



## The bright and dark sides of length of residence in the neighbourhood: Consequences for local participation and openness to newcomers

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### ABSTRACT

Length of residence in a neighborhood has been shown to have positive outcomes for local participation. However, long-term residency can also make people less welcoming of potential newcomers. In two nationwide surveys among the Dutch (Study 1) and Brits (Study 2) we examined these bright and dark sides of length of residence in the neighbourhood, and we considered two underlying mechanisms: place attachment and perceived group entitlements. In Study 1, we measured entitlements in terms of autochthony beliefs (first-comers in places are generally entitled) and in Study 2 we more directly assessed the sense that the residents own the neighborhood (collective psychological ownership, CPO). In both studies we found that more established residents were more attached to the neighborhood and perceived more entitlements. Place attachment was conducive to stronger local participation, and did not form a barrier (Study 1) or it even served as a bridge (Study 2) for openness to newcomers. In contrast, perceived entitlements were linked to less openness to international newcomers in both studies, but more openness to natives moving in from other regions of the country (Study 2). This indicates that at a local level, perceived entitlements to a given place are more strongly related to exclusion based on ethnicity of the newcomers than solely on later arrival. Entitlements in the form of CPO, however, motivated local participation and thus also had a bright side.

Environmental psychologists have mainly studied the positive consequences of length of residence in a given place for the local community. Time spent in a place like city or neighbourhood has been considered an investment in the community that provides a basis for an interest in local activities, and there is indeed evidence that length of residence contributes to stronger civic engagement (Kang & Kwak, 2003). However, long-term residency can also make people less welcoming of potential newcomers, as they may want to maintain the status quo and protect the neighbourhood from ‘outsiders’ (Elias & Scotson, 1965). Length of residence may thus have both a bright and a dark side.

We examine both a behavioral and an attitudinal outcome of length of residence in the neighbourhood, namely local participation and openness to potential newcomers. Local participation ensures that people take responsibility for their own living environment (e.g. Dekker, 2007), and is often argued to be essential for the development of social capital (Putnam, 2000). Openness to potential newcomers, on the other hand, sets the stage for amicable relations in the neighbourhood. We consider two mechanisms underlying the effect of length of residence on local participation and openness to newcomers: place

attachment and perceived group entitlements. Both have to do with how people relate to particular places, but they differ in that place attachment is an individual's emotional bond with the place of residence, while perceived entitlements are about which group of residents has the right to decide about the place. We propose that place attachment and entitlements are similarly affected by length of residence in the given neighbourhood, yet that they may have different consequences for local participation and attitudes towards potential newcomers.

By studying both the ‘bright’ and ‘dark’ sides of length of residence we bring together environmental psychology research on place attachment and social psychology research on perceived entitlements. Whereas there has already been research on the consequences of perceived entitlements at the national level for acceptance of foreign-origin newcomers (e.g. Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013), this has not been studied in the local context nor have entitlements to a neighbourhood been linked to local participation. In addition, switching to the local level allows us to disentangle ethnicity from the newcomer status, since in a territory smaller than a country, new residents can have the same ethnicity as the established residents (see Elias & Scotson, 1965). We are thus able to investigate and compare attitudes towards both internal

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and international newcomers, and consider place attachment and perceived entitlements as separate mechanisms by which length of residence is related to both local participation and openness to these two types of newcomers. We test this among nationwide samples of Dutch participants (Study 1) and British participants (Study 2).

## 1. Place attachment and perceived entitlements to a place as a function of length of residence

Place attachment is an emotional bond with a given area (Altman & Low, 1992; Giuliani, 2003; Hernandez, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, & Hess, 2007; Lewicka, 2008, 2011a). It is a personal connection to place, which involves the need to stay close to it. As such, place attachment may relate to places of various scales – such as one's own apartment, building, neighbourhood, district, city, or even larger regions. Though it can be seen as a bond with the place as such and not necessarily with the co-residents, place attachment connects people through a local identity.

Within environmental psychological literature, it is often assumed that length of contact with the given place contributes to place attachment (see e.g. Di Masso et al., 2019). According to a traditional, 'sedentary' approach, time is necessary to create a strong connection with a place, and thus only people who are rooted in a given place can develop a sense of attachment (Hay, 1998; Lewicka, 2011a; Porteous, 1976; Relph, 1976). A different position on this has been taken by researchers who claim that place attachment may develop independently of length of residence, and that temporary residents may be as strongly attached to place as locals (Kaltenborn & Williams, 2002; Stedman, 2006). In relation to this, Lewicka (2011b) proposes that the link between length of residence depends on the form of place attachment. Based on the earlier work of Hummon (1992), she distinguishes between traditional attachment (everyday rootedness), in which case the place of residence is taken for granted, and active place attachment (ideological rootedness), which involves active interest in it and conscious identification with a place (see also Di Masso et al., 2019). The traditional form of place attachment is positively related to length of residence, while the ideological, active form of attachment is not related to it (Lewicka, 2011b, 2013). Nevertheless, most studies that do not look into the nature of place attachment but measure its strength, confirm that the attachment to places of residence increases with time spent in it (Anton & Lawrence, 2014; Brown, Perkins, & Brown, 2003; Gustafson, 2009; Hay, 1998; Hernandez et al., 2007; Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Lewicka, 2005, 2010) and natives are more attached to the place than immigrants (Toruńczyk-Ruiz, 2013). We therefore expect to find stronger place attachment among more established neighbourhood residents.

Whereas place attachment captures the feeling that a person belongs to a place, people may also perceive that a place belongs to a particular group of residents and that this group is entitled to the place in question. The latter connect a group of people to a place, as opposed to place attachment which is a personal affective bond with a place. Perceived collective entitlements have been studied in social psychology in two ways and we consider both aspects in this paper. First, there is research on collective psychological ownership (CPO) – a sense that a territory belongs to one's group (Brylka, Mahonen, & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015; Pierce & Jussila, 2010), which is accompanied by the exclusive right of that group to decide how the place where they reside is used and by whom. In that sense, it is a feeling that relates to the in-group owning a specific territory. Second, we may speak of principles that people follow when assigning ownership and determining who is entitled to places in general. In this case, these do not necessarily capture the in-group's sense of entitlement, but may just as well be followed when recognizing entitlements of other groups. Research on perceived entitlements shows that, for instance, first possession (or first arrival) and prior investment are considered legitimate arguments for assigning ownership to individuals (Beggan & Brown, 1994; Ross & Friedman, 2011) and groups

(e.g., Verkuyten, Sierksma, & Martinović, 2015). Agreement with the idea that first comers to a territory are generally more entitled to decide about that territory than those who arrived later is labelled 'autochthony beliefs' in the social-psychological literature (Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2019).

So far, the psychological literature has studied perceived entitlements to a territory – be it in the form of general principles or as a direct sense of collective ownership – mainly in relation to countries (Brylka, Mähönen, & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015; Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013; Verkuyten, Martinović, Smeekes, & Kros, 2016) and workplaces (Pierce & Jussila, 2010). In this paper, we consider the autochthony belief and CPO in the context of the neighbourhood, given that residents of neighbourhoods also tend to reason about entitlements for more established inhabitants, as ethnographic studies have shown (Elias & Scotson, 1965; Verkuyten, 1997).

To our knowledge, there has been no research on the link between length of residence in the neighbourhood and perceived entitlements. By considering two different aspects of group entitlements we can examine if length of residence is related to an ideological belief on the one hand, and to a more direct feeling of collective ownership, on the other hand. Given that autochthony is an ideological belief that can be used strategically to justify current power relations (Martinović, Verkuyten, Jetten, & Bobowik, 2019), it should be particularly endorsed by those whose interests it serves, that is, the more established residents.

In line with this, one study conducted in the Netherlands has shown that, on average, Dutch natives expressed a stronger endorsement of autochthony at a national level than immigrants (Study 3 in Verkuyten et al., 2016). A sense of collectively owning the neighbourhood also might increase with length of residence in the neighbourhood, since the arguments on which people might base their sense of ownership (having arrived first, having invested, or being formed by the place), imply a substantial amount of time spent on the location. We therefore expect to find higher perceived entitlements among more established neighbourhood residents. We examine this with respect to the autochthony belief in Study 1 and with respect to CPO in Study 2.

## 2. Local participation as an outcome of place attachment and perceived entitlements

Participation in community activities is an indicator of how strongly the community members feel interconnected and the extent to which they feel responsible to take actions aimed at solving problems in their direct environment (Dekker, 2007; Lenzi, Vieno, Pastore, & Santinello, 2013). The neighbourhood is a relevant context to learn civic engagement, since it provides opportunities for taking part in joint actions and contributing to the common good (Lenzi et al., 2013), which can further translate to more general civic orientations (Kahne & Sporte, 2008). In this paper, we are interested in local participation defined as both engagement in social activities within the neighbourhood such as attending a neighbourhood party, as well as involvement in civic actions related to the neighbourhood such as contributing to an organization or club focused on the neighbourhood. We argue that local participation is higher among the more established residents, and this association may be explained by higher place attachment and stronger entitlements to a place among the more established residents, as we outline below.

Place attachment can contribute to local participation, since people who are highly attached to their residential area are motivated to improve it and protect it (see e.g. Dekker, 2007; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Scannell & Gifford, 2010). The idea that positive affective bonds with a place would be associated with a tendency to protect that place was already present in the work of early environmental psychologists (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977). Several studies confirmed that greater neighbourhood attachment was related to greater local participation (Brown et al., 2003; Dekker, 2007; Lenzi et al., 2013; Stefaniak, Bilewicz, & Lewicka, 2017). We therefore expect to find stronger involvement in local activities by neighbourhood residents with stronger

place attachment.

Alongside place attachment, entitlements to a place could foster local participation. Research in organisational settings (Pierce & Jussila, 2010) has shown that a sense of ownership can enhance care, involvement and dedication to the “owned” place, which is seen as the “bright side” of psychological ownership. That is, the feeling of ‘ours’ can imply certain responsibilities. These responsibilities may result in investing time in proactive behaviour aimed at protecting or improving the target of ownership (Verkuyten & Martinović, 2017). This resonates with the idea of stewardship in the environmental literature – taking care of the resource or land (in this case the neighbourhood) in a sustainable way (Enqvist et al., 2018). It has been found that stewardship is not necessarily motivated by actual property rights and that non-owners who manage the resources tend to act even more as stewards than the legal owners do (Gilmour, Day, & Dwyer, 2012), suggesting that the psychological sense of ownership is key. In the neighbourhood setting, collective psychological ownership could thus translate into involvement in community activities and volunteering for community tasks. In contrast to CPO, the link between the autochthony belief and local participation is less obvious. Autochthony as a general belief in entitlements for first-comers need not be related with local involvement for everyone, but it could motivate participation among more established residents who would feel called upon to take up the responsibility for the neighbourhood. Overall, we expect perceived entitlements to be related to higher local participation. For CPO this relationship is expected to be direct, whereas for autochthony we predict moderation by length of residence.

### 3. Perceived entitlements, place attachment, and openness to newcomers

Long-term residency may also have consequences for intergroup attitudes, and this can be due to perceived entitlements. A classic account of the emergence of divisions between ‘original’ residents and newcomers in a suburban community has been made by Elias and Scotson (1965). Based on ethnographic research conducted in a small English city, the authors noticed that the residents of one neighbourhood inhabited by ‘old residents’, regarded themselves as better than those inhabiting the ‘new neighbourhood’ only because they had been there first. Although the residents of the two areas did not differ in terms of race, ethnic origin or socio-economic status, the newcomers were stigmatised as ‘outsiders’ who did not belong to the community. Autochthony arguments were thus used to justify exclusion and prejudice towards newcomers. The idea that autochthony beliefs can be used to justify out-group exclusion was further verified in quantitative studies, in the context of a nation: endorsement of autochthony was related to stronger prejudice towards immigrant-origin minorities in two nationwide Dutch samples (Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013) and it was related to Europeans’ willingness to engage in collective action against refugees (Hasbún López et al., 2019).

Similarly, perceived entitlement in the form of collective psychological ownership may also be related to more negative attitudes towards newcomers, since ownership implies the right to decide about the owned target (Snare, 1972) and thus it may be accompanied by the perceived right to exclude others from using it. Research in organisational settings (see Pierce & Jussila, 2010; Pierce, Kostova, & Dirks, 2001) has highlighted this ‘dark side’ of ownership and shown that a sense of ownership can result in the wish for exclusive control, thereby impeding sharing and cooperation, and fueling interpersonal and intergroup conflicts. Moreover, research from Finland has shown that psychological ownership of the country was associated with less positive attitudes towards Russian-speaking immigrants among majority Finns (Brylka, Mahonen, & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015), and there is evidence from three ethnic conflict regions that collective psychological ownership is associated with a lower willingness to reconcile (Storz

et al., 2019).

At a local level, the distinction between the established and newcomers does not have to align with ethnic groups, as length of residence in a given territory does not have to be related to ethnicity (see also Côté & Mitchell, 2017). Taking into account that the newcomer does not have to be of immigrant origin, we explore whether attitudes towards newcomers from other countries are empirically distinct from attitudes towards newcomers from other regions in the same country. Distinguishing these two types of migrants separately allows us to disentangle attitudes towards newcomers of a different ethnicity from attitudes towards newcomers of the same ethnicity who come from a different region. We expect perceived entitlements to be related to lower acceptance of both international and internal newcomers in their neighbourhood.

The link between place attachment and openness to newcomers is theoretically less clear. On the one hand, high attachment and identification with an area may in some contexts imply willingness to protect the area from newcomers, who can be seen as threatening to the physical and social characteristics of the area (Anton & Lawrence, 2014). On the other hand, place attachment could generate feelings of sharing, inclusion, and acceptance of others, since the attached people have been shown to be more trusting towards others than the non-attached (Lewicka, 2011b). Moreover, being attached to one’s neighbourhood does not need to conflict with others also being attached (see also Verkuyten & Martinović, 2017) and there is evidence from several territorial conflict contexts that place attachment (in contrast to entitlements) did not hinder reconciliation (Storz et al., 2019). We thus refrain from formulating a hypothesis regarding the association between attachment and openness to newcomers.

### 4. The current research

The aim of the present research is to test an integrated model in which we consider place attachment along with perceived entitlements measured as a belief in autochthony (Study 1) and collective psychological ownership (Study 2) as explanatory mechanisms that link length of residence in the neighbourhood to place-related outcomes, namely local participation and openness to potential newcomers in the neighbourhood. Moreover, we distinguish between internal and international migrants to examine whether attitudes towards these groups are similarly shaped by these processes.

We use data from the Netherlands (Study 1) and Great Britain (Study 2). Both Dutch and British neighbourhoods remain meaningful places in which contacts are established and activities are undertaken (Völker, Flap, & Lindenberg, 2007; Van der Graaf, 2009). At the same time, both countries have high immigration and internal mobility rates (Statistics Netherlands, 2015, 2018; Office for National Statistics, 2018, 2019), which renders both contexts relevant for addressing the effects of length of residence on local participation and attitudes towards newcomers.

### 5. Study 1

In Study 1, we hypothesised that length of residence in a neighbourhood would be associated with higher place attachment, which in turn would be related to higher local participation. We also expected more established residents to have a stronger belief in autochthony, which would translate to less openness to internal and international migrants to the neighbourhood. Autochthony belief was further expected to be related to higher local participation, but only among more established residents.

## 6. Method

### 6.1. Data and participants<sup>1</sup>

The study was conducted among Dutch participants ( $N = 378$ ),<sup>2</sup> aged 18 years and older. An online survey was administered by the research company Kantar in June 2018. The study has been approved by the Faculty Ethics Review Board at Utrecht University. The sampling process applied survey quotas with regard to age, gender, education level, and the province of residence. The participants' informed consent was obtained before they could continue with the study. Nine participants who were not ethnic Dutch were excluded from the analyses. We also excluded three participants who gave the same answer to all Likert scale questions, assuming that these persons did not read the questions carefully. The final sample included 366 people, aged between 18 and 91 years ( $M = 50.68$ ,  $SD = 17.75$ ), 51.9% of whom were women. To make the data representative of the Dutch native population in terms of age, gender, and education, we used weights provided by the research company.

### 6.2. Measures

Participants were asked for how many years they had lived in the neighbourhood. The answers ranged from 0 to 72 ( $M = 19$ ,  $SD = 13.65$ ).<sup>3</sup>

*Place attachment* was measured by three items taken from Lewicka (2010), addressing the participants' personal attachment to their neighbourhood of residence. These were: 'I miss this neighbourhood when I am away', 'I would not want to move to another neighbourhood', and 'This neighbourhood is part of who I am'. Responses were given on a scale from 1 = *completely disagree* to 7 = *completely agree*,  $\alpha = 0.82$ .

*Autochthony* was measured by a scale designed by Martinović and Verkuyten (2013) that was originally used with reference to the country, adapted by us to the neighbourhood context: 'The original inhabitants of a neighbourhood are more entitled than newcomers', 'Every neighbourhood belongs to its original inhabitants', 'The original inhabitants of a neighbourhood have the most right to define the rules of the game' and "'We were here first" is an important principle for determining who decides on what happens in a neighbourhood', answered on the same type of 1–7 scale,  $\alpha = 0.92$ .

*Local participation* was measured by six items similar to those used in previous research (Dekker, 2007; Lewicka, 2005, 2013). Participants were first asked to make a subjective assessment of their general involvement in the activities in their neighbourhood on a scale from 1 = *not involved at all* to 7 = *very involved*. Then they were given five items that measured the frequency with which they engaged in specific activities in their neighbourhood: attending a neighbourhood party or a similar event, helping to make the neighbourhood cleaner or safer together with other residents, organizing an activity for the people in the neighbourhood, participating in a local meeting to discuss important issues about the neighbourhood, and contributing to an organization or

club focused on the neighbourhood. Responses were given on a scale from 1 (never) to 5 (often). There was also a 'not applicable' option, which we combined with 'never' into one category. A six-item scale had high reliability,  $\alpha = 0.85$ .

*Openness to internal migrants* was assessed by three items based on adapted existing measures of diversity beliefs (Christ et al., 2014; Van Knippenberg, Haslam, & Platow, 2007), which in the present study referred to the views on having people from different parts of the Netherlands in the neighbourhood: 'My neighbourhood would be more interesting if the residents came from different parts of the Netherlands.', 'People from other Dutch cities and neighbourhoods can contribute a lot to my neighbourhood', and 'I would appreciate if some people from other places in the Netherlands moved to my neighbourhood'. Answers were given on a scale from 1 = *completely disagree* to 7 = *completely agree*,  $\alpha = 0.90$ .

*Openness to international migrants* included analogous three items, but relating to people from foreign countries and cultures, e.g. 'My neighbourhood would be more interesting if the residents came from different countries and cultures',  $\alpha = 0.96$ .

## 7. Results

### 7.1. Measurement model

We first ran a Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) with the 19 observed variables forming the scales, to see if they loaded on five latent factors. We used the Maximum Likelihood Estimator with robust standard errors (MLR) in Mplus, version 7.3. A model with five latent variables fitted the data well:  $\chi^2(142) = 218.112$ ,  $p < .001$ ; CFI = 0.978; SRMR = 0.035; RMSEA = 0.038 [90% CI = 0.028–0.048]. The fit of the model in which openness to internal and international migrants were treated as one latent factor was significantly worse,  $\Delta\chi^2(4) = 168.05$ ,  $p < .001$ , with MLR correction. A model that treated the two mediators autochthony and place attachment as loading on a common factor also had a worse fit,  $\Delta\chi^2(4) = 255.42$ ,  $p < .001$ , with MLR correction. We thus proceeded with our original 5-factor structure.

### 7.2. Descriptive results

The mean scores, standard deviations, reliability indices and correlations between the latent constructs are presented in Table 1. The reliability indices are calculated using composite reliability ( $\rho$ ), which is a more accurate estimate of reliability than Cronbach's alpha as it does not assume equality of the loadings or error terms of the items (see Raykov, 2004). The average levels of participation in local events, belief in autochthony, and place attachment were rather low, below the midpoint of the scale, while the averages of the two openness measures were close to the midpoint. Openness to internal migrants was on average significantly higher than of international migrants, Wald (1) = 30.038,  $p < .001$ .

The correlations between length of residence and the latent constructs were in the expected direction, though not always statistically significant. Length of residence was positively and significantly related with place attachment, autochthony, and local participation, while its correlations with the two attitudinal measures were negative, though non-significant. Place attachment and autochthony were only weakly, positively correlated, which suggests that an emotional bond with the neighbourhood is not necessarily accompanied by the belief that first-comers in the neighbourhood should have more of a say than newcomers. Place attachment was positively and significantly associated with local participation but unrelated to both measures of openness to newcomers. Autochthony was negatively and significantly related both to openness to internal migrants and openness to international migrants, but it was unrelated to local participation.

<sup>1</sup> Previous studies on comparable topics yielded effect sizes equal to 0.22 or higher. According to the online sample size calculator software for structural equation modelling (Soper, 2017), to test a model with five latent variables and 20 observed indicators a minimum of 305 participants would be needed to detect an effect size equal to 0.22 at the alpha level of 0.05.

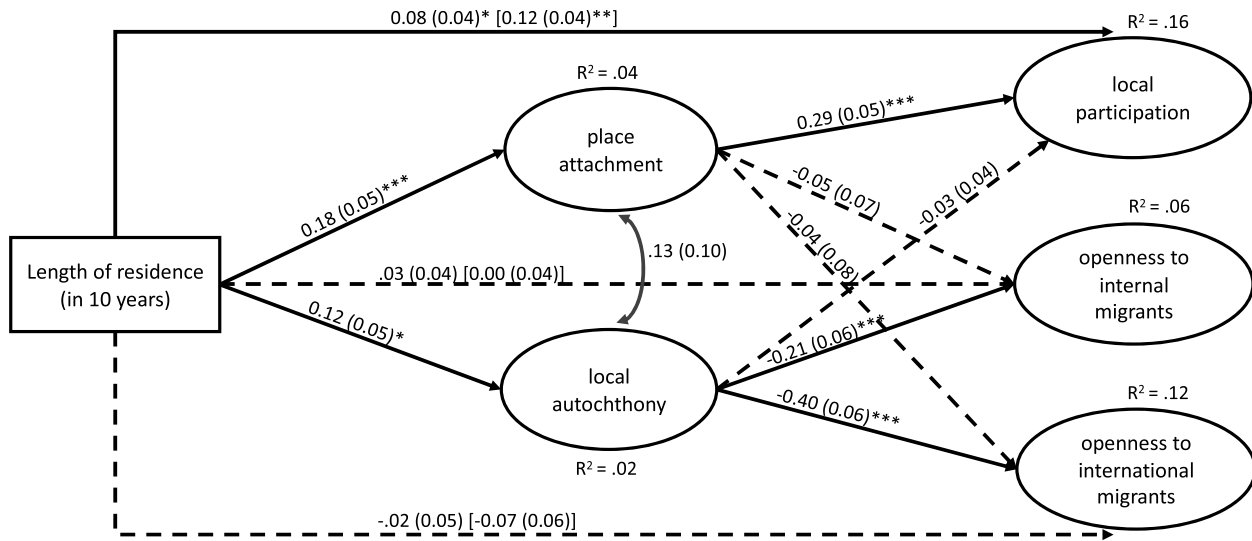
<sup>2</sup> The study was part of a larger data collection in the Netherlands among 780 Dutch participants. Only half of the participants received the version of the questionnaire that included the items relevant for this study.

<sup>3</sup> In the analyses, we rescaled this variable such that one unit is equal to 10 years, since in neighbourhoods with an average length of residence equal to nearly 20, a one-year increase in length of stay is likely to make only a small change in the emotional bond with the place or their perception on who should be entitled to decide about that place.

**Table 1**  
Means, standard deviations, reliability indices and correlations for the core constructs, Study 1.

	Range	Mean	SD	$\rho$	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Place attachment	1–7	3.67	1.25	.82					
2. Autochthony	1–7	2.89	1.27	.92	0.11 <sup>†</sup>				
3. Local participation	1–5	2.26	0.91	.86	0.39***	0.01			
4. Openness to internal migrants	1–7	4.03	1.17	.90	–0.07	–0.23***	0.07		
5. Openness to international migrants	1–7	3.69	1.47	.96	–0.07	–0.35***	0.12 <sup>†</sup>	0.71***	
6. Length of residence (in 10 years)	0–7.2	1.90	1.36	–	0.19**	0.12*	0.17**	0.01	–0.07

Note. <sup>†</sup> $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ . Latent means presented for all measures except for length of residence.



**Fig. 1.** Results of the mediation model, Study 1. Note. Unstandardised coefficients with standard errors in round brackets and total effects in square brackets. The residual covariances between the three dependent variables were allowed to be nonzero. Dotted lines indicate non-significant relations. \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

7.3. Explanatory results

We estimated a structural equation model in *Mplus* (version 7.3) with local participation, openness to internal migrants and openness to international migrants as the dependent constructs, length of residence as the main independent variable, and autochthony and place attachment as mediators. Since we applied sampling weights to the dataset, we used the Maximum Likelihood Robust (MLR) estimator to obtain reliable coefficients for all the paths in the model together with their standard errors and p-values. Following the recent suggestions made by *Yzerbyt, Muller, Batailler, and Judd (2018)*, we first examined for each indirect effect whether both paths involved were significant and then checked whether or not the confidence intervals of the indirect effects included zero. In order to compute the confidence intervals for the indirect effects, we utilised the Monte Carlo resampling method using a web-based calculator provided by *Falk and Biesanz (2016)*.

The model had a good fit,  $\chi^2(156) = 232.440, p < .001$ ; CFI = 0.978; SRMR = 0.034; RMSEA = 0.037 [90% CI: 0.026 - 0.046]. The unstandardised regression coefficients are presented in *Fig. 1*. Both place attachment and endorsement of autochthony were stronger among people who have lived in the neighbourhood longer, while the covariance between the two mediators was positive though non-significant. Further, place attachment was related to more local participation but not to openness to newcomers, whereas autochthony was not related to local participation but it was related to less willingness to accept both types of newcomers. The effect of autochthony on openness to external migrants was stronger than on openness to internal migrants,  $Wald(1) = 12.423, p < .001$ .

As expected, there was a positive indirect effect of length of residence on local participation through higher place attachment, point

estimate = 0.051 [95% CI: 0.022, 0.089]. The standardized indirect effect was 0.072. Also in line with our hypothesis, there was a negative indirect effect of length of residence on openness to international migrants via autochthony, point estimate =  $-0.046$  [95% CI: 0.093,  $-0.008$ ] and on openness to internal migrants, point estimate =  $-0.024$  [95% CI: 0.054,  $-0.004$ ]. The respective standardized indirect effects were  $-0.042$  and  $-0.029$ .

To test whether length of residence would be a moderator between autochthony and local participation, we estimated an alternative model with length of residence being a moderator in the path from autochthony to local participation instead of being the predictor of autochthony.<sup>4</sup> In contrast to our expectations, the interaction was not significant,  $B = -0.008, S.E. = 0.034, p = .812$ , and therefore we treat the mediation model in *Fig. 1* as our final model.

We repeated the mediation analyses including several theoretically relevant control variables. We controlled for age (in units of 10 years), gender (coded as female = 1, male = 0), education level (scale ranging from 1 = no or primary education to 7 = higher education), and the size of the place of residence (large city – more than 100 thousand inhabitants, medium city – 50–100 thousand inhabitants, town – less than 50 thousand inhabitants, village) both in relation to local participation and attitudes. We additionally controlled for having children (yes/no) and homeownership (yes/no) in relation to local participation, since these variables have been shown to predict local social activity (*Marschall, 2004*). Regarding openness to both types of newcomers, we

<sup>4</sup> A model with the same variable (i.e. length of residence) being first treated as a predictor of the mediator and then as a moderator in the path from the mediator to the DV could not be estimated at once, which is why we had to specify two separate models.

**Table 2**

Structural equation model predicting place attachment, autochthony, local participation, and the two openness measures with control variables included, Study 1.

	DV: place attachment	DV: autochthony	DV: local participation	DV: openness to internal migrants	DV: openness to international migrants
<b>Total effects</b>					
Length of residence (in 10 years)			0.085 (0.044) <sup>†</sup>	−0.007 (0.043)	−0.057 (0.058)
<b>Direct effects</b>					
Length of residence (in 10 years)	0.168 (0.060)**	0.121 (0.055)*	0.042 (0.042)	0.015 (0.043)	−0.021 (0.055)
Place attachment			0.276 (0.047)***	0.002 (0.064)	0.037 (0.076)
Autochthony			−0.026 (0.043)	−0.180 (0.052)**	−0.345 (0.059)***
<b>Control variables</b>					
Large city (vs. village)	0.099 (0.187)	0.023 (0.169)	−0.400 (0.128)**	0.404 (0.137)**	0.204 (0.174)
Medium city (vs. village)	0.161 (0.192)	−0.222 (0.197)	−0.300 (0.134)*	0.042 (0.165)	−0.084 (0.207)
Town (vs. village)	0.195 (0.206)	−0.092 (0.212)	−0.084 (0.169)	0.303 (0.179)	0.369 (0.204)
Age (in 10 years)	0.007 (0.043)	−0.043 (0.043)	0.125 (0.034)***	0.057 (0.045)	0.045 (0.045)
Female	−0.067 (0.145)	−0.062 (0.141)	−0.024 (0.102)	−0.306 (0.144)*	−0.306 (0.144)*
Education level	−0.032 (0.044)	−0.084 (0.042)*	0.052 (0.027) <sup>†</sup>	0.051 (0.044)	0.051 (0.044)
Having children (vs. no children)			0.356 (0.126)**		
Homeownership			0.296 (0.112)**		
Dutch identification				−0.091 (0.045)*	−0.132 (0.054)*
Right wing ideology				−0.165 (0.042)***	−0.233 (0.050)***
<b>Indirect effects</b>					
Length via place attachment			0.046 (0.019)*	−0.000 (0.011)	0.006 (0.013)
Length via autochthony			−0.003 (0.006)	−0.022 (0.012) <sup>†</sup>	−0.042 (0.021)*
R <sup>2</sup>	.05	.04	.26	.16	.23

Note. Unstandardised coefficients with standard errors in the brackets. The model also includes the covariance between autochthony and place attachment,  $b = 0.129$ ,  $S.E. = 0.098$ ,  $p = .191$ , and between the two measures of openness,  $b = 0.870$ ,  $S.E. = 0.115$ ,  $p < .001$ , as well as between local participation and openness to internal migrants,  $b = 0.099$ ,  $S.E. = 0.054$ ,  $p = .065$ , and between local participation and openness to international migrants,  $b = 0.139$ ,  $S.E. = 0.061$ ,  $p = .023$ .

<sup>†</sup> $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

included political orientation and Dutch identification, which have both been linked to attitudes towards immigrants (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). Political orientation was measured with a self-placement scale (1 = left to 5 = right) and Dutch identification was measured with a question asking how strongly the participants felt Dutch (1 = not at all to 10 = very strongly). The model had a good fit,  $\chi^2(310) = 470.582$ ,  $p < .001$ ; CFI = 0.961; SRMR = 0.041; RMSEA = 0.038 [90% CI: 0.031 - 0.044].

The analyses gave a similar pattern of results for the focal predictors and mediators, although some of the paths became weaker (see Table 2 for point estimates). Place attachment remained a significant mediator between length of residence and participating in local activities [95% CI = 0.013, 0.086]. The indirect effect of length of residence on openness to international migrants via local autochthony was significant, [95% CI = −0.085, −0.004], and so was the indirect effect on openness to internal migrants via local autochthony, [95% CI = −0.049, −0.002].

## 8. Discussion

Based on a nationwide sample of Dutch native respondents, we found that more established residents expressed higher attachment to their neighbourhood than newcomers, which in turn was related to higher local participation. These relationships held over and above the effects of size of location, homeownership, and age. Place attachment was not related to attitudes towards internal or international newcomers.

Furthermore, longer length of residence in the neighbourhood was associated with a stronger belief in local autochthony, which was related to less openness to both internal and international migrants, and this pattern of findings was replicated when controlling for the demographics, national identification, and political orientation. Interestingly, the effect of autochthony was stronger on the openness to international migrants in the neighbourhood than on the openness to internal migrants, resulting in a higher proportion of explained variance in the former than in the latter. This could be because internal

migrants were more accepted in absolute terms, which may have made autochthony a weaker basis for their exclusion. However, it may have also been because our measure did not focus explicitly enough on co-ethnics. The statements referred to internal migrants, which did not rule out the possibility that these could (also) be people of different cultural origin. Thus, the difference in the effect sizes might be even larger if the questions about internal migrants zoomed in on co-ethnics moving in from other neighbourhoods and regions.

Contrary to our hypothesis, endorsement of autochthony was not related to local participation, regardless of length of residence. Therefore, even the more established residents of a neighbourhood who believed that first comers should have more of a say than late-comers did not participate more in neighbourhood activities.

## 9. Study 2

In Study 2 conducted in Great Britain we examined whether a sense of collective ownership of the neighbourhood ('this is "our" neighbourhood'), as theorised by Verkuyten and Martinović (2017), rather than the endorsement of autochthony as a justifying belief, would be related to local participation and attitudes towards newcomers. We also examined if this local sense of ownership would, next to place attachment, explain the relationship between length of residence and these outcomes.

We had the same hypothesis regarding place attachment as in Study 1. We further expected more established residents to report higher collective psychological ownership (CPO), which would be related to higher local participation, but also to lower openness to internal and international migrants to the neighbourhood. We this time explicitly distinguished between people from different countries and native Brits coming from a different region of Great Britain.

**Table 3**  
Means, standard deviations, reliability indices, and correlations for the core constructs, Study 2.

	Range	Mean	SD	$\rho$	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Place attachment	1–7	4.34	1.40	.89					
2. CPO	1–7	4.42	1.33	.90	0.64***				
3. Local participation	1–5	2.21	0.94	.90	0.51***	0.47***			
4. Openness to internal migrants	1–7	4.67	1.12	.79	0.35***	0.32***	0.40***		
5. Openness to international migrants	1–7	4.26	1.50	.89	0.23***	0.00	0.31***	0.62***	
6. Length of residence (in 10 years)	0–7.2	2.04	1.56	–	0.26**	0.22**	0.12**	0.07	–0.07†

Note. † $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ . Latent means presented for all measures except for length of residence.

## 10. Method

### 10.1. Data and participants

Study 2 was conducted among native British participants living in England, Scotland and Wales ( $N = 1018$ ), aged 18 years and older.<sup>5</sup> An online survey was administered by the research company Kantar in March 2019. The study has been approved by the Faculty Ethics Review Board at Utrecht University and by the Ethics and Research Governance Online at the University of Southampton. As in Study 1, the participants' informed consent was obtained before they could continue with the study. In our analyses, we again excluded participants who gave the same answers to all statements with response scales from 1 to 7 (13 cases), which reduced the final sample to 1005 people aged 18–86 years ( $M = 47.38$ ,  $SD = 16.36$ ), 50% of whom were women. To make the sample representative of the native British population, the data were weighted based on age, gender, education, and country.

### 10.2. Measures

Participants were asked for how many years they had lived in the neighbourhood. The variable ranged from 0 to 72 ( $M = 20$  years,  $SD = 15.58$ ).

*Place attachment* was measured by three similar items<sup>6</sup> addressing the neighbourhood as in Study 1, answered on a 7-point scale ( $\alpha = 0.89$ ).

*Collective psychological ownership* was measured by four items that referred to the neighbourhood context, designed specifically for this study: 'We the residents of this neighbourhood feel that this is our neighbourhood', 'This neighbourhood belongs to us, the residents of this neighbourhood, more than to other people living in the area', 'We the local residents feel that we are the rightful owners of this neighbourhood', and 'Because it is our neighbourhood, only we should decide about what happens with it'. Responses were given on a 7-point scale. The items formed a reliable scale,  $\alpha = 0.90$ .

*Local participation* was measured by four items similar to those used in Study 1, one relating to a subjective assessment of the participants' general involvement in the activities in their neighbourhood (1 = *not involved at all* to 5 = *to a great extent*), and three items asking about the frequency with which they engaged in specific activities in their neighbourhood: helping to make the neighbourhood cleaner or safer together with other residents, organizing an activity for the people in the neighbourhood, participating in a local meeting to discuss important issues about the neighbourhood. Responses were given on a scale from 1 (never) to 5 (very often). The four-item scale had high

<sup>5</sup> The scales analysed in this paper were a part of a larger survey that covered other topics related to identification with Great Britain, the Brexit vote and attitudes towards immigrants' welfare rights. Because of this, the sample was much larger than the minimum 305 required to detect an effect equal to 0.22 at the alpha level of 0.05.

<sup>6</sup> The phrasing of one item was slightly different, as it read: "I would regret having to move to another neighbourhood" instead of "I would not want to move to another neighbourhood".

reliability,  $\alpha = 0.85$ .

*Openness to internal migrants* and *openness to international migrants* were each assessed by two items taken from Study 1, except that when referring to internal migrants this time we explicitly asked about Brits from other places in Great Britain. The items thus read: 'Brits from other British regions can contribute a lot to my neighbourhood.', and 'I would appreciate if Brits from other places in Great Britain moved to my neighbourhood', while in case of openness to international migrants we asked about people from other countries and cultures (as in Study 1). Answers were given on a scale from 1 = *completely disagree* to 7 = *completely agree*. The correlation between the two items measuring openness to internal migrants was  $r = 0.66$ , and between the items measuring openness to international migrants  $r = 0.81$ .

## 11. Results

We first run a CFA with all observed 15 items forming the five scales. The fit of the model was not satisfactory,  $\chi^2(80) = 405.90$ ,  $p < .001$ ; CFI = 0.946; SRMR = 0.045; RMSEA = 0.064 [90% CI: 0.058 - 0.070]. A high modification index was found for the first item of collective psychological ownership, which highly loaded on the place attachment factor. This may be due to the fact that this item related to a feeling that the neighbourhood belongs to the residents, rather than an exclusive right to decide about it. In our analyses, we thus excluded this item from the latent construct. The remaining three items measuring CPO formed a reliable scale,  $\alpha = .89$ .

The results of CFA with the 14 observed variables forming the five scales showed that they loaded on distinct factors. The model with five latent variables fitted the data well:  $\chi^2(67) = 207.62$ ,  $p < .001$ ; CFI = 0.974; SRMR = 0.032; RMSEA = 0.046 [90% CI: 0.039 - 0.053]. The fit of the model in which openness to internal migrants and openness to international migrants were treated as one latent factor was significantly worse than of the model treating them as separate constructs,  $\Delta\chi^2(4) = 230.47$ ,  $p < .001$ , with MLR correction. A model that treated CPO and place attachment as one common factor also had a worse fit,  $\Delta\chi^2(4) = 1016.41$ ,  $p < .001$ , with MLR correction.

### 11.1. Descriptive results

The mean scores and standard deviations as well as correlations between the latent constructs and length of residence are presented in Table 3. In contrast to Study 1, the average levels of place attachment, and the two openness measures were all above the scale midpoint, and so was CPO. In line with Study 1, the average level of local participation was below the midpoint, and the openness to internal migrants was again on average significantly higher than the openness to international migrants,  $Wald(1) = 76.969$ ,  $p < .001$ .

Length of residence was positively and significantly related to place attachment, CPO and local participation. The correlation between length of residence and openness to international migrants was negative, which is in contrast with the positive though non-significant correlation with openness to internal migrants. Place attachment was positively and significantly correlated with all the other latent factors, most strongly with CPO. CPO was positively and significantly related to

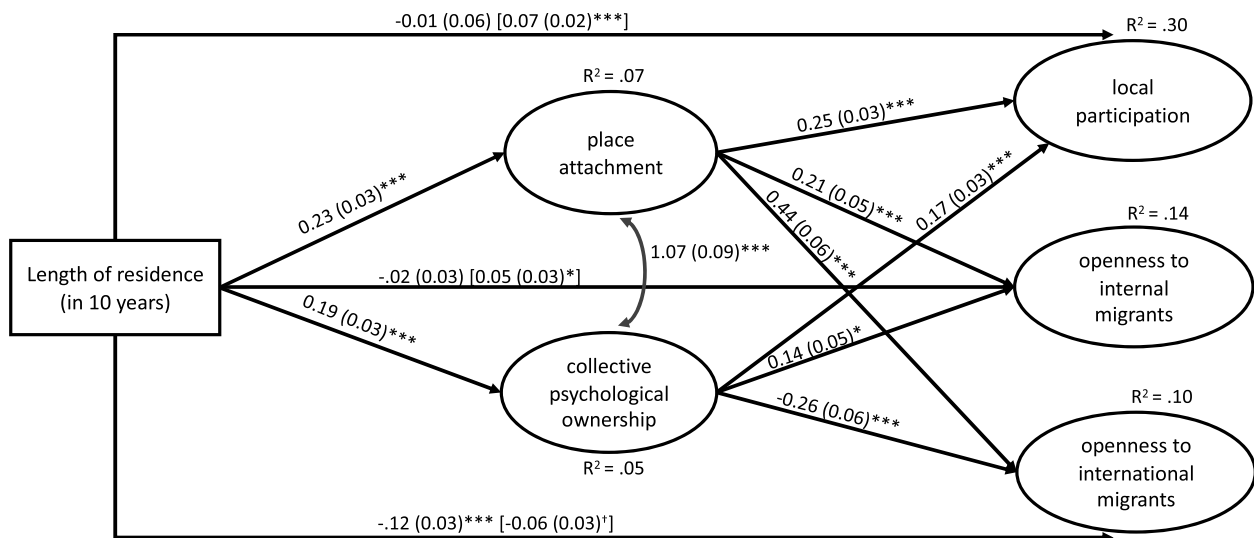


Fig. 2. Results of the mediation model, Study 2. Note. Unstandardised coefficients with standard errors in round brackets and total effects in square brackets. The residual covariances between the three dependent variables were allowed to be nonzero. <sup>†</sup> $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

local participation, and to openness to Brits from other regions, while its correlation with openness to international migrants was not significant.

### 11.2. Explanatory results

We next estimated a structural equation model in *Mplus* (version 7.3) using MLR, with local participation, openness to internal migrants and openness to international migrants as the dependent constructs, length of residence as the main independent variable, and CPO and place attachment as mediators. To obtain the confidence intervals for the indirect effects, we again used the Monte Carlo resampling method.

The proposed model had a good fit:  $\chi^2(76) = 244.785$ ,  $p < .001$ ; CFI = 0.971; SRMR = 0.031; RMSEA = 0.047 [90% CI 0.040 - 0.054]. Fig. 2 presents the path coefficients for the core constructs. As predicted, longer length of residence was associated with higher attachment to the neighbourhood and with higher CPO, and it should be noted that the covariance between the two mediators was positive and significant. Both place attachment and CPO were in turn related to higher local participation. Furthermore, CPO was associated with less openness to international migrants on the one hand, but – surprisingly – more openness to internal migrants on the other hand.<sup>7</sup> Though not expected in our hypotheses, place attachment was positively and significantly related to both openness measures.

As expected, there was a positive indirect effect of length of residence on local participation both through place attachment, point estimate = 0.057 [95% CI: 0.039, 0.079], and through CPO, point estimate = 0.033 [95% CI: 0.019, 0.049]. The respective standardized indirect effects were 0.095 and 0.055, indicating that place attachment was a stronger mediator than CPO. Next, there was a negative indirect effect of length of residence on openness to international migrants via CPO, point estimate = -0.049 [95% CI: 0.079, -0.025], and simultaneously, a positive indirect effect via place attachment, point estimate = 0.102 [95% CI: 0.066, 0.141]. The respective standardized indirect effects were -0.051 and 0.106. Interestingly, as the negative path from length of residence to openness to international migrants became larger and more significant after the inclusion of the mediators

<sup>7</sup> In order to check whether British identification and right-wing ideology were confounding factors driving this unexpected relationship, we additionally controlled for them in relation to CPO. The results did not affect the conclusions.

(see Fig. 2), we can conclude that place attachment, with its positive indirect path, operated as a suppressor.

We further found positive indirect effects of length of residence on openness to internal migrants via CPO, point estimate = 0.027 [95% CI: 0.008, 0.049], and via place attachment, point estimate = 0.048 [95% CI: 0.024, 0.076]. The respective standardized indirect effects were 0.038 and 0.067, indicating that place attachment was a stronger mediator than CPO.

We repeated the analyses controlling for age (in 10 years), gender, education (scale ranging from 1 = no or primary education to 14 = PhD doctorate), the size of the place of residence (large city, medium city, town, and village as the reference category), and the country (Scotland and Wales, with England as the reference category) both in relation to local participation and attitudes. Regarding openness to both types of newcomers, we additionally included political orientation and British identification, measured in the same way as in Study 1. The model with the control variables had a good fit:  $\chi^2(172) = 603.317$ ,  $p < .001$ ; CFI = 0.94; SRMR = 0.048; RMSEA = 0.050 [90% CI 0.046 - 0.054].

The analyses gave a similar pattern of results (see Table 4 for the point estimates). The relationship between length of residence and local participation was mediated by both place attachment [95% CI: 0.030, 0.070], and CPO [95% CI: 0.014, 0.042]. The relationship between length of residence and openness towards international migrants was also significantly mediated by CPO [95% CI: 0.065, -0.017], and by place attachment [95% CI: 0.045, 0.110]. The direct effect of length of residence on openness to international migrants was again negative and larger than the total effect, but neither of them were significant. Finally, the relationship between length of residence and openness towards internal migrants was mediated by both CPO [95% CI: 0.002–0.042] and by place attachment [95% CI: 0.009, 0.055].

## 12. Discussion

Study 2 showed that at the local level, collective psychological ownership is a distinct construct from place attachment, though the two are positively correlated. Both place attachment and CPO increased with longer length of residence in the neighbourhood, and they were positively related to higher local participation. The two constructs independently explained the positive association between length of residence and local participation, resulting in a much higher proportion of the variable's variance explained in this study than in Study 1 (30% vs. 16%), in which the belief in autochthony was included instead of CPO.



**Table 4**

Structural equation model predicting place attachment, collective psychological ownership, local participation, and the two openness measures with control variables included, Study 2.

	DV: place attachment	DV: CPO	DV: local participation	DV: openness to internal migrants	DV: openness to international migrants
<b>Total effects</b>					
Length of residence (in 10 years)			0.108 (0.021)***	0.044 (0.027)	-0.012 (0.032)
<b>Direct effects</b>					
Length of residence (in 10 years)	0.202 (0.033)***	0.172 (0.031)***	0.033 (0.020) <sup>†</sup>	-0.007 (0.028)	-0.049 (0.031)
Place attachment			0.240 (0.032)***	0.149 (0.052)**	0.373 (0.054)***
CPO			0.155 (0.032)***	0.120 (0.055)*	-0.223 (0.059)***
<b>Control variables</b>					
Large city (vs. village)	0.306 (0.147)*	0.123 (0.137)	0.171 (0.084)*	0.383 (0.120)**	0.444 (0.148)**
Medium city (vs. village)	-0.050 (0.172)	-0.272 (0.160)	0.025 (0.106)	0.125 (0.158)	0.205 (0.175)
Town (vs. village)	-0.163 (0.134)	-0.108 (0.211)	-0.061 (0.075)	0.202 (0.106) <sup>†</sup>	0.201 (0.140)
Age (in 10 years)	0.072 (0.033)*	0.025 (0.033)	-0.101 (0.021)***	-0.030 (0.029)	-0.134 (0.033)***
Female	-0.114 (0.095)	-0.390 (0.092)***	-0.106 (0.058) <sup>†</sup>	0.018 (0.080)	-0.082 (0.093)
Education level	0.037 (0.014)*	0.032 (0.015)*	0.042 (0.009)***	0.047 (0.013)***	0.092 (0.015)***
British identification				0.146 (0.035)***	0.059 (0.042)
Right wing ideology				-0.132 (0.046)**	-0.358 (0.051)***
<b>Indirect effects</b>					
Length via place attachment			0.048 (0.010)***	0.030 (0.012)**	0.075 (0.016)***
Length via CPO			0.027 (0.007)***	0.021 (0.010)*	-0.038 (0.013)**
R <sup>2</sup>	.10	.09	.39	.20	.29

Note. Unstandardised coefficients with standard errors in the brackets. The model also includes the covariance between CPO and place attachment,  $b = 1.020$ ,  $S.E. = 0.084$ ,  $p < .001$ , and between the two measures of openness,  $b = 0.719$ ,  $S.E. = 0.093$ ,  $p < .001$ , as well as between local participation and openness to internal migrants,  $b = 0.160$ ,  $S.E. = 0.033$ ,  $p < .001$ , and between local participation and openness to international migrants,  $b = 0.176$ ,  $S.E. = 0.039$ ,  $p < .001$ .

<sup>†</sup> $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Interestingly, CPO was positively related to openness to Brits coming from different British regions, but negatively to openness to international migrants, although the latter effect was stronger. Moreover, place attachment was positively related to both openness measures, which means that residents who were more attached to their neighbourhoods were more open to British newcomers from different British regions and to newcomers from outside Great Britain. In effect, length of residence had an indirect positive effect on openness to internal migrants through both mediators, altogether explaining a higher proportion of variance than in openness to international migrants, contrary to Study 1. The effect of length of residence on openness to international migrants was weaker and more ambiguous, since CPO was a negative mediator, and place attachment a positive one.

### 13. General discussion

In this paper we proposed that length of residence in the neighbourhood can have both a bright and a dark side. We argued that residents who have spent more years in the neighbourhood would be more involved in local activities on the one hand, but also less accepting of newcomers on the other hand, and that this could be explained by two mechanisms: place attachment and perceived entitlements. Regarding the latter, we distinguished between collective psychological ownership (CPO) as a sense of in-group's ownership of a place and autochthony belief as a general principle through which people recognise first comers as owners of a place.

In two nationwide studies, one conducted in the Netherlands, and one in Great Britain, we found that more established residents expressed higher attachment to their neighbourhood than less established residents, which in turn was related to higher local participation. This supports the systemic model described by Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) according to which length of residence is a crucial determinant of community attachment and participation, and the subsequent empirical research which has reached similar conclusions (Anton & Lawrence, 2014; Brown et al., 2003; Kang & Kwak, 2003). Moreover, length of residence was positively related to perceived entitlements, captured as autochthony belief in Study 1 and collective psychological ownership in Study 2. This means that people who have lived in a neighbourhood for

longer are more likely to believe that more established inhabitants should have the right to decide on community-related issues and to feel a stronger sense of collective ownership of the neighbourhood. Our research also demonstrates that place attachment was a distinct concept from perceived entitlements, even though it correlated positively and significantly with CPO and positively though marginally with autochthony. Therefore, according to our results, being emotionally attached to the place of residence is rarely accompanied by a belief that established inhabitants should be granted more rights, but tends to be accompanied by a sense of greater collective entitlements.

Contrary to our hypothesis, the belief in stronger entitlements for original inhabitants was not related to local participation, and additionally, this did not depend on individual length of residence: even when the more established residents of a neighbourhood believed that first comers should have more of a say than late-comers, they did not feel more obliged to act on behalf of their own neighbourhood. This means that autochthony as an ideology did not translate into a sense of responsibility that would result in investing time in acting on behalf of the community. However, a more general sense of collective ownership over the neighbourhood was positively related to local participation, as Study 2 showed. Thus, the feeling that 'this is our neighbourhood' seems to be associated with feeling responsible for it, which contributes to involvement in community activities. This provides evidence that, at least at the local level, a sense of collective ownership does have positive consequences, as hypothesised by Verkuyten and Martinović (2017). In result, both place attachment and collective psychological ownership were independent mechanisms underlying the association between length of residence and local participation, resulting in a much higher proportion of explained variance for the level of local participation in Study 2 than in Study 1.

As expected, both the belief in autochthony and CPO were related to less openness to international migrants. Past research has already shown that attitudes towards immigrants are more negative among people who more strongly believe that first-comers in a country should be more entitled to it (Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013), and among these who report stronger psychological ownership of a country (Brylka et al., 2015). The current study extends these findings to the neighbourhood context, and demonstrates the mediating role of perceived entitlements

in the relationship between length of residence and openness to migrants in the neighbourhood.

The results regarding openness to internal migrants are more complex. In the Dutch study, the pattern of findings resembled those for openness to international migrants, but the association between endorsement of autochthony and openness to internal migrants was weaker. In other words, the belief that the original inhabitants of the neighbourhood should be granted more entitlements was more strongly associated with lower openness to migrants from different countries and cultures than to migrants from different Dutch regions. Meanwhile, in the British study, in which we explicitly distinguished between people from different countries and native Brits coming from a different region of Great Britain, the association between collective psychological ownership and openness to (British) internal migrants was even positive, contrary to our hypothesis. Thus, although collective psychological ownership referred to the neighbourhood, research participants who strongly felt that they collectively owned their neighbourhood of residence were more welcoming of potential newcomers from other British regions. This result held when controlling for British identification and political orientation. It could be that a sense of collectively owning the neighbourhood provided the participants with a sense of control over the development in the neighbourhood and thus a feeling of safety, which contributed to their higher openness to potential newcomers from the ethnic ingroup.

Taken together, the results of the two studies thus suggest that perceived entitlements to a given place are more strongly related to exclusion based on ethnicity of the newcomers than solely on later arrival. This is an unexpected finding given that we studied the neighbourhood context, in which neither the autochthony nor collective psychological ownership measures referred to the ethnic majority group. It therefore seems that although at a neighbourhood level autochthony does not have to be related to ethnicity (Elias & Scotson, 1965), the term 'first-comers' used in Study 1 could automatically trigger ethnic categorization rather than a distinction into locals and newcomers. This could have been especially the case for members of the native majority group, who were our participants. It may be that even when the statements about autochthony refer to first inhabitants of a neighbourhood, native majority members would associate these with the first-comers in the country, and thus with their ethnic ingroup. This raises the question for future research whether the concept of autochthony is interpreted differently by, and has different implications for, natives and people with an immigration background. Similarly, although collective psychological ownership as measured in Study 2 referred to a general feeling of neighbourhood ownership not based on ethnicity or autochthony, it could be that the native British participants automatically applied the ethnic categorization to the neighbourhood level. Ethnic categories could have been triggered especially at the time when Brexit was going to happen, as the debates surrounding it made the ethnic and racial divisions even more salient. It would be interesting to examine if the positive relationship between collective psychological ownership and openness to internal migrants would hold also in the Netherlands or another country with a native majority group.

As regards the link between place attachment and openness to newcomers, the results were mixed. In Study 1, place attachment was not related to attitudes towards internal or international newcomers, which resonates with the finding on place attachment not being a barrier to reconciliation in conflict areas (Storz et al., 2019). In Study 2, conducted in Great Britain, we even found a positive association between place attachment and both types of openness. In result, the proportion of explained variance in attitudes towards internal migrants more than doubled in Study 2 compared to Study 1. This would suggest that among the British participants, being attached to the neighbourhood operated as an inclusive feeling which implied acceptance of non-residents. Altogether, whereas in both studies place attachment conceptualised as an emotional bond with the neighbourhood was a

pathway to stronger engagement in local matters, in case of openness to potential newcomers it remained one only in Study 2. These findings taken together with the negative relation between CPO and openness to international newcomers also demonstrate the different ways in which place attachment and CPO operated, although they were strongly related. While the feeling of collectively owning the neighbourhood functioned as a barrier to openness to newcomers from different countries, place attachment served as a bridge to it, making the long-term residents more welcoming towards foreigners. This demonstrates that place attachment as such does not have to be related to the willingness to preserve the place as it is regarding its social composition.

Future studies should try to investigate the conditions under which place attachment can result in positive attitudes towards newcomers and outgroup members. This could be partially determined by the content of place attachment. As Lewicka (2011b) suggests, especially the active type of place attachment can generate feelings of sharing and inclusion, and can be related to trust in unknown people. Meanwhile, traditional attachment may be related to reluctance to change and thus a less welcoming approach to newcomers (Wnuk & Oleksy, 2019). While we did not examine the content of place attachment, it could be that the active type of attachment was common among the participants of Study 2, but not of Study 1. Adding measures of the content of place attachment in future research would allow to test this hypothesis.

Our research has several limitations, which provide possible directions for future work. First, both our studies relied on correlational data. We were thus able to analyse opposing outcomes of length of residence in a neighbourhood for different outcomes, but not establish causality in the processes that underlie these relations. Longitudinal research could allow to verify whether the changes in the level of local participation and openness to migrants result from changes in the level of place attachment and perceived territorial entitlements. Using surveys also means that social desirability remains an issue with regard to sensitive topics, and such can be considered questions about exclusionary ideologies and attitudes towards ethnic outgroups. Thus, respondents could have underreported their negative attitudes or their agreement with autochthony. Yet, it is reassuring to see that the mean scores were close to the midpoint of the scale or even higher, and there was substantial variation in answers, indicating that people mostly felt free to express their endorsement of these ideologies and attitudes.

Second, in line with the established literature in the environmental psychology (see review in Lewicka, 2011a), we treated place attachment as an individual level phenomenon, and we pitted it against perceived entitlements at the collective level. A question remains to what extent the two concepts operate differently due to this distinction in levels, and to what extent this is due to the different nature of attachment and entitlements. Specifically, place attachment is an emotional, affective bond with a place, while perceived entitlements refer to ownership of and control over the place. While we study collective psychological ownership of the neighbourhood, there is abundant literature on personal entitlement (e.g. Anastasio & Rose, 2014; Campbell, Bonacci, Shelton, Exline, & Bushman, 2004) and personal ownership (e.g., Friedman & Ross, 2011; Pierce, Kostova, & Dirks, 2003) whereby people feel that they are individually entitled to or own a given object (though this would probably apply less to larger territories). Similarly, place attachment could also be conceptualised at a group level and address the feeling that one's group belongs to a given territory (Storz et al., 2019). It remains to be seen if our findings would replicate with place attachment and perceived entitlements treated at the same – individual or collective – level.

Third, we relied on samples of members of the native majority group. It would be interesting for future research to include the perspective of neighbourhood residents with an immigration background, to find out whether they – as a nationally non-autochthonous group – reject the idea of autochthony as a basis for outgroup exclusion in the neighbourhood as well, or that, due to system justification processes by which people defend the societal status quo (Jost & Banaji, 1994), they

internalise the belief in autochthony and reproduce the pattern of findings detected among the native majority. Furthermore, a study including measures of both collective psychological ownership and the belief in autochthony would allow to examine the effects of each of these constructs independently of each other, as well as the relationship between these two forms of entitlements.

Finally, we do not have the characteristics of the neighbourhoods in which our participants lived, since we were not able to collect data on the addresses of our participants in an online study. Meanwhile, the level of the ethnic diversity and segregation in the neighbourhoods of residence could affect how participants define their ingroup when it comes to their local community. It is likely that our participants (natives) lived in rather ethnically homogeneous neighbourhoods and thus automatically thought of other native residents of their own neighbourhoods. Future research could try to specifically target participants living in neighbourhoods with different ethnic compositions, to investigate whether the level of ethnic diversity might affect the relationship between perceived entitlements and attitudes towards international and internal migrants. This could also allow to verify whether collective psychological ownership and the endorsement of autochthony would be negatively related to openness to newly arriving natives among established neighbourhood residents from a minority background.

#### 14. Conclusion

The present work adds to the literature on people-place bonds and perceived territorial entitlements by showing that length of residence in a given community has both positive and negative outcomes. This clearly has implications for community cohesion. Our findings indicate that more established residents are on the one hand more engaged locally, due to both stronger place attachment and sense of collective ownership, but they may be less accepting of newcomers of immigrant origin due to their stronger autochthony beliefs and sense of collective ownership. A neighbourhood with small residential turnover may be one in which the residents actively participate in local affairs, but at the same time they are not open to newcomers. Such a community can be a nice place to live in for the locals, but not for outsiders from different countries. Meanwhile, a neighbourhood with high turnover may be one that remains open to newcomers from other regions and countries, but to which the residents are not emotionally attached, and are not interested in local affairs, or do not feel responsible for their own community. Such a neighbourhood, although ethnically and socially diverse, would not be capable of forming a cohesive community. The above may suggest that stimulating place attachment on the one hand, and de-stimulating autochthony beliefs on the other, could contribute to stronger local cohesion.

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#### CRediT authorship contribution statement

**Sabina Toruńczyk-Ruiz:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Formal analysis, Visualization, Writing - original draft, Funding acquisition. **Borja Martinović:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing - review & editing, Funding acquisition.

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#### Appendix A. Supplementary data

The data will be deposited in an online archive EASY of the Data Archiving and Network Services (DANS, <https://easy.dans.knaw.nl/ui/home>) at the end of the ERC project in 2022. Interested researchers will be able to register and download the data and documentation.

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