answers by the stakeholders will be discussed as well in order to have a well-rounded perspective on the similarities and differences of the stakeholders involved in the same accommodation. For the concept of threat perception of asylum seekers and refugees by the local population and the concept of the process of establishment of the accommodations a different manner of analysis is maintained. As the concept of threat perception is composed of a

variety of questions which together determine whether threat is perceived by the local population in reference to asylum seekers and refugees, a scheme of analysis has been developed. In this scheme of analysis, it will be determined which answers indicate a perception of threat, and which answers do not. The concept of the process of the establishment of accommodations will in turn be by discussing each of the components individually on the basis of the most striking findings. Lastly, on the basis of the analyses a conclusion will aimed to be drawn on the relationship between the threat perception of asylum seekers and refugees of the local population, and the process in which accommodations are established.

4. Analysis

In this section the data which has been gathered as a result of the interviews will be analyzed. As discussed previously, this will be done differently for each of the two concepts. First, the results with regards to the perception of threat experienced by the local population in reference to asylum seekers and refugees will be analyzed. Second, the results concerning the process of the establishment of the accommodations will be analyzed. Third, the data generated on the two concepts will be combined in order to draw a conclusion on the extent to which the process of the establishment accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees affects the perception of threat experienced by the local population in regards to asylum seekers and refugees.

4.1. The local population's threat perception of asylum seekers and refugees

The respondents answered questions on a variety of elements specific to the threat perception of asylum seekers and refugees: from employment opportunities to the feelings experienced when interacting with asylum seekers and refugees in general and asylum seekers and refugees accommodated in the nearby accommodation. Each respondent was also asked an introductory question on their opinion of the realization of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees. The respondents were quite unanimous in their response: everyone agreed that the accommodation of asylum seekers and refugees is necessary and believe it to be the task of themselves as well as that of the organizations they work at to do their part in housing the asylum seekers and refugees who are arriving in the Netherlands. The individual respondent from the asylum seeker center where there has been opposition on the other hand noted that people in need should be helped, but does not agree with the approach which has been chosen to handle the accommodation of asylum seekers and refugees. The remaining questions will be analyzed by making a comparison on the questions between the locations where opposition was not or limited present and the location where opposition was present. In addition, the questions A2 through A5 will be analyzed according to a scheme of analysis which can be found in Appendix 14. Consequently, an estimation is made of the degree to which threat is perceived by the local population according to the respondents.

4.1.1. Realistic threat dimension

Employment opportunities is a matter which is of relatively mixed concern to the local population according to the interviewed respondents. In the case of the one accommodation where there was no or limited opposition this has not been the concern of the local population, whilst in the case of the other accommodation where there was no or limited opposition some people thought the arrival of the asylum seekers and refugees led to a decrease in employment opportunities, whereas other people perceive it as resulting in an increase in employment opportunities. What is remarkable is that in the sense of employment opportunities, there is hardly any difference between the accommodations where there was opposition and the accommodations where there was no or limited opposition. Two of the respondents involved with the accommodation where there was opposition indicated that employment opportunities were no cause for concern for the local population, while the two other respondents indicated that the local population believed it to lead to a decrease in employment opportunities. The individual respondent stated that the municipality in which the asylum seeker center is located is a poor municipality with relatively high unemployment and if that given is added and combined with the demand, and more job seekers are added, then there will be relatively more unemployed people within the labor force. The respondent also stated that there are already a lot of people who would like to be helped with a job but who are not helped as they do not fit into a certain box as the municipality presents. Thus, it can be concluded that with regards to employment opportunities there is a threat perceived with regards to employment opportunities by the local population whilst simultaneously there is no threat perceived as well.

The access to means of existence of the local population portrays a similar situation to employment opportunities. In this case however the perceptions of threat are more varied among the accommodations where there was and where there was no or limited opposition. Concerning the accommodations where there was no or limited opposition, which were an asylum seeker center and an emergency accommodation, in the first case one respondent indicated that the access to means of existence has not been the concern of the local population, whereas the other respondent indicated that the local population did not perceive the establishment of the asylum seeker center to lead to a change in the access to means of existence. In the case of the emergency accommodation, the respondent indicated that the local population has a mixed opinion in this sense: the person who is worried thinks the accommodation of the asylum seekers and refugees is at the expense of facilities available within the municipality, while another thinks it is fine. In regards to the accommodation, or more specifically the asylum seeker center, where there has been opposition the respondents did not see eye to eye: two of the respondents indicated that the local population perceives there to be no change in access to means of existence, whilst another respondent indicated that the local population perceived there to be a decreasing access to means of existence. Again another respondent indicated that the access to means of existence is of no concern to the local population. The individual respondent indicated that no one would have a problem with asylum seekers and refugees having access to means of existence, meaning primary necessities which form the basis of living. It can conse-

quently be concluded that the perception of threat with regards to the means of existence varies, but the majority of the respondents indicated that the access to means of existence is either of no concern to the local population or the local population does not perceive there to be a change in the access to means of existence.

4.1.2. Symbolic threat dimension

With regards to the faith of the asylum seekers and refugees a less diverse picture is drawn by the respondents. Of the asylum seeker center where there was no or limited opposition, one of the respondents indicated that the local population is not concerned with the matter of faith, whereas the other respondent indicated that the local population perceives the asylum seekers and refugees as having a different faith than the local population. Of the emergency accommodation where there was no or limited opposition, the respondent indicated the local population to believe the asylum seekers and refugees to have a different faith. Three of the respondents of the asylum seeker center where there was opposition indicated that the local population perceive the asylum seekers and refugees to have a different faith than the local population, whereas the other respondent indicated there to be mixed perceptions. One example brought forward by the respondent in response to religion was that it was expressed that some people were afraid that their country would be taken over by Muslims. The individual respondent could not definitively answer whether the asylum seekers and refugees have a different faith than the local population. The respondent does not think that every asylum seeker and refugee is a Christian or Roman-Catholic, for example. The faith of asylum seekers and refugees is not a concern of the respondent, people should decide this for themselves. The majority of the respondents indicated that the local population thinks the asylum seekers and refugees to have a different faith than the local population. Therefore it can be concluded that there is a threat perceived in response to faith.

The perception of norms and values with regards to worldview brings forward a more unified picture among the respondents. There is however a relatively central tendency among the accommodations where there was no or limited opposition and the accommodation where there was major opposition. The respondents, except for one, indicated that the local population believes the asylum seekers and refugees to have different norms and values than the local population. The remaining respondent indicated that there are mixed perceptions: some norms and values are being recognized, while others are not. The manner in which these norms and values differ are answered by most respondents as being in regards to the position of man versus women, but other examples of differing norms and values are the position of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people, the manner in which people dress, for instance with regards to wearing a headscarf, but it is also mentioned that there are differences in reactions to situations, as well as in behavior: men are more macho, asylum seekers and refugees are incited faster and irritated faster. Thus, it can be concluded that there is threat perceived in response to norms and values. The answers which the re-

spondents have given concerning the questions relating to the various types of threat which can be perceived can be found in Table 2.

	Respondent 1	Respondent 2	Respondent 3	Respondent 4	Respondent 5	Respondent 6	Respondent 7	Respondent 8
A2 Employment opportunities	Other, namely a change in employment opportunities have not been expressed by the local population.	Other, namely a change in employment opportunities have not been expressed by the local population.	Other, namely a change in employment opportunities have not been expressed by the local population.	No change in employment opportunities.	Other, namely a change in employment opportunities are of no concern to the local population.	Decreasing employment opportunities.	Other, namely mixed perceptions concerning a change in employment opportunities.	Decreasing employment opportunities.
A3 Means of existence	Other, namely a change in access to means of existence have not been expressed by the local population.	No change in access to means of existence.	No change in access to means of existence.	Decreasing access to means of existence.	Other, namely a change in access to means of existence is of no concern to the local population.	No change in access to means of existence.	Other, namely mixed perceptions concerning a change in access to means of existence.	Other, namely access to means of existence is granted to the asylum seekers and refugees.
A4 Faith	Other, namely the matter of faith has not been expressed by the local population.	Different faith.	Different faith.	Other, namely mixed perceptions on the matter of faith by the local population.	Different faith.	Different faith.	Different faith.	Other, namely the matter of faith could not be definitively answered.
A5 Norms and values with regards to worldview	Different norms and values.	Different norms and values.	Different norms and values.	Different norms and values.	Different norms and values.	Different norms and values.	Other, namely mixed perceptions concerning norms and values.	Different norms and values.

Table 2. Results questions A2 through A5

4.1.3. Negative stereotypes dimension

The assessment of the characteristics which the local population perceives the asylum seekers and refugees to possess is as varied as the analyses of the previous components have shown. All but four of the respondents were able to assess to what extent the local population believes asylum seekers and refugees living in the accommodation nearby to possess a range of traits in the format which has been composed in advance to the interviews. Two of the respondents were however able to discuss the mixed perceptions of the local population in response to these traits independent of the format, and therefore these results will be included in the analysis. What follows now is a discussion of the most striking results. With regards to the positive traits, all of the characteristics which are indicated according to the predetermined format vary from being perceived no to entirely yes. Concerning the asylum seeker center where there was no or lim-

ited opposition, one respondent indicated the local population to perceive the asylum seekers and refugees to possess the traits of being hard working, modest and sincere. This respondent indicated as well that the trait of intelligence is perceived as entirely being possessed by the asylum seekers and refugees according to the local population. The other respondent of this accommodation indicated the local population to perceive the asylum seekers and refugees to possess the trait of being trustworthy. With regards to the asylum seeker center where there was major opposition, one respondent indicated the local population to perceive the asylum seekers and refugees to possess the traits of being modest and ambitious. Another respondent indicated that the local population thinks the asylum seekers and refugees do not possess the traits of hard working, intelligent, modest, ambitious and trustworthy, whereas the local population thinks the traits of being athletic and sincere are possessed neither no nor yes. The other two respondents had a variety of responses to the positive traits. Concerning hard working, a share of the local population has expressed that asylum seekers and refugees come to fill their pockets and do not come here to work hard, while another share expressed that these people do work hard. The other respondent thinks the term "fortune hunter" is more befitting for asylum seekers and refugees. A part of the population says there are fortune hunters among the asylum seekers and refugees, as well as people who have experienced bombings, but the fortune hunters are not welcome and absolutely not hard-working. In general the local population believes the refugees to be real refugees. In reference to being intelligent, it has been expressed that the asylum seekers and refugees are "ill-mannered brutes" but also that the university wants to ensure that they can continue their studies, whilst the other respondent indicates that there are highly skilled, but also low skilled or unskilled asylum seekers and refugees who are accommodated in the asylum seeker center. The trait of being athletic has not been expressed at all according to one respondent, whilst the other respondent states that being athletic has been a point of discussion in the sense that the local population has questioned how many single young men would be present among the asylum seekers and refugees accommodated in the asylum seeker center. This has been a concern of a certain group of people. Being ambitious has been expressed: from being ambitious to being ambitionless. The trait of trustworthiness has been expressed: one says asylum seekers and refugees are completely unreliable, while another says they are really nice people. With regards to sincerity, it has been expressed that some of the asylum seekers and refugees are only coming here for economic reasons, thus it is being questioned if refugees are actual refugees. With regards to the negative traits, all of the traits which are indicated according to the predetermined format vary from not being perceived to being perceived. Concerning the asylum seeker center where there was no or limited opposition, one respondent indicated the local population to perceive the asylum seekers and refugees to not possess the traits of being arrogant, aggressive and loud. This respondent did indicate the local population to perceive the asylum seekers and refugees as being clannish. The other respondent of this accommodation indicated the local population to perceive the asylum seekers and refugees to not possess the trait of being aggressive, but the local population does perceive them as being materialistic and clannish. With regards to the asylum seeker center where there was major opposition,

one respondent indicated the local population to perceive the asylum seekers and refugees to not possess the trait of being arrogant, but the local population does perceive them as being materialistic and clannish. Another respondent assessed that the local population perceives the asylum seekers and refugees as possessing the traits of being arrogant, aggressive and materialistic, whereas the traits of being loud and clannish are possessed neither no nor yes. The two last respondents had in this case as well a variety of responses to the negative traits. The trait of being arrogant has been expressed only once in the experience of one respondent, which has been in reference to the food which the asylum seekers and refugees had been served and this was attributed to arrogance. Another respondent adds the example of arrogance towards women which the local population thinks is present among the asylum seekers and refugees: it is thought that in the culture of the asylum seekers and refugees women are worth nothing and thus arrogance towards women is present. The trait of aggressiveness has been expressed a lot, and according to one of the respondents in reference to the question whether asylum seekers and refugees are traumatized and as a result of this are becoming aggressive. It is a concern to the local population nonetheless. Being materialistic has been expressed as well in both varieties: asylum seekers and refugees are believed to be materialistic, while others do not believe this. The trait of being loud has not been addressed. Concerning being clannish, it has been addressed, although not that explicitly. In light of the previous discussion, it can be concluded that there is no threat perceived on the basis of the traits which the local population perceives asylum seekers and refugees to have as the local population has a relatively positive opinion towards asylum seekers and refugees.

4.1.4. Intergroup anxiety dimension

The extent to which there has been contact between the local population and the asylum seekers and refugees living in the nearby accommodation and asylum seekers and refugees in general varies from rarely to often. In the case of the asylum seeker center where there has been major opposition, the rare contact under scribed by the five respondents which is present between the local population and asylum seekers and refugees in general is logical as it is a known fact that you interact more with people who live closer to you. However, what is striking in this case is that opposition is present, despite the low extent of contact between the local population and the asylum seekers and refugees. One respondent states something important in this sense in that he states that "contact" primarily takes place through what is seen on the television and that this is primarily negative. One respondent from the asylum seeker center where there was no or limited opposition indicates the contact between local population and asylum seekers and refugees living in the asylum seeker center to be often, whereas the other respondent believes this to be sometimes. The respondent from the emergency accommodation indicates this contact to take place sometimes as well.

The extent to which a range of feelings are experienced by the local population when interacting with the asylum seekers and refugees of the nearby accommodation could be assessed by only three of the respondents. Therefore only the results of these three respondents will be analyzed hereafter. In regards to

the positive feelings, the feelings experienced by the local population range from not to yes. Concerning the asylum seeker center where there was no or limited opposition, one of the respondents indicated that the local population does experience the feelings of comfort, confidence, at ease, trusting and friendly. The other respondent stated that the feelings of confidence, trusting and friendly are experienced by the local population. Concerning the negative feelings, the feelings experienced by the local population range from not to yes as well. Regarding the asylum seeker center where there was no or limited opposition, one respondent stated that the local population did not experience the feelings of awkwardness, threatened and nervous, whereas the feelings of uncertainty, anxiety and worry are experienced. The other respondent indicated that the feelings of anxiety and worried are experienced by the local population. With regards to the asylum seeker center where there was major opposition, one respondent indicated neither no nor yes in response to all the feelings which were laid before him. The other respondent, on the other hand, could not indicate to what extent the feelings are experienced by the local population in their contact with the asylum seekers and refugees from the asylum seeker center. As a result of the previous discussion, the extent to which threats are or are not perceived in response to the feelings experienced by the local population in their contact with asylum seekers and refugees could not be definitively determined.

4.2. The establishment process of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees within the Netherlands

In this section the processes which the three accommodations have gone through in the realization of the accommodations will be analyzed. A variety of questions was asked to the respondents on different components of the establishment process.

4.2.1. The establishment process of accommodations dimension

4.2.1.1. Involvement in the decision-making process concerning the establishment of accommodations

The first question asked the respondents to describe the overall process of the realization of the accommodations. These processes will not be discussed in full in this section as this question was posed to determine the most striking differences in the processes between the accommodations where there was no or limited opposition and the accommodation where there was opposition and therefore the analysis will be limited to a discussion of the most striking differences. One of the accommodations where there was no or limited opposition sets itself apart from the other accommodations as it had been established previously and reopened when the influx of refugees had risen extremely. What is noteworthy about this accommodation as well is that the amount of asylum seekers and refugees accommodated there gradually increased. A managerial agreement was composed early on in the process in which the wishes and concerns of the local population were addressed, as well as matters such as communication, safety, organizational expenses and the living environment. There were some obstacles along the way when more asylum seekers and refugees

were placed but of which the municipality heard only afterward but this has been resolved in good order ultimately. The final statement of one of the respondents is the most telling: he says that it is important to make agreements and to have clarity on the tasks and capabilities which stakeholders have as part of these agreements. He adds that this was done to ensure that it would result in a shared approach in which every stakeholder is equally involved: whether it be the COA or the local population. The other accommodation in which there was no or limited opposition differed in many of the respects which have been described before. First and foremost it was different in that it is an emergency accommodation. It was also different that the local population has only been involved in the established at the point where there had already been made a decision on the location and the input of the local population has not been sought before that, whereas this had been the case in the accommodation discussed previously. This indicates that it is not so much the involvement of the local population in the process of establishing an accommodation which plays a role in the opposition which is felt by the local population in response to the establishment of accommodations. However, it might also be the case that the underlying reason is the different duration for which the accommodations are established. The process in which the accommodation in which there has been opposition has been realized up until now indicates a completely different story than the accommodations discussed before. One important development which has determined the course of the process in which the asylum seeker center has been established is the moment when the demand of the COA changed regarding the amount of asylum seekers and refugees which needed to be accommodated: initially this entailed only a few refugees, but with the increased influx of refugees an asylum seeker center for about 600 people was requested by the COA. The local population was asked to come up with possible locations, but when the demand changed almost all of these locations were not suitable anymore as different criteria had to be taken into account which the accommodation must fulfill. The respondents all agreed that this change in demand has not been communicated sufficiently to the outside world. Then the definitive location also leaked before the local population could be informed. One respondent sketched this situation as one of people being distrusting, afraid that the asylum seeker center would be established in their neighborhood, and this would be announced although you are not entirely sure that it will be located in your neighborhood but you know it is likely to be located there and the location is leaked to the public which is in turn denied by the aldermen responsible for matters concerning refugees. One respondent concluded that in this process the issue is that the local population did not think the municipality to be trustworthy. Naturally this is where a democracy is based upon: representatives are elected who should act in the interests of the people it serves and if the people lose trust in their representatives and the situation is already fueled by emotions it is not surprising that it results in volatile situations which the establishment of this asylum seeker center has been accompanied by. This account is largely supported by the individual respondent: she would have rather had a municipal administration who would actually weigh the interests of the local population and which has not simply identified a location and then maintained the motto of "we choose a location, and every location can be made safe" which is what the respondent believes has hap-

pened. The starting point should have been the choosing of a location where people can be accommodated and where there is a minimal burden on the neighborhood. It has become clear from the accounts given by the respondents that it is not so much the developments which have been the source of the issues, but more the manner in which has been dealt with these developments has been the source. In this respect it is where the accommodations with no or limited opposition on the one hand, and the accommodation with opposition on the other hand differ fundamentally.

As has been touched upon briefly in the previous section as well, the local population has been involved in the decision-making process all to a different extent in the three accommodations. The local population of the first accommodation where there was no or limited opposition were involved in the decision-making process to the extent that they could participate in the discussion surrounding the reopening of the asylum seeker center according to the first respondent, and the second respondent added to this that the citizens living in the vicinity of the asylum seeker center and their representative organizations were involved in the decision-making process to the extent that they were informally consulted during the draft of the managerial agreement and their wishes and concerns were addressed in that agreement. In the second accommodation where there was no or limited opposition the local population was entirely not involved in the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the emergency accommodation. The respondents of the accommodation where there was opposition characterized the involvement of the local population in the decision-making process slightly different. Two of the respondents have framed the decision-making process as first that the local population could participate in the discussion on where the asylum seeker center would be located by providing suggestions on possible locations for the asylum seeker center to be located. One of these respondents indicated that the local population could secondly only respond to the decision to establish the asylum seeker center at its current location, while the other respondent indicated that the local population was entirely not involved in the definitive decision on where the asylum seeker center would be located. One of the other respondents also indicated that the local population was not involved in the definitive decision on where the asylum seeker center would be located. This answer is differently framed, but comes down to the same thing: the local population was not involved in the decision on where the asylum seeker center would definitively be established. The individual respondent definitively stated that the local population was entirely not involved in the decision-making process. The municipality did try to involve stakeholders in the realization of the asylum seeker center, but this only concerned utilities according to the individual respondent. Taking into account the remaining respondents, it can be concluded that the local population was not involved in the decision on whether an asylum seeker center would be established or not, they could propose potential locations for the asylum seeker center to be established at, but the decision on the definitive location has been made for them. In addition, three of the respondents indicated that the local population could respond to the decision to establish the asylum seeker center. Thus, it can be concluded that the local population in all the accommodations was not involved in the decision whether or not an accommodation would be established. In some

cases, the local population could however have a say on the conditions of the accommodation such as the location in the case of the accommodation where there was opposition, or could indicate their wishes and concerns which would be taken into account in the case of the asylum seeker center where there was no or limited opposition.

In two of the accommodations where the local population to some degree was involved in the decision-making processes surrounding the establishment some of the respondents have been asked the extent to which a variety of components have been taken into account. These results can be found in Table 3. Both respondents of the accommodation where there was no or limited opposition indicate a similar situation of the decision-making process. According to one of the respondents all of the components were fulfilled, except there is a lack of sufficient financial resources but the other respondent could not confirm this, as well as that he could not indicate whether the facilitators were capable and/or objective. On the other components however the respondent could confirm the assessment of the other respondent. The respondents of the accommodation where there was opposition tell a completely different story. The respondents differed vastly in their assessment of the extent to which the components were taken into account in the decision-making process. It might relate to the different positions which each of the respondents has within the decision-making process. The respondents did agree on that the decision-making process has not created trust among the participants, that meetings surrounding the decision-making process have occurred regularly and that sufficient financial resources were present to support the decision-making process. While two of the respondents indicated that there has been no selection of a group of representatives, one respondent stated that a resident sounding board was formed which everyone who was interested could join and another respondent indicated specifically that it has not occurred in a meticulous manner. What can be derived from these different accounts is that there has been no adequate representation in the decision-making process. In response to the clarity of the decision-making process, two of the respondents definitively indicated the process as not being clear, whereas one other respondent said that the process was partly clear and again another respondent also stated the process to be partly clear. More specifically, this respondent stated that the process was clear internally but it was not clear to the local population. Regarding the authority in the decision-making process, almost all of the respondents agreed that it was not clear to the local population who the authority was within the decision-making process but all the respondents to some extent indicated that within the lawmaking framework it has been clear and properly laid down who the authority in the decision-making process was, which is the municipal board. There are varying opinions on the capability and objectivity of the facilitators for the group who were involved in the decision-making process as well. Concerning capability, two respondents stated the facilitators were capable, one respondent thought they were not, while the last respondent indicated that in some instances they were capable while in others they were not. Concerning objectivity, half of the respondents thought the facilitators were objective, while the other half did not think they were. The previously discussed findings would indicate that a decision-making process which takes into account a meticulous selection of repre-

sentatives, clarity concerning the decision-making process and authority therein especially to the local population, trust, capability, objectivity, and regularity of meetings contributes to mitigating or exacerbating the opposition which is or is not present among the local population in response to the establishment of an accommodation for asylum seekers and refugees.

	No or limited opposition present		Opposition present			
	Respondent 1	Respondent 2	Respondent 3	Respondent 4	Respondent 5	Respondent 6
Meticulous selection of group of representatives	Yes	Yes	No	No selection of group of representatives	No	No selection of group of representatives
Clear decision-making process	Yes	Yes	No	Partly	No	Internally yes, but externally no
Creation of trust among participants as result of decision-making process	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Clear authority within decision-making process	Yes	Yes	Yes, but not to everyone	Yes	No	No
Facilitators were capable	Yes	Could not be assessed	No	Yes	Yes	In some instances yes, in other instances no
Facilitators were objective	Yes	Could not be assessed	Yes	No	Yes	No
Regular meetings surrounding decision-making process	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sufficient financial resources	No	Could not be assessed	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 3. Application of components in decision-making process

The different manners in which the local population has been involved in the decision-making processes of the three accommodations have resulted in different degrees of public support for the decision to establish an accommodation. Concerning the first accommodation where there was no or limited opposition, the informal consultation of the local population during the draft of the managerial agreement and the addressing of their wishes and concerns in that agreement has contributed to creating public support for the decision to reopen the asylum seeker center according to both of the respondents. Regarding the second accommodation, the respondent indicated that some people thought the manner in which they were involved was fine as it showed leadership, and thought asylum seekers and/or refugees should not be left out in the cold, as well as it was expressed by some of the local population that it was fine to do something for the asylum seekers and refugees. Others on the other hand thought it was ridiculous and did not think it had anything to do with democracy. All of the respondents involved in the accommodation where there was opposition agreed that the manners in which the local population was involved in the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center did not contribute to creating support among the local population for the decision to establish the asylum seeker center. It is noteworthy that even in the emergency accommodation (where there was no or limited opposition) there are mixed notions of support which the local population has in response to the establishment of the accommodation, but this has not lead to extreme outings of opposition. This indicates that the majority could find themselves in the decision to establish the emergency accommodation or did not feel so strongly against it and expressing it, whereas in the case of the accommodation where there was opposition this opposition manifested itself extremely.

4.2.1.2. Communication on the decision-making process concerning the establishment of accommodations

The communication to the local population was and is taken care of differently by all the accommodations, but communication has been done in all cases. Both of the respondents of the asylum seeker center where there was no or limited opposition agreed that the communication has been very transparent. One of the respondents also noted that it is clear who is joining in on the process and it is clear what everyone's opinion on the matter is and thus it is very easy to keep everyone informed. In addition, the communication has been done well and all the steps have been communicated. In the case of the other accommodation where there was no or limited opposition the local population was not informed on the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the emergency accommodation, but they were informed afterward when the decision had already been made. Once the decision was made, the municipality had intensive contact with the local population, this being the neighborhood and the residents living in the vicinity of the emergency accommodation. The communication with regards to the asylum seeker center where there was opposition has been done very frequently. Newsletters, house-to-house communication and websites are a few of the examples in which communication to the local population has taken place. However, the information which was communicated was constantly brought into question because administrators constantly

claimed something different and council members fueled the discussion in the wrong manner according to one respondent. The individual respondent on the other hand indicated that the communication surrounding the decision-making process has been when the location of the asylum seeker center was announced in the press.

4.3. The process of establishment of accommodations and the local populations' threat perception of asylum seekers and refugees

In the following section, a concluding analysis will be made taking into account the previously analyzed findings. The first matter which becomes clear from the analysis is that the respondents involved in the same accommodation vary in their answers on the various types of threat which are or are not perceived by the local population. This is not entirely surprising as each respondent has a different experience with the local population, and this is also why the choice has been made to interview differing respondents involved in the same accommodation in order for the analysis and consequent conclusions to be as well-rounded as possible.

The perception of threat has been present among the local population to some extent with regard to the various types in which threat can be present and which the research has focused on, but in a range of respects threat has not been perceived as well. First, with regards to employment opportunities there is a threat perceived with regards to employment opportunities whilst simultaneously there is no threat perceived by the local population as well. Second, the perception of threat with regards to the means of existence varies, but the majority of the respondents indicated that the access to means of existence is either of no concern to the local population or the local population does not perceive there to be a change in the access to means of existence. Third, there is a threat perceived in response to faith. However, it must be mentioned that the individual respondent who was interviewed stated that faith is a matter which is not a concern of the respondent, people should decide this for themselves. Fourth, there is threat perceived in response to norms and values. Fifth, in general, the local population has a relatively positive opinion towards the asylum seekers and refugees living in the accommodations and therefore it can be concluded that there is no threat perceived. There are some negative opinions present among the local population, but this is a relatively small group. Sixth, the rate at which there has been contact between the local population and the asylum seekers and refugees of the accommodation where there has been no or limited opposition ranges between sometimes to often. The contact in general between the local population and asylum seekers and refugees concerning the accommodation where there has been opposition on the other hand has occurred rarely. Seventh, the feelings which the local population have experienced in their contact with asylum seekers and refugees is a type of threat for which a conclusion cannot be drawn concerning whether threat is perceived in this regard or not, as there is no comparison possible between the accommodations where there was no or limited opposition and the accommodation where there was op-

position. This comparison cannot be made because of the fact that the local population in the case of the accommodation with opposition has had such a low rate of contact which made it impossible for the respondents to assess this type of threat. Thus, on the basis of the presence of the threats discussed previously it becomes apparent that symbolic threat, which is threat perceived in relation to faith and norms and values regarding worldview, is most heavily perceived. This is remarkable as it relates to the manner of living which the local population value and not so much actually being able to sustain in life, which is exemplified by the realistic threats such as employment opportunities and means of existence.

The discussion of the various components in relation to the process in which the accommodations have been established which have been studied warrant a variety of conclusions to be made. Strictly taken, none of the accommodations have directly involved the local population in the decision-making on whether the accommodation would be established or not. The local population was on the other hand involved in the consequent steps of the establishment of the accommodations, such as in the drafting of the managerial agreement which specified the conditions under which an accommodation would be established in the case of the asylum seeker center where there was no or limited opposition, and the local population of the asylum seeker center where there was opposition was involved in the choosing of the location of the asylum seeker center. The most important conclusion which can be derived from the analysis on the process of the establishment of the accommodations is that it is not so much the fact that the local population is not or is only marginally involved in the decision-making process, but it is the lack of clarity about the way in which the decision-making process takes place. On the basis of the account given by the individual respondent, the involvement and consultation of the local population in the decision-making process is indeed important, so its effect should not be downplayed. This is where communication on the decision-making process might be of added value: if it is clearly communicated what the extent is to which the local population can be involved in the decision-making process, and the consequent steps taken further in that process, then the local population can follow the process better and this might foster public support for the decision to establish an accommodation for asylum seekers and refugees.

What becomes clear from the perceptions of threat is that independently of the types of threat which are or are not perceived, there is a clear border between perceiving to be threatened and acting on it, and perceiving to be threatened and not acting on it. This border is where opposition manifests itself or does not manifest itself. That is where the process as a result of this study has shown to be a contributing factor. This can be seen most evidently in the accommodation where there has been opposition: there is already uneasiness present among the local population in regards to the establishment of accommodations which is referred to by some of the respondents as the NIMBY effect, and the unclear process in which this establishment has taken place has only exacerbated these feelings, whereas it better could have been used as an opportunity to ease those feelings. To conclude: the perception of threat is present to a certain extent and will remain so if already present, but the process in which the establishment of accommodations takes place can mitigate these perceptions of threat if the process is done in a clear manner, or amplify

these perceptions of threat if the process is lacking and/or if the local population has the feeling that their representatives in the political field are untrustworthy.

5. Conclusion

In the following section conclusions will be drawn on the basis of the findings which have been discussed in the previous section. First, the main research question will be answered as a result of a comparison between the hypothesis which has been formulated in the theory section and the findings which were made as a consequence of the interviews which have been carried out. Second, the practical implications from the research, as well as the strengths and weaknesses of the research will be discussed. Third, recommendations will be made for further research.

5.1. Main research question

The main research question, which at the outset of this research has been determined as being: *“To what extent is the host country population's threat perception of asylum seekers and refugees influenced by the process of establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees in the Netherlands according to stakeholders?”* has been partly answered in the previous section, but for the sake of completeness these findings will be summarized in this conclusion in response to the hypothesis which has been composed in the theory section. As the findings from the interviews show, the local population does experience realistic threats, symbolic threats, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety to different extents. These varieties can be discerned within the accommodations where there was no or limited opposition, but also within the accommodation where there was major opposition. The host country population, or the local population to be more specific, perceive symbolic threats to a higher extent than they perceive realistic threats, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety.

In all the accommodations, the COA has approached the municipalities in which the accommodation is (to be) located with the proposition to establish an accommodation in the concerned municipality. The municipalities indeed have been responsible for the decision on whether to allow the establishment of an accommodation and the public has held the municipality accountable for this decision as well. As has become evident from the interviews, all the municipalities have chosen a different approach in handling the establishment of an accommodation. In doing so, the municipalities have involved the local population at different stages in the decision-making process. They have not necessarily employed strategies of public participation in the strict sense, however. The accommodation where there has been opposition has especially shown that unclear communication on the extent of the involvement in the process of establishment of the accommodations by the local population. In this sense however, public participation has played a role. If public participation is taken as incorporating the public only receiving information in the course of

the process and their input in the process is not necessary or sought after, it is of importance. Thus, in response to the hypothesis, which is: ***“if the process of the establishment of an accommodation incorporates public participation in the decision-making processes to a higher extent, it is expected that the local population experiences a lower extent of realistic threats, symbolic threats, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety towards the asylum seekers and refugees inhabiting the nearby accommodations”*** it can be stated that this hypothesis is not confirmed by the findings from the interviews. In all the accommodations, the public strictly taken has not been involved in the decision-making process on whether an accommodation would be established or not. These decisions have been made entirely by the municipalities, at the initiative of the COA. The public living in the municipalities where the accommodations under study have been established have however been involved in determining the conditions under which the accommodations are established to a more or lesser extent. Therefore this indicates that it is not entirely true that the local population has a lower perception of threat when they are more involved in the decision-making process. In addition, it is mentioned by some of the respondents that the expressions relating to the perception of threat are not motivated by facts but by emotions and this might mean that these perceptions of threat which the local population expresses in response to the establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees serve as legitimization for their opposition which is based on emotion and not so much on actual provable facts.

5.2. Discussion

The study has brought a variety of practical implications to light. The first practical implication being the importance of clear decision-making processes and the role of the public therein. As some of the respondents have indicated: the fears of people in response to the establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees are most likely not able to be taken away in advance. The only hope in this sense, according to the respondents of the accommodation where there has been opposition is when the accommodation is established and only then the people opposing the establishment can be proven wrong. From the interviews of the respondents with the accommodation where there has been opposition it has become clear that they are aware of the importance, but the highly accelerated influx of refugees, as well as the specific characteristics of the neighborhood in which the accommodation is located have played a part as well in the experienced difficulties.

There are some strengths and weaknesses which must be mentioned in the light of this study. A strength of this study is that it provides a direct insight into the process which the establishment of various accommodations have gone through and the considerations which were behind these processes as people were interviewed who were involved in the establishment process from the organizations who are actually responsible for the accommodation of asylum seekers and refugees. The most important weaknesses of this study is the fact that individuals who originated from organizations directly involved in the establish-

ment of the accommodations were primarily interviewed and not the local population itself or representatives from groups directly acting on behalf of the local population. One individual respondent has been interviewed who was involved in the establishing of an accommodation on her personal behalf. As has been explained before, this is due to the time constraints which this study is bound by. In addition, the approachability and willingness of the local population to contribute to this research is a factor which was taken into account as well. Another weakness is that only one of the accommodations under study has experienced opposition from the local population, and this accommodation has not been realized yet. This opposed to the two accommodations which have been under study and who have experienced no or limited opposition. It might mean that the generalization of the findings is limited.

5.3. Recommendations

As this study – to the best of the researcher's knowledge – has been the first to charter into this new found territory by doing research into the effects of processes surrounding the establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees on the perception of threat of the local population and the consequent attitudes of the local population towards these groups, there are some recommendations for further study to be made. The most important recommendation for further study is naturally that the local population are primarily interviewed when conducting research into this or related topics, in addition to the stakeholders directly involved in the organizational aspects of the process. This will provide a better insight as the local population might not have expressed everything regarding their opinions and concerns in response to the establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees. In regards to decision-making processes, this study has only scratched the surface as it has primarily focused on the involvement of the public therein and as a result a deeper insight can be gained by focusing on the processes occurring within the local government spheres. As the effect of decision-making processes is the only (possible) determinant of the perception of threat which has been researched in this study, further study might also benefit from examining the role of determinants such as the location of the accommodation and the consequent composition of the local population for example, as this has come to light as one of the factors which might have an effect as well. Further studies might also profit from including more accommodations as part of the research because it can provide a more well-rounded and varied insight into the perceptions of threat of the local population and the processes underlying their establishment.

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Data Appendices

Appendix 1. Interview questions accommodation 1, municipality

Interview gemeente

Datum:

Organisatie:

Geslacht:

Ik wil u allereerst bedanken voor het feit dat u de tijd kon vinden voor dit interview. Het interview bestaat uit twee delen. Als eerste ga ik u enkele vragen stellen over uw inschatting van het gevoel van bedreiging dat ervaart wordt door de omwonenden van het asielzoekerscentrum. Daarna wil ik u ook graag wat vragen stellen over het proces waarin het asielzoekerscentrum is gerealiseerd. Het gaat bij het beantwoorden van de vragen erom dat u de vragen beantwoordt vanuit uw eigen ervaringen met en inzicht in de realisatie van het asielzoekerscentrum. Ik hoop dat u er geen bezwaar tegen heeft als het interview wordt opgenomen? De antwoorden zullen anoniem worden behandeld. Heeft u voordat we beginnen nog vragen en/of opmerkingen? Mocht u tijdens het interview vragen hebben, dan kunt u die gelijk na de vraag stellen.

A. Vormen van bedreiging

Vraag A1: Wat vindt u in het algemeen van de vestiging van opvanglocaties voor asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen in (gemeente)?

Vraag A2: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de vestiging van het asielzoekerscentrum met de daarbij behorende asielzoekers- en/of vluchtelingenstroom bijdraagt aan een verandering in de arbeidsmogelijkheden van de lokale bevolking? U kunt kiezen uit:

- a. Verminderde arbeidsmogelijkheden
- b. Geen verandering in arbeidsmogelijkheden
- c. Toenemende arbeidsmogelijkheden
- d. Anders, namelijk ...

Vraag A3: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de vestiging van het asielzoekerscentrum met de daarbij behorende asielzoekers- en/of vluchtelingenstroom bijdraagt aan een verandering in de bestaansmiddelen waartoe de lokale bevolking toegang heeft? U kunt kiezen uit:

- a. Verminderde toegang tot bestaansmiddelen
- b. Geen verandering in toegang tot bestaansmiddelen

- c. Toenemende toegang tot bestaansmiddelen
- d. Anders, namelijk ...

Vraag A4: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen woonachtig in het asielzoekerscentrum een verschillend geloof hebben dan de lokale bevolking? U kunt kiezen uit:

- a. Verskillend geloof
- b. Geen verschillend geloof
- c. Anders, namelijk ...

Vraag A5:

- I. In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen woonachtig in het asielzoekerscentrum verschillende normen en waarden hebben met betrekking tot hun wereldbeeld dan de lokale bevolking? U kunt kiezen uit:
 - a. Verskillende normen en waarden
 - b. Geen verschillende normen en waarden
 - c. Anders, namelijk ...
- II. *Wanneer antwoord a (of c) is gekozen: In welk opzicht denkt de lokale bevolking dat deze normen en waarden verschillen?*

Vraag A6: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen woonachtig in het asielzoekerscentrum de volgende karakteristieken hebben? Kunt u dit aangeven op een schaal variërend van: in het geheel niet, niet, noch niet noch wel, wel, zeer zeker wel:

- 1. Hardwerkend
- 2. Intelligent
- 3. Arrogant
- 4. Agressief
- 5. Bescheiden
- 6. Atletisch
- 7. Ambitieuus
- 8. Betrouwbaar
- 9. Oprecht
- 10. Materialistisch
- 11. Luidruchtig
- 12. Op zichzelf zijn

Vraag A7: In hoeverre heeft de lokale bevolking contact gehad met asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen uit het asielzoekerscentrum? U kunt kiezen uit:

1. Nooit
2. Nauwelijks
3. Soms
4. Vaak
5. Zeer vaak

Als de respondent vraag A7 heeft beantwoord met nauwelijks, soms, vaak of zeer vaak.

Vraag A8: In hoeverre heeft de lokale bevolking in dat contact met asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen de volgende gevoelens ervaren. Kunt u dit aangeven op een schaal variërend van in het geheel niet, niet, noch niet noch wel, wel, zeer zeker wel:

1. Onzekerheid
2. Verlegenheid
3. Ongerustheid
4. Bezorgdheid
5. Bedreigd
6. Nerveus
7. Zich comfortabel voelend
8. Zelfverzekerd
9. Op zijn/haar gemak
10. Vertrouwd
11. Vriendelijk
12. Veilig

B. Realisatie van opvanglocaties

Vraag B1: Kunt u stap voor stap het proces van de totstandkoming van het asielzoekerscentrum beschrijven vanaf het moment dat het COA de gemeente benaderde om het asielzoekerscentrum opnieuw in gebruik te nemen?

Vraag B2:

- I. In hoeverre was de lokale bevolking betrokken bij het besluitvormingsproces rond de totstandkoming van het asielzoekerscentrum? U kunt kiezen uit:
 - a. De lokale bevolking was in het geheel niet betrokken bij het besluitvormingsproces rond het opnieuw in gebruik nemen van het asielzoekerscentrum.

- b. De lokale bevolking kon alleen reageren op het besluit om het asielzoekerscentrum opnieuw in gebruik te nemen.
- c. De lokale bevolking kon deelnemen aan de discussie omtrent het opnieuw in gebruik nemen van het asielzoekerscentrum.
- d. De lokale bevolking kon daadwerkelijk beslissen of het asielzoekerscentrum wel of niet opnieuw in gebruik genomen werd.
- e. Anders, namelijk ...

II. *Als de respondent antwoord b, c of d kiest.*

Kunt u daarbij ook aangeven of één van de volgende componenten in acht is genomen:

1. *Heeft de selectie van een groep van vertegenwoordigers op een zorgvuldige manier plaatsgevonden?*
2. *(a) Heeft het besluitvormingsproces op een heldere manier plaatsgevonden?*
(b) Heeft de (heldere) manier waarop het besluitvormingsproces heeft plaatsgevonden vertrouwen onder de deelnemers gecreëerd?
3. *Was het duidelijk wie de autoriteit was binnen het besluitvormingsproces?*
4. *(a) Waren de facilitatoren voor de groep die inspraak had in het besluitvormingsproces bekwaam?*
(b) Waren de facilitatoren voor de groep die inspraak had in het besluitvormingsproces objectief?
5. *Hebben bijeenkomsten rond het besluitvormingsproces regelmatig plaatsgevonden?*
6. *Waren voldoende financiële middelen aanwezig om het groep proces tijdens het besluitvormingsproces te ondersteunen?*

III. *Heeft deze vorm van betrokkenheid bij het besluitvormingsproces bijgedragen aan het creëren van draagvlak onder de lokale bevolking voor de beslissing om het asielzoekerscentrum opnieuw in gebruik te nemen?*

Zo ja, op welke manier heeft deze betrokkenheid bij het besluitvormingsproces daaraan bijgedragen?

Zo nee, waarom heeft deze betrokkenheid bij het besluitvormingsproces daar niet aan bijgedragen?

Vraag B3: In hoeverre wordt en/of werd de lokale bevolking op de hoogte gehouden van het besluitvormingsproces rond het opnieuw in gebruik nemen van het asielzoekerscentrum?

Appendix 2. Interview questions accommodation 1, asylum seeker center

Interview bestuur asielzoekerscentrum

Datum:

Organisatie:

Geslacht:

Ik wil u allereerst bedanken voor het feit dat u de tijd kon vinden voor dit interview. Het interview bestaat uit twee delen. Als eerste ga ik u enkele vragen stellen over uw inschatting van het gevoel van bedreiging dat ervaart wordt door de omwonenden van het asielzoekerscentrum. Daarna wil ik u ook graag wat vragen stellen over het proces waarin het asielzoekerscentrum is gerealiseerd. Het gaat bij het beantwoorden van de vragen erom dat u de vragen beantwoordt vanuit uw eigen ervaringen met en inzicht in de realisatie van het asielzoekerscentrum. Ik hoop dat u er geen bezwaar tegen heeft als het interview wordt opgenomen? De antwoorden zullen anoniem worden behandeld. Heeft u voordat we beginnen nog vragen en/of opmerkingen? Mocht u tijdens het interview vragen hebben, dan kunt u die gelijk na de vraag stellen.

A. Vormen van bedreiging

Vraag A1: Wat vindt u in het algemeen van de vestiging van opvanglocaties voor asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen in (gemeente)?

Vraag A2: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de vestiging van het asielzoekerscentrum met de daarbij behorende asielzoekers- en/of vluchtelingenstroom bijdraagt aan een verandering in de arbeidsmogelijkheden van de lokale bevolking? U kunt kiezen uit:

- a. Verminderde arbeidsmogelijkheden
- b. Geen verandering in arbeidsmogelijkheden
- c. Toenemende arbeidsmogelijkheden
- d. Anders, namelijk ...

Vraag A3: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de vestiging van het asielzoekerscentrum met de daarbij behorende asielzoekers- en/of vluchtelingenstroom bijdraagt aan een verandering in de bestaansmiddelen waartoe de lokale bevolking toegang heeft? U kunt kiezen uit:

- a. Verminderde toegang tot bestaansmiddelen
- b. Geen verandering in toegang tot bestaansmiddelen
- c. Toenemende toegang tot bestaansmiddelen
- d. Anders, namelijk ...

Vraag A4: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen woonachtig in het asielzoekerscentrum een verschillend geloof hebben dan de lokale bevolking? U kunt kiezen uit:

- a. Verskillend geloof
- b. Geen verschillend geloof
- c. Anders, namelijk ...

Vraag A5:

- I. In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen woonachtig in het asielzoekerscentrum verschillende normen en waarden hebben met betrekking tot hun wereldbeeld dan de lokale bevolking? U kunt kiezen uit:
 - a. Verschillende normen en waarden
 - b. Geen verschillende normen en waarden
 - c. Anders, namelijk ...
- II. *Wanneer antwoord a (of c) is gekozen: In welk opzicht denkt de lokale bevolking dat deze normen en waarden verschillen?*

Vraag A6: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen woonachtig in het asielzoekerscentrum de volgende karakteristieken hebben?

1. Hardwerkend

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

2. Intelligent

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

3. Arrogant

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

4. Agressief

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel

- e) zeer zeker wel

5. Bescheiden

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

6. Atletisch

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

7. Ambitieuus

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

8. Betrouwbaar

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

9. Oprecht

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

10. Materialistisch

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel

- e) zeer zeker wel

11. Luidruchtig

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

12. Op zichzelf zijn

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

Vraag A7: In hoeverre heeft de lokale bevolking contact gehad met asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen uit het asielzoekerscentrum? U kunt kiezen uit:

- 1. Nooit
- 2. Nauwelijks
- 3. Soms
- 4. Vaak
- 5. Zeer vaak

Deze vraag hoeft u alleen te beantwoorden als u bij vraag A7 nauwelijks, soms, vaak of zeer vaak heeft geantwoord.

Vraag A8: In hoeverre heeft de lokale bevolking in dat contact met asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen de volgende gevoelens ervaren?

1. Onzekerheid

- a. in het geheel niet
- b. niet
- c. noch niet noch wel
- d. wel
- e. zeer zeker wel

2. Verlegenheid

- a. in het geheel niet
- b. niet
- c. noch niet noch wel

- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

3. *Ongerustheid*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

4. *Bezorgdheid*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

5. *Bedreigd*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

6. *Nerveus*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

7. *Zich comfortabel voelend*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

8. *Zelfverzekerd*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*

- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

9. *Op zijn/haar gemak*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

10. *Vertrouwd*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

11. *Vriendelijk*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

12. *Veilig*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

B. Realisatie van opvanglocaties

Vraag B1: Kunt u stap voor stap het proces van de totstandkoming van het asielzoekerscentrum beschrijven vanaf het moment dat het COA besloot om het asielzoekerscentrum opnieuw in gebruik te nemen?

Vraag B2:

- I. In hoeverre was de lokale bevolking betrokken bij het besluitvormingsproces rond de totstandkoming van het asielzoekerscentrum? U kunt kiezen uit:
 - a. De lokale bevolking was in het geheel niet betrokken bij het besluitvormingsproces rond het opnieuw in gebruik nemen van het asielzoekerscentrum.

- b. De lokale bevolking kon alleen reageren op het besluit om het asielzoekerscentrum opnieuw in gebruik te nemen.
- c. De lokale bevolking kon deelnemen aan de discussie omtrent het opnieuw in gebruik nemen van het asielzoekerscentrum.
- d. De lokale bevolking kon daadwerkelijk beslissen of het asielzoekerscentrum wel of niet opnieuw in gebruik genomen werd.
- e. Anders, namelijk ...

II. Als de respondent antwoord b, c of d kiest.

Kunt u daarbij ook aangeven of één van de volgende componenten in acht is genomen bij de totstandkoming van het asielzoekerscentrum:

- 1. Heeft de selectie van een groep van vertegenwoordigers op een zorgvuldige manier plaatsgevonden?*
- 2. (a) Heeft het besluitvormingsproces op een heldere manier plaatsgevonden?*
(b) Heeft de (heldere) manier waarop het besluitvormingsproces heeft plaatsgevonden vertrouwen onder de deelnemers gecreëerd?
- 3. Was het duidelijk wie de autoriteit was binnen het besluitvormingsproces?*
- 4. (a) Waren de facilitatoren voor de groep die inspraak had in het besluitvormingsproces bekwaam?*
(b) Waren de facilitatoren voor de groep die inspraak had in het besluitvormingsproces objectief?
- 5. Hebben bijeenkomsten rond het besluitvormingsproces regelmatig plaatsgevonden?*
- 6. Waren voldoende financiële middelen aanwezig om het groep proces tijdens het besluitvormingsproces te ondersteunen?*

III. Heeft deze vorm van betrokkenheid bij het besluitvormingsproces bijgedragen aan het creëren van draagvlak voor de beslissing om het asielzoekerscentrum opnieuw in gebruik te nemen onder de lokale bevolking?

Zo ja, op welke manier heeft deze betrokkenheid bij het besluitvormingsproces daaraan bijgedragen?

Zo nee, waarom heeft deze betrokkenheid bij het besluitvormingsproces - naar uw mening - daar niet aan bijgedragen?

Vraag B3: In hoeverre wordt en/of werd de lokale bevolking op de hoogte gehouden van het besluitvormingsproces rond het opnieuw in gebruik nemen van het asielzoekerscentrum?

Appendix 3. Interview questions accommodation 2, municipality

Interview gemeente

Datum:

Organisatie:

Geslacht:

Ik wil u allereerst bedanken voor het feit dat u de tijd kon vinden voor dit interview. Het interview bestaat uit twee delen. Als eerste ga ik u enkele vragen stellen over uw inschatting van het gevoel van bedreiging dat ervaart wordt door de omwonenden van de noodopvang. Daarna wil ik u ook graag wat vragen stellen over het proces waarin de noodopvang is gerealiseerd. Het gaat bij het beantwoorden van de vragen erom dat u de vragen beantwoordt vanuit uw eigen ervaringen met en inzicht in de realisatie van de noodopvang. Ik hoop dat u er geen bezwaar tegen heeft als het interview wordt opgenomen? De antwoorden zullen anoniem worden behandeld. Heeft u voordat we beginnen nog vragen en/of opmerkingen? Mocht u tijdens het interview vragen hebben, dan kunt u die gelijk na de vraag stellen.

A. Vormen van bedreiging

Vraag A1: Wat vindt u in het algemeen van de vestiging van opvanglocaties voor asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen in (gemeente)?

Vraag A2: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de vestiging van de noodopvang met de daarbij behorende asielzoekers- en/of vluchtelingenstroom bijdraagt aan een verandering in de arbeidsmogelijkheden van de lokale bevolking? U kunt kiezen uit:

- a. Verminderde arbeidsmogelijkheden
- b. Geen verandering in arbeidsmogelijkheden
- c. Toenemende arbeidsmogelijkheden
- d. Anders, namelijk ...

Vraag A3: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de vestiging van de noodopvang met de daarbij behorende asielzoekers- en/of vluchtelingenstroom bijdraagt aan een verandering in de bestaansmiddelen waartoe de lokale bevolking toegang heeft? U kunt kiezen uit:

- a. Verminderde toegang tot bestaansmiddelen
- b. Geen verandering in toegang tot bestaansmiddelen
- c. Toenemende toegang tot bestaansmiddelen
- d. Anders, namelijk ...

Vraag A4: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen woonachtig in de noodopvang een verschillend geloof hebben dan de lokale bevolking? U kunt kiezen uit:

- a. Verschuillend geloof

- b. Geen verschillend geloof
- c. Anders, namelijk ...

Vraag A5:

- I. In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen woonachtig in de noodopvang verschillende normen en waarden hebben met betrekking tot hun wereldbeeld dan de lokale bevolking? U kunt kiezen uit:
 - a. Verschillende normen en waarden
 - b. Geen verschillende normen en waarden
 - c. Anders, namelijk ...
- II. *Wanneer antwoord a (of c) is gekozen: In welk opzicht denkt de lokale bevolking dat deze normen en waarden verschillen?*

Vraag A6: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen woonachtig in de noodopvang de volgende karakteristieken hebben?

1. Hardwerkend

- a. in het geheel niet
- b. niet
- c. noch niet noch wel
- d. wel
- e. zeer zeker wel

2. Intelligent

- a. in het geheel niet
- b. niet
- c. noch niet noch wel
- d. wel
- e. zeer zeker wel

3. Arrogant

- a. in het geheel niet
- b. niet
- c. noch niet noch wel
- d. wel
- e. zeer zeker wel

4. Agressief

- a. in het geheel niet

- b. niet
- c. noch niet noch wel
- d. wel
- e. zeer zeker wel

5. Bescheiden

- a. in het geheel niet
- b. niet
- c. noch niet noch wel
- d. wel
- e. zeer zeker wel

6. Atletisch

- a. in het geheel niet
- b. niet
- c. noch niet noch wel
- d. wel
- e. zeer zeker wel

7. Ambitieuus

- a. in het geheel niet
- b. niet
- c. noch niet noch wel
- d. wel
- e. zeer zeker wel

8. Betrouwbaar

- a. in het geheel niet
- b. niet
- c. noch niet noch wel
- d. wel
- e. zeer zeker wel

9. Oprecht

- a. in het geheel niet
- b. niet
- c. noch niet noch wel
- d. wel
- e. zeer zeker wel

10. Materialistisch

- a. in het geheel niet

- b. niet
- c. noch niet noch wel
- d. wel
- e. zeer zeker wel

11. Luidruchtig

- a. in het geheel niet
- b. niet
- c. noch niet noch wel
- d. wel
- e. zeer zeker wel

12. Op zichzelf zijn

- a. in het geheel niet
- b. niet
- c. noch niet noch wel
- d. wel
- e. zeer zeker wel

Vraag A7: In hoeverre heeft de lokale bevolking contact gehad met asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen uit de noodopvang? U kunt kiezen uit:

- 1. Nooit
- 2. Nauwelijks
- 3. Soms
- 4. Vaak
- 5. Zeer vaak

Deze vraag hoeft u alleen te beantwoorden als u bij vraag A7 nauwelijks, soms, vaak of zeer vaak heeft geantwoord.

Vraag A8: In hoeverre heeft de lokale bevolking in dat contact met asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen de volgende gevoelens ervaren?

1. Onzekerheid

- a. in het geheel niet
- b. niet
- c. noch niet noch wel
- d. wel
- e. zeer zeker wel

2. Verlegenheid

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

3. *Ongerustheid*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

4. *Bezorgdheid*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

5. *Bedreigd*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

6. *Nerveus*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

7. *Zich comfortabel voelend*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

8. *Zelfverzekerd*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

9. *Op zijn/haar gemak*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

10. *Vertrouwd*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

11. *Vriendelijk*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

12. *Veilig*

- a. *in het geheel niet*
- b. *niet*
- c. *noch niet noch wel*
- d. *wel*
- e. *zeer zeker wel*

B. Realisatie van opvanglocaties

Vraag B1: Kunt u stap voor stap het proces van de totstandkoming van de noodopvang beschrijven vanaf het moment dat het COA de gemeente benaderde om de noodopvang te realiseren?

Vraag B2:

- I. In hoeverre was de lokale bevolking betrokken bij het besluitvormingsproces rond de totstandkoming van de noodopvang? U kunt kiezen uit:
 - a. De lokale bevolking was in het geheel niet betrokken bij het besluitvormingsproces rond de totstandkoming van de noodopvang.
 - b. De lokale bevolking kon alleen reageren op het besluit om de noodopvang te realiseren.
 - c. De lokale bevolking kon deelnemen aan de discussie omtrent de realisatie van de noodopvang.
 - d. De lokale bevolking kon daadwerkelijk beslissen of de noodopvang wel of niet gerealiseerd werd.
 - e. Anders, namelijk ...

- II. *Als de respondent antwoord b, c of d kiest.*
Kunt u daarbij voor beide gevallen ook aangeven of één van de volgende componenten in acht is genomen:
 1. *Heeft de selectie van een groep van vertegenwoordigers op een zorgvuldige manier plaatsgevonden?*
 2. *(a) Heeft het besluitvormingsproces op een heldere manier plaatsgevonden?*
(b) Heeft de (heldere) manier waarop het besluitvormingsproces heeft plaatsgevonden vertrouwen onder de deelnemers gecreëerd?
 3. *Was het duidelijk wie de autoriteit was binnen het besluitvormingsproces?*
 4. *(a) Waren de facilitatoren voor de groep die inspraak had in het besluitvormingsproces bekwaam?*
(b) Waren de facilitatoren voor de groep die inspraak had in het besluitvormingsproces objectief?
 5. *Hebben bijeenkomsten rond het besluitvormingsproces regelmatig plaatsgevonden?*
 6. *Waren voldoende financiële middelen aanwezig om het groep proces tijdens het besluitvormingsproces te ondersteunen?*

- III. Heeft deze vorm van betrokkenheid bij het besluitvormingsproces bijgedragen aan het creëren van draagvlak voor de beslissing om de noodopvang te realiseren onder de lokale bevolking?
Zo ja, op welke manier heeft deze betrokkenheid bij het besluitvormingsproces daaraan bijgedragen?
Zo nee, waarom heeft deze betrokkenheid bij het besluitvormingsproces daar niet aan bijgedragen?

Vraag B3: In hoeverre wordt en/of werd de lokale bevolking op de hoogte gehouden van het besluitvormingsproces rond de totstandkoming van de noodopvang?

Appendix 4. Interview questions accommodation 3, municipality

Interview gemeente

Datum:

Organisatie:

Geslacht:

Ik wil u allereerst bedanken voor het feit dat u de tijd kon vinden voor dit interview. Het interview bestaat uit twee delen. Als eerste ga ik u enkele vragen stellen over uw inschatting van het gevoel van bedreiging dat ervaart wordt door de omwonenden van het asielzoekerscentrum. Daarna wil ik u ook graag wat vragen stellen over het proces waarin het asielzoekerscentrum is gerealiseerd. Het gaat bij het beantwoorden van de vragen erom dat u de vragen beantwoordt vanuit uw eigen ervaringen met en inzicht in de realisatie van het asielzoekerscentrum. Ik hoop dat u er geen bezwaar tegen heeft als het interview wordt opgenomen? De antwoorden zullen anoniem worden behandeld. Heeft u voordat we beginnen nog vragen en/of opmerkingen? Mocht u tijdens het interview vragen hebben, dan kunt u die gelijk na de vraag stellen.

A. Vormen van bedreiging

Vraag A1: Wat vindt u in het algemeen van de vestiging van opvanglocaties voor asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen in (gemeente)?

Vraag A2: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de vestiging van het asielzoekerscentrum met de daarbij behorende asielzoekers- en/of vluchtelingenstroom bijdraagt aan een verandering in de arbeidsmogelijkheden van de lokale bevolking? U kunt kiezen uit:

- a. Verminderde arbeidsmogelijkheden
- b. Geen verandering in arbeidsmogelijkheden
- c. Toenemende arbeidsmogelijkheden
- d. Anders, namelijk ...

Vraag A3: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de vestiging van het asielzoekerscentrum met de daarbij behorende asielzoekers- en/of vluchtelingenstroom bijdraagt aan een verandering in de bestaansmiddelen waartoe de lokale bevolking toegang heeft? U kunt kiezen uit:

- a. Verminderde toegang tot bestaansmiddelen
- b. Geen verandering in toegang tot bestaansmiddelen
- c. Toenemende toegang tot bestaansmiddelen
- d. Anders, namelijk ...

Vraag A4: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen woonachtig in het asielzoekerscentrum een verschillend geloof hebben dan de lokale bevolking? U kunt kiezen uit:

- a. Verschillend geloof
- b. Geen verschillend geloof
- c. Anders, namelijk ...

Vraag A5:

- I. In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen woonachtig in het asielzoekerscentrum verschillende normen en waarden hebben met betrekking tot hun wereldbeeld dan de lokale bevolking? U kunt kiezen uit:
 - a. Verschillende normen en waarden
 - b. Geen verschillende normen en waarden
 - c. Anders, namelijk ...
- II. *Wanneer antwoord a (of c) is gekozen: In welk opzicht denkt de lokale bevolking dat deze normen en waarden verschillen?*

Vraag A6: In hoeverre denkt de lokale bevolking dat de asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen woonachtig in het asielzoekerscentrum de volgende karakteristieken hebben?

1. Hardwerkend

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

2. Intelligent

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

3. Arrogant

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

4. Agressief

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

5. Bescheiden

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

6. Atletisch

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

7. Ambitieuus

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

8. Betrouwbaar

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

9. Oprecht

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

10. Materialistisch

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

11. Luidruchtig

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

12. Op zichzelf zijn

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

Vraag A7: In hoeverre heeft de lokale bevolking contact gehad met asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen in het algemeen? U kunt kiezen uit:

- 1. Nooit
- 2. Nauwelijks
- 3. Soms
- 4. Vaak
- 5. *Zeer vaak*

Deze vraag hoeft u alleen te beantwoorden als u bij vraag A7 nauwelijks, soms, vaak of zeer vaak heeft geantwoord.

Vraag A8: *In hoeverre heeft de lokale bevolking in dat contact met asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen de volgende gevoelens ervaren?*

1. Onzekerheid

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*

- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

2. *Verlegenheid*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

3. *Ongerustheid*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

4. *Bezorgdheid*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

5. *Bedreigd*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

6. *Nerveus*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

7. *Zich comfortabel voelend*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*

- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

8. *Zelfverzekerd*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

9. *Op zijn/haar gemak*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

10. *Vertrouwd*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

11. *Vriendelijk*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

12. *Veilig*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

B. Realisatie van opvanglocaties

Vraag B1: Kunt u stap voor stap het proces van de totstandkoming van het asielzoekerscentrum beschrijven vanaf het moment dat het COA de gemeente benaderde om het asielzoekerscentrum te realiseren?

Vraag B2:

- I. In hoeverre was de lokale bevolking betrokken bij het besluitvormingsproces rond de totstandkoming van het asielzoekerscentrum? U kunt kiezen uit:
 - a. De lokale bevolking was in het geheel niet betrokken bij het besluitvormingsproces rond de totstandkoming van het asielzoekerscentrum.
 - b. De lokale bevolking kon alleen reageren op het besluit om het asielzoekerscentrum te realiseren.
 - c. De lokale bevolking kon deelnemen aan de discussie omtrent de realisatie van het asielzoekerscentrum.
 - d. De lokale bevolking kon daadwerkelijk beslissen of het asielzoekerscentrum wel of niet gerealiseerd werd.
 - e. Anders, namelijk ...

II. Als de respondent antwoord b, c of d kiest.

Kunt u daarbij ook aangeven of één van de volgende componenten in acht is genomen:

1. *Heeft de selectie van een groep van vertegenwoordigers op een zorgvuldige manier plaatsgevonden?*
2. *(a) Heeft het besluitvormingsproces op een heldere manier plaatsgevonden?*
(b) Heeft de (heldere) manier waarop het besluitvormingsproces heeft plaatsgevonden vertrouwen onder de deelnemers gecreëerd?
3. *Was het duidelijk wie de autoriteit was binnen het besluitvormingsproces?*
4. *(a) Waren de facilitatoren voor de groep die inspraak had in het besluitvormingsproces bekwaam?*
(b) Waren de facilitatoren voor de groep die inspraak had in het besluitvormingsproces objectief?
5. *Hebben bijeenkomsten rond het besluitvormingsproces regelmatig plaatsgevonden?*
6. *Waren voldoende financiële middelen aanwezig om het groep proces tijdens het besluitvormingsproces te ondersteunen?*

- III. Heeft deze vorm van betrokkenheid bij het besluitvormingsproces bijgedragen aan het creëren van draagvlak voor de beslissing om het asielzoekerscentrum te realiseren onder de lokale bevolking?
Zo ja, op welke manier heeft deze betrokkenheid bij het besluitvormingsproces daaraan bijgedragen?
Zo nee, waarom heeft deze betrokkenheid bij het besluitvormingsproces daar niet aan bijgedragen?

Vraag B3: In hoeverre wordt en/of werd de lokale bevolking op de hoogte gehouden van het besluitvormingsproces rond de totstandkoming van het asielzoekerscentrum?

Appendix 5. Interview questions individual respondent

Interview individuele respondent

Datum:

Geslacht:

Ik wil u allereerst bedanken voor het feit dat u de tijd kon vinden voor dit interview. Het interview bestaat uit twee delen. Als eerste ga ik u enkele vragen stellen over uw inschatting van het gevoel van bedreiging dat ervaart wordt door de omwonenden van het asielzoekerscentrum. Daarna wil ik u ook graag wat vragen stellen over het proces waarin het asielzoekerscentrum is en wordt gerealiseerd. Het gaat bij het beantwoorden van de vragen erom dat u de vragen beantwoordt vanuit uw eigen ervaringen met en inzicht in de realisatie van het asielzoekerscentrum. Ik hoop dat u er geen bezwaar tegen heeft als het interview wordt opgenomen? De antwoorden zullen anoniem worden behandeld. Heeft u voordat we beginnen nog vragen en/of opmerkingen? Mocht u tijdens het interview vragen hebben, dan kunt u die gelijk na de vraag stellen.

A. Vormen van bedreiging

Vraag A1: Wat vindt u in het algemeen van de vestiging van opvanglocaties voor asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen in (gemeente)?

Vraag A2: In hoeverre denkt u dat de vestiging van het asielzoekerscentrum met de daarbij behorende asielzoekers- en/of vluchtelingenstroom bijdraagt aan een verandering in de arbeidsmogelijkheden van de lokale bevolking? U kunt kiezen uit:

- a. Verminderde arbeidsmogelijkheden
- b. Geen verandering in arbeidsmogelijkheden
- c. Toenemende arbeidsmogelijkheden
- d. Anders, namelijk ...

Vraag A3: In hoeverre denkt u dat de vestiging van het asielzoekerscentrum met de daarbij behorende asielzoekers- en/of vluchtelingenstroom bijdraagt aan een verandering in de bestaansmiddelen waartoe de lokale bevolking toegang heeft? U kunt kiezen uit:

- a. Verminderde toegang tot bestaansmiddelen
- b. Geen verandering in toegang tot bestaansmiddelen
- c. Toenemende toegang tot bestaansmiddelen
- d. Anders, namelijk ...

Vraag A4: In hoeverre denkt u dat de asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen woonachtig in het asielzoekerscentrum een verschillend geloof hebben dan de lokale bevolking? U kunt kiezen uit:

- a. Verskillend geloof
- b. Geen verschillend geloof
- c. Anders, namelijk ...

Vraag A5:

- I. In hoeverre denkt u dat de asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen woonachtig in het asielzoekerscentrum verschillende normen en waarden hebben met betrekking tot hun wereldbeeld dan de lokale bevolking? U kunt kiezen uit:
 - a. Verschillende normen en waarden
 - b. Geen verschillende normen en waarden
 - c. Anders, namelijk ...
- II. *Wanneer antwoord a (of c) is gekozen: In welk opzicht denkt u dat deze normen en waarden verschillen?*

Vraag A6: In hoeverre denkt u dat de asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen woonachtig in het asielzoekerscentrum de volgende karakteristieken hebben?

1. Hardwerkend

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

2. Intelligent

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

3. Arrogant

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel

- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

4. Agressief

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

5. Bescheiden

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

6. Atletisch

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

7. Ambitieuus

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

8. Betrouwbaar

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

9. Oprecht

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet

- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

10. Materialistisch

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

11. Luidruchtig

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

12. Op zichzelf zijn

- a) in het geheel niet
- b) niet
- c) noch niet noch wel
- d) wel
- e) zeer zeker wel

Vraag A7: In hoeverre heeft u contact gehad met asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen in het algemeen? U kunt kiezen uit:

- 1. Nooit
- 2. Nauwelijks
- 3. Soms
- 4. Vaak
- 5. Zeer vaak

Deze vraag hoeft u alleen te beantwoorden als u bij vraag A7 nauwelijks, soms, vaak of zeer vaak heeft geantwoord.

Vraag A8: In hoeverre heeft u in dat contact met asielzoekers en/of vluchtelingen de volgende gevoelens ervaren?

- 1. Onzekerheid

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

2. *Verlegenheid*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

3. *Ongerustheid*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

4. *Bezorgdheid*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

5. *Bedreigd*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

6. *Nerveus*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

7. *Zich comfortabel voelend*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

8. *Zelfverzekerd*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

9. *Op zijn/haar gemak*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

10. *Vertrouwd*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

11. *Vriendelijk*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*
- e) *zeer zeker wel*

12. *Veilig*

- a) *in het geheel niet*
- b) *niet*
- c) *noch niet noch wel*
- d) *wel*

e) *zeer zeker wel*

B. Realisatie van opvanglocaties

Vraag B1: Kunt u stap voor stap het proces van de totstandkoming van het asielzoekerscentrum beschrijven vanaf het moment dat u ervan op de hoogte was dat er een asielzoekerscentrum op de (locatie) zou worden gevestigd?

Vraag B2:

- I. In hoeverre was u als burger betrokken bij het besluitvormingsproces rond de totstandkoming van het asielzoekerscentrum? U kunt kiezen uit:
 - a. De lokale bevolking was in het geheel niet betrokken bij het besluitvormingsproces rond de totstandkoming van het asielzoekerscentrum.
 - b. De lokale bevolking kon alleen reageren op het besluit om het asielzoekerscentrum te realiseren.
 - c. De lokale bevolking kon deelnemen aan de discussie omtrent de realisatie van het asielzoekerscentrum.
 - d. De lokale bevolking kon daadwerkelijk beslissen of het asielzoekerscentrum wel of niet gerealiseerd werd.
 - e. Anders, namelijk ...

II. *Als de respondent antwoord b, c of d kiest.*

Kunt u daarbij ook aangeven of één van de volgende componenten in acht is genomen:

1. *Heeft de selectie van een groep van vertegenwoordigers op een zorgvuldige manier plaatsgevonden?*
2. (a) *Heeft het besluitvormingsproces op een heldere manier plaatsgevonden?*
(b) *Heeft de (heldere) manier waarop het besluitvormingsproces heeft plaatsgevonden vertrouwen onder de deelnemers gecreëerd?*
3. *Was het duidelijk wie de autoriteit was binnen het besluitvormingsproces?*
4. (a) *Waren de facilitatoren voor de groep die inspraak had in het besluitvormingsproces bekwaam?*
(b) *Waren de facilitatoren voor de groep die inspraak had in het besluitvormingsproces objectief?*
5. *Hebben bijeenkomsten rond het besluitvormingsproces regelmatig plaatsgevonden?*
6. *Waren voldoende financiële middelen aanwezig om het groep proces tijdens het besluitvormingsproces te ondersteunen?*

- III. Vindt u dat deze vorm van betrokkenheid bij het besluitvormingsproces voor u persoonlijk heeft bijgedragen aan het creëren van draagvlak voor de beslissing om het asielzoekerscentrum te realiseren?
- Zo ja, op welke manier heeft deze betrokkenheid bij het besluitvormingsproces daaraan bijgedragen?*
- Zo nee, waarom heeft deze betrokkenheid bij het besluitvormingsproces daar niet aan bijgedragen?*

Vraag B3: In hoeverre wordt en/of werd u op de hoogte gehouden van het besluitvormingsproces rond de totstandkoming van het asielzoekerscentrum?

Appendix 6. Summary interview respondent 1, accommodation 1

A. Perception of threat by the local population

In general, the respondent is in favor of the accommodation of asylum seekers and/or refugees. The municipal council and a large share of the local community believes that the municipality should help in relieving the current issues surrounding refugees. If this leads to the establishment of an asylum seeker center, and the housing of status holders – all to be done in a good manner – then this does not result in issues within society. The respondent, the municipal council, the inhabitants and the contact persons with COA are satisfied with the manner in which the accommodation of refugees has been taken care of and this is also evident in the calmness which is present within the municipality. The respondent believes that if every municipality would have contributed to solving the issues surrounding refugees, then every municipality could have fulfilled their tasks, whereas this presently is not the case. The respondent believes not every municipality contributes equally, and this results in a lack of balance in the tasks of a municipality, and consequently it leads to unrest within society. In addition, there has been opposition to the renewed opening of the asylum seeker center, but this opposition has been primarily built upon feelings and not on argumentation. In response to this opposition, a tour has been taken of the asylum seeker center in order to address the concerns of the people living in the vicinity of the asylum seeker center. Ultimately, together with COA, the municipality has successfully composed the managerial agreement prescribing the conditions of the asylum seeker center.

The extent to which the local population believes the establishment of the asylum seeker center to result in a change in the employment opportunities of the local population has not been the subject of research, and the respondent believes this is a difficult matter to measure. The respondent thinks that opinions in response to this matter vary: one person can believe that refugees take their jobs, while another person may believe that they are employed and will remain that way. However, the local population has not explicitly expressed the perception of this threat. From the point of view of the respondent, the municipality believes that this does not have an influence. Statistics of unemployment show that unemployment is decreasing, thus the arrival of asylum seekers and/or refugees is of minor influence. The statement that the arrival of asylum seekers and/or refugees is of minor influence is also supported by statistics from the

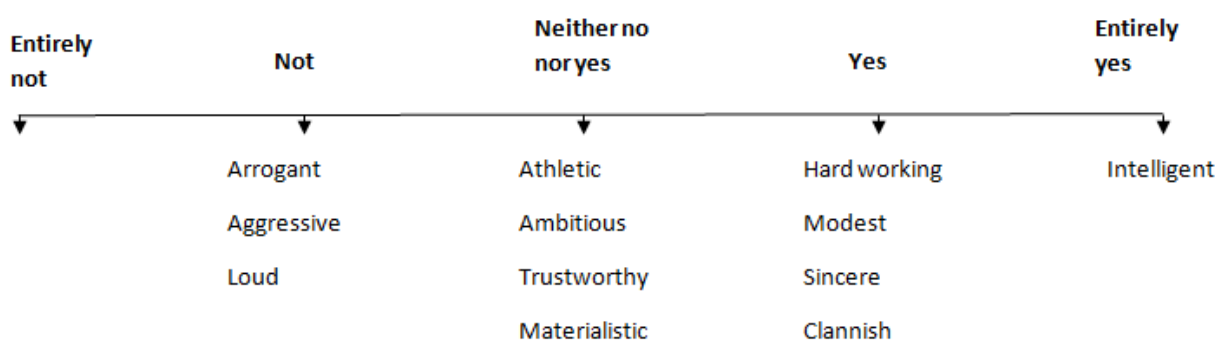
local housing corporation. In the case of the housing of status holders, it has however been expressed that asylum seekers and/or refugees who are a status holder are sooner to receive housing than the local population who has to wait for five years. Thus, it can be concluded that in this case a change in employment opportunities due to the establishment of the asylum seeker center has not been the concern of the local population.

The extent to which the local population believes that the establishment of the asylum seeker center leads to a change in the access to means of existence of the local population could not be definitively answered as this has not been the subject of discussion among the local population.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center have a different faith than the local population is not a matter of interest to the local population. The asylum seeker center is very transparent about the composition of the inhabitants of the asylum seeker center. The inhabitants are presently primarily Syrians. The respondent questions whether the local population is concerned with the question of the faith which the asylum seekers and/or refugees adhere to. The respondent has also not experienced that this concern has been expressed by the local population.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center have different norms and values with regards to their worldview than the local population is answered with different norms and values. There is however longstanding experience with asylum seekers and/or refugees from the 1960s onwards, but this has not led to opposition from the local population. Occasionally things are said and expressed by citizens, but that is as far as it goes. These differing norms and values regarding worldview concern for example a manner in which an asylum seeker or refugee does something in a manner which a citizen from the local community would not do themselves.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center possess a range of traits has been indicated by the respondent on a five-point Likert scale. The answers provided by the respondent varied from not, to entirely yes. The scale is presented below, with each of the traits positioned along the scale.



The extent to which the local population has been into contact with asylum seekers and/or refugees from the asylum seeker center has been indicated by the respondent to be often. Many inhabitants living in the vicinity of the asylum seeker center occasionally see the asylum seekers and/or refugees, but do not have contact with them. There are associations who organize events such as a soccer match and a musical performance. Volunteers also organize activities such as language courses and take care of socio-cultural activities and they have contact very often with the asylum seekers and/or refugees.

The extent to which the local population in their contact with asylum seekers and/or refugees have experienced a range of feelings has been indicated by the respondent on a five-point Likert scale as well. The answers provided by the respondent ranged from not to yes.



B. Process of realization of accommodations

This particular asylum seeker center was closed previously, and the building was already well underway towards being sold. However, the sale eventually did not happen as COA contacted the municipality to reopen the asylum seeker center. Within the normal law and rule making framework, COA could reopen the asylum seeker center and accommodate asylum seekers and/or refugees as they were the owner of the center. However, due to the amount of 370 asylum seekers and/or refugees which ultimately would be housed in an asylum seeker center in a relatively small community, the municipality thought it was wise to compose a managerial agreement between the COA and the municipality. This was done to make sure that matters are well taken care of and to avoid possible issues. A conceptual managerial agreement was composed which addressed the wishes and concerns of the local population. Matters which were addressed in this agreement were communication, safety, organizational expenses and the living environment. In addition, it was also laid down in this agreement that initially the asylum seeker center would house 340 asylum seekers and/or refugees and after one year an evaluation would take place and on the basis of this evaluation the decision would be made whether to increase the amount of asylum seekers and/or refugees to 370.

Eventually, the evaluation took place later than after one year, and it was finished at the beginning of this year. On the basis of this evaluation, as well as on the basis of experience and following up on the agreements which were made in the managerial agreement, it was decided that the last 40 asylum seekers and/or refugees could be housed in the asylum seeker center. Along the way, there were some "hiccups" concerning the placement of asylum seekers and/or refugees in the asylum seeker center. During the summer, unbeknownst to the municipality, some twenty additional asylum seekers and/or refugees were housed in the asylum seeker center which the municipality heard about after the fact. This led to heavy discussions after which this action was undone. Ultimately the municipality and the COA were able to resolve it and have had good communication concerning this matter and despite it, additional asylum seekers and/or refugees were housed which resulted in the maximum amount of asylum seekers and/or refugees to be housed. According to the respondent, it is important to make agreements and to have clarity on the tasks and capabilities which stakeholders have as part of these agreements. This was done to ensure that it would result in a shared approach in which every stakeholder is equally involved: whether it be the COA or the local population. Transparency in this regard is equally as important. In the respondent's opinion this has led to the success of the establishment of the asylum seeker center.

The citizens living in the vicinity of the asylum seeker center and their representative organizations were involved in the decision-making process to the extent that they were informally consulted during the draft of the managerial agreement and their wishes and concerns were addressed in that agreement. The matters of specific concern were the safety of the living environment, and the communication surrounding the asylum seeker center. During the drafting of the managerial agreement, the municipal council was consulted as well. In the case of the citizens living in the municipality at large, the municipality appealed to these citizens to make the asylum seekers and/or refugees feel welcome by motivating them to come up with initiatives that would contribute to this. A large amount of initiatives was ultimately organized and this is presently still done. The managerial agreement is drafted by the COA and the Board of Mayor and Aldermen and is presented to the municipal council and this agreement was consequently discussed within the council. This council meeting is open to the public and the public can participate in this meeting. The municipal board has additionally had the possibility to express their opinions in regard to the asylum seeker center and these opinions were accordingly incorporated in the managerial agreement. The alderman responsible for the dealings surrounding the asylum seeker center has to sign the managerial agreement. The final decision as laid down in the managerial agreement lies with the Board of Mayor and Aldermen. The local population could only take part in the formal decision-making process by making use of their participation right during municipal council meetings. The local population has been well aware that this, as well as the previously mentioned manners of involvement in the process were the ways in which influence could be exerted in the respondent's opinion, as there were no protest marches of any kind. The municipality has communicated this accordingly as well. In advance to the formal decision-making process, the various steps which have been undertaken to involve all the stakeholders in the process of reopening the asylum seeker

center such as involving the local population, their representative organizations and the municipal council in an early stage in the drawing up of the managerial agreement, ensured the decision-making process to have gone smoothly and without opposition from the local population.

Within the decision-making process surrounding the reopening of the asylum seeker center various components which are of importance to the involvement of citizens in decision-making processes were taken into account. The selection of a group of representative stakeholders has occurred in a meticulous manner by the municipality as they have carefully considered who were the stakeholders in this matter. For the municipality these were the asylum seeker center or the COA itself, the citizens living in the direct vicinity of the asylum seeker center as well as the concerning neighborhood council. The decision-making process has occurred in an open and transparent manner. Communication has taken place through the customary channels and with people known within the network of the municipality in order to make sure the communication takes place as fast as possible. Sometimes it is necessary for information to remain confidential for a limited time as long as communication afterwards takes place transparently. It is tried to do this as careful as possible but it remains work done by people so it is not exempt from possible mistakes. The media has also proven to be a difficult factor when managing the influx of asylum seekers and/or refugees in this particular municipality as there was an incident in which the media provided incomplete information to the public which lead to a misunderstanding of the situation regarding the housing of asylum seekers and/or refugees. The clear manner in which the decision-making process has occurred has created trust among the participants. This is done by creating a feeling of shared responsibility, through discussing problems and bottlenecks, open communication, making good agreements and following through on these agreements. It was clear who the authority was within the decision-making process. The facilitators for the group who had a say in the decision-making process were capable. Whether the facilitators were objective is best asked to the participants themselves, but in the respondent's experience this was the case as there were no complaints. The meetings have occurred regularly in the opinion of the respondent as they have occurred once a year and this is regular in his opinion. There were not sufficient financial resources present to support the group process during the decision-making process. The COA had to secure these resources, but did not anticipate them in advance, thus leading them to have to cover the expenses afterward. The burden in this case lay with the COA as they were the initiators of the reopening of the asylum seeker center.

The previously discussed manner in which the local population was involved in the decision-making process surrounding the reopening of the asylum seeker center did contribute to creating support among the local population for the decision to reopen the asylum seeker center. This was achieved as a result of the smooth way in which the reopening has come about with regards to the asylum seeker center in relation to the living environment of the nearby residents of the center, as well as in relation to the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the center being included by the local population in their community.

The municipality is in the opinion of the respondent very transparent in the communication regarding the decision-making process surrounding the reopening of the asylum seeker center. The municipal council meetings are always open to the public. Every Tuesday there is a meeting of the Board of Mayor and Aldermen and communication on municipal matters takes place to direct stakeholders, as well as every Wednesday the municipality has a meeting with the press. The municipality also prides itself with involving concerned parties at an early stage.

Appendix 7. Summary interview respondent 2, accommodation 1

A. Perception of threat by the local population

The respondent in general believes the accommodation of asylum seekers in the municipality to be a good matter. Within this particular asylum seeker center, the definition of asylum seekers is maintained. The respondent agrees with the accommodation of asylum seekers at this specific location. He also believes that the amount of 375 asylum seekers which are presently accommodated within the center is proportional to the population living in the municipality, and it is situated relatively outside of the village.

The extent to which the local population believes the establishment of the asylum seeker center to result in a change in the employment opportunities of the local population is depicted by the respondent as "Other, namely..". The respondent believes that the local community is aware of the fact that people living in the village work in the asylum seeker center in particular and people from the region in general. In that sense, the respondent believes that the local population knows that the asylum seeker center is beneficial to employment opportunities, independently of local businesses which benefit from the presence of the asylum seeker center. The respondent does not believe the local population to perceive that the asylum seekers living in this particular asylum seeker center are working in places where the local population otherwise could have worked. If this were the case however, then the local population would perceive this to be true in response to asylum seekers in general, but not in response to the asylum seekers living in the asylum seeker center.

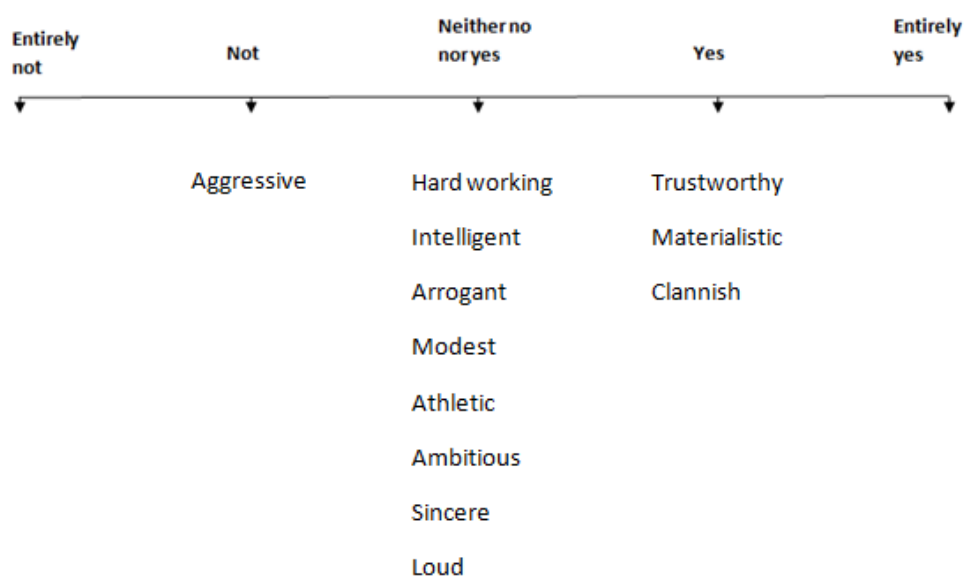
In response to the question regarding the extent to which the local population believes that the establishment of the asylum seeker center leads to a change in the means of existence of the local population, the respondent answered that the local population does not believe there to be a change in the access to means of existence. The respondent notes that the asylum seeker center had been in use previously, before it was put out of use. Common concerns which arise among the local population are with regards to the provision of education, the manner in which to deal with children, whether these children will be in class with local children and the extent to which local children would receive attention in school. But in practice these matters have already been resolved by the COA and the municipality. With regards to having contact with asylum seekers through membership in sports associations, standing in the queue in the supermarket, et cetera: the local population is aware of their presence, but it will not lead to exclusion of the access to

means of existence by the local population. The respondent believes the response of the local population to be accommodating.

According to the respondent, almost the entire local population believes the asylum seekers living in the asylum seeker center to have a different faith than the local population. The highest share of asylum seekers living in the asylum seeker center are Muslim and this is also perceived by the local population, but there are also asylum seekers who do not adhere to any faith and asylum seekers who adhere to other faiths.

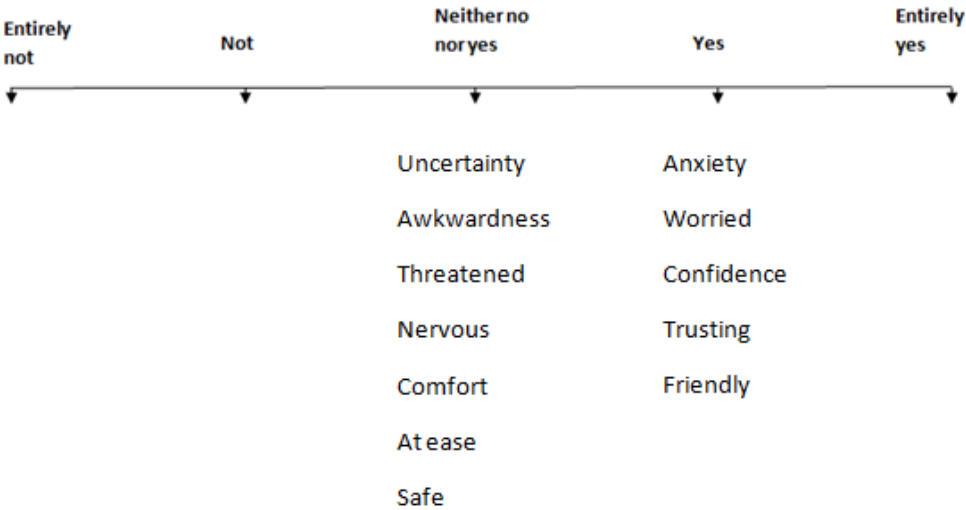
The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers living in the asylum seeker center have different norms and values with regards to their worldview than the local population is answered with different norms and values. This has to do with the fact that the asylum seekers come from different cultures and thus also have different norms and values and consequently have a different worldview. But when you ask people what they notice in practice from these different norms and values, then everyone would say that in practice it is not noticed. The respondent notes that this relates to an idea which people have, and is not related to any actual experience with asylum seekers behaving differently. The manner in which these norms and values differ relates to the relationship between Muslims and Christians, the position of men and women and the position of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people for example. According to the respondent, norms and values also refer to rules existent within Dutch society.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers living in the asylum seeker center possess a range of traits has been indicated by the respondent on a five-point Likert scale. The answers provided by the respondent varied from not to yes. The scale is presented below, with each of the traits positioned along the scale.



The extent to which the local population has been into contact with asylum seekers and/or refugees from the asylum seeker center has been indicated by the respondent to be sometimes for the average inhabitant of the village. The asylum seeker center organizes a "coffee morning" where everyone who wants to can come by and drink a cup of coffee. The asylum seeker center is involved in manifestations, cultural performances et cetera, so if one wishes to, there can be contact with the asylum seekers. In addition, there is also the contact which can take place whilst going to the shops.

The extent to which the local population in their contact with asylum seekers and/or refugees have experienced a range of feelings has been indicated by the respondent on a five-point Likert scale as well. The answers provided by the respondent ranged from neither no nor yes, to yes.



B. Process of realization of accommodations

The respondent personally brought the existence of the asylum seeker under the attention of the management of the COA as it was still the property of the COA and the destination plan indicated it to be used for an asylum seeker center and the property could not be sold to a different party. In light of this, and the increasing influx of refugees, the respondent proposed to reopen the asylum seeker center. After some time had passed, discussions were held with the board of mayor and aldermen of the concerned municipality. The board of mayor and aldermen consequently deliberates with the municipal council and the inhabitants living in the vicinity of the asylum seeker center. Meanwhile, discussions take place concerning permits, renovations and capacity of the asylum seeker center. With regards to capacity, this meant that initially 300 asylum seekers were accommodated, after two months this amount increased to 340, and after one year this amount increased once more, to 375 asylum seekers. This is basically what the managerial agreement entails. The managerial agreement was signed later in the year, in February more specifically. These matters, which the COA has to communicate to the outside world, have then been safeguarded. Internally, however, this means that personnel has to be recruited, and the personnel from which location they are recruited must be replaced, a network must be secured and contact has to be sought: everything has to be

built up from scratch and ultimately this has been managed well. The respondent additionally notes that this is the opposite of another asylum seeker center which the respondent is setting up: for this asylum seeker center the respondent has been trying to set it up for half a year but has not managed to find residents willing to contribute, and the respondent has approached the municipality and organizations for half a year as well, but it has not been managed to get the asylum seeker center off the ground. In the case of this particular asylum seeker center, however, where there already was experience with an asylum seeker center, the respondent received the key of the property and he was told that he could begin and then he began.

The local population was involved in the decision-making process to the extent that they could participate in the discussion surrounding the reopening of the asylum seeker center. The respondent denoted this to be a question of conscience because it was about which message the Board of Mayor and Aldermen would convey to their constituency. The respondent believes that it was clear that considerable pressure arose on the asylum seeker centers, that it was still the property of the COA and unsellable, that the destination plan still indicated the property was meant to be an asylum seeker center and the Board of Mayor and Aldermen also saw that saying no was not an option but that they did talk with the neighborhood about the conditions under which the asylum seeker center would be established. These conditions entailed the capacity of the asylum seekers which would be accommodated and that for example the street lanterns placed on the road leading to the asylum seeker center were partly financed by the COA. Thus, the local population could not contribute to the discussion on whether the asylum seeker center would be reopened or not, but they could contribute to the discussion on the conditions under which the asylum seeker center would be reopened. A safety plan has been made, an evaluation was planned; some prerequisites could be discussed. The shape in which this took place was that the information has been retrieved from the local population themselves in that they were asked what they wanted. Consequently, the questions from the board of mayor and aldermen have been combined with the information retrieved from the local population. After that, negotiations with the COA are to take place, with regards to for example the street lanterns where it is discussed who is to pay for it. In the end it is about money, as well as safety.

Within the decision-making process surrounding the reopening of the asylum seeker center various components which are of importance to the involvement of citizens in decision-making processes were taken into account. The selection of a group of representative stakeholders has occurred in a meticulous manner by the Board of Mayor and Aldermen as the known residents living in the vicinity of the asylum seeker center have been approached as well as the neighborhood council. The respondent believes this has been done properly. As the asylum seeker center is located within a small community, it is not a problem if people who do not feel heard join in on the discussion surrounding the reopening of the asylum seeker center. The respondent believes that the decision-making process has occurred in a clear manner. He does note that it is hard to know because the local population would have rather hoped that around 100 or 200 asylum seekers would be accommodated in the asylum seeker center, but the municipal management also

understands that a certain amount of beds needs to be present within the asylum seeker center in order to be able to cover all the costs coming with the asylum seeker center. The respondent notes that the local population would think that the reopening of the asylum seeker center has been predetermined, which could result in the local population feeling that they can talk, but without any effect. On the other hand, if you look at what has been achieved with regards to street lanterns, capacity and a safety plan, then the local population has had their concerns taken into account. The clear manner in which the decision-making process has occurred has created trust among the participants. The respondent notes that it is not possible to completely remove the fear or distrust surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center, but the clear manner in which the asylum seeker center has been reopened did contribute to the feeling of distrust to be mitigated. It was clear who the authority was within the decision-making process, which was the Board of Mayor and Aldermen. The respondent could not assess whether the facilitators for the group who had a say in the decision-making process were capable, as this was the primary concern of the municipality. Whether the facilitators were objective could also not be determined by the respondent. The meetings have occurred regularly in the opinion of the respondent. In October or November 2014 the municipality has worked with great effort together with the residents living in the vicinity of the asylum seeker center towards the reopening of the asylum seeker center. The municipality has completely taken control of the decision-making process; the presence of the COA was not required and the respondent thinks it was a good decision as it was a conversation which the municipality should have with its citizens. The respondent could not assess whether sufficient financial resources were present to support the group process during the decision-making process, but he believes that the municipality has dealt with it properly.

Whether the previously discussed manners in which the local population was involved in the decision-making process surrounding the reopening of the asylum seeker center contributed to creating support among the local population for the decision to reopen the asylum seeker center was a hard question for the respondent to answer. However, he does believe that in this case it has contributed to creating public support among the local population. The decision-making process has occurred in an open and transparent manner, people have been able to voice their opinions and they have gotten everything out of it which they could. The fact however remained that the asylum seeker center was to be reopened which is something which was already clear to the local population from the outset. The respondent noticed that when such a conversation is planned, some people hope when their opinions are heard that on the basis of this conversation it is decided to not follow through on the decision to reopen the asylum seeker center. The respondent notes that the decision on whether or not an asylum seeker center is established of a certain capacity is definitively made and this is something the Dutch population should not be involved in. Instead, the respondent believes it is better to talk with citizens about the decision which has been made, and discuss what the wishes are and make sure these wishes are taken into account. In summary, the discussion should be about the conditions under which the asylum seeker center is established and enable citizens to voice their opinions, but it should be very clear what the situation is.

The communication surrounding the decision-making process of the reopening of the asylum seeker center is quite simple. The communication has been relatively transparent, it is clear who is joining in on the process and it is clear what everyone's opinion on the matter is and thus it is very easy to keep everyone informed. In addition, the communication has been done well and all the steps have been communicated. In this village it is the case that if you have a question, the alderman can be contacted directly by phone for example. This is an advantage as opposed to a larger city, where an asylum seeker center is also to be established, but there it is considerably harder as people are not involved in the entire process and throughout the entire city it is hard to communicate fully and uniformly. The respondent also notes that social media in the case of the asylum seeker center under study has played a considerably smaller role in transparency and communicating about the process than in the larger city. Social media has proven to be of considerable importance in these kinds of discussions.

Appendix 8. Summary interview respondent 3, accommodation 2

A. Perception of threat by the local population

In general, the respondent believes that the municipality has a certain responsibility, especially as a society. On some things the municipality can exert influence, but not on others. The municipality does not have influence on the situation in the world. The municipality can however have influence on how to handle the influx in a humane manner once the people are here. In that sense, the municipality believes to have a societal responsibility to do one's bit.

The extent to which the local population believes the establishment of the emergency accommodation to result in a change in the employment opportunities of the local population was hard for the respondent to answer. The respondent has a very nuanced view. Some people see it as being excluded: they are taking our jobs, for example. Simultaneously, other people on the contrary, believe jobs are created as a result of the arrival of asylum seekers and/or refugees; entrepreneurs could come for example. The respondent notes that the largest economic growth has been the result of a growth in population. In the experience of the respondent, there is no central tendency in this perception among the local population.

In response to the question regarding the extent to which the local population believes that the establishment of the emergency accommodation leads to a change in the access to means of existence of the local population, the respondent answered that it once again depends on who of the local population you ask. In response to the establishment of the emergency accommodation a residents meeting was organized to give space to people who were upset, worried or enthusiastic. Therefore it is a nuanced view, the person who is worried thinks the accommodation of the asylum seekers and/or refugees is at the expense of our facilities, while another thinks it is fine. The primary reaction of opposing people is that the asylum seekers and/or refugees take away jobs and houses. In practice this on the contrary turns out to be different.

According to the respondent, the entire local population is convinced the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the emergency accommodation have a different faith than the local population. On the other hand, within the municipality there is a relatively considerable Turkish community of which a large share originally has a Muslim background. Thus, if these people were to be asked, then they would say that the asylum seekers and/or refugees would have the same faith. When it is about the autochthonous population - this term must be used carefully since some of the Turkish guest workers belong to the autochthonous population as well - it is a different story. Once again, it depends on who you ask. However, it has not explicitly been expressed by the local population that faith has been of concern. It is more the fear and concern for criminality or nuisance, because the asylum seekers and/or refugees were more men travelling by themselves which is present among the local population, and faith not so much.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the emergency accommodation have different norms and values with regards to their worldview than the local population is answered that the answer varies depending on who you ask. Some norms and values are being recognized, while others are not. For example, when your parents come from Turkey norms and values from a person from Syria will be recognized. If you would ask people who have lived in the Netherlands their entire life as well as their ancestors, then they would think that the norms and values of asylum seekers and/or refugees are different than theirs. These differences in norms and values would then refer to the manner of clothing and customs for example: more norms and values in general.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the emergency accommodation possess a range of traits could not be answered by the respondent. The motivation for the respondent behind this was that the local population was too diverse in their feelings towards asylum seekers and/or refugees.

The extent to which the local population has been into contact with asylum seekers and/or refugees from the emergency accommodation has been indicated by the respondent to be sometimes. This contact can take place when the local population does volunteer work within the emergency accommodation, contact happening within the educational environment and activities which are happening for example. In general, this contact is going quite well. The emergency accommodation itself organized many activities as well, and there have been a number of people willing to become volunteers.

The extent to which the local population in their contact with asylum seekers and/or refugees have experienced a range of feelings could not be indicated by the respondent as well. The motivation for the respondent behind this was also that the local population was too diverse in their feelings towards asylum seekers and/or refugees.

B. Process of realization of accommodations

As part of the Safety Region, in which this municipality has a place, it was agreed that the municipality was one of the municipalities united that would contribute. Consequently it was also stated that it was not de-

sirable to facilitate accommodation for a period of 72 hours to asylum seekers and/or refugees. Therefore it was decided that emergency accommodation would be established. Consequently, a list of possible locations where the emergency accommodation could be located was composed. On the basis of that list, a selection of locations was made. These locations were then discussed with the Board of Mayor and Aldermen and on the basis of this discussion the board of mayor and aldermen has made a decision and a location has been offered to the COA. The COA was then the one to negotiate with the owner of the location which has been selected for the emergency accommodation to be established. Thus, the municipality has made a decision on the location of the emergency accommodation. After this decision was made, a residents meeting was organized. The respondent does note that the situation is different, because we are talking about an emergency accommodation which would only exist for one to two years maximum.

The citizens living in the vicinity of the asylum seeker center and their representative organizations were entirely not involved in the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the emergency accommodation. The decision was already made when the local population was informed. This meeting which was organized with the local population was only to inform them of the decision, and for the local population to be able to express their opinions and concerns. Some of the local population applauded the municipality for showing leadership, while others expressed their concerns by saying it was ridiculous, this was not what democracy is about, this is a decision over the heads of the local population and some people questioned how the municipality could do such a thing.

Whether the previously discussed manner in which the local population was involved in the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the emergency accommodation contributed to creating support among the local population for the decision to establish the emergency accommodation was a hard question for the respondent to answer. As stated before, some people thought it was fine as it showed leadership, and thought asylum seekers and refugees should not be left out in the cold, as well as it was expressed by some of the local population that it was fine to do something for the asylum seekers and/or refugees. Others on the other hand thought it was ridiculous and did not think it had anything to do with democracy. Thus, whether the manner in which the local population was involved in the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the emergency accommodation contributed to creating support among the local population for the decision to establish the emergency accommodation is answered by the respondent as having resulted in this for some people, while others thought it did not.

The local population was not informed about the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the emergency accommodation, but they were informed afterwards when the decision had already been made. Once the decision was made, the municipality had intensive contact with the local population, this being the neighborhood and the residents living in the vicinity of the emergency accommodation. This has resulted in an almost fully reached satisfaction among those involved. The local population was given the opportunity to be a part of the residents committee, where also the municipality as well as the COA had a place. Consequently, when concerns arose they could be shared in this committee and

accordingly something was undertaken in response to these concerns or nothing was undertaken. This committee functions well and to this day continues to exist and convenes regularly. The meetings become less frequent as there remains less and less to discuss. In the beginning, a newsletter has been distributed as well.

Concluding, the respondent believes the reason that the situation surrounding the establishment of the emergency accommodation is the way it is, is because of the fact that there is now intensive contact. Another reason is that the municipality historically has had a certain degree of tolerance. But, there remain people who do not share this tolerance. Thus, it is and remains a nuanced view in the case of this municipality, and it remains changeable. Simultaneously, there are a lot of people who think it goes well and that accommodation must be secured. The core is that space must be given to any emotion which exists, people who are concerned, upset and who think it is of great value should be taken seriously. The craft is to ensure this.

Appendix 9. Summary interview respondent 4, accommodation 3

A. Perception of threat by the local population

In general, the respondent regards the accommodation of asylum seekers and/or refugees to be necessary. Through the centuries, this particular city has continuously accommodated people originating from war-torn areas. However, the process in which the asylum seeker center is to be established has been very difficult.

The extent to which the local population believes the establishment of the asylum seeker center to result in a change in the employment opportunities of the local population is depicted by the respondent as "Other, namely..". The respondent notes that only status holders are in the position to search for work; everyone who lives in the asylum seeker center is still in the process of (possibly) becoming a status holder and thus cannot carry out paid work and therefore the local population cannot experience a sense of being excluded. At one point there however is the agreement that asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the emergency accommodation which is located in the same city as the asylum seeker center, are to move to the asylum seeker center. Asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center and becoming a status holder, in turn, are to be housed in the same city in order to allow them to become better acquainted with the city and to better integrate. For these status holders there could be exclusion at the bottom with regards to employment opportunities. The respondent has the sense that the lower employed groups of asylum seekers and/or refugees are arriving in the Netherlands. The perception of exclusion with regards to employment opportunities is not a theme present among the local population according to the respondent. The main theme among the local population is safety in the experience of the respondent. The neighborhood in which the asylum seeker center is located is a socially vulnerable neighborhood, and this is where most of the protests originated from, as well as from an action group named "Demonstrators against municipalities". In addition, the neighborhood in which the asylum seeker center is located is a so-called

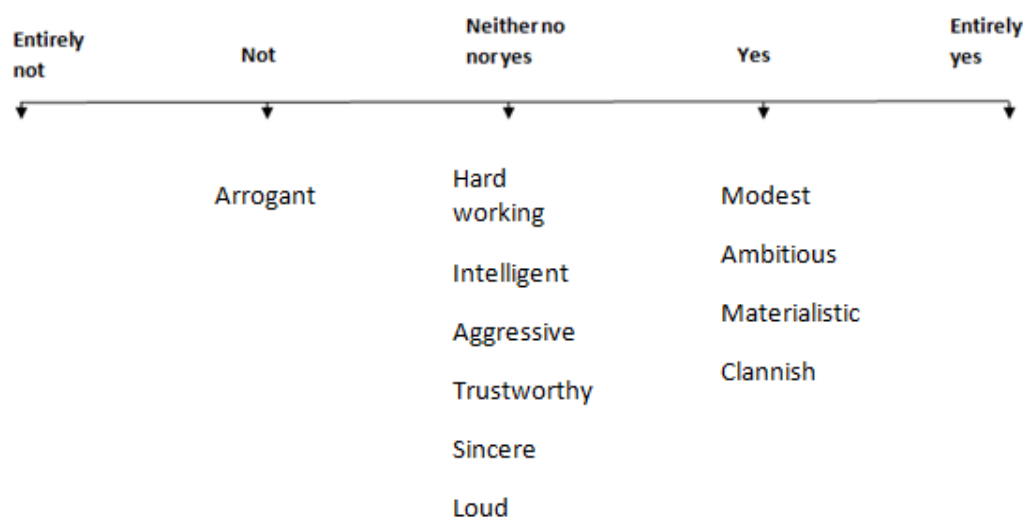
"Vinex neighborhood" and nearby a village is located as well. It has proven to be very difficult to form a well-functioning residents committee in which all the parties can voice their opinions, which has been the wish of the Board of Mayor and Aldermen. The residents committee has come together several times, but each time this has led to unrest during the meetings and no consensus could be reached which ultimately led this committee to be discontinued. A new residents committee has been formed which is led by a neutral person, who has also been alderman of the municipality.

In response to the question regarding the extent to which the local population believes that the establishment of the asylum seeker center leads to a change in the access to means of existence of the local population, the respondent answered that the local population does not believe there to be a change in the access to means of existence. The respondent notes that the people already working and the people entitled to benefits can maintain their positions.

The local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center have a different faith than the local population according to the respondent. A large share of the asylum seekers and/or refugees are from a Muslim background, but there are also people with a Suryoye or Christian-Turkish background.

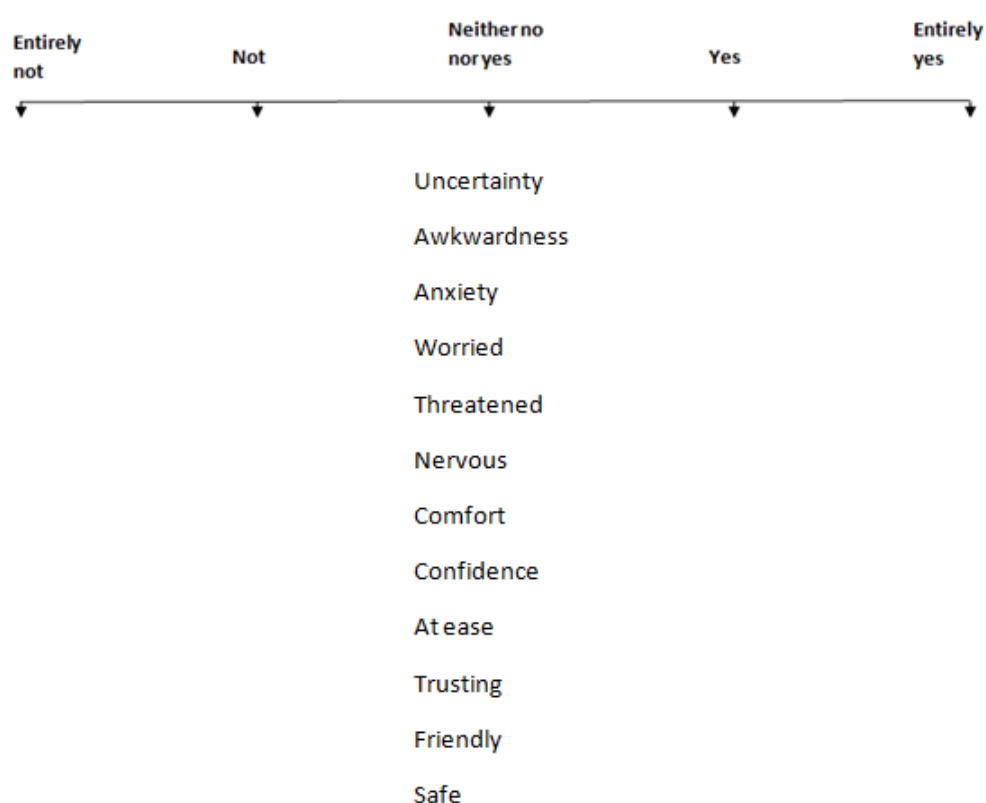
The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center have different norms and values with regards to their worldview than the local population is answered with different norms and values. According to the respondent, this is a concern for the local population. These norms and values differ with regards to the position of man and woman: women are subordinate, which is not something that fits our norms and values. In addition, our views in response to homosexuality are not accepted in the view of asylum seekers and/or refugees.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center possess a range of traits has been indicated by the respondent on a five-point Likert scale. The answers provided by the respondent varied from not to yes. It must be noted, however, that the respondent chose not to provide an assessment of the trait of being athletic. Therefore, this characteristic is not included in the figure below.



The extent to which the local population has been into contact with asylum seekers and/or refugees in general has been indicated by the respondent to be rarely. This because of the fact that the asylum seeker center has yet to be opened. There are some status holders living in the municipality who have been recognized as asylum seeker and it is likely that they have made contact with neighbors. Additionally there is a large group of people living in the municipality who have a Suryoye background and who have immigrated to the municipality previously and have been cared for by family already living in the municipality. This group more easily integrates into society as a result of the presence of their family.

The extent to which the local population in their contact with asylum seekers and/or refugees have experienced a range of feelings has been indicated by the respondent on a five-point Likert scale as well. The answers provided by the respondent all were assessed with neither no nor yes.



B. Process of realization of accommodations

The first step of the process of the establishment of the asylum seeker center was when the municipality was talking with the COA, and the COA approached the municipality, it was said that society would be involved in the process of searching for locations for the asylum seeker center. An appeal was made to the local population to come up with suggestions for possible locations as it was decided that the municipality would also contribute to the accommodation of asylum seekers and/or refugees. About 60 locations were suggested by the local population, these locations for example were vacant buildings, pieces of land and the airport which is not in use. For a while there were no developments after these suggestions for locations had been collected. It was then said that no multiple potential locations would be determined as it would lead to unrest. At the time an interim mayor was in charge who previously has been a member of the board of directors of the COA so he was familiar with the process. The respondent believes this interim mayor then had a hand in deciding that only one location would be presented when the decision has been made, and then the residents living in the vicinity of the asylum seeker center were to be informed and the municipal council would be informed as well about which criteria had to be followed during the selection of a location. The respondent noted that it only became clear later on that there were criteria, such as that it could not be high-rise buildings, the location had to be available for at least 10 years, a certain amount of hectares of land which had to be available. If these criteria were known in advance, then of the 60 suggestions for locations, only about 3 or 4 locations would remain which would be eligible. This was confidentially communicated to the municipal council and a few civil servants knew about it as well. The following day this would also be communicated to the residents living in the vicinity of the planned location that the choice had been made to establish the asylum seeker center at that location. However, the press was already in possession of this information before the residents could be informed. The residents were very upset because they had to find out from the press. Thus, the communication track did not go well. A strategy was developed according to which people could be informed. Immediately that same evening, meetings were organized but the unrest was already present by then. What followed were a procession of a few hundred people to the city hall and pig heads were placed at the site of the asylum seeker center was to be established. According to the respondent this response can be explained by the manner in which the process took place. The respondent believes it would have been better to create clarity on the locations which would be taken into consideration, the criteria which would be used to assess the possible locations and then on the basis of the locations which remained deliberations should have taken place on which location is best suited. The respondent believes that the local population would also not be happy then, but at least they could follow the process and then the decision would not be that sudden. Because the process had been at a standstill for a long period of time and then the decision was made suddenly, it has led to much opposition and protests. The respondent does note in addition that most people living in the city think an asylum seeker center should be established, as do the factions. The preparations are still underway, but recently it has come to light that the COA have maintained the wrong measurements in the application

process of the asylum seeker center which means that adjustments have to be made for the planning application. According to the respondent, the local population should in particular have been more involved in regards to the location at which the asylum seeker center was to be established. The municipal council was also not involved in this process.

The citizens living in the vicinity of the asylum seeker center and their representative organizations were involved in the decision-making process to the extent that they could participate in the discussion on where the asylum seeker center would be located by providing suggestions on possible locations where the asylum seeker center could be located. However, the local population was entirely not involved in the definitive decision on where the asylum seeker center would be located.

Within the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center some of the components which are of importance to the involvement of citizens in decision-making processes have been taken into account. Whether the selection of a group of representative stakeholders has occurred in a meticulous manner, the respondent answered that a resident sounding board has been formed whose selection was based on the criterion that everyone who was interested could join. There were people who joined this sounding board who were adamantly against the establishment of the asylum seeker center, even stating that they wanted to burn the building down once it had been built. People who were willing to positively contribute by becoming a volunteer or helping the asylum seekers and/or refugees in general, also joined this sounding board. However, these two groups could not effectively work together in this sounding board which led to a lot of frustration. The respondent believes that the decision-making process has not occurred in a clear manner. The respondent refers to the decision-making process as being a "black box". Eventually, there was an explanation on why the decision-making process was unclear, and the respondent believes the municipality had the right argument for doing so and he thinks it is the right place for the asylum seeker center to be established. The municipal council has spoken out against the accommodation of asylum seekers and/or refugees on the outskirts of the city because they would be far away from facilities and integration is made impossible. The current location, on the contrary, would be a good fit as it fits the view of the municipal council of the conditions which the location must fulfill. Therefore as a result, this unclear manner in which the decision-making process has occurred has not created trust among the participants. The respondent also believes that this unclear manner has been the cause of the unrest which is present among the local population. On the other hand, if everything had been done openly, the criteria for the location would have been discussed and people would have voted, a certain location would be the outcome as well and there is always a sense of NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) present among the local population. At one point, the municipality must proceed and a choice has to be made. The respondent and his political party have said that the feelings of the local population must be listened to as people on the one hand are afraid of the unknown, maybe feel threatened and once that process is not done properly, it goes wrong. However, if the way in which it works is explained to people and people are involved in determining what the accommodation looks like and what its conditions are, it can be beneficial.

This does not mean that nothing will happen there. The mayor has even said that if there are structural safety problems at the asylum seeker center, then it will cease to exist. The neighborhood in which the asylum seeker center is to be located now also faces problems related to drugs for example. There are incidents which occur at accommodations for asylum seekers and/or refugees, but it is no different than those occurring in society at large. It was clear who the authority was within the decision-making process, which was the board of mayor and aldermen and the COA. This has been explicitly clear as well. The Board of Mayor and Aldermen acted with the knowledge that they had the mandate of the municipal council to establish accommodation for asylum seekers and/or refugees, that they were responsible for the implementation and consequently this was to be undertaken in cooperation with the COA. Previously, the facilitators for the group who had a say in the decision-making process, and who in this case were organized in the resident sounding board did not manage to reach efficient communication and therefore were not capable. They were objective, but due to the opposition between the people in favor and against the establishment it did not lead to efficient communication. The COA chaired these meetings initially, but soon the local population did not have faith in their objectivity. Another attempt will be made to organize such a group as well, and the respondent has faith that the capability and objectivity will be better. The meetings have occurred regularly in the opinion of the respondent. Meetings were held when there was something which was worth communicating, which in practice came down to a meeting every three months. The respondent was of the opinion that sufficient financial resources were present to support the group process during the decision-making process.

The previously discussed manners in which the local population was involved in the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center did not contribute to creating support among the local population for the decision to establish the asylum seeker center. These manners have not contributed because of the fact that there was no real involvement of the local population in the decision-making process.

The communication surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center has been done regularly through newsletters, walk-in meetings and the borough meetings which is open for everyone to attend. At the first borough meeting six security guards and the police were present because of the threatening situation which has arisen surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center. The aldermen directly involved in the establishment process who lives in the neighborhood where the asylum seeker center is to be established even received threats at this personal address.

Appendix 10. Summary interview respondent 5, accommodation 3

A. Perception of threat by the local population

In general, the respondent believes it is logical that accommodations for asylum seekers and/or refugees are realized. A city of this size, one per cent of the Dutch population lives in this city, can also solve one per cent of the problem. If more can be done, then this also should be done according to the respondent.

The extent to which the local population believes the establishment of the asylum seeker center to result in a change in the employment opportunities of the local population is denoted by the respondent as no change in employment opportunities. If you would add 16 000 people to the city without any perspective on economic growth, then it would go wrong. However, if these numbers are more like what the city now is confronted with, which is about 400 people a year, the respondent thinks this amount is neglectable. The effects cannot be found concerning housing, for example. Ultimately, when you look at the entire issue nationally, then one should be more selective of where the asylum seekers and/or refugees are to be embedded into society. The fact is that the city shrinks and there will be a different working population, so the respondent raises the question that the asylum seekers and refugees might be helpful in alleviating the issue in this respect. The local population has referred to a decrease in employment opportunities for the local population. The respondent on the other hand believes this to be an abstract concept, as well as a vague argument as it cannot be known. If one is against something, every argument will be used to support that statement according to the respondent.

The extent to which the local population believes that the establishment of the asylum seeker center leads to a change in the access to means of existence of the local population can be denoted as a decrease in the access to the means of existence which the local population has. However, the respondent remarks that there is no truth to these claims. The respondent on the other hand notes that there has been a meeting in which some of the local population requested a high fence to be put around a school. The respondent then asks himself what this is all about, and he is of the opinion that this is illusionary safety and admitting to the fears of parents. The local population has also spoken about a wave of raping men who are present within the neighborhood. The respondent has an understanding of the fear of citizens, which entail a fear of the unknown and fear for a disruption of the living environment, but opposite of this, there is a large amount of professionalism present in knowing how to deal with these matters and a good Safety Plan deals with this adequately as well. If the risks are really known, then in practice they are not as worse as is expected. The respondent however remarks that it does not help if he says that: if people think there is danger, then there is danger, and only the actual establishment of the asylum seeker center can help therein. He points out that once the accommodations are established, no one hears about it anymore, and when these accommodations do not exist anymore then people are upset that they do not exist anymore as it has an economic effect.

The municipality has agreed with the local population that the quality of life will not be compromised and ideally for the quality of life to be improved. If this is the goal, then an asylum seeker center can be embedded without it having any effects on the environment and it only has physical consequences and this is what the respondent expects to happen. The emotion is different however and which is something which

cannot be explained. The respondent thinks the government should be much more open about the choices they make. The process of the establishment of the asylum seeker center has taken too much time, and is still taking too much time. The organization has not been good, the wrong choices have been made in regards to the moments at which communication took place, opposing advices have been given, the COA who has been completely taken off guard by the scale of the influx of asylum seekers and/or refugees, not being able to correct, and the quality of people are some of the ways in which the establishment of the asylum seeker center has not gone smoothly.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center have a different faith than the local population is a mix: some people believe the asylum seekers and/or refugees to have a different faith while others do not. The local population believes the asylum seekers and/or refugees to be Muslim, and as such it was expressed for example in this context that the local population was afraid that their country would be taken over. The respondent also notes that certain leaders are followed, the "Geert Wilders types of this world", who speak fear and damnation so to say.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center have different norms and values with regards to their worldview than the local population is answered with different norms and values. This is one of the most important components according to the respondent. There are factually different norms and values. It is more about how far you are mutually willing to accept that there are different norms and values. These norms and values differ with regards to the position of man and woman and the manner in which people dress for instance with regards to wearing a headscarf. The respondent notes that the fact that asylum seekers and/or refugees have different norms and values is confusing, but it does not mean that these are to be adopted in the host country and he thinks that government should be clearer about this. As a result, these differences are made use of.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center possess a range of traits could not be determined by the respondent for the local population in its entirety. Therefore, the choice has been made to discuss the traits one for one and the respondent indicated the extent to which the traits are present, but not by using the five point Likert scale. Concerning hard working, a share of the local population has expressed that asylum seekers and/or refugees come to fill their pockets and not to work hard, while another share expressed that these people do work hard. In reference to being intelligent, it has been expressed that the asylum seekers and/or refugees are "ill-mannered brutes" but also that the university wants to ensure that they can continue their studies. In practice, the asylum seekers and/or refugees accommodated are a resemblance of society. The trait of being arrogant has been expressed only once, which has been in reference to the food which the asylum seekers and/or refugees had been served and this was attributed to arrogance. The trait of aggressiveness has been expressed a lot. Being modest has been expressed, and the opposite as well. The trait of being athletic has not been expressed at all. Being ambitious has been expressed: from being ambitious to being

ambitionless. The trait of trustworthiness has been expressed: one says asylum seekers and/or refugees are completely unreliable, while another says they are really nice people. With regards to sincerity, it has been expressed that some of the asylum seekers and/or refugees are only coming here for economic reasons, thus it is being questioned if refugees are sincerely refugees. Being materialistic has been expressed as well in both varieties: asylum seekers and/or refugees are believed to be materialistic, while others do not believe this. The trait of being loud has not been addressed. Concerning being clannish, it has been addressed, although not that explicitly, by the local population as in this city there is a large amount of Syrian-Orthodox people and as these people are more clannish, this trait is also attributed to the asylum seekers and/or refugees.

The extent to which the local population has been into contact with asylum seekers and/or refugees in general has been indicated by the respondent to be rarely. "Contact" primarily takes place through what is seen on the television, insofar as can be spoken of contact of course. This is primarily negative.

The extent to which the local population in their contact with asylum seekers and/or refugees have experienced a range of feelings could not be indicated by the respondent as there is hardly any contact of the local population with asylum seekers and/or refugees in general.

B. Process of realization of accommodations

The process of the establishment of the asylum seeker center begun two years ago. First, the municipality was asked whether they could accommodate refugees and whether this could be accomplished in existing buildings, but the establishment of an asylum seeker center was not under discussion. The municipality started a search for possible locations. During that search, the demand and supply changed, as more places were requested and also an asylum seeker center was necessary because the process of flowing through was delayed because the demand has increased. The respondent is of the opinion that in that process, the moment in which the demand changed has not been sufficiently marked. This has been done in the political "bell jar" but not in the world surrounding it. That was also one of the conclusions which the complaints commissioner has concluded, that this should have been done better and the respondent agrees with this. The respondent questions whether this is the real cause, but people thought they were to be involved in an active process of finding a location where the asylum seeker center would be located. But it is a kind of government thinking about participation which in practice does not exist. There is actually a list of criteria which a location has to fulfill and if a location fulfills these criteria they are on a list. First, buildings were selected but the asylum seeker center could not be located in these buildings as they did not fulfill the criteria. The most important thing is that ultimately one location remained but many things needed to be negotiated and the respondent thinks that it should have been communicated then, but this has not been done. Currently, the asylum seeker center has not been established, but according to the respondent it has everything to do with the increased demand for building materials of which the accommodations are to be built, which increases the price of these materials, and the laws which are in place have made realization

difficult as well. You see with the realization the emotions with which this realization is accompanied, but concerns are never substantively addressed, only concerning the process and the communication. The respondent thinks the asylum seeker center will ultimately be realized. A managerial agreement is already in place, the only thing that needs to be done is the implementation. Recently there has been a delay again and it has hardly led to commotion. There is a good residents committee in place, with an independent chairman. The realization is taking place further away from the government and the roles have become much more clearer. Strategically it could have been done better. It could have been done better by being much more open about the steps which have been and are to be taken. The reason the process surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center has been done in this manner, is because the interim-mayor had the experience as a result of his involvement in the establishment in another city that when you announce three locations there is to be a hassle within these three locations and this played an important role in the decision to not bring it forward. But there was no question of three locations, there was only the question of one location. In the negotiations it was about completely different things than the choice of location as there were all kinds of things from the past which had to be sorted out. According to the respondent, at that point it should have been said what the location was to be, but this was not done. He also notes that when there is a majority in the decision-making process then you have to comply with this.

The local population was involved in the decision-making process to the extent that they could only respond to the decision to realize the asylum seeker center. Citizens are in principal always involved in the decision-making process as they are represented by a municipal council. The local population has however not been involved in that the current location would be the location where the asylum seeker center would definitively be established. The choice has been laid before the citizens.

Within the decision-making process surrounding the reopening of the asylum seeker center some of the components which are of importance to the involvement of citizens in decision-making processes have been taken into account. The selection of a group of representatives has not occurred at all. The decision-making process has occurred partly in a clear manner, so not entirely. It should have been done more clearly and sooner. The not entirely clear manner in which the decision-making process has taken place has not created trust among the participants, it has actually created the opposite, which is distrust. It was clear who the authority was within the decision-making process. It is laid down in the law: the municipal council is the highest organ in the city, but not everyone was aware of this. The facilitators for the group who had a say in the decision-making process were capable. The facilitators for the group who had a say in the decision-making process were not objective. The meetings have occurred regularly in the opinion of the respondent, the respondent even indicates that there were endlessly many meetings, for instance listening evenings and discussion sessions. There were more than sufficient financial resources present to support the group process during the decision-making process.

The previously discussed manner in which the local population was involved in the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center did entirely not contribute to creating

support among the local population for the decision to establish the asylum seeker center. The reasons for which this involvement has not lead to public support is because the local population entirely did not agree with the establishment of the asylum seeker center and felt ambushed by the choice. What is complicated is that this public support has to be earned after the fact.

The communication surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center has been done has been done extremely often. Newsletters, house-to-house communication and websites are a few of the examples in which communication to the local population has taken place. This has been done properly according to the respondent, and this has increasingly been acknowledged as well. The respondent remarks that people also want to hear when there is no news. Some people are so involved in the process, that they would rather hear when there is no news.

Appendix 11. Summary interview respondent 6, accommodation 3

A. Perception of threat by the local population

In response to the opinion in regards to the establishment of accommodations for asylum seekers and refugees, the respondent acknowledges that there is an enormous problem and it is a problem of us all, and thus also of this city and its inhabitants.

The respondent characterizes the extent to which the local population believes the accommodation of asylum seekers and/or refugees in the asylum seeker center to lead to a change in employment opportunities for the local population as of no concern to the local population as an argument. The respondent thinks a distinction should be made between emotions and facts. The respondent thinks in this stage a refugee is not able to participate in the labor market, maybe for lowly and unskilled labor. Some effort will need to be put towards educating the refugees in the Dutch language in order to be able to work. Therefore the respondent thinks it hardly has any influence on the labor position of the local population.

The respondent characterizes the extent to which the local population believes the accommodation of asylum seekers and/or refugees in the asylum seeker center to lead to a change in the access to means of existence is also of no concern to the local population. It is primarily the public order and safety which is of concern to the local population; the improvable, according to the respondent. The feeling that the people are the victim caused by the realization that this asylum seeker center comes to be established in their neighborhood. The respondent remarks that behind this also the fear might lie that houses lose some of their value as a result of the establishment of the asylum seeker center. This is not explicitly expressed, but the respondent thinks this is an underlying fear as well. The new residents committee aims to seriously pay attention to these concerns and bring them to the attention of the people responsible for the realization of the asylum seeker center. In the previous residents committee organized by the municipality, which functioned as an advisory organ, everyone who wanted to could become part of this committee. This resulted in the committee becoming much too large and consisting of people who had widely differing opinions, and

consequently not being able to come to an agreement. This committee was asked the opinion on matters such as whether the refugees were welcome for example, but the respondent thinks this does not work when the members of the committee have such widely differing opinions. This situation ran the risk of becoming unmanageable as a result of fights, cursing and some people walking away crying. Then this committee was disbanded, and the respondent was approached by the village council of the nearby village to lead a new and relatively small committee consisting of representatives of all the organizations involved in the establishment of the asylum seeker center, and make contact with the stakeholders from the political field and make use of his know-how of administrative matters. This leads to creating the perception among the local population that people can accept this new residents committee. The respondent aims to ensure that there is a sensible group of people who take part in this committee and who pay attention to whether the quality of the living environment is not negatively influenced by the asylum seeker center. With this, the respondent notices that the emotions have become less present in the discussion surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center, as well as the previous volatility.

The local population convincingly believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center have a very different faith than the local population according to the respondent. Within that group of asylum seekers and/or refugees, the local population believes that there are large differences as well. It is believed that among these asylum seekers and/or refugees there are more fundamentalist Muslims are present, but also progressive Muslims, and perhaps also asylum seekers and/or refugees with an entirely different faith or no faith at all. This is also the concern of the local population: Can this mixed group be accommodated together in the asylum seeker center? The local population is concerned that asylum seekers and/or refugees attack each other in the public space or in the asylum seeker center, or that they will do other things. Thus, it is more the concern for the situation among the asylum seekers and/or refugees themselves which is present among the local population, and not so much the concern for their own safety.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center have different norms and values with regards to their worldview than the local population is answered with that the asylum seekers and/or refugees surely possess different norms and values. It is a different culture, their cultural expressions and manners are different, for instance, and everything that is foreign is something for people to look at with some form of distrust. The fear for "the other" is a broadly shared feeling, nonetheless there are a lot of people who believe they are different but they remain people as well and we should help them, and they are actively involved in helping the asylum seekers and/or refugees with accommodation et cetera. Furthermore, these norms and values differ with regards to religion (do they accept that I walk by the asylum seeker center in my short skirt, for example), that the woman is heavily veiled and repressed, and it is expressed that the asylum seekers and/or refugees do not have to think that I will do the same. This is primarily based on images portrayed through media, and not based on facts but on expectations.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center possess a range of traits could not be determined by the respondent for the local population in its entirety. Therefore, the choice has been made to discuss the traits one for one and the respondent indicated the extent to which the traits are present, but not by using the five point Likert scale. Concerning the trait of hard-working, the respondent thinks the term "fortune hunter" is more befitting for asylum seekers and/or refugees. A part of the population says there are fortune hunters among the asylum seekers and/or refugees, as well as people who have experienced bombings, but the fortune hunters are not welcome and absolutely not hard-working. In general it is believed the refugees to be real refugees by the local population. Additionally it is believed that these refugees are willing to adapt to the customs which are adhered to in the Netherlands, integrate fast and work as soon as possible, but there are hurdles such as not having the necessary network and having the necessary knowledge of the Dutch language. For the trait of being intelligent it is also true that there is no clear tendency of the local population at large. There are highly skilled, but also low skilled or unskilled asylum seekers and/or refugees who are accommodated in the asylum seeker center. There is no general view present among the local population. This is also true for the trait of being arrogant. Arrogance can be present in regards to women according to the local population as it is thought that in the culture of the asylum seekers and/or refugees women are worth nothing and thus arrogance towards women is present. The trait of being aggressive is more thought of by the local population as having to do with the question whether asylum seekers and/or refugees are traumatized and as a result of this are becoming aggressive. It is a concern to the local population nonetheless. Being modest is also differently thought of in regards to being a trait of the asylum seekers and/or refugees. Some of the local population think the asylum seekers and/or refugees to be modest and grateful to be here in the Netherlands. The opposite of being modest, such as being arrogant which has previously been discussed has also been expressed. All these traits are discussed among the local population, but nobody knows how this plays out in practice. Being athletic has been a point of discussion in the sense that the local population has questioned how many single young men would be present among the asylum seekers and/or refugees accommodated in the asylum seeker center. This has been a concern of a certain group of people. If this group of single young men would ultimately consist of 450 men of an entire population of 600 asylum seekers and refugees for example, and meets certain typologies such as being aggressive and arrogant, unfriendly towards women, then this is something which the local population would not want. The trait of being ambitious is differently thought of as being possessed by the asylum seekers and/or refugees according to the local population. The same goes for the traits of being trustworthy, sincere, materialistic, loud and clannish. All of the traits are not specifically addressed when the local population talks about the asylum seekers and refugees who are to be accommodated in the asylum seeker center. Instead, the local population addresses these traits in "what if" terms, and it is asked what is to be done when problems are experienced by the local population.

The extent to which the local population has been into contact with asylum seekers and/or refugees in general has been indicated by the respondent to be rarely to never.

The extent to which the local population in their contact with asylum seekers and/or refugees have experienced a range of feelings could not be indicated by the respondent as there is hardly any contact of the local population with asylum seekers and/or refugees in general.

B. Process of realization of accommodations

The respondent described the process in which the asylum seeker center has been realized until now. First, a request was made by the COA to establish an asylum seeker center in this city. The Board of Mayor and Aldermen was commissioned by the municipal council to do research into possible locations for the asylum seeker center. In the context of spatial planning it is looked at where an asylum seeker center can easily be established. An inventory was done which resulted in 76 potential locations which are available, and then a selection took place which resulted in a few locations. The assessment of the locations was done well according to the respondent, but the community did not experience this. In the opinion of the respondent it would have been better if the community had experienced the selection of the locations and known about the reasoning behind the selection of certain locations and not of others. Eventually, in April/May 2015 a definitive choice was made on the location of the asylum seeker center. The choice was, despite it then becoming known that this would become the location and certainly in the concerning neighborhood, not communicated to the local population. In May a press conference was planned in which the location would be presented, which was canceled last-minute. The respondent sketches a situation of people being distrustful, afraid that the asylum seeker center would be established in their neighborhood, and this would be announced although you are not entirely sure that it will be located in your neighborhood but you know it is likely to be located there and the location is leaked to the public which is in turn denied by the aldermen responsible for matters concerning refugees. The interim-mayor laid down his position of interim-mayor on the 1st of June 2015, and the new mayor would only be instated in October. At the 4th or 5th of September a press conference is organized in which a different interim-mayor who normally is an alderman states that the asylum seeker center would be established at the current location. Then there is already a sphere present in which the municipality is regarded as being untrustworthy which resulted in major opposition. The respondent is of the opinion that in this process the issue is that the local population did not think the municipality to be trustworthy.

The respondent characterizes the extent to which the local population was involved in the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center in the first instance as the local population was entirely not involved in the decision-making process, and in the second instance as the local population could only respond to the decision to establish the asylum seeker center.

Within the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center some of the components which are of importance to the involvement of citizens in decision-making processes

have been taken into account. The selection of a group of representatives has not occurred in a meticulous manner. This should have been done in advance. If the local population does not experience the selection of a location and the considerations of the municipality in deciding the definitive location it becomes complicated. But if this has been done properly and people were able to be completely informed of the steps which are taken, then the local population would have been aware of this and still not accept it but they could have followed the process in which it was done. Then perhaps they would have let themselves be more involved with the continuing process, whereas now this was not the case. With much effort the local population has become a part of the first residents committee which functioned as an advisory committee. According to the respondent the local population became involved in a process of which they did not have sufficient knowledge and could not exert influence on that process. The respondent believes that the decision-making process has not occurred in a clear manner. Ultimately, this has been done in a clear manner as it has ultimately been a democratic decision. The respondent also believes that this unclear manner has not led to the creating of trust among the participants. It was not clear who the authority was within the decision-making process: there were three different political figures who are responsible for different aspects of the matter who each had a different network with which they under held contact. The facilitators for the group who had a say in the decision-making process were capable, but were hindered by the politicians in their functioning. The facilitators for the group who had a say in the decision-making process were objective. The meetings have occurred regularly in the opinion of the respondent. However, these were set up in such a way that it led to difficulties, as this set-up created distance and opposition between the local population and the organizations directly involved in the process such as the municipality and the police. The respondent was of the opinion that sufficient financial resources were present to support the group process during the decision-making process.

The previously discussed manners in which the local population was involved in the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center did not contribute to creating support among the local population for the decision to establish the asylum seeker center. These manners of involvement have not contributed as there was a lot of unclarity on the process and who is responsible. The communication surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center has been done by the civil servants with the greatest effort but the information was constantly brought into question because administrators constantly claimed something different and council members fueled the discussion in the wrong manner. The process is unpredictable and will remain so, but of the utmost importance is that there is clarity on the scope, in what way the local population is involved, what the municipality wants to know from the local population, what can the local population expect from the municipality and what does the municipality take care of for the local population and hold those accountable responsible for their actions.

Appendix 12. Summary interview respondent 7, accommodation 3

A. Perception of threat by the local population

In general, the respondent believes the city to be large enough to accommodate asylum seekers and/or refugees and thinks it is the duty of the municipality, which is the biggest in the region, to accommodate asylum seekers and/or refugees. The respondent also understands that when the asylum seeker center is located in your backyard so to say that people look at it with distrust. She thinks the accommodation of asylum seekers and/or refugees is a bit of the Not In My Backyard syndrome: everyone in their heart thinks something should be done only not within your own neighborhood.

The extent to which the local population believes the establishment of the asylum seeker center to result in a change in the employment opportunities of the local population is denoted by the respondent as "Other, namely..". The people who are the most vocal say they are afraid of that it results in competition for themselves, and this consequently leads to a change on the labor market. However, if you look at it in itself then a function is added where people are searched for who can work there in the asylum seeker center. There are about 25 employment opportunities created, which does not outweigh the 600 refugees who are arriving, but among these refugees there are children. Thus, the respondent thinks the local population who is very vocal thinks it leads to a decrease in employment opportunities but in practice this is not the case.

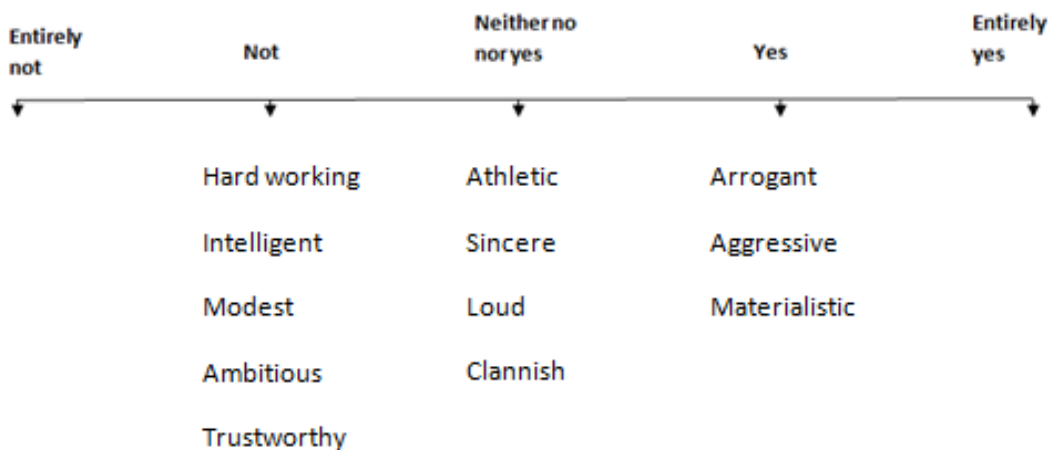
The extent to which the local population believes that the establishment of the asylum seeker center leads to a change in the means of existence which the local population has access to is denoted by the respondent as there not being a change in the access to means of existence for them. They only do not think it to be fair sometimes that people who come to the Netherlands just like that also have access to means of existence.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center have a different faith than the local population is indicated by the respondent that the local population does think the asylum seekers and/or refugees to have a different faith. The local population believes the asylum seekers and/or refugees to be mostly Muslims. The local population refers to this faith as resulting in them having a different background and this affects the manner in which the local population feels safe. It is for example expressed that the asylum seekers and/or refugees are rapists. The people who do not express these things, do think the asylum seekers and/or refugees to have a different faith, without any value judgment. The people opposing the establishment are more vocal but are present in smaller amounts, whereas the people not opposing the establishment are silent but they are present in larger amounts. However, the people opposing live in the vicinity of the asylum seeker center, whereas the people in favor are more spread around the city.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center have different norms and values with regards to their worldview than the local population is answered with different norms and values. These norms and values differ in regards to the

view in regards to women and girls, are incited and irritated faster, men are more macho. The respondent this might be partly true, as the asylum seekers and/or refugees are from a different culture.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and/or refugees living in the asylum seeker center possess a range of traits has been indicated by the respondent on a five-point Likert scale. The answers provided by the respondent varied from not to yes. The scale is presented below, with each of the traits positioned along the scale.



The extent to which the local population has been into contact with asylum seekers and/or refugees in general has been indicated by the respondent to be rarely. The respondent thinks this is the problem as they do not know it, is also the fear of the unknown.

The extent to which the local population in their contact with asylum seekers and/or refugees have experienced a range of feelings could not be indicated by the respondent as there is hardly any contact of the local population with asylum seekers and/or refugees in general. The only feeling which the respondent believes the local population to have experienced during the contact with asylum seekers and refugees is being worried.

B. Process of realization of accommodations

When the respondent became involved in the establishment of the asylum seeker center, the choice of the location had already been made, but she does know the process which has occurred beforehand. In December 2014 the COA first asked whether the municipality could accommodate asylum seekers. The municipal council then thought this to be "part of the deal", but then it did not have to be realized urgently as the influx was not that high. The municipality then looked at where the asylum seeker center could be located and the local population was approached to help the municipality in naming possible locations in their neighborhood where refugees could be accommodated. In the course of 2014 the influx of refugees increased enormously and simultaneously the question of the COA changed. Where first the question en-

tailed the accommodation of a few refugees, the question secondly entailed an asylum seeker center for 600 people. This change resulted in different requirements to be considered, for example with regards to the measurements of the locations. Ultimately the choice has been made, and this choice has also been leaked which was disappointing as a communication model was made and a day before this model was to be laid out, the choice of location has already leaked. This created a lot of unrest as it has been in the newspapers as well. From the beginning onwards there was a lot of opposition with regards to the current location. The local population did not feel involved as they have suggested other locations which have not been chosen. Somewhere along the line the demand changed and this has been communicated by the municipality and its civil servants, but this has not been taken up by the newspapers or it was widely spread, so people were not aware of it. And all of a sudden within two weeks there was a decision by the board of mayor and aldermen, a committee meeting and a municipal council meeting in which the decision for the location was made. A lot of signatures were collected from people opposing the establishment of the asylum seeker center. Eventually it did not lead to real changes, it was decided that this was the best location to establish the asylum seeker center and people were afraid but there were no well-founded arguments regarding the content and thus the municipality decided to continue with the establishment process. From that moment onwards the respondent became involved. There was a lot of opposition and a lot of evenings were organized where people were present who were really angry, completely did not understand it and some who were seriously afraid. The decision was made in September 2015, and after that a lot of meetings were organized, the managerial agreement was composed in April. After that, the procedures could start, a building permit was applied for. Two weeks ago it was announced that half a year more would be required to realize the asylum seeker center and this has led to some unrest. Now a building request can be prepared and to this an objection procedure is tied. The respondent does not think this procedure leads to large changes.

The local population was involved in the decision-making process to the extent that they could first participate in the discussion surrounding the realization of the asylum seeker center by asking the local population to propose possible locations, but they could secondly only respond to the decision to establish the asylum seeker center at its current location.

Within the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center some of the components which are of importance to the involvement of citizens in decision-making processes have been taken into account. The selection of a group of representative stakeholders has not occurred at all, as everyone who wanted was given the opportunity to be involved and voice their opinion. The decision-making process has occurred in a clear manner internally, but not in relation to the population. The respondent believes the population to not be at home in these decision-making processes and for them the process happened too fast. The not entirely clear manner in which the decision-making process has taken place has not created trust among the participants, and in the opinion of the respondent this is a large issue. It was not clear who the authority was within the decision-making process. In the eyes of the local popula-

tion it is the municipality who is the decision-maker and it is the municipality who has done it. But within the municipality there is the Board of Mayor and Aldermen and the municipal council and these are interwoven for the outside world. In reality, it is the municipal council, the representatives of the local population, which has made the decision. The facilitators for the group who had a say in the decision-making process were capable in some instances, whilst in other cases they were not. The facilitators for the group who had a say in the decision-making process were not objective. The meetings have occurred regularly in the opinion of the respondent, they were organized very often and more specifically there were weeks in which twice a week people were given information during a meeting. People did not feel well-informed but this had to do with that the local population could not find themselves in the information which was given as they wanted to prevent the asylum seeker center from being established and this did not happen. There were sufficient financial resources present to support the group process during the decision-making process, and this has not been an issue.

The previously discussed manners in which the local population was involved in the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center did not contribute to creating support among the local population for the decision to establish the asylum seeker center. These manners have not contributed to creating public support as the local population was given the impression that they had a say in the decision to establish an asylum seeker center, but where in fact they did not have a say as nothing was done with their concerns.

The communication surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center has been done in regards to the steps which have been undertaken, and once a month there is a newsletter in which is discussed what the plans are, and what the local population can do themselves.

Appendix 13. Summary interview respondent 8, accommodation 3

A. Perception of threat by the local population

In general, the respondent believes that people in need should be helped. However, the current fulfillment of asylum policy in the Netherlands has been the result of a failing European asylum policy. This failing European asylum policy refers to the inability of European politics to develop one policy, strategy and solution for the refugee issue. The respondent feels this opinion is widely supported by politicians themselves, for example. Simultaneously, a policy has been rolled out over the Netherlands where mayors are tasked with carrying this policy out. The respondent questions whether this is a good solution. This is not specifically connected to this particular asylum seeker center, however. The respondent does not think that the choice of location in this case has been carried out meticulously and this is due to the process being one sided, because the local population such as the respondent have not been involved in the process. The criteria of the COA have primarily been taken into account.

The extent to which the local population believes the establishment of the asylum seeker center to result in a change in the employment opportunities of the local population is denoted by the respondent as "Other, namely...". The respondent clarifies this answer by noting that it is a simple calculation, namely the number of job seekers divided by the number of vacancies. The respondent notes that the municipality in which the asylum seeker center is located is a poor municipality with relatively high unemployment and if that given is added and combined with the demand, and more job seekers are added, then there will be relatively more unemployed people within the labor force and therefore it is a simple calculation. The respondent also notes that there are already a lot of people who would like to be helped with a job but who are not helped as they do not fit into a certain box which the municipality presents. The respondent wants to clarify the manner in which residents are portrayed by the municipality, because it is stated that the fears of the local population are unfounded, it is asked what the residents are afraid of, are you afraid for your job et cetera, and this is the feeling which people want to talk you into, that you would be afraid of something. The respondent remarks that she is not afraid of anything, they are just simple facts and calculations and intuitively the respondent says that everyone can make her believe everything, that she does not have to be afraid of something but if you look at the facts, you can derive your own conclusions which are not based on feelings but on common sense. The people the respondent knows who are also against the location of the asylum seeker center are not against accommodation or helping asylum seekers and refugees, but they are against the manner in which things have happened and the choices which have been made.

The extent to which the local population believes that the establishment of the asylum seeker center leads to a change in the means of existence of the local population is depicted by the respondent as "Other, namely..". The respondent indicates that no one would have a problem with asylum seekers and refugees having access to means of existence, where means of existence mean primary necessities which form a basis for living.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and refugees living in the asylum seeker center have a different faith than the local population could not be definitively answered by the respondent. The respondent does not think that every asylum seeker and refugee is a Christian or Roman-Catholic, for example. The faith of asylum seekers and refugees is not a concern of the respondent, she thinks people should decide this for themselves.

The extent to which the local population believes that the asylum seekers and refugees living in the asylum seeker center have different norms and values with regards to their worldview than the local population is denoted by the respondent as having different norms and values with regards to their worldview. These differences then for example refer to different views toward women. The respondent notes that the municipality at one moment expressed in the press that women should not be walking by the asylum seeker center in short skirts, and according to the respondent this is not the manner in which women wearing a short skirt should be handled in the Netherlands. It is a choice which a woman makes herself and it should

not be determined by the existence of an asylum seeker center. The respondent brings up the situation in Düsseldorf in reference to norms and values, and notes that in this case it can be seen that it is a given that people who are not from the West see a different relationship in role patterns than what we are used to here in the West. The respondent thinks it is worrisome when you cannot wear a short skirt when walking by the asylum seeker center and if women are advised to not wear a short skirt. The respondent also thinks it is worrisome that there are cards handed out in an asylum seeker center in Germany which indicate to keep an arm's length distance from women. The respondent remarks that this is not an opinion, but a given. It can be decided that cards are handed out to people living in an accommodation but the respondent questions its effectiveness. The respondent stresses that she is not specifically led by emotions but is indeed aware of what is worldwide occurring in asylum seeker centers. The respondent feels that the people who are part of the local government want to make you feel that it is something emotional, and something which is not based on facts. The respondent feels that the municipality and the COA are not responsive to reality and are only concerned with carrying out their own policy.

The extent to which the respondent believes that the asylum seekers and refugees living in the asylum seeker center possess a range of characteristics could not be determined by the respondent in her own personal case.

The extent to which the local population has been into contact with asylum seekers and refugees from the asylum seeker center has been indicated by the respondent to be rarely.

The extent to which the local population in their contact with asylum seekers and refugees have experienced a range of feelings has been indicated by the respondent with neither no nor yes for all of the characteristics.

B. Process of realization of accommodations

The process of the establishment of the asylum seeker center has begun from the perspective of the respondent on September 2nd, when the press reported that the asylum seeker center would be established at the current location, and this was the first time the respondent heard of it as well. On September 14th there was a meeting planned in which the local population could have a say. On the 21st of September the decision on the establishment of the asylum seeker center was made and the location was approved within the municipal council. The process after the decision has been taken is irrelevant for the respondent as it is about the fulfillment of the details of the asylum seeker center and this has nothing to do with the decision-making process. The respondent has been involved in this, however. The respondent feels the municipality has used this involvement in the fulfillment of the details of the asylum seeker center as a way to give the local population the impression that they have a say in the decision-making process, without actually having a say. The respondent feels that at the source of the issues surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center is that it is a poor manner of execution by the municipal administration. She would have rather seen that at the European and national level a good choice has been made, and that there was a mu-

municipal administration who would actually weigh the interests of the local population and which has not simply identified a location and then maintained the motto of "we choose a location, and every location can be made safe" which is what the respondent believes has happened. The starting point should have been the choosing of a location where people can be accommodated and where there is a minimal burden on the neighborhood.

According to the respondent, the local population was entirely not involved in the decision-making process. The municipality did try to involve stakeholders in the realization of the asylum seeker center, but this only concerned utilities according to the respondent.

The previously discussed manner in which the local population was involved in the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the asylum seeker center did not contribute to creating support among the local population for the decision to establish the asylum seeker center. This has not contributed to creating public support as the respondent feels that the municipal administration has executed the process of the establishment of the asylum seeker center poorly as the local population has not been involved in the decision-making process and the municipal administration has not actually weighed the interests of the local population.

The respondent was made aware of the establishment of the asylum seeker center through an article in the press, and this is the extent to which the communication in regards to the decision-making process has taken place in the respondent's experience.

Appendix 14. Schemes of analysis questions A1 through A8

No perception of threat	Neither yes nor no perception of threat	Perception of threat
Increasing employment opportunities	No change in employment opportunities	Decreasing employment opportunities
Increasing access to means of existence	No change in access to means of existence	Decreasing access to means of existence
Similar faith		Different faith
Similar norms and values with regards to worldview		Different norms and values
Other, namely (dependent on the answer)	Other, namely (dependent on the answer)	Other, namely (dependent on the answer)

Table 1. Scheme of analysis for questions A2 through A5

		Answer				
		Entirely not	Not	Neither no nor yes	Yes	Entirely yes
Type of characteristic						
Positive	Hard working Intelligent Modest Athletic Ambitious Trustworthy Sincere	Entirely perception of threat	Perception of threat	Neither no nor yes perception of threat	No perception of threat	Entirely no perception of threat
Negative	Arrogant Aggressive Materialistic Loud Clannish	Entirely no perception of threat	No perception of threat	Neither no nor yes perception of threat	Perception of threat	Entirely perception of threat

Table 2. Scheme of analysis for question A6

		Answer					
			Entirely not	Not	Neither no nor yes	Yes	Entirely yes
Frequency of contact	Type of feeling						
Rarely Sometimes Often Very often	Positive	Comfort Confidence At ease Trusting Friendly Safe	Entirely perception of threat	Perception of threat	Neither no nor yes perception of threat	No perception of threat	Entirely no perception of threat
Rarely Sometimes Often Very often	Negative	Uncertainty Awkwardness Anxiety Worried Threatened Nervous	Entirely no perception of threat	No perception of threat	Neither no nor yes perception of threat	Perception of threat	Entirely perception of threat

Table 3. Scheme of analysis for questions A7 and A8