# Overcoming Social Boundaries

Social workers' interpretation of discourse on the violent acts in Paris and Brussels
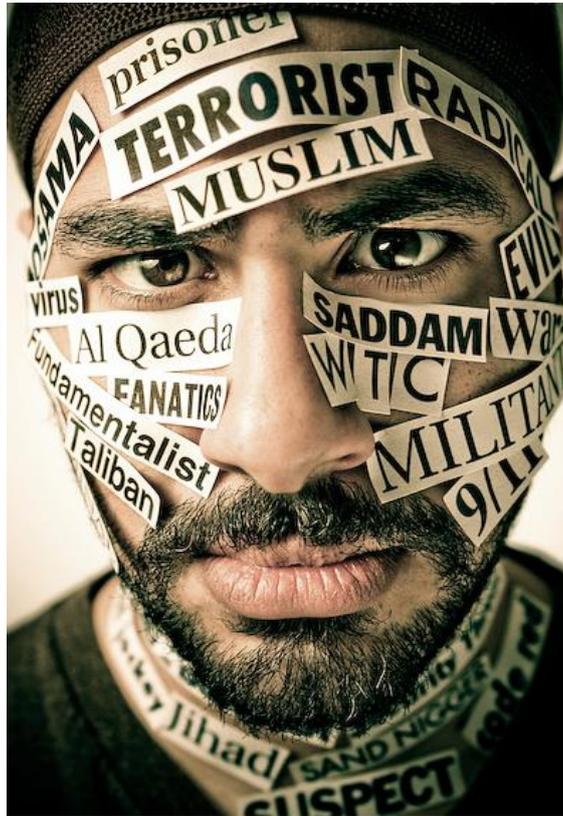
N. Tebbens
5662192
Utrecht University
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L.M. Gould
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The picture on the front page is made by Ridwan Adhami, who was born to Syrian immigrant parents:

> Like many children of immigrants who try to build bridges between the old and new world, he was highly creative and passionate about telling stories. (..) Using his lens, he wants to put a face on the pain and suffering that plague so many. Ridwan plans to work with all aspects of multimedia to humanize the struggle and to dispel to the world a message of peace, acceptance, and understanding.

Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/ridzdesign/

Abstract

This research aims to provide an understanding of how the interpretation of the violent acts in Paris and Brussels influences processes of boundary drawing, and intergroup behaviour in Dutch society. Discourse Theory, theories on boundary drawing and Social Identity Theory are applied to gain such insight and the relation between these theories and the evidence collected is analysed. This evidence is obtained through semi-structured interviews with social workers, whose interpretation is central to this research. The social workers have identified media as platforms on which meaning is given to social events, in particular violent acts, which tends to provoke fear for the Muslim 'other'. This process of othering has been put into motion by frames (problem identification, causal diagnosis, moral judgment and remedy suggestion) within the discourse on the violent acts and has implications for the way people position themselves vis-à-vis others. Social boundaries are created, reified and enacted in this process and this has led to negative attitudes between Muslims and non-Muslims. The social workers aim to overcome these social boundaries, both on a political as well as on a local level, by creating intergroup dialogue. Moreover, some of them create a counter-discourse in order to give a different meaning to Islam or Muslims. However, they feel limited in their work because of a lack of facilities and public support.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is written as part of the Master's programme Conflict Studies & Human Rights. The programme has given me the opportunity to further explore my interests and develop an understanding of the issues at stake in the field. I was challenged to think beyond my own scope, which proved very difficult at times but made this an invaluable year.

Lauren Gould assisted me in the process of thesis writing by critically reflecting on my work and providing guidance in the process itself, and I would like to thank her for all the effort she made in the form of comments, critical questions and mental support. Jolle Demmers also made a valuable contribution to my thesis writing process by organizing all my thoughts and ideas into an orderly mind map.

Moreover, I would like to thank all people who were willing to tell their story and helped me wherever they could. This research is built upon the stories you have told me and without you I would never have been able to write this thesis.

Last but not least, I could not imagine myself carrying out this research without the support of my family and friends. They probably all know my thesis by heart considering the endless dialogues on the difficulties of this research in which they took part. In particular, it helped a great deal to explain to them what my research was about again, as I often got mixed up into academic perspectives.

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Introduction

The last samurai

This is the story of mediators, of people who intend to bring different groups of people together. Being one of these mediators, Raşit Bal is trying to build bridges between Muslims and non-Muslims in Dutch society. He is the founder of the Imam education of InHolland[1] and chair of CMO[2] and argues that a gap exists between the two groups, which he tries to overcome in his work. He hopes that he will turn out, what he calls 'the last samurai', the last person needed in order to close the gap and overcome group boundaries. However, these group boundaries seem to have become more salient recently due to violent acts of terrorism. "We can diagnose that the gap is increasing and is becoming more apparent due to the attacks. That is why we can speak of social polarization." Thus, he expects that more mediators will be needed after him to continue his work.[3]

The story of Raşit Bal points at the role of mediators in overcoming group boundaries in Dutch society, that seem to have become more prominent due to the violent acts. This research focuses on these mediators, their interpretation of the way discourse on the violent acts affects society, and the way they act upon this.

1. Research puzzle

Europe has become the scene of terrorist attacks. While this research focuses on the attacks in Paris last year (November 13) and Brussels this year (March 22), France has again become the site of terrorism after an attack in Nice[4] followed by attacks in Germany[5]. The acts of terrorism have led to a fierce debate within Dutch society on how these violent acts could happen and how they should be prevented in the future. The central question in this debate is how people should make sense of the violent acts. Different studies have pointed out that media play a central role in answering this question, thereby giving voice to, or creating certain discourses that articulate interpretations of social events (Batziou, 2011; Gamson et al., 1992; Gitlin, 1980; Hallam & Street, 2000; Norris et al., 2003; Paletz & Entman, 1981; Rubenstein et al., 1994; Tuchman, 1978; Vergeer,

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[1] This is a four-years' bachelor programme, founded in 2006. The following news article provides more information about the programme: http://www.volkskrant.nl/politiek/inholland-begint-imamopleiding~a684694/. In 2013, the programme will not be extended, as explained in this news report; http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5091/Religie/article/detail/3390277/2013/02/08/Enige-beroepsopleiding-voor-imams-verdwijnt.dhtml

[2] CMO refers to 'Contact Orgaan Moslims en Overheid' (Contact Organ Muslims and Government).

[3] Author's interview on 19 May 2016 with R. Bal, founder of the Imam education of InHolland and chair of CMO.

[4] The terrorist attack in Nice (July 14, 2016) was reported by The Guardian; https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2016/jul/14/nice-bastille-day-france-attack-promenade-des-anglais-vehicle.

[5] An overview and discussion of the consequences of the attacks in Germany can be found on http://buitenland.eenvandaag.nl/tv-items/68271/welke_gevolgen_hebben_de_aanslagen_in_duitsland .

2000). It is argued that news reports select, emphasize and exclude by using certain frames that organize discourse in a certain way (Gitlin, 1980; Tuchman, 1978).

Moreover, research has pointed at the role that such articulations play in the context of violent acts. Rubenstein et al. argue for example that reporting on conflicts can influence the conflict itself and the way the conflict is perceived (Rubenstein et al., 1994). They refer to journalists as 'third parties', "actors whose decisions, even if they are acting as nonpartisan neutrals, can strongly influence the course and outcome of a struggle" (Rubenstein et al., 1994, p.7). They argue that media can play a role in a peace process if they would deepen the understanding of a conflict (Rubenstein et al., 1994). Norris et al. focused in their research on the role of news frames in reporting on terrorism. They argue that such frames have a large influence on the perception of terrorism and the way in which possible solutions are perceived. "A one-sided news frame can block the reception of contrary independent evidence. Feelings of threat are magnified by the constant use of the frame." (Norris et al., 2003, p.283) Such news frames seem also to be used in Dutch media as Duyvendak et al., argue that there is an "overwhelming attention in the Dutch media for issues in which foreigners, Islam and terrorism are connected to each other" (Duyvendak et al., 2008, p.54). This connection can become essential in understanding Islam and Muslims when people have less knowledge about it themselves (Powell, 2011) which means that news on terrorism can fill a gap of knowledge. Hence, it seems that media have the ability to steer the interpretation of violent acts, either by creating their own version of social events or giving voice to already created discourses. Muslims in the Netherlands fear that negative attitudes towards them will expand because of this interpretation (Berg & Schothorst, 2016). Duyvendak et al. (2008) put this into words as they pose the question whether fear exists in society or whether this fear has been created.[6]

Politicians are also understood to be important actors creating discourses of interpretation (Entman, 1993). Especially in the context of terrorism, discourse is used by politicians to steer public discussion and debate, often to create political support (Hodges & Nilep, 2007). This discourse is able to gain ground because of the unanswered questions that exist after acts of terrorism. The 'why' question posed after the attacks in New York in 2001 is, according to Hodges and Nilep, "a cry for meaning to be made out of devastation" (Hodges & Nilep, 2007, p.2). Thus, a need for explanation existed in American society which the US government provided by creating a certain discourse, that of 'the war against terrorism' (Bush, September 11, 2001). This 'war against terrorism' legitimized military actions of the Bush administration (Hodges & Nilep, 2007). The terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels were also followed by political statements all over the world that could steer public opinion and give meaning to the violent acts. In Dutch society for example, a feeling of threat seems to have been created by the Dutch government. Duyvendak et

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[6] Translated from the Dutch quote: "Is Nederland inderdaad bang, of wordt de Nederlandse bevolking vooral bang gemaakt?"(p.10-11).

al., emphasize that campaigns and governmental measures in the Netherlands imply that Dutch society is threatened by terrorism, which is endorsed by statements made by Dutch politicians (Duyvendak et al., 2008). This illustrates the important role that politicians can play in interpreting violent acts and in particular acts of terrorism.

When looking at the effect of discourse on society, the context in which discourse is translated has to be taken into account. The discourse on the violent acts in Paris and Brussels this year can be placed in the larger Dutch context that is characterized by prejudice against Muslims or Islam in general, and migrant groups (Berg & Schothorst, 2016; Duyvendak et al., 2008; Ghorashi, 2009; Huijnk & Dagevos, 2012). Contrasts within Dutch society have increased through a process of polarization, defined as "the increase and intensification of contrasts, in which different groups in society become alienated and become opposites" (Kinniging, 2009, p.12).[7] This process of polarization weakens trust and is a source of tensions and conflict in society (Ghorashi, 2009). A research in 2012, carried out by Huijnk and Dagevos, revealed that a minority of Muslims believe that Dutch citizens respect the Islamic culture and 40% of the Dutch citizens think that the Western way of life and Muslims are not compatible. Furthermore, the research showed that interethnic contact between Dutch citizens and non-western migrants in their spare time decreased between 1994 and 2011. This indicates that Dutch society is indeed characterized by polarization. This polarization is understood to be driven by a fear for the unknown, as pointed out by Berg and Schothorst (2016). In line with this thought, Duyvendak et al. (2008) argue that Dutch people are afraid for dominance of foreigners, Moroccans, Turkish people, Muslims, fundamentalist and terrorists. A report of the WRR (2007) points out that perceived threat are particularly developed in times of crisis and provides an overview of the threat resulting from this, among which the perception that the Dutch culture is threatened. According to Berg and Schothorst (2016), the fear for the unknown creates a lack of understanding, respect and knowledge, communication problems and distrust between Dutch citizens and Dutch citizens with a non-western background.

Polarization in Dutch society goes hand in hand with the emergence and increasing popularity of right wing parties. Anti-immigration tendencies within Dutch politics have developed and gained popularity from 1982 onwards. After 9/11, these parties began to focus in their agenda on Muslims and Islam (Fennema & van der Brug, 2006). Currently, Wilders and his party the PVV[8] are estimated to be the biggest party in Dutch politics ("zetelverdeling 2e kamer", 2016). Building on the fear that exists in Dutch society for the arrival of foreigners and the 'islamization' of Dutch culture (Duyvendak et al., 2008; Lubbers et al., 2009) most of these parties revert to the safety of

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[7] Translated from Dutch quote: "De vergroting en verscherping van tegenstellingen, waarbij verschillende groepen in de samenleving van elkaar vervreemden en tegenover elkaar kunnen staan."
[8] PVV refers to 'Partij Voor de Vrijheid' (Party for Freedom), which is a Dutch right-wing political party that was founded in 2006 by Geert Wilders. The key components of its political programme focus on security and immigration. More information can be found on http://www.parlement.com/id/vhnnmt7m4rqi/partij_voor_de_vrijheid_pvv.

a national community. Islam is in this multicultural debate associated with political Islam and moderate Muslims are understood as non-existent (Dommering, 2009).

This research focuses on how social workers interpret the discourse on the violent acts in Paris and Brussels and how they feel it has affected social boundaries in Dutch society. Hereby, the notion of 'duality of structure' as defined by Giddens is taken as starting point. Thus, individuals are not considered as passive agents who adopt discourse unquestioningly, but rather as individuals who have agency. This research therefore poses the following question *"How do social workers interpret the way discourse, on the violent acts in Paris and Brussels, influences social boundary drawing and intergroup behaviour in Dutch society, and how do they act upon this?"*

This question is divided into the following research questions:

1. How do social workers working in the field of intergroup dialogue interpret the discourse on the violent acts in Paris and Brussels?
2. How do social workers working in the field of intergroup dialogue interpret the way this discourse influences boundary drawing and intergroup behaviour in Dutch society?
3. How do they act upon this interpretation of the relationship between discourse, boundary drawing and intergroup behaviour?

The following figure displays these research questions and the links between them.
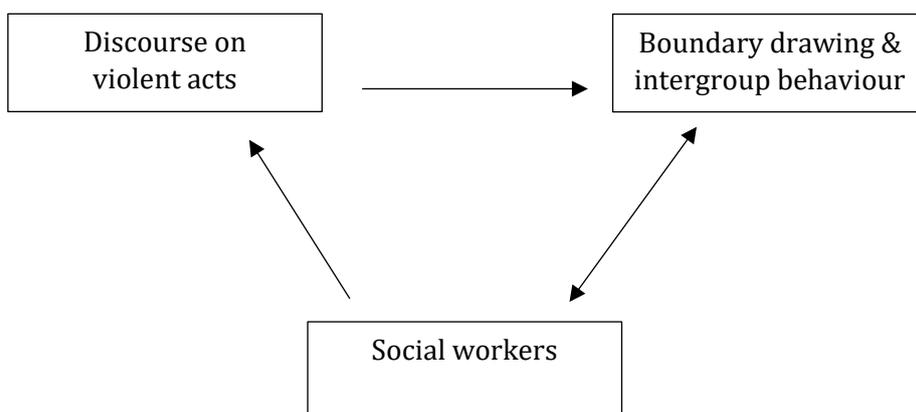
Figure 1. Research framework

In the next chapter that elaborates on the theoretical framework used in this research, this research framework will be discussed in more detail.

2. Social and academic relevance

This research is situated in the academic debate focusing on diversity in the Netherlands. The process of polarization has been addressed extensively with an emphasis on attitudes and perceptions that exist towards 'the other', thereby accentuating social boundaries.[9] Huijnk and Dagevos (2012) for example, have drawn a picture of interethnic relations within Dutch society and underlying attitudes that influence these relations. Another research to which these researchers contributed elaborated on this by focusing on the negative status of Muslims in Dutch society and processes of radicalism and extremism that may result from this (Huijnk, Dagevos, et al., 2015).

In their research on the Integrated Threat Theory, González et al. (2008) analysed how, and under what circumstances, negative attitudes towards Muslims are being developed. They have found that stereotypes and symbolic threats, which are threats resulting from differences in values, norms and beliefs, can lead to prejudice towards Muslims. The existence of such a feeling of threat is also illustrated by a report of the WRR[10], in which the influence of different kinds of threat on identification processes is described. Furthermore, research has paid attention to contextual circumstances that can affect social relations in society and thereby create social boundaries. Dommering (2009) for example, illustrates the polarizing effect that politics can have, thereby focusing on polarization of the Islam debate.[11] As mentioned in the former paragraph, media also provide certain conditions that can result in the accentuation of social boundaries. This is illustrated by Vergeer, who found that media can stimulate feelings of ethnic threat and thereby influence attitudes and perceptions towards others (Vergeer, 2000). These studies have tend to isolate different platforms on which meaning is given to social events, while this research will also address the struggle in which different actors seek to obtain dominance.

Different theoretical implications are combined in this research to gain an understanding of how social boundaries are accentuated. By incorporating both Discourse Theory, as well as theory on boundary drawing and Social Identity Theory, this research aims at understanding how the mechanisms underlying these theories complement each other and whether they help to understand how social boundaries are (re)constructed. This interaction between different theories has been under addressed in other research, in which theories are mainly discussed or tested separately.

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[9] These social boundaries are created in a social relationship and are the result of processes of identification vis-à-vis others (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Eriksen, 1993). 'The other' is understood as the social construct of 'us' versus 'them' thinking, or thinking in social groups (Fabian, 1991). A more detailed discussion on the concept and implications of social boundaries is presented in chapter one.
[10] WRR refers to 'Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid' (Scientific Council for Government Policy)
[11] This debate concentrates on the arrival or presence of immigrants from Muslim countries and the way Dutch society should cope with this.

Furthermore, there is a lack of insight in the relationship between violent acts (and in particular acts of terrorism), discourse and social boundaries, as most studies on diversity focus only on the effects of the presence of non-western immigrants or Muslims on (Dutch) society (Boelhouwer et al., 2016; Ghorashi, 2009; González et al., 2008; Huijnk & Dagevos, 2012). Furthermore, research aimed at analysing the effects of terrorist attacks mainly focus on its political effects and the way terrorism is countered (Burkitt, 2005; de Graaf, 2012; Hodges & Nilep, 2007; Kern et al., 2004; Oberleitner, 2004; see Ingram & Dodds, 2009 for an overview). Berg and Schothorst (2016) do pay attention to the relationship between violent acts and social boundaries in their research for which they organized focus group discussions *autochtonen* (native Dutch citizens) as well as *allochtonen* (non-native Dutch citizens). The *allochtonen* (with a non-western background) expressed the fear of increasing negative attitudes towards Muslims after the violent acts took place. Interestingly, they also found that these respondents adjusted their behaviour because of this fear. This research will add to this insight by developing a more in-depth understanding of the relationship between discourse on violent acts (those in Paris and Brussels), and the social boundaries and behaviour that follows.

Whereas most research on diversity has concentrated on the way Dutch citizens themselves perceive others and their relationships with others, this research takes a new approach by taking the interpretation of professionals, that is, social workers as a starting point. They only represent a small group of the actors involved in the process of meaning making related the violent acts in Paris and Brussels, but can offer valuable insight in both the way social life is affected by this process of meaning making as well as the way in which this affects social work (focusing more on the practical aspects of this relationship). Throughout their work, they have not only close contact with Muslims but also with other organizations and citizens in the neighbourhood.[12] Thus, they are expected to have an understanding of how Muslims are positioned in Dutch society, and can therefore provide insight in the way Muslims relate to other social groups and the processes that influence this relationship. In some cases, the Muslim background of the professionals themselves contribute to such an insight.

Accordingly, this research intends to comprehend the way professionals deal with social boundaries in practice; (how) do they try to overcome social boundaries and to what extent are they able to do so? The importance of overcoming these boundaries is expressed by the Dutch government on a national as well as municipal level. The existence of clear cut social boundaries is seen as problematic for Dutch society as it paves the way to radicalization and insecurity (Ministerie van BZK, 2007; AIVD, 2005). Thus, Dutch government claims to strive for what is called an 'inclusive society' in which all social groups in society are included and polarization is overcome (Ministerie van BZK, 2007; Gemeente Utrecht, 2015). This research gains insight in how this 'inclusive society' can be achieved, focusing on the work of social workers who concentrate

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[12] The latter concerns social workers more than it concerns policymakers.

primarily on the situation of Muslims in Dutch society. Thus, specific attention is paid to discourse on Muslims in the Netherlands and the social boundaries that separate them from other Dutch citizens.

In conclusion, this research offers an insight in the way social workers interpret the discourses on violent acts (the Paris' and Brussels' attacks), the way this influences social boundaries and the way this affects them in practice. Hereby, it is expected to make a valuable contribution to the current academic state of knowledge and to gain insight in how this knowledge is and can be translated in practice.

3. Violent acts in context

The terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels are the main topics in this research. They are analysed within the broader academic debate that concentrates on the relationship between violence, the interpretation of violence and the consequences this has for society, and are therefore described as 'violent acts'. The fact that these violent acts are understood as acts of terrorism is however important in this analysis. This paragraph therefore provides context by describing the development and implications of terrorism in general, followed by a description of the acts of terrorism in Paris and Brussels, and how they relate to the larger context of terrorism.

3.1. Terrorism and the perception of threat

Terrorism is not a phenomenon of this century; it finds its origin in the French revolution. The meaning given to the word 'terrorism' or 'terror' has changed throughout the years but the key aspects have remained the same. An act of terrorism is an organized, deliberate and systematic act and it is political in nature. "Its goal and its very justification – like that of contemporary terrorism – was the creation of a 'new and better society'" (Hoffman, 2006, p.4). Terrorism was redefined when New York was attacked by al Qaeda on September 11, 2001. Whereas earlier terrorism before had been directed towards targeted victims, it was now directed towards innocent civilians. Terrorism had never caused so many deaths and the consequences of this sequence of attacks were out of all proportions (Hoffman, 2006). This new form of global terrorism, called 'new terrorism', is characterized by the involvement of Islamic fundamentalist groups and also distinguishes itself from earlier forms of terrorism in terms of funding, structure and scope (Mythen & Walklate, 2008). Underlying motives to this new terrorism are primarily of religious nature (Hoffman, 2006), and terrorism became linked to Muslims and the fight of the West against the East (Powell, 2011). These dichotomies (non-Muslims versus Muslims and West against the East) became even more salient as terrorist attacks in Western countries continued, for example in Madrid in 2004, London in 2005 and in Paris 2015 (in January, when a gun attack was carried out at the office of Charlie Hebdo, and in November).[13]

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[13] An overview can be found on https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/14/paris-attacks-timeline-20-years-of-terror.

The interpretation of terrorist attacks is understood as being determinant for the responses that follow from these attacks (Hodges & Nilep, 2007; Hoffman, 2006; Kern et al., 2004). As mentioned in the first paragraph, this interpretation is often developed by media and politicians which can thereby steer public opinion (Duyvendak et al., 2008; Hodges & Nilep, 2007; Hoffman, 2006; Kern et al., 2004; Norris et al., 2003). Different studies have shown that a perception of threat is articulated in the interpretation of terrorist acts thereby accentuating the 'us' versus 'them' division (Duyvendak et al., 2008; Hoffman, 2006; Kern et al., 2004; Norris et al., 2003; Stenvall, 2007). According to Kern et al., the Bush administration exaggerated the situation by creating the image that the Americans would live in an 'especially dangerous' place. "The evidence suggests that the public misperceived the statistical risk of terrorist acts, which is not surprising given the general difficulty the public has in calculating risk and particular types of risks." (Kern et al., 2004, p.282, see also Slovic et al., 1980) Hence, this obstruction enables media and politicians to steer the public perception of threat. By emphasizing feelings of threat, a 'culture of fear' can come into being, in which fear becomes institutionalized in society (Furedi, 1997; Tudor, 2003). This is illustrated by Tudor (2003); "fear experienced and articulated over an extended period is likely to be more open to socially patterned processes of reinforcement and routinisation" (p.241). A culture of fear is created when different sets of fear are connected; "A publicly articulated and apparently interconnected set of fears constitutes a potentially much more powerful cultural resource than a single fearful disposition." (p.253)[14]

The perception of threat is an important derivative of terrorism and has repercussions on society, on a political as well as a social level. According to Furedi (1997) a "perception of being at risk expresses a pervasive mood in society (..) one that influences action in general" (as cited in Tudor, 2003, p.245). One important aspect of this influence is that it legitimizes measures on a political level (Burkitt, 2005), which refers to the process of 'securitization' in which emergency measures are taken beyond standard political procedures (Emmers, 2007).[15] Bush for example, was able to legitimize extensive military actions because of the perception of threat that prevailed in the United States (Hodges & Nilep, 2007).

Additionally, the perception of threat can influence the way people in society position themselves vis-à-vis others. Das et al., found that media coverage on terrorism increases prejudice against

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[14] Tudor illustrates this with an example of paedophile attacks: "fear of paedophile attack is not merely a singular element within late modern culture; it is arguably also a member of a distinctive class of similarly disposed fears. In the last two decades of the 20th century, in Britain and Elsewhere, much media and public attention has been paid to a range of child sexual abuse (..) The specific fear of paedophile attack, then, draws some of its cogency for those disposed to act on its basis from its position within a network of such fears. It is, from the point of view of the accepting agent, yet another self-evident confirmation of more widespread sexually motivated exploitation of children by adults." (Tudor, 2003, p.254)

[15] This is addressed in this research because it points at the impact that acts of terrorism have in comparison to other violent acts, but the political implications will not be analysed further in this research. It is however an interesting subject to study in the context of Discourse Theory. Emmers (2007) provides an overview of Securitization Theory and Jabri (1996) gives more insight in the legitimizing effect of discourse.

outgroups (those groups of which one is not a member).[16] Attitudes became more negative because news reports on terrorism provoked a fear of death (Das et al., 2009). This suggests that a perception of threat explains how interpretations of terrorism (and violence in general) can influence social life and the social boundaries of which social life consists. Powell describes how social boundaries are created in society in the aftermath of terrorism by arguing that an 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy is developed in American news reports on the terrorist attack on 9/11, in which Muslims are the evil other (Powell, 2011).

The reason to focus on acts of terrorism and not on other acts of violence can be derived from this paragraph. The interpretation of acts of terrorism in particular is characterized by an 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy and this interpretation seems to be institutionalized in social life of Western countries. A feeling of threat or fear is said to be stimulated in this interpretation which is expected to steer the relationship between the interpretation of the violent (terrorist) acts and social boundaries. Therefore, the fact that the violent acts under study in this research are understood as acts of terrorism has to be taken into account when analysing this relationship.

3.2. Islamic State and terrorism in Paris and Brussels

The attacks in Paris and Brussels took place in the larger context of terrorism. On November 14, 2015 several gun and bomb attacks were carried out in Paris. Six different attacks caused at least 130 deaths ("Paris attacks" by BBC, 2015) and they were claimed by Islamic State (Henley & Chrisafis in The Guardian, 2015). French newspapers spoke of 'l'horreur' (horror), 'La guerre' (war) and 'carnage' and thereby pointed at the severity of the situation.[17] French President Hollande called the attacks 'acts of war' in his speech;

> France is at war. The acts committed in Paris and near the Stade de France on Friday evening are acts of war. They left at least 129 dead and many injured. They are an act of aggression against our country, against its values, against its young people, and against its way of life (16 November 2015).

President Obama made a similar statement in which he points at a global threat;

> Once again, we've seen an outrageous attempt to terrorize innocent civilians. This is an attack not just on Paris, it's an attack not just on the people of France, but this is an attack on all of humanity and the universal values that we share (13 November 2015).

Both represent a certain degree of severity and emphasize the large impact it has on social life.

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[16] 'Ingroup' and 'outgroup' are terms used in the context of Social Identity Theory. They come into being through a process of social categorization in which a 'we' versus 'them' dichotomy is developed. Chapter 3 provides a more elaborate account of Social Identity Theory and the way it relates to this research.
[17] The Telegraph provides an overview of the headlines used in newspapers all over the world; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11995738/Paris-Terror-Attacks-Newspaper-front-pages-from-around-the-world-in-pictures.html?frame=3500708.

Only a few months after the attacks in Paris, again the world witnessed largescale terrorist attacks, this time in Brussels. The attacks took place on March 23 at an airport and underground station, killing 31 people and injuring 130 and Islamic State claimed responsibility again (Henley & Rankin in The Guardian, 2016). "Terrorists strike heart of Europe", the headline of the International New York Times read and president Hollande stated the following; "Terrorism struck Belgium, but it was Europe that was targeted, and everyone is concerned. We must be aware of the scope and seriousness of the terrorist threat." (Hollande, 22 March 2016). With this statement he emphasizes the fact that Europe as a whole is a target of terrorism.

As Islamic State claimed responsibility for both violent acts, some brief comments about the jihadist movement are desired. Islamic State found its origin in Iraq (the predecessors of Islamic State was 'ISI', Islamic State in Iraq and 'ISIS', Islamic State in Iraq and Syria) and had close ties with jihadist organization Al Qaeda (Stern & Berger, 2015).[18] The history of Islamic State is complex, as the movements and organizations supporting it changed immensely over time, as well as the leading figures.[19] Even the name of the movement is surrounded by controversy. When the caliphate was declared in 2014, it changed its name from 'Islamic State in Iraq and Syria' to 'Islamic State'. However, politicians and journalists use different names when referring to the movement, such as 'ISIL' (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) and 'Daesh' (its Arabic acronym).[20] The complex history and ideology of Islamic State cannot be addressed in great detail in this research, but some insight in the objectives and means by which the movement aims to reach these objectives is needed to understand the occurrence of acts of terrorism in Europe and the way these acts influence western societies.

Whereas Islamic State is now highly associated with western countries, it focused earlier only on the Middle East region, as illustrated by Bunzel (2015); "The Islamic State has long prioritized the Middle East over the West, focusing on seizing and holding territory in its home theatre, then bringing down neighbouring governments." (p.36) In a statement of war in 2014, Islamic State shifted attention towards the western world by asking supporters to kill westerners (Bunzel, 2015). By means of fear, cruelties and violence, Islamic State urges governments to develop reactive policy in order to reach its ultimate objective; that of reaching the Islamic ideal of religious purity. Additionally, an important aspect of the movement is that it makes great use of social media, which enables them to spread fear and find support from over the whole world (Stern & Berger, 2015). The ability to influence society by means of creating fear is thus adopted by Islamic State in reaching its objectives. Innocent civilians are killed which gives people the idea that they could be next. Furthermore, by making use of supporters all over the world, who carry

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[18] Later, these ties were abandoned (Stern & Berger, 2015; Bunzel, 2015).
[19] Stern and Berger provide an historical overview of Islamic State in their book 'ISIS: State of Terror (2015).
[20] This article of de Volkskrant discusses the motives for using different names for the movement; http://www.volkskrant.nl/buitenland/waarom-spreekt-hollande-over-daesh-in-plaats-van-is~a4187782/.

out most of the attacks, Islamic State lets people believe that the perpetrators are among us.[21] Hence, Islamic State seems to succeed in creating fear in western societies.

4. Methodology

4.1. Research design

This research is qualitative in nature which allows for a more in-depth analysis aimed at *understanding* the meaning people give to aspects of social life. As illustrated by Hennink et al., (2011);

> Perhaps one of the main distinctive features of qualitative research is that the approach allows you to identify issues from the perspective of your study respondents, and understand the meanings and interpretations that they give to behaviour, events or objects (p.9).

The interpretation of the violent acts and its consequences for social life is key to this research and, as this this section will point out, qualitative research methods are well-suited to give insight in this interpretation. This does not mean however, that this research does not help to *explain* how such a relationship works. Patterns and causal relations are explored as this research has been carried out and these provide directions for further research. The following sections describe the way this research is constructed in terms of the qualitative research methods that are applied, and the opportunities and limitations that come along doing this.

4.1.1. Units of analysis

For this research, social workers were approached by means of purposive sampling, in which social worker is understood in the broadest sense of the world, referring to all those professionals who intend to improve the social conditions of certain communities. First of all, five organizations in Utrecht (four) and Amsterdam (one) were selected based on two criteria:

- The organization works mainly with Muslims
- The organization intends to stimulate intergroup dialogue[22]

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[21] AIVD for example emphasizes that Muslim Extremists are present in Dutch society in their annual report of 2015; https://www.aivd.nl/publicaties/jaarverslagen/2016/04/21/jaarverslag-aivd-2015. In the media this idea finds support as well. See for example the speech of Trump after the attacks in Brussels; https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/mar/23/donald-trump-muslims-are-not-reporting-terrorists-video and an article written by Geert Wilders; https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/4380/netherlands-terrorists.

[22] In this phase of the research, a broad notion of intergroup dialogue has been used to leave room for different perspectives on what such dialogue entails and on the main objectives behind this dialogue. An interesting question is for example whether social workers tend to focus more on creating intergroup dialogue between Muslims and non-Muslims because of the violent acts or whether they concentrate on other dichotomies as well. By using a broad notion of intergroup dialogue it is more likely that answers to this question can be provided.

Information provided by the municipalities gives an idea of the organizations that meet these requirements.[23] Once the organizations were approached, they brought me into contact with a social worker in the organization, which turned out to be a coordinator (either the founder and head of the organization or someone in charge of a specific service of the organization) in all cases. An overview of the organizations included can be found in the appendix but a few characteristics are important to note here. The organizations provide different services, such as education, administrative guidance, rooms for rent and social activities. Most of them do not concentrate on one particular service but provide a range of services for a particular group of clients. Their clients were mostly Turkish-Dutch citizens or Moroccan-Dutch citizens with an Islamic background, which is incorporated in their work but not necessarily a starting point for the organization itself. Additionally, most of the social workers working for these organizations have an Islamic background themselves and are personally attached to the neighbourhood in which they operate.

The second type of social workers selected are policymakers. By policymaker is meant those who aim to develop or change policy. Policy is defined by the English Dictionary as "a set of ideas or a plan of what to do in particular situations that has been agreed to officially by a group of people, a business organization, a government, or a political party", in which this research focuses on the governmental aspect of policy. Furthermore, the policymakers selected for this research focus on policy related to Muslims or Islam in general. Three policymakers were selected, consisting of one person from the Utrecht municipality working on the diversity programme, Raşit Bal, who founded the Imam education and is chair of CMO (Contact organ Muslims and Government)[24] and Ali Eddaoudi, chaplain for Dutch Ministry of Defence.[25] The policymaker from the municipality of Utrecht and Ali Eddaoudi were approached directly while including Raşit Bal was suggested by Ali Eddaoudi (using snowball sampling).

These social workers were selected with the aim to gain an understanding of their interpretation of the discourse on the attacks and the way they act upon this in their daily work. By including professionals working both on a local or grassroots level (social workers) as well as on a political level (policymakers), this research aims to gain insight in both top-down and bottom-up approaches and the way they interact. This gives a more comprehensive and presumably a more realistic image of the extent to which social boundaries are confronted.

Furthermore, Mehmet Day, a researcher who focuses on topics such as diversity and integration, with a specific focus on youth was approached for this research to provide background

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[23] Most information is derived from information provided by 'Me'kaar', an organization that operates between the municipality of Utrecht and local organizations. See http://www.mekaarutrecht.nl/.

[24] CMO is a collaboration of different Islamic organizations aimed at promoting the interests of Muslims in the Netherlands. More information can be found on http://cmoweb.nl/.

[25] With chaplain is meant someone focusing on the spiritual wellbeing of people. More information about chaplains at the Ministry of Defence can be found at https://www.defensie.nl/onderwerpen/personeelszorg/inhoud/geestelijke-verzorging

information on the research topics. As a researcher, he does not only work on the research itself but also on the translation of such research into recommendations for local policy (focusing on neighbourhoods in Utrecht). Hence, this interview was not only useful in the explorative phase of this study but also in understanding the relationship between discourse, social boundaries and social work.

4.1.2. Research strategy

This research focuses on the meaning people give to violent acts, which asks for an in-depth case-study in which a comprehensive understanding is gained of the way people interpret violence and act upon this, and what motivates them to do so. In-depth interviews are conducted to achieve such insight as these allow for a deeper understanding of personal context (Curtis & Curtis, 2011) and the particular circumstances of the individual and the feelings or emotions attached to it (Lewis, 2003). The in-depth interviews gave the opportunity to pay attention to the personal background of respondents and their own feelings that may be attached to their answers. This is useful in the sense that it creates a more elaborate understanding of their interpretation and how they cope with this in their daily work. Moreover, in-depth interviews allow respondents to elaborate on their responses and for me as an interviewer to adapt questions based on these responses.

A topic guide was developed to guarantee consistency and ensure that all relevant issues would be covered by the interviews. This topic guide was based on information collected during the explorative phase of this research; a literature review (mainly directed towards the diversity debate in the Netherlands, as discussed in the section on the academic debate in which this research is situated), interviews[26] and a content analysis of news reports, opinion articles and messages on social media (in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels). Based on this topic guide, semi-structured interviews were designed and scheduled in order to provide consistency and full coverage of the relevant issues as well as to leave room for flexibility during the interview. Examples of questions included in these interviews are 'what do you want to accomplish with your work as social worker?' and 'to what extent do you think that this can be accomplished?' The topic guide and interview questions were adjusted during the process of data collection as well, as the interviews pointed at important questions and issues. The topic guide (with interview questions) can be found in the appendix.

When approaching the respondents, the purpose of this research and the role that respondents would play in it was addressed. The respondents were informed before scheduling the interview on these matters and were able to ask questions during the interview as well. They were informed

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[26] Six interviews with Turkish-Dutch or Moroccan-Dutch Muslims were conducted in this explorative phase. The interviews were not narrowed down yet to the research questions posed in this research but did offer insight in its context in which these are embedded. Furthermore, the interviews pointed at some interesting questions which helped to formulate the final research questions.

that the interviews were confidential and that they could stay anonymous if desired, which allowed them to speak freely about personal matters. Some respondents were asked for their permission to use their full name in the research, as their particular position as social worker were relevant to the answers they gave.

In order to analyse the information generated in the interviews, the interviews were fully transcribed and interpreted by means of coding.[27] Some respondents were approached during this analysis in order to clarify some of the arguments they made. These clarifications were necessary in some instances as personal experiences and meanings or interpretations are central to the analysis of this research.

4.2. Limitations and opportunities

The research strategy of this research has been chosen carefully, by taking the research questions as a starting point. This strategy brings along opportunities but also some limitations that will be addressed in this paragraph.

4.2.1. Complexity of social phenomenon

The complexity of the situation in which the attacks in Paris and Brussels took place poses a challenge to this research. This research focuses on these attacks and processes of boundary drawing and intergroup behaviour resulting from this, and it is a delicate task to separate this process from other processes present in society. By means of the information collected in the explorative phase of the research, the context in which the attacks took place and alternative processes that might influence boundary drawing and social identity construction were mapped out. The literature review for example, gave insight in the polarization process in the Netherlands and the different components that put this process in motion. Furthermore, by focusing on social workers, their perception of the attacks and its consequences for Dutch society, this research moves beyond a description of what happens in society and why, and instead emphasizes the interpretation of professionals and their explanation of what is happening. Thus, this research is not fact driven but interpretation driven, complemented by facts. This helps to break down the complexity of the social phenomenon under examination.

Another challenge of this research has been to separate the religious identity of Muslims from their other identities. During the interviews, both the immigrant background of Muslims (in particular a Turkish or Moroccan background) and their religious background were mentioned and it proved therefore difficult to analyse their religious background separately from their immigrant background. For example, some social workers addressed the stigma concerning Moroccan-Dutch citizens while at the same time addressing the problematic situation of Muslims

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[27] The coding scheme used in this process can be found in the appendix.

in general. Therefore, the immigrant background has been taken into account as it provides context to the analysis of religious identity.

4.2.2. The scope of a case-study

A case-study approach is applied in this research which is characterized by an "intense focus on a single phenomenon within its real-life context" (Yin, 1999, p. 1211). By using the case-study approach, this research aims to gain in-depth insight in the way discourses on the violent acts in Paris and Brussels influence social boundaries in Dutch society and the way social workers act upon this. It thus intends to offer clarification in the complex social processes that characterize Dutch society in particular, by combining theories (which provide a framework that helps to understand the particular phenomenon) with empirical evidence (to see whether the theories indeed provide insight in these particular social processes). This means that generalizations cannot be made based on this research as the conclusions drawn focus on this single phenomenon. However, the conclusions do have implications in other contexts. For example, whereas this research focuses mainly on the social boundaries related to Muslims in the Netherlands, the findings of this research can also help to understand how social boundaries between other social groups work. In this way, this research provides an idea of how similar social processes can be understood and how future research focusing on such processes can be filled in.

4.2.3. Interaction personal experience and experience as social worker

Personal background and experiences, and the social work of the respondents are intertwined and therefore both addressed during the interviews. The majority of the professionals is Muslim itself and they are therefore expected to have a better understanding of the way Muslims position themselves vis-à-vis others and why. However, it may also affect their ability to interpret discourses and the effects of discourse on social groups in a neutral way. For example, they might have the tendency to interpret the discourse on the violent acts more negatively because of their own religious background. Furthermore, one of the professionals made a distinction between views as a professional and personal ones, which complicated the analysis of the interview.

However, in other cases, insight in both personal background and experiences, and their work as social workers complemented each other and allowed for a more in-depth understanding of their interpretation and strategies they applied in their work. For most respondents for example, their Islamic background inspires them to become a social worker in the first place and enables them to continue their work as its importance is clear to them. The distinction between their professional and personal interpretation was emphasized in the interview questions to prevent the two interpretations from getting mixed up.

4.2.4. The role of the researcher

The role of the researcher in in-depth interviews has been questioned and it is acknowledged that an interaction between interviewer and interviewee takes place during these interviews. Thus, it

is impossible as a researcher to avoid interference in the interview. Some authors have pointed at the disadvantages of such interference and question the validity of in-depth interviews because of this. However, social realists argue that "the participant comes to the interview with a set of beliefs, perceptions or understandings, and the interviewer seeks to draw these out" (Curtis & Curtis, 2011). Thus, the researcher plays an important role in the interview by asking the right questions but it is the interviewee who answers them.

A good preparation of the interview helped me to formulate questions that are not steering and to become aware of the pitfalls during the interview. These questions left space for the interviewee to give direction to their answer. Follow-up questions enabled me to collect all the information needed (as described in the topic guide) without steering too much.

5. Outline

The first chapter presents the theoretical framework on which this research is based, focusing on Discourse Theory, theories on boundary drawing and Social Identity Theory. Moreover, this theoretical framework is built upon Giddens' notion of 'duality of structure', in which the relationship between structure and agency is leading. The second chapter elaborates on the discourse(s) on the violent acts in Paris and Brussels as interpreted by the social workers. This chapter addresses the struggle over definition, and the dominance obtained by media that seems to have followed from this. Furthermore, the frames used in this discourse are discussed, which tend to frame Muslims as 'the other'. The third chapter takes this discourse as a starting point and focuses on the influence of this discourse on social boundary drawing, that is, the (re)construction of these boundaries. Both processes of reification and enactment can be recognized in this process of boundary drawing and will be addressed in this chapter. In addition, the intergroup behaviour that follows from these social boundaries is addressed and explained by means of Social Identity Theory. In the fourth chapter, the last research question, of how social workers act upon their interpretation (of discourse and its influence on social boundaries and intergroup behaviour) as a professional. The focus here lies on the means by which they aim to reach their objectives and the extent to which they are able to do so. The last chapter presents the conclusion, a theoretical discussion, policy implications and starting points for further research.

1. Theoretical framework

1.1. Duality of Structure

This research is based on Giddens' notion of 'duality of structure'. He argues that "the constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality" (Giddens, 1984, p.25). Thus, (social) structures enable or constrain agents who reproduce these structures in their daily lives. In other words, "in reproducing structural properties (..) agents also reproduce conditions that make such action possible. Structure has no existence independent of the knowledge that agents have about what they do in their day-to-day activity" (Giddens, 1984, p.26). Structures in this research refer to social structures, by which is meant the overarching construction of social life or the rules of social life, consisting of social relationships. Thus, social structures exist outside the individual, as illustrated by Demmers (2012): "We are born into social structures that are both enabling and constraining to us." Discourse is understood as a means by which social structures are produced and reproduced (Giddens, 1984). This research analyses how discourses articulate social structures and how these influence social groups in society. In particular, the social boundaries and intergroup behaviour following from this are discussed followed by an analysis of how these affect social workers in their work. Furthermore, Giddens incorporates the behaviour of what he calls 'agents' in his theory, which can reproduce social structures but also change them. Therefore, the last relationship that will be examined in this research is how the social workers (in this context called 'agents') influence social structures through discourse (by creating a counter-discourse) or by focusing directly on social boundaries and intergroup behaviour.

The figure presented in the first chapter illustrates which propositions are derived from this framework and how their relationship will be analysed.
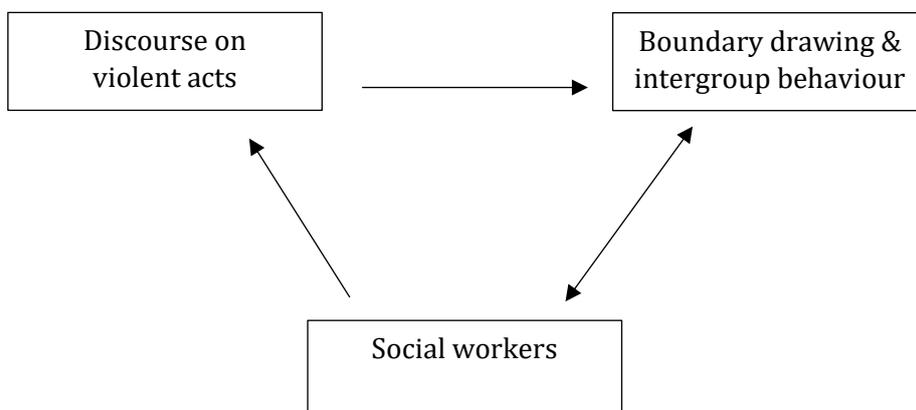

Figure 2. Research framework

1.2. Discourse theory

Discourse Theory is concerned with the social meaning of reality, with the way people interpret social events. Jabri (1996) defines discourses as "social relations represented in texts where the language contained within these texts is used to construct meaning and representation" (p.94). Thus, discourse includes an interpretation rather than a description, as illustrated by Potter and Whetherell (1987); "Social texts do not merely reflect or mirror objects, events and categories pre-existing in the social and natural world. Rather, they actively construct a version of those things." (as cited in Jabri, 1996, p.95) Thus, Jabri argues that social texts (discourses) "do not just describe things, they do things" (Jabri, 1996, p.95). In order to understand how meaning is given to social events (in this case the acts of violence in Paris and Brussels) it is important to gain insight in who is able to define, or to use Gourevitch' (1998) words; who is able to "make others inhabit your story of their reality" (as cited in Demmers, 2012, p.116). This ability can be obtained in a struggle over definition, which is addressed in the next section.

1.2.1. The struggle to define

This research first addresses the struggle to define, as described by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Fairclough argues that "part of living and acting in particular social circumstances is interpreting and explaining them" (Fairclough, 2010, p.8). As one of the founders of CDA he focused his research on how discursive practices are shaped and what the social effects of these practices are. An important assumption of CDA is that dominance of discourse results in "naturalisation of its meanings and practices" (Fairclough, 2010, p.2). It hereby emphasizes the importance of power relations as those who have the power over discourse define and give meaning to social circumstances. Fairclough argues that "these interpretations and explanations moreover include not only those of the people who live and act in particular circumstances, but also of those who seek to govern or regulate the ways in which they do so, including politicians and managers." (p.8) This power that is attached to dominance of discourse is emphasized by Hodges and Nilep (2007) as they argue that "language is used to create meanings; and the process of meaning making is inherently political in that it is imbued with relations of power that come together to maneuver, contest and negotiate the meanings at stake." (p.2)

Brass follows this line of thought in his research on the interpretation of violent acts, particularly riots. He argues that "we need to examine the discourses of violence, the ways in which respondents and observers – local and external, media, politicians and authorities, journalists and academics – seek to explain incidents of violence. (..) Our concern is primarily with the struggle for control over the meaning of riotous events, for the right to represent them properly" (Brass, 1996, p.1-2). He argues that in order to gain an understanding of riots one should take 'the interests of those seeking to capture its meaning' into account (Brass, 1996, p.2).

Moreover, CDA points out that the power to define is unequally allocated as not everybody has the resources to do so. Those who do not have the resources are not able to define or to resist the dominant discourse (Fairclough, 2010). Jabri also emphasizes the importance of resources as she argues that domination is "dependent upon differential access to resources which define structures of domination" (Jabri, 1996, p.93). She mentions the existence of 'asymmetrical access to public space', as important resource that is necessary to obtain dominance (p.158). The allocation of resources will be addressed in greater detail in chapter four, in which the ability of social workers to create an effective counter-discourse is discussed.

1.2.2. Framing

This paragraph focuses on the message(s) articulated in discourses by analysing 'frames'. According to Giddens (1984);

"framing may be regarded as providing the ordering of activities and meanings whereby ontological security is sustained in the enactment of daily routines. Frames are clusters of rules which help to constitute and regulate activities, defining them as activities of a certain sort and as subject to a given range of sanctions." (p.87)

Goffman uses the concept of 'framework', which provides an answer to the question 'what is it that's going on here?' (Goffman, 1974). He argues that "acts of daily living are understandable because of some primary framework (or frameworks) that inform them" (Goffman, 1974, p.26). He emphasizes the centrality of these frameworks in social life. "It seems that we can hardly glance at anything without applying a primary framework, thereby forming conjectures as to what occurred before and expectations of what is likely to happen now." (Goffman, 1974, p.38). Kahneman and Tversky pointed in their research at the power of framing. They designed an experiment in which the same problem and solution was described in different ways.[28] The experiment showed that this difference in framing affected the decision of the respondents (Kahneman & Tversky, 1984).

Entman defines framing as "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993, p.52). Entman follows the line of Kahneman and Tversky by emphasizing the power that framing can have and argues that framing is used in the 'exertion of political power' in which the four functions of framing are applied. With problem definition he means 'determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits'. Causal diagnosis is described as to 'identify the forces creating the problem'. The third function, making moral judgments, entails the evaluation of

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[28] The problem that was posed to the respondents concerns 'an outbreak of an unusual Asian disease' in the United States. They were asked to choose a certain programme which were related to a certain amount of deaths, framed in different ways.

'causal agents and their effects'. The last function is the suggestion of remedies, to 'offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects' (Entman, 1993, p.52).

These four functions help to understand how frames work; how they are constructed and how they affect social structures in society. This research uses these functions to analyse the discourse on the attacks in Paris and Brussels and the way it influences social boundaries and social identity construction in Dutch society.

1.2.2. Counter-discourses

The duality of structure, as described by Giddens, acknowledges that individuals have agency and can therefore challenge social structures. He argues that these structures can be changed by means of repeated action or 'routines'. He argues that "a theory of routine is not to be equated with a theory of social stability. Routine persists through social change of even the most dramatic type, even if, of course, some aspects of taken-for-granted routines may be compromised" (Giddens, 1984, p.87).

Jabri (1996) and Fearon and Laitin (2000) follow this line of thought that Giddens presents and focus in their work on this relationship between structure and agency, and how it can explain the existence of violence. They point out that once this agency finds support in society it can legitimize the use of violence. Fearon and Laitin hereby emphasize that agency is acted out by strategic actors pursuing certain goals while Jabri focuses in her work on the power of routines, as described by Giddens. She argues that counter-discourses situated in public space can challenge dominant discourse and the social practices that come with it. Thus, Jabri seems to grant agency a larger role than Giddens, as Giddens argue that social change may 'compromise' routines, while Jabri argues that it can actually change them. However, she agrees with Giddens that the power of discourse lies in the institutionalized character of it, expressed in 'social continuities'. When a counter-discourse becomes institutionalized it is able to challenge the dominant discourse and create a counter narrative.

Moreover, such an institutionalization would steer interpretations and meaning giving in daily life (Jabri, 1996). With institutionalization she means that discourse becomes 'regulative' in social life; "they may either allow or disallow particular courses of action carried out by specific individuals or collectivities" (p.72). With regards to the discourse on violent acts in Paris and Brussels (as interpreted by social workers), the institutionalization is only analysed in terms of 'reification' and 'enactment', focusing hereby on the way discourse influences social life itself. In the last chapter of this research the counter-discourse created by social workers is discussed, followed by an evaluation of their ability to 'institutionalize' this discourse in social life. This evaluation is twofold and focuses on facilities available to them (in order to articulate discourse) and the public support they receive.

1.2.3. Boundary drawing

This research makes the assumption that social groups created in society are not given by nature but socially constructed. These social groups tend to be organized on the basis of a dichotomy between 'us' and 'them', thereby creating a division between the own group and the 'other'. Fabian argues that "othering expresses the insight that the Other is never simply given, never found or encountered, but made" (Fabian, 1991, p.208). Social groups are thus created in a social relationship, as people identify themselves vis-à-vis others (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Eriksen, 1993). Barth emphasizes the importance of group boundaries, with which he points at those aspects that separate one group from another (Barth, 1969). Group boundaries have large implications on the way people relate to others according to Barth:

> A dichotomization of others as strangers, as members of another ethnic group, implies a recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgement of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest. (p.15)

In the next sections, the consequences of such lack of understanding will be further discussed.

Despite the fact that social groups are understood as socially constructed, they are often referred to as something real; something that is created by nature (Fearon & Laitin, 2000). This is called 'reification', "the apprehension of human phenomena as if they were things, that is … the apprehension of the products of human activity as if they were something other than human products – such as facts of nature" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p.106). As social groups are widely recognised in society, they are used to make sense of social life. Brubaker (2004) discusses this process of reification by using the concept of 'groupism', which he describes as "the tendency to take discrete, sharply differentiated, internally homogeneous, and externally bounded groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflicts, and fundamental units of social analysis" (p.35). Brubaker argues that framing is an important means by which groups are constructed (Brubaker, 2004) and thereby he points at the relationship between discourse (the frames applied in discourse) and social boundary drawing.

Thus, discourse consists of stories about who we are and who we are not, and thereby creates social groups and social boundaries between these groups. A lot of attention has been paid to role of media in creating or giving voice to such discourse, thereby creating the 'other' (Asad, 2000; Batziou, 2011; Hallam & Street, 2000; Vergeer, 2000). Hallam and Street, for example, describe how 'otherness' is constructed through visual and textual representation in the media. According to them "understanding cross-cultural representation entails (..) an analysis of the ways in which 'others' have themselves translated and subverted in 'Western' discourses (Hallam & Street, 2000, pp. 4-5). Particular attention has been paid to a process of 'othering' which involves non-western immigrants or Muslims in western societies (Asad, 2000; Batziou; 2011; Hallam & Street, 2000).

Research of Batziou for example, shows that immigrants are framed as 'the other' in press photographs, thereby reinforcing the dominant discourse in receiving countries that they are outsiders and should not be accepted (Batziou, 2011). Moreover, Asad (2000) points out that narratives on European Identity are narrow and that Islam is excluded from those narratives.

As this construction of social boundaries ('us versus them') can lead to reification, it paves the way to behaviour based on these social boundaries. Fairclough (2010) describes this process in which discourse becomes materialized as 'enactment'.

> Discourses include representations of how things are and have been, as well as imaginaries – representations of how things might or could or should be. (...) In terms of the concept of social practice, they imagine possible social practices and networks of social practices (..). These imaginaries may be enacted as actual (networks of) practices – imagined activities, subjects, social relations etc. can become real activities, subjects, social relations, etc. Such enactments include materialisations of discourses. (p.207)

This research analyses the way in which discourses on the violent acts in Paris and Brussels create social boundaries and whether these social boundaries have become enacted within Dutch society. In order to gain a full understanding of how such discourses become enacted and which behaviour follows from such enactment, this research now turns to Social Identity Theory.

1.3. Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory (SIT) helps to understand how different social groups, once existent, interact and what behaviour of group members follows from this. The SIT was formulated by Tajfel and his colleagues and was aimed at explaining intergroup behaviour (Tajfel, 1981). The theory assumes that cognitive processes underlie this intergroup behaviour thereby analysing individuals to explain behaviour of groups. First, the key aspects underlying SIT will be discussed, followed by an analysis of the way the notion of 'social identity complexity' can help to explain intergroup behaviour.

1.3.1. Aspects of Social Identity Theory

SIT identifies two main processes involved in the development of social identity; social categorization and social comparison. As Hogg and Abrams (1988) argue, "the cognitive process of categorization simplifies perception" (p.19). It creates a new reality (a perception) in which ingroups (of which the self is a member) and outgroups exist. This process of categorization is similar to a process of 'reification', but is understood as to be driven by individual mechanisms instead of by discourse. Categorization leads towards stereotyping, as members of one social category are assumed to share certain characteristics. What follows in "an accentuation of similarities between self and other ingroupers and differences between self and outgroupers" (Abrams & Hogg, 1988, p.21).

The second process that SIT identifies is social comparison, in which a comparison is made between the ingroup and the outgroup. This comparison is focused mainly on those aspects that are self-enhancing, those aspects on which the ingroup will be evaluated better than the outgroup, and aspects that are important to group members (Abrams & Hogg, 1988). Furthermore, this comparison is more likely to occur when there is a minor difference between the two groups, that is, when the groups are relative similar (Festinger, 1954)

The result of processes of categorization and comparison is a certain social identity, which is defined as a 'self-conception as a group member' (Abrams & Hogg, 1990, p.2). Individuals strive for a positive self-evaluation which gives the individual "a sense of well-being, enhanced self-worth and self-esteem" (Abrams & Hogg, 1988, p.23). These processes of categorization and comparison can result in intergroup antagonism and hostility, and can even lead to intergroup conflict (Brewer, 2001; Sumner, 1906). Sumner (1906) desribes the relationship between social identity and negative attitudes towards outgroup members as being decisive:

> The insiders in a we-group are in a relation of peace, order, law, government, and industry to each other. Their relation to all outsiders, or others-groups, is one of war and plunder, except so far as agreements have modified it. (p.12)

Brewer on the other hand argues that a social identity by itself does not explain the emergence of conflict. She argues that it is the threat of individual needs - inclusion and differentiation - that creates antagonism towards outgroup members. With inclusion she means identification with the (in)group, and differentiation refers hereby to distinguishing the ingroup from outgroups. Furthermore, she describes how fear and anger may arise when the need for differentiation is threatened, which can be the case when an outgroup becomes dominant (Brewer, 2001).

These theories help to understand how the (re)construction of social boundaries, and thereby social groups, can lead to negative attitudes between members of different groups. Individual needs play a crucial role in this relationship and will be taken into account in this research. As will be discussed in chapter three, the needs for inclusion and differentiation offer no explanation of negative attitudes in Dutch society. Rather, the need for the safety of a national community and the threat that 'others' might pose to fulfilling this need seems to offer a better understanding of how these negative attitudes come into being. In order to gain insight in the mechanisms involved in this process, the notion of Social Identity Complexity, described by Brewer (2001), will be incorporated.

1.3.2. Social Identity Complexity

While the Social Identity Theory seems to focus on single ingroup-outgroup categorization, the existence of multiple group identities is acknowledged (Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel, 1981; see Bodenhausen, 2009 for a review). Whereas most of this research concerned with multiple group identities tends to concentrate only on their existence, Roccas and Brewer (2002)

looked at whether group memberships or the groups itself are overlapping. They identified the concept 'social identity complexity'[29], seen as a "continuum of complexity and inclusiveness" (p.428). They explain this concept as follows;

> At the low end of the complexity dimension, the individual defines the ingroup as the intersection of all of his or her group identities, creating a single, highly exclusive identity category[30]. At the high end of the social identity complexity dimension, the individual recognizes that each of his or her group memberships incorporates a different set of people as ingroup members and the combined representation is the sum of all of these group identities—more inclusive than anyone ingroup identity considered alone. (p.428)

Social identity complexity is more likely to develop for example in a multicultural society, where social categories are less overlapping. A stratified society on the other hand, reduces social identity complexity as individuals have less contact with individuals from other ethnic groups or social classes. With regards to effects of social identity complexity, Roccas and Brewer (2002) have found that such complexity increases tolerance for outgroups as outgroup members of one category can be ingroup members of another one.

Research that incorporates the notion of social identity complexity in order to gain an understanding of intergroup behaviour (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Miller et al., 2009; Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Schmid et al., 2009) point out that a multicultural society, characterized by high social identity complexity and inclusiveness, can soften behaviour towards the outgroup and temper the effect of social identity. Less attention is paid to the consequences of low social identity complexity, besides the absence of such tempering effect. A process of polarization, which seems to be ongoing in Dutch society, increases and intensifies contrasts between groups of people and alienates groups from each other (Kinneging, 2009); a process that is likely to reduce social identity complexity. As there is high overlap between different social identities, these identities do not overcome social boundaries and create exclusive identity categories. This might not only lead to intergroup behaviour as described by SIT, but might also increase outgroup hostility and make it more difficult to overcome social boundaries in the future.

1.4. Combining Discourse Theory and Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory focuses thus on cognitive processes on an individual level, as explained by Hogg and McGarty (1990); "aspects of society are shared, constrained and understood through interaction with others but are only effective through their psychological representation" (p.24). This is contested by other scholars who point out that also the context in which this individual is

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[29] The concept of social identity complexity is defined by Roccas & Brewer as "the nature of the subjective representation of multiple ingroup identity" (Roccas & Brewer, 2002, p.88-89)

[30] The term (social) categories is not defined by the authors but is described as the product of categorization, characterized by ingroups and outgroups. Social groups are products of these (social) categories.

embedded should be taken into account (Bamberg, et al., 2011; Condor, 1990; Jabri, 1996;), as the notion of 'duality of structure' by Giddens implies. As argued by Bamberg et al., we have to "shift away from viewing the person as self-contained, having identity, and generating his/her individuality and character as a personal identity project toward focusing instead on the processes in which identity is done or made—as constructed in discursive activities" (Bamberg et al., 2011, p.178).

This research will incorporate both Discourse Theory – to understand how social boundaries come into being and become internalized in social life – and Social Identity Theory – to understand how people behave because of these social boundaries.

2. Discourse on the violent acts
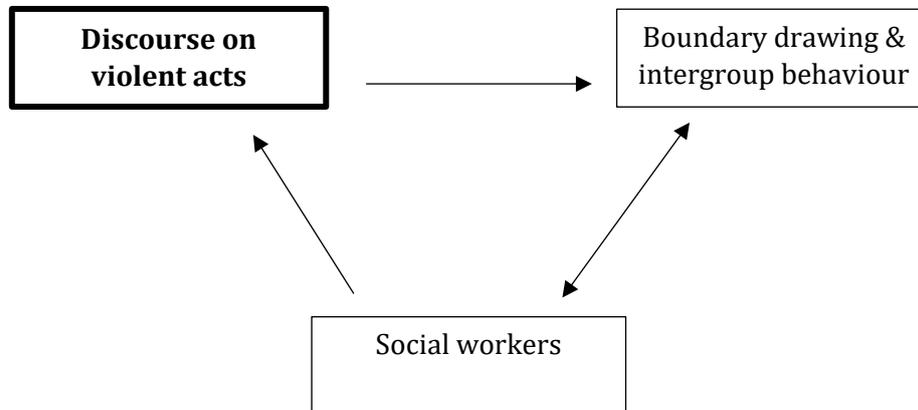
Figure 3. Position of chapter in research

2.1. Dominant discourses

In order to understand the relationship between discourse and social boundaries, the struggle over discourse needs to be addressed. This will give insight in the dominance of interpretations; those interpretations that are able to reach the general public. It is argued that resources are necessary in order to reach discursive dominance (Brass, 1996; Fairclough, 2010; Jabri, 1996) and that discourse has to become institutionalized, will it have the power to influence social boundaries (Jabri, 1996).

During the interviews this struggle over discourse was addressed. Most of them agreed to the fact that such a struggle exists in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks. The media were mentioned as platforms of this struggle. Researcher Mehmet Day for example, said the following:

> I think that two sides dominate the debate and discussions, but those do not have to be the biggest. Those are the people who shout loudest and get all the attention. (..) And these two groups are represented a lot in the media. They have primarily the stage.[31]

Media are seen as mouthpiece through which discourse is articulated. Moreover, the respondents emphasize that media are aimed at 'selling' news, and thereby give voice to only the most prominent figures. According to a social worker "the media only pay attention to those issues that sell, not to help society".[32] This points at the power of discourse and the consequences it might have for Dutch society, which will be addressed in the next chapter.

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[31] Author's interview on 17 May 2016 with M. Day, researcher at Verwey-Jonker Institute.
[32] Author's interview on 29 May 2016 with a social worker.

The two dominating discourses mentioned by Mehmet Day do not focus particularly on the violent acts in Paris and Brussels but rather on the broader debate on diversity; "I believe that there exists strong polarization in Dutch society. On the one hand, you have people who are pro diversity and integration[33] and on the other hand you have people that problematize diversity."[34] Most of the social workers referred in the interviews to the second discourse (the one that problematizes diversity), as this discourse seems very problematic to them and is said to affect their work, as will be further discussed in chapter four.[35] The specific discourse on the violent acts linked to this broader discourse on diversity entails an interpretation of the impact that these acts may have on society, the causes of the acts and strategies to cope with this situation (in the form of remedies). The severity of the situation is expressed in this discourse and the role of Islam in society is addressed as it is understood as the underlying cause of the violent acts. The framing functions identified by Entman (1993) help to gain a better insight of the message that this discourse articulates. Furthermore, in order to understand how this discourse has become dominant, the discursive context in which they were developed and expressed has to be taken into account. The next paragraph analyses this context and the way it might influence the way discourses are supported or institutionalized within Dutch society.

2.2. Discursive context

As pointed out by Mehmet Day, the discourse on the violent acts in Paris and Brussels seems to be part of a broader debate focusing on diversity, and therefore it appears impossible to disconnect it from its context. This is supported by a social worker who argues that it is the accumulation of circumstances that affects the way people interpret violent acts. "If you hear a lot about the problems with Moroccan groups for example, then an attack is something extra. They will think that they already were bothered by the youngsters and now this."[36] This points at the power of related discourses as people see one discourse confirming another one, which might encourage the prejudice that already exists towards Muslims or Islam, and migrant groups (Berg & Schothorst, 2016; Duyvendak et al., 2008; Ghorashi, 2009; Huijnk & Dagevos, 2012). Mehmet Day points at the fear present in Dutch society, which creates a context in which certain discourses are able to gain ground: "The media respond to the fear of having to give up something of yourself. The context already exists but the media plays a big role. They stimulate the fear."[37] This points at what Tudor (2003) describes as 'the culture of fear'; "A publicly articulated and apparently

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[33] With integration he means the process of non-western immigrants integrating in Dutch society.
[34] *Supra* note 32 on p.33.
[35] As the social workers focused in the interviews mainly on those aspects of discourse that hinders them in their work, only the discourse concentrating on the negative aspects of diversity was addressed. This does not mean that this is the only dominant discourse on the violent acts but rather that it is the dominant discourse that is most relevant in this study.
[36] Author's interview on 9 June 2016 with a social worker.
[37] *Supra* note 32 on p.32.

interconnected set of fears constitutes a potentially much more powerful cultural resource than a single fearful disposition" (p.253).

In order to understand how the discourse on the violent acts in Paris and Brussels relate to the more general discourse on diversity the concepts of 'abstraction' and 'recontextualization' as described by Fairclough are applied. Fairclough (2010) argues that social events can be interpreted on different levels of abstraction or generalization. These representations can focus for example on specific social events (like the violent acts this research concentrates on) , on a concrete level, but also on a series of social events or social structures underlying these events, which is more abstract or generalized. The notion of recontextualization refers to the way in which social events are connected to other social events. "In representing a social event, one is incorporating it within the context of another social event, recontextualizing it" (p.139).

The discourse on the violent acts can be positioned on a concrete level, while the contextual discourse – characterized by discourses that are pro-diversity and those that problematize it – takes place on an abstract level as it is concerned with social structures in society. The contextual discourse can be applied to different social events, thereby 'recontextualizing' the more abstract interpretations. For example, the arrival of a large group of refugees seems to be a social event that is also related to the discourses on diversity. Those that problematize diversity, are more likely to problematize the arrival of these refugees too. The discourse on diversity seems thus to be applied to different situations in social life and thereby recontextualized when interpreting the violent acts in Paris and Brussels. Hereby, it seems to have created a 'culture of fear' in which fear has been accumulated in different discourses. This accumulation reflects a certain power of discourse, as a confirmation of already existing fear has a larger impact than fear that stands on its own (Tudor, 2003).

In the next paragraph, the way social workers interpret the frames used in the discourses on the violent acts is discussed to understand how the discourses might affect Dutch society and social groups within society.

2.3. Framing

As described in the first chapter, the four framing functions identified by Entman (1993) will be used to understand what the dominant discourse, mainly articulated by the media, entail and how this might affect Dutch society (through the eyes of the social workers). This dominant discourse is linked to the more abstract discourse that problematizes diversity in Dutch society. The main question of this paragraph is thus how the violent acts are framed in this dominant discourse. The violent acts in Paris and Brussels are identified as the problem in this discourse, which was the point of departure for this research and endorsed in the interviews.[38] The impact (referring to

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[38] With problem identification Entman means to "determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits" (Entman, 1993, p.52).

what Entman calls 'costs') of these acts is emphasized in the discourse, as described by Bal; "In the public debate, you see that the attacks are presented as social problem, something that causes unrest."[39] This emphasis can also be recognized in the speeches of the political leaders after the violent acts. The statement for example, by president Hollande after the attacks in Paris, that France was at 'war' points at the severity and impact of the violent acts.[40] In order to understand how this interpretation affects social life, the causal mechanisms described by discourse, the moral judgements attached to this and the remedies that are suggested need to be addressed. Furthermore, the frames are linked to the contextual discourse on diversity to determine whether we can indeed speak of recontextualization.

2.2.1. Diagnosis of causes

This paragraph describes how the discourse on the violent acts points at causal mechanisms underlying the acts of violence.[41] According to most social workers, the discourse tends to describe Islam as cause of the problem as this statement made by Raşit Bal illustrates:

> Because the attacks were carried out in name of Islam, they convey the impression that they do it for Muslims, for Islam. The question that is raised then is how you situate yourself to this Islam that let them carry out such attacks. The rest becomes suspect. After attacks like these, people turn to the rest of the Muslims.[42]

A social worker claims that turning to Muslims after what has happened shows that people do not pay attention to differences within Islam: "Not everybody makes a distinction between the extremist groups and the mainstream. As long as this is not clear, we will lump everyone together. Everybody does that."[43] This points at the division between 'us' and 'them', whereas 'them' refers to an umbrella under which all those people that do not belong to one's own group are lumped together. The next chapter pays more attention to this relationship between the frames used in the discourse and the creation of social groups.

Furthermore, the social workers point out that this framing is consistent with already existing ideas about diversity and the integration of non-western immigrants. One of the social workers argues that Islam is associated with a range of violent events,[44] which seems to result in the stigmatization of Muslims, as the next section will discuss. Thus, pointing at Islam as cause of the violent acts is understood to be consistent with the fear that is present in Dutch society. Mehmet Day already pointed out that media can play an important role in stimulating this fear and Bal

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[39] *Supra* note 3 on p.8.
[40] Paragraph 3.2 of the introduction provides more information about the way in which the violent acts were framed as problem, describing the reactions of the media and politicians.
[41] Entman describes this second framing function as to "identify the forces creating the problem" (Entman, 1993, p.52).
[42] *Supra* note 3 on p.8.
[43] *Supra* note 36 on p34.
[44] Author's interview on 24 May 2016 with a social worker, working on diversity programmes at the municipality of Utrecht.

describes how this works: "The media do not pay attention to opposing views and therefore they confirm the existing ideas."[45] This points again out that the discourse on the violent acts in Paris and Brussels is indeed recontextualized as it confirms existing ideas. Moreover, it points at presence of a 'culture of fear' in which the fear resulting from the violent acts is compatible with fear that already existed in society.

2.2.2. Moral judgements

The third framing function identified by Entman (1993) is "making moral judgements", which entails the evaluation of "causal agents and their effects". As the last paragraph has illustrated, Islam is diagnosed mainly as causal 'agent' of the violent acts in Paris and Brussels, which makes every Muslim a suspect. Mehmet Day points out that people tend to think of others in terms of cultural background, of which religion is an important aspect.[46] This seems also to be the case when interpreting the violent acts and can explain why Muslims have become suspects; it is their religious background that is most relevant in this situation, not their other identities or characteristics. Moreover, as pointed out in the last paragraph, the discourse seems to lack nuance in the sense that no distinction is made between mainstream and extremist Muslims. As Islam is understood as prescribing religion,[47] Muslims are expected to behave accordingly. Overall, Muslims are thus framed negatively, that is, discourse that focuses on Muslims or Islam when interpreting the violent acts tend to stigmatize this group. "The media are stigmatising Muslims. [48] They do not pay attention to the situation of Muslims, why it's so difficult for them, what the underlying reason is that Muslims behave the way they do."[49]

This stigma is not only applied in the context of the violent acts in Paris and Brussels, but moral judgments seem also to be made about Muslims in other context.[50][51] According to the women from the municipality of Utrecht for example, people only associate negative issues with Muslims, whereas no attention is paid to their religious identity in more positive situations.[52] In other words, there already existed stigma's related to Muslims in other contexts, and it is argued that this negativity associated with Muslims will only stimulate the already existing stigma associated with this group.[53]

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[45] *Supra* note 3 on p.8.
[46] *Supra* note 32 on p.33.
[47] *Supra* note 3 on p.8.
[48] Stigmatization is defined by the dictionary van Dale as 'wrongfully characterize something as highly negative'.
[49] *Supra* note 3 on p.8.
[50] *Supra* note 32 on p.33.
[51] *Supra* note 44 on p.36.
[52] Idem.
Important to note here is that during the interview, religious identity and immigrant background were both addressed. Both were understood as stigmatized of which the religious identity is emphasized in relation to the violent acts and immigrant background was particularly mentioned in the context of everyday life and issues such as discrimination and exclusion.
[53] *Supra* note 36 on p34.

In short, the moral judgments attached to Muslims stem from the identification of Islam as causal factor of the violent acts. No distinction is made within Islam or within the group of Muslims, and therefore they are framed negatively, which implicates that the stigmatization of this group increases. As the next section will discuss, this moral judgment makes people also point at Muslims to resolve the problem.

2.2.3. Suggestion of remedies

The last framing function that Entman (1993) describes is the suggestion of remedies, with which he means to "offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects" (p.52). Since the discourse on the violent acts is recontextualized from the larger discourse on diversity, restriction of this diversity was expected to be brought forward as means to resolve the problem. However, the social workers do not particularly describe this as solution to the problem defined by the discourse on the violent acts. The general request in Dutch society to restrict diversity, to move away from those things that are unknown, has been addressed extensively, but more in a broader context, not particularly in the case of the discourse under examination.

The social workers did describe another solution that was presented by the discourse on the violent acts, namely the request towards Muslims to speak out against the acts. "Politicians or media explicitly incite Muslims to speak out",[54] Mehmet Day argues. This request to speak out is not only apparent in discourse that follows from these terrorist attacks but in discourse on violent acts in general. "We have been asked to speak out many times before, against different kinds of violence in the world where Muslims are involved."[55] The fear, as described in the last paragraphs, may explain why Muslims are asked to speak out, in particular the fear for the 'unknown'. Mehmet Day illustrates this with the following statement: "people are afraid. Afraid to lose a certain identity or individuality. And therefore they revert to what is familiar."[56][57] Asking Muslims to take a stance after the violent acts might be a way to let go of this fear.

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[54] *Supra* note 32 on p.33.
[55] *Supra* note 44 on p.36.
[56] *Supra* note 32 on p.33.
[57] The next chapter elaborates on this as it discusses the origins and implications of this fear.

# 3. Influence discourse on boundary drawing and intergroup behaviour
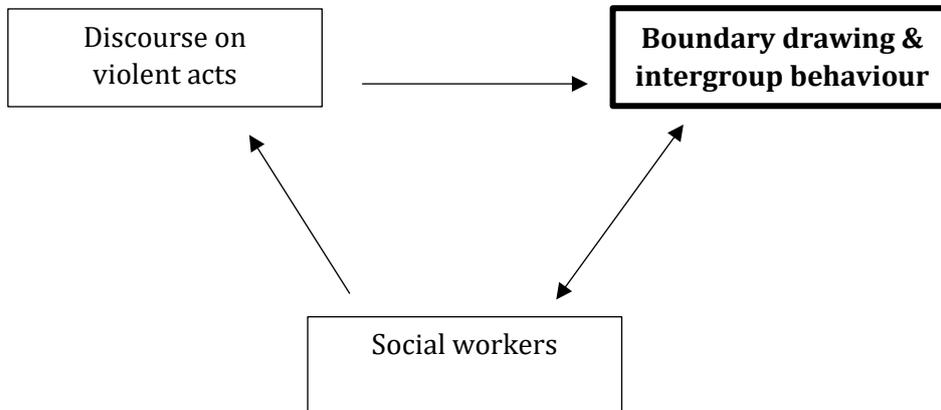
Figure 4. Position of chapter in research

3.1. Boundary drawing

As this research is based on the assumption that groups in society are socially constructed, this chapter will analyse how discourse on the violent acts influences social boundaries in Dutch society and the way this affects intergroup behaviour from the perspective of the social workers that were interviewed. First, the notion of reification is used to determine whether social boundaries are seen as given, as facts of nature rather than social constructs. This gives us insight in the way social boundaries are internalized and seen as means to make sense of social life. Second, the concept of enactment is applied, which refers to the materialisation of discourse. This allows us to analyse whether people actually act upon these social boundaries.

3.1.1. Reification

This paragraph aims at gaining an understanding of how the discourses on the violent acts influence the way in which social boundaries are embedded society. As argued by Brubaker, framing can create bounded groups that become institutionalized in society (Brubaker, 2004).[58] Furthermore, Powell (2011) has asserted that a lack of knowledge about the 'other' can make people more receptive for this interpretation. This research uses the notion of 'reification' as

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[58] Brubaker uses the concept of 'groupism' to describe such process of boundary drawing and institutionalization, in which he defines groupism as "the tendency to take discrete, sharply differentiated, internally homogeneous, and externally bounded groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflicts, and fundamental units of social analysis" (Brubaker, 2004, p.35).

described by Berger & Luckmann,[59] to analyse whether the discourses discussed in the last chapter has led to reification of social boundaries in Dutch society.

The social workers indeed point at the reification of social boundaries in Dutch society. A social worker with a Moroccan background is, for example, aware of the social boundaries herself. "I would not say I am Dutch, completely. Because that is not how other people see me. You tense up and maybe you fall back on this us versus them thinking."[60] Thus, she argues that because social boundaries are reified in society (others see her as non-Dutch or Moroccan and thus as 'the other') she incorporates these in her own way of thinking and behaviour that results from this. The latter points at the materialisation of discourse through a process of enactment, which will be further analysed in the next paragraph. Another example of reification mentioned by the respondents is the way in which the request towards Muslims to speak out against the violent acts create a social division. It is argued that the request in itself implies that a division between 'us' and 'them' is created in which the other has to take responsibility.[61][62] Mehmet Day makes the following statement in this regard: "I do believe that the Muslim community should do so, but then from an internal drive."[63] A Moroccan-Dutch woman expressed her frustration with this request: "People have asked me what I thought about this violence. (..) I have difficulty with such questions and ask myself, is this about me? (..) It is so strange that you have to take responsibility because of your religion, because you are different."[64] Moreover, the division that this request creates is exactly what terrorists aim for, Day argues.[65]

This division follows the line of religion which points at the salience of cultural background in the creation of social boundaries. Day for example, refers to the concept of 'overculturalisation' that not only takes place in organizations through diversity policy but also within the rest of society. "Background, culture or religion is emphasized. (..) We call this 'overculturalisation'. This obsession also takes place on a broader scale, in society."[66] Thus, it seems that there is an emphasis on background, culture or religion which tends to sharpen social boundaries. This is endorsed by other social workers who argue that it is someone's cultural or religious background that regulates intergroup dialogue. One social worker, whose clients are mainly Dutch citizens with a Moroccan background, is concerned about the 'Moroccan' youth. "What I find complex is that the youngsters are born and raised here. (..) But still they are seen as Moroccans. (..) There seems to be a separate culture created."[67] This points at a process of 'othering' in which social boundaries

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[59] They define reification as "the apprehension of human phenomena as if they were things, that is … the apprehension of the products of human activity as if they were something other than human products – such as facts of nature" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p.106).
[60] Author's interview on 24 May 2016 with a Moroccan-Dutch woman.
[61] *Supra* note 3 on p.8.
[62] *Supra* note 36 on p34.
[63] *Supra* note 32 on p.33.
[64] *Supra* note 60 on p40.
[65] *Supra* note 32 on p.33.
[66] Idem.
[67] *Supra* note 31 on p33.

are maintained and internalized.[68] Furthermore, it indicates that cultural background in general is taken as starting point for 'us versus them thinking', and that the immigrant background and the religious background are entangled.

By creating the 'other', someone distances him- or herself from members of the outgroup. This process has been discussed briefly in chapter two, in which it was argued that the other (or 'them' in terms of the 'us versus them dichotomy') refers to an umbrella of all those that do not belong to the ingroup (or 'us'). This process in which all 'others' are lumped together and distanced from the ingroup might explain the origin of the fear for the unknown. As one distances him- or herself from others, he or she becomes less familiar with these persons and thereby develops the 'unknown'.[69] This relationship will be further discussed in the next section.

The social workers mention different intersecting factors that might underlie the process of reification, which points at the difficulty of separating the interpretation of violent acts and its implications from other processes in Dutch society. For example, they point at parties like the PVV that emphasize social boundaries, thereby stimulating us versus them thinking. However, they do argue that Islam is framed as cause of the problem in interpreting the violent acts and thereby implicitly point at the way social boundaries (in this case Muslims versus non-Muslims) are emphasized and embedded in the public debate. Thus, it seems that the social boundaries related to Muslims were already there, but that they have been emphasized by the discourse on the violent acts.

3.1.2. Enactment

In this paragraph the concept of 'enactment' will be applied to see whether people actually act upon the social boundaries, as described in the last paragraph. That is, as discourse becomes dominant and internalized (through a process of reification), this discourse might be incorporated in people's behaviour.

The interviews with the social workers indeed point at a process of enactment in which discourse (focusing on social boundaries) is materialised. They focus hereby on the materialisation by the Muslim 'other', created through discourse. A majority of the respondents point out that because of the social boundaries in society, people tend to live isolated and avoid intergroup dialogue (that is; dialogue that crosses social boundaries), which seems to confirm that there is indeed a process of polarization going on.[70] This is illustrated by a social worker who argued that "there seems to be some sort of distance, especially from Muslims".[71] Day argues that the focus on social

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[68] This process of othering (for example described by Fabian. 1991) points at us versus them thinking.
[69] The unknown hereby refers to a lack of knowledge about the other, for example about what Islam entails. The fact that a lot of Dutch people do not seem to know that there are a lot of different movements within Islam points out that such lack of knowledge exists.
[70] Polarization is described by Kinneging (2009) as "the increase and intensification of contrasts, in which different groups in society become alienated and become opposites" (p.12).
[71] *Supra* note 31 on p33.

boundaries (what he calls 'overculturalisation') increasingly makes adolescents with a migration background revert to their roots:

> They tend to revert to the roots from a defensive mode, because of a certain negativity in society about their background. The obsession makes people think; if you see me that way then I will behave in that way. (..) These adolescents have difficulty with the strong, in their eyes irrelevant, focus on their ethnic or religious background."[72]

Especially the Muslim youth, in most cases with a migrant background, is addressed by the respondents as a group that tends to distance themselves. Bal argues that these youngsters cannot fit in with both their own community as well as the rest of society. Therefore they create a responsive identity, an 'opposing identity', as Bal describes it.[73] A mother of two Moroccan sons recognizes this with her own children. "My sons are real Moroccan-Dutch boys, they stick to other non-native boys. This worries me."[74] Another social worker points at the importance of acceptance for youngsters. "Some youngsters do not feel accepted and then they will behave in a certain way."[75] This acceptance is understood to be particularly important for youngsters because they are confronted by it, for example when they are looking for an internship or a job. Thus, people who are confronted with negative attitudes towards them in society are more likely to enact this discourse.

Furthermore, discourse can also become enacted unconsciously. Some of the respondents point out that while Muslims are asked to speak out against the violent acts (as implied by the frames used in the discourses) the majority of them remains silent. "If you do not speak out (..) you remain in a suspected position."[76] This is supported by a social worker who argues that underrepresentation is problematic. "When people feel that a group is not visible there develops a certain distrust."[77] Thus, by remaining silent people see the discourse materialised. Another respondent (a policymaker)however, claims the opposite. He argues that by speaking out you confirm the accusation and make yourself more of a suspect. "If you walk up front then you almost act as if it is a problem of religion. While it is not problem of religion. These are just disturbed people."[78] These arguments imply that discourse and social boundaries attached to such discourse, can also be materialised unconsciously, simply by giving a certain reaction. In the last chapter, attention is paid to the way social workers believe people should respond to violent acts without emphasizing social boundaries.

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[72] *Supra* note 32 on p.33.
[73] *Supra* note 3 on p.8.
[74] *Supra* note 60 on p40.
[75] Author's interview on 12 June 2016 with a social worker.
[76] *Supra* note 3 on p.8.
[77] *Supra* note 36 on p34.
[78] Author's interview on 30 May 2016 with A. Eddaoudi, chaplain for Dutch Ministry of Defence.

In conclusion, intergroup dialogue is decreasing because of the distrust and fear existing between different groups of people. These processes seem to complement each other, which creates a sort of vicious circle in which one process encourages another. The figure below illustrates this circle.

Less intergroup
dialogue

Fear for the
unknown

Development of
the unknown other
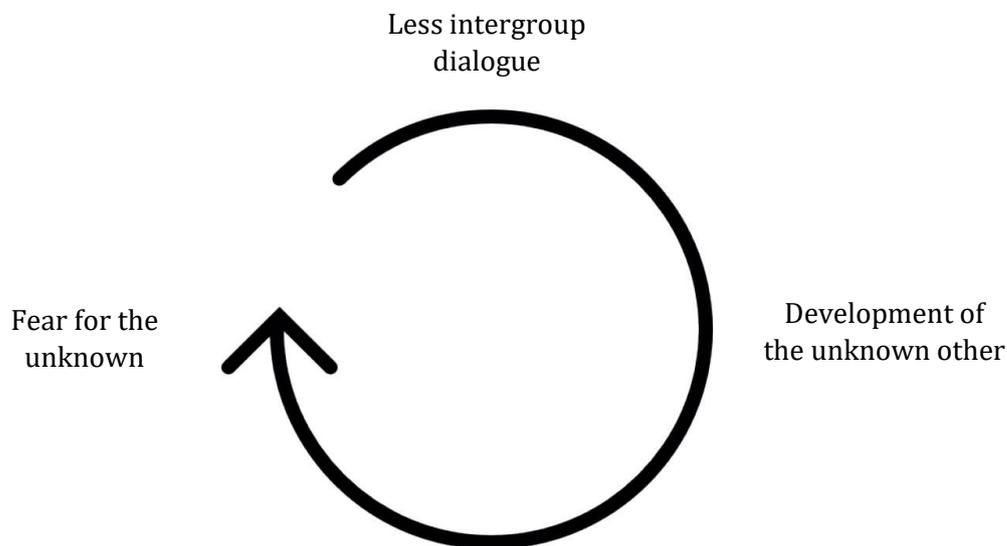
Figure 5. Vicious circle stimulating the fear for the unknown

The frames that are used in the discourse on the violent acts in Paris and Brussels seem to influence this process by creating (or stimulating the creation of) the 'unknown other' and thereby triggering fear. Moreover, the implications of this circle will be discussed in the next section.

3.2. Social identity and intergroup behaviour

As the last paragraphs discussed how social boundaries are reified and enacted in social interactions, this paragraph focuses on the behaviour and intergroup relations that result from this. Discourse Theory and theories of boundary drawing are supplemented with Social Identity Theory to gain such an insight. The focus will be on the behaviour resulting from intergroup relations, when these relations already exist. Social Identity Theory describes how processes of social categorization and comparison lay ground for intergroup behaviour. Social categorization - which creates 'ingroups' and 'outgroups' - can be seen as a process of boundary drawing, as a process of reification. SIT describes how the social world becomes divided into 'ingroups' and 'outgroups' thereby institutionalizing social boundaries in social life. The process of social comparison focuses on the way these 'ingroups' and 'outgroups' evaluate each other. The following paragraphs will elaborate on the intergroup behaviour that follows from this.

3.2.1. Intergroup behaviour

As pointed out in chapter two, social groups and boundaries between them can trouble the relationship between members of different groups. Barth (1969) for example, asserts that this relationship is characterized by "limitations on shared understanding, differences in criteria for judgement of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest" (p.15), as addressed in the second chapter of this research. Social Identity Theory helps to understand how this interaction is developed. As argued by theorists, processes of categorization and comparison can result in intergroup antagonism and hostility. According to Brewer, this happens when the ingroup is threatened by the outgroup, for example because the outgroup begins to dominate (Brewer, 2001). During the interviews, the existence of antagonistic attitudes towards members of outgroups was acknowledged (as the literature suggested). Since social boundaries, created by discourse, are reified and enacted in society, ingroups and outgroups were created, which gives the floor to intergroup behaviour as described by SIT.

The intergroup behaviour discussed by the social workers is characterized by distrust and hardened attitudes. "We are now in the phase of distrust towards each other, and that is a real problem (..) society has become hardened."[79] This is endorsed by another social worker; "I begin to notice that people have become more hardened towards each other"[80] The lack of trust is in line with the claim made by Brewer (2001) that trust is only present within the ingroup and also indicates that a fear for the unknown indeed exists, that is, the fear to lose elements of one's identity.[81] Furthermore, some social workers point at far reaching consequences that may result from these hardened relationships such as (excesses of) discrimination and radicalization.[82][83] Adolescents in particular are understood to be most vulnerable for such behaviour as they can become isolated from both society and Muslims community. "They have become the other of the Muslim community and society", Bal contends. He argues that this isolation gives radicalization a free play.[84]

Thus, the social boundaries that exist in Dutch society provide the condition for distrust and hardened attitudes towards those that are different, those that do not belong to the ingroup, which can result in (excesses of) radicalization and discrimination. In order to understand how such negative attitudes are stimulated by larger contextual circumstances of society, the next chapter analyses social identity complexity in Dutch society.

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[79] *Supra* note 31 on p33.
[80] Author's interview on 7 June 2016 with a social worker.
[81] *Supra* note 32 on p.33.
[82] *Supra* note 3 on p.8.
[83] *Supra* note 32 on p.33.
[84] *Supra* note 3 on p.8.

3.2.2. Social identity complexity

As described in chapter one, the concept of social identity complexity refers to the extent to which social groups are overlapping. A high social identity complexity is characterized by less overlapping social groups and group memberships that cross social boundaries. A high social identity complexity is understood as softening intergroup behaviour (Brewer & Pierce, 2005). The concept of social identity complexity is taken as starting point to gain insight in the degree of such complexity in Dutch society and the way this influences intergroup behaviour.

As argued by a majority of the social workers and the literature discussed in first chapters of this research, Dutch society is characterized by polarization. Clear social boundaries exist that have been internalized in social life and incorporated in people's behaviour, and groups have become alienated from each other. This is expressed by the respondents interviewed in this research, who point at the lack of intergroup dialogue that crosses social boundaries.[85][86][87] Processes of reification and enactment of social boundaries seem to be underlying mechanisms that can result in polarization. Moreover, the increasing gap between different social groups in Dutch society implies that social identity complexity is low at this moment. The question is whether this increases negative attitudes towards outgroup members.

The social workers problematize the lack of intergroup dialogue as it can develop into fear for the unknown, which has been illustrated in figure 5. This fear for the unknown is perceived to be the result of people's fear to lose elements of one's identity (WRR, 2005).[88] Moreover, it points at a perceived threat, which in turn might lead to intergroup antagonism. Brewer herself describes such a process when she argues that a threat to the ingroup, which can be caused by dominance of an outgroup, indeed triggers feelings of fear and anger (Brewer, 2001). González et al. (2008) also point at the influence of threat, in particular symbolic threat,[89] on attitudes between people as they argue that a perception of symbolic threat can result in negative attitudes towards Muslims. Thus, a society characterised by low social identity complexity and the existence of fear for the unknown lay the foundation for negative attitudes between members of different groups.

The following figure illustrates which mechanisms help to explain this process:

| Low social identity complexity | → | Less intergroup dialogue | → | Fear for the unknown | → | Perceived Threat | → | Intergroup Antagonism |
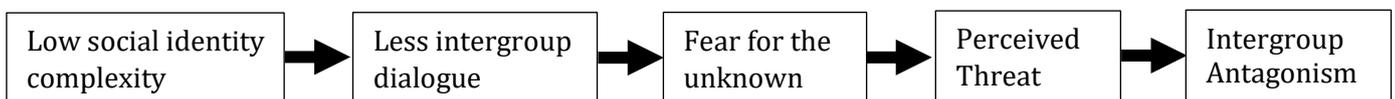
Figure 6. Relationship between polarization and intergroup antagonism

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[85] *Supra* note 32 on p.33.
[86] *Supra* note 3 on p.8.
[87] *Supra* note 60 on p40.
[88] *Supra* note 31 on p.33
[89] Symbolic threat is understood by the authors as the result of differences in values, norms and belief.

When looking at the relationship between Muslims and non- Muslims in Dutch society, low social identity complexity (or polarization) can lead to antagonistic feelings towards each other, such as prejudice or even social conflicts, as described by Dommering (2009) and Ghorashi (2009).

This points out that the concept of social identity complexity cannot only be applied to understand how intergroup antagonism can be softened but also how a lack of social identity complexity can increase such negative attitudes. The discourse discussed in the last chapter seems to exacerbate this relationship. For this research, the framework of Social Identity Complexity gives insight in the way larger social processes can shape intergroup behaviour.

4. Social workers in practice
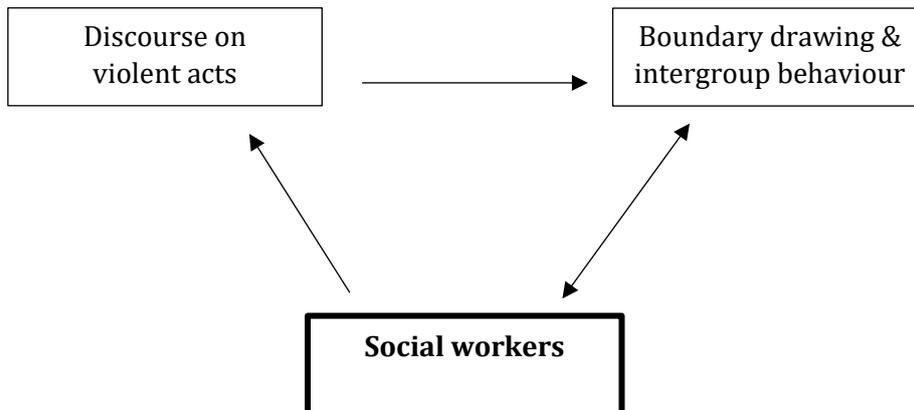
Figure 7. Position of chapter in research

This chapter builds upon the interpretation of the social workers as described in the former sections and focuses on the way they incorporate this interpretation in their daily work. Furthermore, attention is paid to the extent to which they feel they are able to do so, considering the facilities that are made available to them in a top-down manner and the public support they receive, taking a more bottom-up approach.

The overarching aim of the social workers is to overcome social boundaries and prevent people from getting isolated. As they were selected for this research based on their work directed towards Muslims, the majority of them focuses on preventing this specific group from becoming isolated. Thus, their objective is to stimulate intergroup dialogue, focusing on the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims. The vicious circle, as described in section 3.1.2., and the relationship between polarization (or the presence of clear cut social boundaries) and intergroup antagonism may be intercepted by such intergroup dialogue. This objective comes in most of the cases forth out of the background of the respondents themselves, as they experienced many of the intergroup behaviour described earlier, or know people in their social environment who have experienced this. This was illustrated by a social worker: "We try to do something for society and therefore also for ourselves. It starts with yourself."[90] Another social worker pointed out that his Islamic background was his motive of doing this work. "I know what is going on with these groups, that is what makes you an added value".[91] This refers to the notion of 'bridgebuilder' as described by Bal, as the respondents describe themselves as mediators who are able to bring different social groups together.

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[90] *Supra* note 31 on p33.
[91] *Supra* note 80 on p44.

In order to reach this objective, different strategies are applied that can be divided into strategies on a political level, directed at the political arena using a more top-down approach, and strategies on a grassroots level, taking a more bottom-up approach. The strategies are aimed at changing the status quo, as all the social workers label the current situation as problematic. First, this chapter will address the strategy of creating intergroup dialogue, on both political and grassroots level. Second, the strategy of developing a counter-discourse is discussed on both of these levels. This approach is related to the strategy of creating intergroup dialogue, as such dialogue creates a platform to articulate counter-discourses. Hence, this points at the need for a platform in order for a counter-discourse to gain ground, which will be further discussed in the paragraph on counter-discourses. This chapter will conclude with a review of the ability of social workers to overcome social boundaries at this moment, in which both facilities and social support are addressed.

4.1. Intergroup dialogue

Intergroup dialogue is mentioned by all of the social workers as a means to overcome social boundaries. This is illustrated by one of the policymakers interviewed for this research: "We should stay in dialogue with each other, even though we have a lot of internal differences".[92] The meaning of dialogue differs for dialogue on a political level and dialogue on a grassroots level. Dialogue on a political level can be described as pragmatic contact, in order to reach a certain objective. The following translation of dialogue is appropriate in this situation: Dialogue refers to "a discussion between two or more people or groups, especially one directed towards exploration of a particular subject or resolution of a problem".[93] Dialogue on a grassroots level on the contrary, does not have to be directed towards a certain objective and can also be described as 'contact'. It includes an interaction between citizens, which can be a small conversation in the supermarket about the weather, but also a group dialogue aimed at solving certain problems. Creating dialogue or contact is understood by the social workers as a constructive solution and to be able to bring about structural change (thereby taking a long-term approach). It is argued that speaking out against the violent acts is not constructive as it will not contribute to long-term change. Furthermore, it is important to note that most of the social workers work either on a political or grassroots level to create intergroup dialogue, but do emphasize the importance of both.

4.1.1. Political level

The professionals, and the three policy-makers in particular, focus on creating intergroup dialogue on a political level. They focus primarily on the debate concerning Muslims in the Netherlands that takes place in the political arena. The first point they make is that all parties at stake should be included in this debate. They point at the absence of Muslims themselves and

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[92] *Supra* note 50 on p.37.
[93] Definition derived from Oxford Dictionaries.

argue that this is very problematic. According to Bal for example, Muslims are only included to illustrate, not to take part in the debate itself. The violent acts in Paris and Brussels did make some difference in this debate;

> What we see now is that because of the violent acts, there are attempts to break through the closed Muslim communities. Muslims have become entangled with societal issues. It would have been better if they had tried to get contact because of other issues.[94]

A social worker also points at this by arguing that Muslims should not only be addressed because of a problem.[95] Eddaoudi follows this line of thought and argues that attention shifts only after such events occur, while policy should be adjusted forehand. He therefore pleads for more Muslim advisors.

By including Muslims in the political debate, Bal argues, more transparency can be created which is crucial in order to overcome social boundaries. With transparency, he means creating an understanding of this group and thereby informing people about the way Muslims relate to the violent acts (if they relate at all). He argues in favour of creating transparency more explicit and in accordance with policy, by informing all parties involved. The policymaker from the municipality of Utrecht also emphasizes the importance of information in the political arena. On a municipal level, she aims at providing information on issues such as radicalization and polarization in order to raise consciousness.[96]

Eddaoudi emphasizes that hard choices, related to the place of Islam in society, should be made instead of concealing the problems, for example on issues such as orthodoxy. "You should be willing to think about such important issues as society".[97] He argues that better consultation is needed between Muslims, in particularly between organizations representing them;

> I think that it is important to think about the added value of diversity in our society. Fact is that our society will be completely different in 50 year. You are quite naïve to say that you do not want to think about this.[98]

He points out that Muslim advisories can provide such consultation.

The following policy propositions can be derived from this:

1. Include all parties involved in political debate
2. Create transparency and raise consciousness
3. Consultation on urgent issues

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[94] *Supra* note 3 on p.8.
[95] *Supra* note 36 on p34.
[96] See for example the plan of action report 'Utrecht zijn we samen' (2015).
[97] *Supra* note 80 on p.42.
[98] Idem.

These propositions on a policy level are not enough to reach the objective of overcoming social boundaries, according to the policymakers. As the policymaker from the municipality of Utrecht claims: "The municipality can only coordinate. The question is what citizens can do themselves. What could you do on a micro-level?"[99] The next paragraph discusses how social workers believe change can be made on a grassroots level.

4.1.2. Grassroots level

Some of the social workers that participated in this research concentrate their work primarily on stimulating intergroup dialogue or contact on a grassroots level. As argued by one of the social workers, working as a social agent in Utrecht, "you arrange most in the corridors, not in the formal meetings".[100] He points out that dialogue or contact between people, on a local level, can make a difference, although it seems minimal. The importance of contact for the creation or maintenance of positive relationships in society has been illustrated by research (Allport, 1954; McLaren, 2003; Pettigrew, 1998). Allport's Contact Theory for example, describes how interpersonal contact under the right conditions can reduce prejudice between majority and minority groups. Allport (1954) argues that "prejudice may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals" (p.281). Hereby, he points out that contact per se does not always reduce negative attitudes (prejudice), as the type of contact provides certain conditions that facilitates this process. Furthermore, McLaren (2003) has shown that through contact the perceived threat can be reduced, which would help to break down the vicious circle of in which this threat (or fear) is part of.

The social workers and the organizations they work for aim to establish intergroup dialogue by means of the organization of activities in which different groups take part. One organization for example, went on the street to create dialogue about how different groups should live together in the neighbourhood. The social worker from the municipality also organizes activities in which people from the same neighbourhood are invited to discuss the situation in the neighbourhood. She emphasizes that change can take place on a very small scale, for example when a youngster helps an elderly women who is afraid to walk down the street because of the loitering teen, by walking with her to the supermarket. "These are very small cross-pollinations"[101], she argues.

The respondents do emphasize that it costs time to create intergroup dialogue on a grassroots level and thereby overcome social boundaries. As distrust is deeply rooted within society, people are either less willing to enter dialogue or this dialogue does not result in structural changes. A social worker argues in this regard that "positive attitudes have to grow, this cannot be accomplished in a short amount of time. You need to get to know each other."[102] The importance

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[99] *Supra* note 50 on p.37.
[100] *Supra* note 80 on p44.
[101] *Supra* note 44 on p.36.
[102] *Supra* note 80 on p44.

of this long-term objective is also illustrated by a social worker who focuses in his work on Dutch citizens with a Moroccan background;

> There already have been a lot of dialogues. At a certain point, people are done with dialogues because trust within society has disappeared. We can talk but in practice, society is hardened and distrust has increased. You need an atmosphere for dialogue, that is not the case at the moment. (..) You can organize dialogue but what can you accomplish with that if trust is gone? That is my question.[103]

The social workers themselves seem to play an important role in this, as they have gained trust within their working environment. One social worker for example pointed out that he could mediate easily between different social groups as former resident of the neighbourhood he works in.[104] This endorses Allport's contact theory as it is argued that equal status in contact is necessary in order to reduce prejudice between different social groups (Allport, 1954). Social workers, have gained trust from the local citizens which facilitates equal status contact.

One of the means mentioned by which an atmosphere of dialogue can be developed is education, according to the respondents. Education can provide youngsters with broader insights and a better understanding of others, which stimulates their willingness to enter dialogue. As founder of the Imam education, Bal endorses this and argues that education can provide adolescents with an understanding of how religion can be integrated in Dutch society. This specific group of young Muslims needs support in their process of identity development, which is not always provided by the Muslim communities as they have the tendency to expel those who do not conform to the principles of the community. "These adolescents have not yet developed a stable identity and when they are expelled from the community, they find sources that alienate and destabilise them even more."[105] A social worker from Utrecht who works primarily with Moroccan children illustrates the importance of mosques or Imams: "They have a stimulating function. They try to translate Islam to a regular language."[106] Eddaoudi also points at the role of the Muslim communities and claims that they should take a stance in issues concerning Muslims in the Netherlands.[107] Support is crucial in this, as will be further illustrated in the last paragraph.

These statements can be translated into the following propositions:

1. Find mediators who can develop dialogue
2. Create an atmosphere for dialogue (long-term)
3. Provide education

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[103] *Supra* note 31 on p33.
[104] *Supra* note 80 on p44.
[105] *Supra* note 3 on p.8.
[106] *Supra* note 75 on p42.
[107] *Supra* note 80 on p.42.

The social workers emphasize that both improvements on a political level as well as a grassroots level should be made in order to overcome social boundaries. A following paragraph will discuss the extent to which the social workers are facilitated in their work.

4.2. Counter-discourse

This research takes the notion of duality of structure of Giddens as a starting point and thereby acknowledges that individuals have agency and can make structural change. An important means by which they can do so is to create a counter-discourse that contradicts the dominant discourse. As argued by Jabri, such a counter-discourse can challenge the dominant discourse when it becomes institutionalized in society (Jabri, 1996). This paragraph focuses on the way social workers create a counter-discourse on a political or grassroots level and what this discourse entails. Such counter-discourse should be created in what Jabri calls 'public space' and therefore, intergroup dialogue can be understood as means by which such a counter-discourse can be expressed. In the last paragraph of this chapter, the extent to which such a discourse finds support in society is addressed which has implications for the institutionalization and thereby for the power of this counter-discourse.

4.2.1. Political level

The main critique by the social workers concerning the discourses on the violent acts is that all Muslims are lumped together and interpreted as suspects. They argue that this interpretation is too simplistic as large differences exist within Islam in reality. Thus, they argue that this asks for a counter-discourse on a political level in which a new and more nuanced image is created.

Bal aims at creating such a counter-discourse in his work at CMO (Contact Organ Muslims and Government). According to Bal, the political dialogue focusing on Muslims or Islam is based on common understandings and viewpoints that have a decisive character. Radicalization is an issue that is based on such a common understanding within the political arena. As Bal argues, "how do you explain that a long beard has nothing to do with a radicalization process if all research find such a correlation? That makes you go silent." Furthermore, he argues that because these understandings are deeply rooted in the debate, new insights are not able to gain ground. "If I do not follow the existing, dominant debate I risk to make myself irrelevant".[108] This is another explanation of why Muslims seem to be absent in the political debate focusing on Muslims or Islam in the Netherlands.

Hence, counter-discourses on a political level seem not to be able to become institutionalized in society. This will be further addressed in the next sections.

4.2.2. Grassroots level

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[108]*Supra* note 3 on p.8.

Intergroup dialogue on a grassroots level is also understood as a platform to articulate a counter-discourse. Such a counter-discourse should be aimed at showing a different side of Muslims, according to the social workers. Social workers from Utrecht took the initiative '*Jouw angst is mijn angst*' (Your fear is my fear) from Rotterdam as inspiration to start their own dialogue. In this dialogue they stressed that Muslims can also be victims,[109] which challenges the discourse that describes Muslims as suspects. A social worker from Amsterdam, who directs his work towards Dutch citizens with a Turkish background, also points at the importance of such a counter-discourse. He argues that speaking out against the violent acts alone is not enough and that a counter-discourse is a more constructive solution. "I believe that active citizenship, so taking part in Dutch society, is key".[110]

Thus, a counter-discourse should not (only) be developed in light of the violent acts but rather it should become institutionalized in social life. This last step seems to be difficult to achieve, as the building block for such institutionalization seem absent.[111][112] The last paragraph will elaborate on the ability of a counter-discourse to gain ground and become institutionalized.

4.3. Prospects of overcoming social boundaries

In this paragraph, the prospects of overcoming social boundaries, as discussed by the social workers, will be analysed. The strategies mentioned in the last paragraphs are taken as point of departure to gain an understanding of the extent to which the respondents find themselves able to implement these strategies. This paragraph first addresses the facilities that are available to them, which are mainly provided in a top-down manner. Next, the extent to which the social workers are able to find public support is discussed, thereby taking a more bottom-up approach.

4.3.1. Facilities

Social workers do not feel facilitated in two ways. On the one hand, social workers do not feel supported by the government or municipality because of a lack of (material) resources, and on the other hand, policymakers do not seem to be able to create a counter-discourse because of the fixed character of the political debate on Muslims.

A majority of the social workers interviewed for this research find themselves limited in their work because of a lack of (appropriate) facilities. The main point of critique is that the government or municipality does not provide enough resources. Their budget has dwindled and therefore it has become more difficult for smaller organizations to get funding. Furthermore, the labour force at coordinating organizations on a municipal level seems to have decreased significantly. A social agent watched many of his colleagues at such an organization leave and finds himself taken over

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[109] *Supra* note 80 on p44.
[110] *Supra* note 36 on p34.
[111] *Supra* note 31 on p33.
[112] *Supra* note 80 on p44.

by events. "My job has changed completely. As a social agent, there is a distance between me and the clients. (..) A lot is easily put on our plate (..) but that plate is full at some point."[113] This is endorsed by reports that conclude that social agents fail to support citizens in organizing events (Sociaal Domein, 2015).

The social workers that were interviewed as well as the report on social agents claim that local responsibility has shifted to citizens themselves, a development that results from the larger transformation of the Netherlands into a 'participation society'. This development was addressed by the Dutch king in his speech from the throne in 2013 and seems to have developed further after this (Abels & Brandsma in Trouw, 2015). The participation society is based on the idea that citizens themselves can contribute to their neighbourhood or can support people in their own social environment. However, as argued by a few social workers, this development has led to a lack of resources to reach the organization's objectives. This is illustrated by one of the social workers interviewed; "The message is if you want to do something, you have to do it yourself." But he argues that "the strength lies with the professionals, someone on who can build".[114] This social worker is concerned that without a financial incentive, less can be achieved. Furthermore, he points out that such responsibility does not match with the individualist character of society. This criticism is supported by a report that concludes that there is a lack of support for the participation society among Dutch citizens. Only 35% of the Dutch citizens support this development while 41% disapprove it (Motivaction, 2014).

Two social workers from Utrecht, working primarily with Moroccan Dutch citizens, point out that they do not feel supported by the municipality of Utrecht as a small organization;

> We are a small foundation and we would like to expand. (..) But at the moment, only bigger organizations are financed, with large amounts of money. (..) We cannot ask our members to pay contribution because most of them have financial problems themselves.[115]

They mention that social agents are responsible for the distribution of financial support. Furthermore, one of the social workers points out that he does not feel supported on a political level. He argues that a categorical approach is no longer accepted in the political arena and that attention is only paid to issues that serve public interest. Because of this, advocates do not pay enough attention to specific groups in society and policy tends to lack tailor-made approaches. [116]

Two of the social workers operating on a policy level, policymakers, however, value the participation of citizens and argue that it is not reasonable to feel limited as a social worker because of material shortages. As mentioned earlier, the policymaker from the Utrecht

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[113] Idem.
[114] *Supra* note 80 on p44.
[115] *Supra* note 31 on p33.
[116] His work as social worker is directed towards Turkish Dutch citizens and this statement is therefore based on the work of Turkish advocates.

municipality points out that the municipality can only play a coordinating role and that in the end, citizens themselves should take responsibility.[117] Moreover, Eddaoudi emphasizes the importance of gaining respect as an organization and find public support and claims that material support should not be prioritized. "The strength lies in creating a distinct profile with little resources. That makes you powerful. Then municipality has to pay attention."[118] The extent to which such public support can be reached is addressed in the next paragraph.

Also, Eddaoudi points at the importance of cooperation between different organizations to reach the objective of overcoming social boundaries. "I believe that different religious organizations should work together, just as I believe that Muslims should work together among themselves as well. (..) That is the future. If you do not cooperate you shoot yourself in the foot."[119] The importance of cooperation is endorsed by most of the social workers themselves. A social worker from Amsterdam, directing his work towards Turkish Dutch citizens, argues that organizations make not always use of such opportunities. "A lot of migrant organisations tend to muddle through instead of looking for new opportunities and making new connections".[120]

When it comes to creating a counter-discourse on a political level, social workers do not seem to feel facilitated either, as was pointed out earlier. Bal argues that the political debate is based on common understandings which prevent him from articulating a counter-discourse. He fears to make himself irrelevant as he does not confirm the already existing ideas and perspectives. This points at the struggle over discourse that exists in society and the fact that it is difficult to trigger discourses once they are dominant. This points out that structures in which individuals are born in to both enable and constrain them (Giddens, 1984). Moreover, the lack of categorical approaches to social issues seems also to limit social workers in their ability to articulate a counter-discourse that focuses on the position of Muslims in particular.

4.3.2. Public support

As argued by the respondents, public support is at least as important for organizations aimed at overcoming social boundaries as the existence of facilities. Mehmet Day emphasizes that the internal drive is crucial and therefore policy cannot be put into practice without public support.[121] The development towards a participation society seems to be built on the assumption that such public support exists. However, the respondents in this research point at the lack of trust within society,[122][123] as described in the third chapter and thereby claim that their attempts to create intergroup dialogue lacks public support.

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[117] *Supra* note 50 on p.37.
[118] *Supra* note 80 on p.42.
[119] Idem.
[120] *Supra* note 36 on p34.
[121] *Supra* note 32 on p.33.
[122] *Supra* note 31 on p33.
[123] *Supra* note 80 on p44.

This lack of public support does not prevent the social workers from reaching out to such support by organizing small scale intergroup dialogues. Some of these initiatives were already discussed in an earlier paragraph. However, no real attempts can be made, according to the respondents. The policymaker from the municipality of Utrecht for example, describes how the local dialogues that she organizes are not attended by a diverse group. "It is mostly the active citizen that joins our events. (..) It is organized for all citizens and that is why we would like to see a diverse group but we are not able to accomplish this."[124]

In order to overcome these barriers, the importance of mediators and key figures is stressed. These figures should aim at finding public support among those they represent in order to fulfil this role as mediator. The own background of these mediators has been understood as helpful to gain support, as was addressed earlier in this chapter. The role of mediators is illustrated by Eddaoudi who refers primarily to such key figures in Muslim communities;

> I have seen that the same figures from the Muslim community line up too often. (..) Those who have not been capable should have left room for others. (..) I believe that Muslim advocates should work hard if they want to maintain their voice.[125]

Hereby, self-reflection is crucial, he argues. A social worker from Amsterdam endorses this and claims that such communities[126] should actively reflect on their own stance, for example after violent acts like those in Paris and Brussels, and the role they want to play because of this. Thus, mediators or key figures could create public support by reflecting on their own work.

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[124] *Supra* note 50 on p.37.
[125] *Supra* note 80 on p.42.
[126] As his work is directed towards Turkish Dutch citizens he primarily means Turkish communities in this context

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this research has been to gain an understanding of the relationship between the interpretation of violent acts and social boundaries in Dutch society. Such an understanding has been under addressed by former research and anticipates on the urgent need expressed by the Dutch government to move towards an 'inclusive society' in which social boundaries are absent. Theoretical propositions, based on existing theories, are central to this research as they help to make sense of the complex social processes - such as social boundary drawing - in society. Additionally, evidence - in the form of perceptions of social workers - is collected to see whether these propositions can be applied to the specific puzzle of this research. This evidence also provides insight in the practical implications of these propositions, focusing on the work of social workers. The main research question that has been central to this research is: *"How do social workers interpret the way discourse, on the violent acts in Paris and Brussels, influences social boundary drawing and intergroup behaviour in Dutch society and how do they act upon this?".* The interpretation of social workers is key in this research. Particular attention has been paid to the social boundaries that separate Muslims from non-Muslims. The qualitative research methods selected for this research have allowed for an in-depth case study in which the interpretation of social workers is central. It gave the opportunity to dive into the story of the social workers in order to really understand what they were saying and in which context.

This final chapter intends to link all theoretical propositions and evidence to provide a clear answer to the research question. Furthermore, the implications of these findings are discussed which provides direction for future research and policy. The different subquestions are used as guidelines in this concluding chapter.

Discourse on the violent acts

Discourse Theory, and in particular Critical Discourse Theory emphasize the power of dominant discourse as it gives meaning to social events and thereby is able to steer public opinion.[127] Therefore, this research has sought to gain insight in the meaning that has been given to the violent acts in Paris and Brussels, and whom this meaning was articulated. The first research question was therefore formulated as follows; "*How do social workers working in the field of intergroup dialogue interpret the discourse on the violent acts in Paris and Brussels?*"

The social workers have described media as most important platforms on which discourses are articulated, which is in line with the literature that points at the role of media in interpreting social events.[128] This articulation is accompanied by a struggle to define between two dominant discourses; one that is positive about diversity and one that is negative. The latter discourse was

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[127] As discussed by; Brass, 1996; Fairclough, 2010; Hodges & Nilep, 2007; Jabri, 1996.
[128] As discussed by; Batziou, 2011; Gamson et al., 1992; Gitlin, 1980; Hallam & Street, 2000; Norris et al., 2003; Paletz & Entman; 1981; Tuchman, 1978.

addressed in greater detail by the social workers and is therefore further analysed throughout this research. Moreover, the context in which this struggle takes place is characterized by polarization, prejudice towards Muslims and migrant groups, a lack of trust between different groups of people and the fear to lose elements of one's identity.[129] This context gives direction to the discourse on the violent acts and therefore we can speak of 'recontextualization'. The power of this recontextualization has been emphasized by Tudor (2003) as he argued that the accumulation of a certain interpretation may enhance the effects of the single interpretations. The discourse on violent acts is thus in line with a broader discourse on diversity, which made it impossible to separate the discourse under study from the larger discourse. Therefore, the discourse was carefully analysed within its broader context. Moreover, the specific effects of discourse focusing on terrorism (as described in section 3.1 of the introduction) could not be analysed because of this.

The four framing functions, as described by Entman (1993), have shown that the discourse on violent acts (being part on the larger discourse on diversity in Dutch society) has emphasized the 'Muslim other', and thereby the social boundary that separates them from other Dutch citizens and this seems to have reinforced the already existing stigma associated with this social group. This 'Muslim other' is understood to be the result of the fear to lose elements of one's identity. Moreover, Muslims are requested to speak themselves out against the violent acts which might be seen as means to take away this fear.

The second subquestion has allowed to gain insight in the way the emphasis on the 'Muslim other' has affected social life.

Influence discourse on boundary drawing and intergroup behaviour

The relationship between discourse, boundary drawing processes and intergroup behaviour has been analysed in the second research question: "*How do social workers working in the field of intergroup dialogue interpret the way this discourse influences boundary drawing and intergroup behaviour in Dutch society?*".

The 'Muslim other', which is emphasized in the discourse on the violent acts, is not only created but also used to make sense of social life. It hereby steers the way Muslims and non-Muslims relate to each other. This endorses the proposition of Brubaker (2004) that framing can construct clear cut social boundaries.[130] Particularly framing of acts of terrorism is understood as influential

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[129] As discussed by; Berg & Schothorst; Duyvendak et al., 2008; Ghorashi, 2009; Huijnk & Dagevos, 2012; Kinniging, 2009; WRR, 2007.
[130] Brubaker (2004) uses the concept of 'groupism' to describe "the tendency to take discrete, sharply differentiated, internally homogeneous, and externally bounded groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflicts, and fundamental units of social analysis" (p.35).

because of the unanswered questions that are present afters such acts and because the lack of knowledge about Islam or Muslims enables interpretations of the terrorist attacks to fill in a gap.

The extent to which this 'Muslim other' is created by the particular discourse on the violent acts remains however unclear as this social boundary was already developed in the larger debate on diversity. What has been made clear by the respondents is that the discourse does not help to overcome this boundary. Additionally, the findings of this research indicate that discourse on the social boundary (which separates Muslims from non-Muslims)is enacted, either consciously or unconsciously. In practice, this means that there is a lack of intergroup dialogue between Muslims and non-Muslims. Such enactment has important implications as it can prove the salience of the social boundary. For example, Muslims reverting to their roots and thereby moving away from the rest of society, confirm that they are the 'Muslim other'. The reification and enactment of social boundaries are problematic as they can lead to antagonistic attitudes between members of different social groups (in this case Muslims and non-Muslims). Social Identity Theory has provided insight in how this works. The social boundaries seem to have resulted in ingroups and outgroups in Dutch society and the relationships between members of different groups seem to be characterized by distrust and hardened attitudes, as SIT would suggest (Brewer, 2001). In order to understand how social boundaries has influenced behaviour, the notion of social identity complexity, described by Brewer and Pierce (2005) has been analysed in the context of this research.

The term 'social identity complexity' refers to the extent to which social groups are overlapping and is thus related to the question how salient and clear defined social boundaries are. Social polarization is understood as condition in which a lot of overlap exists, referring to a low social identity complexity, in which social boundaries are highly salient and clear defined. The consequences of low social identity complexity have been under examined, but this research suggests that it can lead towards increased antagonistic feelings between members of different social groups. Whereas low social identity complexity means that there is a lack of intergroup dialogue, the fear of the unknown is expected to increase, as suggested by Berg and Schothorst (2016), and thereby also the perceived threat related to members of outgroups. As Brewer (2001) and González et al. have suggested, such a threat can trigger antagonistic feelings. Thus, once social polarization, developed through a process of reification and enactment, exists, members of different social groups can become more hostile towards each other. The existence of such hostility is supported by social workers and in their interpretation they also pointed at the underlying mechanisms that could have developed this hostility. The fear expressed by Muslims in a research of Berg and Schothorst (2016) that attitudes towards Muslims would become more negative because of violent acts such as those in Paris and Brussels, seems thus to be legitimate.

Social workers also problematize the clear cut social boundaries and the intergroup behaviour. The last research question therefore focuses on how they go about this in practice.

Social workers in practice

The final subquestion posed in this research is "*How do they [social workers] act upon this interpretation of the relationship between discourse, boundary drawing and intergroup behaviour?*". This subquestion is derived from the claim that individuals have agency by which they can bring about structural change (Giddens, 1984). The social workers have again been taken as starting point in this analysis in which their strategies of changing the status quo (the existence of social boundaries and behaviour following from these boundaries) are discussed.

The social workers believe that the lack of intergroup contact is problematic and therefore they aim to overcome social boundaries and prevent people from getting isolated. The overarching strategy, mentioned by all of them, to reach this objective is creating or stimulating intergroup dialogue. Such dialogue can take place on a political as well as grassroots level. On a political level, the importance of including all parties in the debate concerning Muslims is stressed, as well as the importance of creating transparency, raise consciousness about important issues and to start making 'hard choices' on these issues. In order to do so, more consultation is necessary. On a grassroots level, dialogue as well as contact is tried to be established by social workers, although the result of this seems minimal. It is stated that mediators are necessary in developing dialogue. Furthermore, the social workers emphasize the importance of a long-term atmosphere for dialogue and they aim at creating this atmosphere by means of education.

Within this dialogue, the strategy of creating a counter-discourse is applied by the social workers to influence the discourse and thereby the social boundaries in Dutch society. A counter-discourse is created on both the political as well as the grassroots level. On a political level, a counter-discourse is developed that emphasizes a more nuanced picture of Muslims but it seems very difficult to spread this discourse within the political arena. Counter-discourses on a grassroots level focus on showing a different side of Muslims, for example by stimulating active citizenship. However, the social workers do not seem to feel themselves able to reach their goals, due to a lack of facilities (both the material facilities such as funding and labour force, as well as facilities that enable them to articulate their counter-discourse) and a lack of public support. Thus, these counter-discourses do not seem to be able to become institutionalized in order to give another meaning to social events.

Policy implications

This research gives insight in the way an 'inclusive society', as expressed by Dutch government, can be reached and social boundaries, that prevent Dutch society from reaching this objective, can

be overcome. An important finding of this research is that social boundaries can result in a vicious circle, in which a lack of intergroup dialogue and the fear for the unknown complement each other. This circle needs to be broken down in order to reach an 'inclusive society' and prevent the situation from worsening. The three subquestions in this research have provided an understanding of the factors creating or maintaining these boundaries and thereby give direction to the way social boundaries could be overcome. The experiences by the social workers describe how they currently go about in practice and the limitations described by them can help to adjust top-down and bottom-up approaches to stimulate their work. Such adjustments can be made by coordinating institutions, of which the municipality is the most important one, but also by organizations working on a local level or individuals working on creating or implementing policy related to Muslims in the Netherlands. Thus, the findings of this research can function as guidelines in improving the work of social workers.

Whereas concrete strategies for policy were already addressed in this research, this paragraph will discuss a few more general policy implications that stood out in this research. First of all, this research has revealed the important role that social workers can play in overcoming social boundaries. Because of their own (Muslim) background, they find themselves mediating between different social groups. Based on their own experiences, this research has shown that their objectives closely relate to those expressed by Dutch government and this research suggests that they are highly valuable for Dutch society. Future policy might therefore be further specified in order to make use of their capacities.

Another important finding in this research has been that more attention should be paid to Muslim adolescents. As they are the ones being confronted with social boundaries (for example when looking for a job) there is an increased chance that they become isolated from both social groups (Muslim and non-Muslim) and radicalize because of this. This asks for a more categorical approach in which different parties involved (not only government but also Muslim communities, schools, etc.) should make an effort to prevent these isolated adolescents from going astray.

A third remark is that overcoming social boundaries takes time. Policy should be aimed at finding structural solutions that are supported by internal willingness. As addressed in the fourth chapter, intergroup dialogue cannot be created without an atmosphere that supports such dialogue. The process of increasing distrust should thus be reversed in order to make structural improvements.

The final policy implication is that policy should not only aim at resolving existing problems but also on signalling future problems and preventing them. Some of the social workers operating on a policy level are disappointed that crisis is needed in order for extra measures to be taken. Therefore, measures should be taken in an earlier stage in order to prevent being overtaken by events.

Recommendations for future research

This research was carried out in a period of about seven months[131] as part of the Master Conflict Studies & Human Rights. During this research, tensions in Dutch society increased due to other acts of terrorism, beyond the scope of this research. What this research has shown is that fear or the feeling of threat can worsen the situation and sharpen social boundaries. Such fear can be taken away by gaining an understanding of the situation in which research can play an important role. As expressed by the respondents of this research, nuanced information is key to broadening people's mindset and overcoming social boundaries. This research has explored how such an understanding can be developed but more research is needed to gain insight in the complex social processes involved.

Throughout the research process, it became clear that it was impossible to separate the influence of discourse on the violent acts on social boundaries from other social processes that are involved. The main part of this research builds upon interviews with social workers, in which a lot of different social processes were discussed, which allowed for a more nuanced approach to processes of social boundaries but also complicated the research process. It would be interesting for future research to separate discourse on particular violent acts in order to understand how a single discourse, and the frames used within this discourse, affect social life. For example, different media reports or messages focusing on particular violent (terrorist) acts, and the reaction on such reports or messages could be analysed. Moreover, terrorism seems to remain an urgent issue in the future and its impact is emphasized a lot,[132] but the effects of interpretations of acts of terrorism on social life, thereby taking the context in which this interpretation is developed into account, have not been studied in great detail. This research has shown the importance of the context in which interpretations are articulated, as an accumulation of ideas or interpretations make people more vulnerable to new ones. Furthermore, a larger time-frame would allow future research aimed at analysing the effects of interpretations of violent acts on society, or social groups within society, to gain a more in-depth insight in this relationship. This research has been carried out in a period of seven months which made it impossible to analyse the long-term effects of the interpretations under study.

Another point for further research is the struggle to define, which could not be addressed extensively in this research. The literature suggests that politicians and media compete with each other in order to give meaning to social events; something that is understood as powerful means to fulfil one's interests. It would therefore be interesting to draw a more complete picture of all the actors involved in this struggle and the extent to which they possess the resources to create a

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[131] From January 2016 until August 2016.
[132] For example by the political leaders who have pointed at the severity of the situation after acts of terrorism. See paragraph 3 of the introduction.

dominant discourse. Social media for example, might play an important role in interpreting social events; something of which terrorists seem to be aware. This raises the question what discourses on social media entail (how do they frame violent acts?) and to what extent they can influence social life. The adolescents with a Muslim background, as described in this research, seem to be vulnerable to interpretations on the internet as they become isolated from society. The extent to which these adolescents are receptive for the discourse on these media seems therefore important to analyse.

Additionally, this research has explored how the concept of social identity complexity (developed by Brewer & Pierce, 2005) can be applied to gain insight in the consequences of polarization for social life. This helps to translate social processes on an abstract level into social implications on a local level (the way people behave in their daily lives). Due to the small scope of this research, the theoretical implications could not be tested on a larger scale, to see whether the concept can explain negative attitudes or even conflict in society. This asks therefore for further examination in the future.

Another starting point for future research can be a more in-depth analysis of the conditions for intergroup contact, as described by Allport (1954). The social workers in this research all pointed at intergroup contact as means to overcome social boundaries, but the conditions in which such contact could indeed have such an effect (such as the type of contact or the context in which this contact takes place) could not be studied within this research. When analysing the role of contact in the Dutch context it would be interesting to pay more attention to the translation of these findings into policy. For example, the different actors that might be able to create such contact can be mapped out in order to gain an understanding of what a comprehensive policy aimed at overcoming social boundaries would look like. Despite the fact that this research has only included social workers (among which policymakers as well), they have given insight in a broad range of actors (that could be) involved. Thus, an understanding of all actors involved and the extent to which the conditions for contact are met, could help to develop policy that is able to overcome social boundaries.

A last suggestion for future research is to pay more attention to the effectivity of local policy. In particular, the effects of the development into a participation society ask for an analysis of the (long-term) effects on the functioning of social organizations. Such participation society seems to be based on the assumption that public support can be found for the work of these organizations, but the social workers assert that this support is lacking in society. Hence, the presence of public support needs to be considered more carefully when developing, implementing or studying the effects of (local) policy.

Concluding remarks

This study has revealed the central role that meaning making plays in social processes, in particular the (re)construction of social boundaries. It hereby provides an answer to the question posed by Duyvendak et al. (2008) whether fear exists in society or whether this fear has been created. The answer is that fear seemed already existent but that this fear has been further developed through a process of meaning making. Moreover, the existence of social boundaries can result in undesirable behaviour and attention needs to be paid to ways to overcome these boundaries. The interviews with the social workers have pointed out that mediators such as Raşit Bal will become indispensable in the future.

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6. Appendixes

6.1. Overview social organizations

- Community Centre De Oase (Utrecht)

A community centre with around 30 active organizations, including a Chinese association, a homework coaching institute, an association for elder migrants and an alevist association. More information can be found on http://www.mekaarutrecht.nl/mekaar-start-buurthuis-de-oase/

- Diversiteitsland (Amsterdam)

An advise and project bureau that aims at stimulating participation and connecting people from different backgrounds on a local level. It offers education to youngsters, and activities and facilities to Turkish elders, among other things. More information can be found on http://www.diversiteitsland.nl/

- De Derde Brug (Utrecht)

A non-profit organization that tries to mediate between different cultural groups in society and stimulate participation in society. They offer different services, such as homework coaching and administrative guidance.

- Islamitisch Centrum Leidsche Rijn (Utrecht)

An organization in Leidsche Rijn with a main focus on providing education to youngsters. They include parents in their projects in order to stimulate participation. Additionally, it provides a range of other services, such as social-cultural activities, counceling on education, etc. More information can be found on http://morl.nl/nl/over-ons/over-ons

6.2. Topic guide

Doelen
- Begrijpen of en hoe de aanslagen in Parijs en Brussel invloed hebben gehad op de sociale identificatie van allochtone Nederlanders
- Inzicht krijgen in het discourse dat dominant is naar aanleiding van de aanslagen m.b.t. de sociale identificatie van deze groep Nederlanders
- Inzicht krijgen in de manier waarop interculturele hulpverleners dit verband interpreteren
- Inzicht krijgen in de manier waarop zij hiermee omgaan in hun werk
- Inzicht krijgen in de mate waarin de aanslagen weerslag hebben gehad op hun werk
- Begrijpen of en hoe interculturele hulpverleners een counterdiscourse bieden

Introductie

- Introductie van mijzelf en het onderzoek
- Doelen
- In hoeverre wil je ingaan op je eigen ervaring/ je werk op het instituut?
- Vertrouwelijkheid
- Toestemming om op te nemen

1. Werk als maatschappelijk werker

- Kun je wat vertellen over het werk dat je doet?
- Welke mensen maken hier gebruik van?
- Wat is de reden dat je dit werk doet?
- In hoeverre speelt je eigen achtergrond een rol bij je werk?
- Wat wil je bereiken met je werk?
- Denk je dat dit haalbaar is?
- In hoeverre wordt dit werk gefaciliteerd?
- Heb je het gevoel dat je op een bepaalde manier beperkt wordt in je werk?

2. Gevolgen van aanslagen

- In hoeverre heb je de aanslagen en de reacties op deze aanslagen meegekregen?
- Hoe kijk jij terug op deze aanslagen?
- Wat vind je van de reacties op de aanslagen?
- In hoeverre denk je dat de aanslagen de manier waarop er groepen gevormd worden in de samenleving heeft veranderd? Op wat voor manier?
- Heeft dit je werk op wat voor manier dan ook beïnvloed?
- Hoe zie je dit in de toekomst voor je?

Afsluiting

- Afronden
- Contact details
- Uitwisseling resultaten
- Vertrouwelijkheid

6.3. Coding scheme

1. Description of discourse

     a) Who defines?
     b) Framing: Problem identified
     c) Framing: Cause of problem
     d) Framing: Moral judgment
     e) Framing: Remedies

2. Effect discourse
     a) General effect
     b) Context
     c) Creation of groups
          > Enactment
          > Social identity theory
               - categorization
               - consequence
               - complexity
          > Other factors
               - political background
               - generations
               - Other

     d) Personal experiences

3. Possibility intergroup dialogue

       a) Positive
       b) Negative
              > Individualism
              > Trust
              > Willingness
              > Fear
       c) Consequences
              > Radicalization
              > Isolement
              > Other

4. Work as social worker

       4a) Organization
       4b) Own background
       4c) Reason doing this work

5. Goals as social worker

       a) Practical
       b) Motivation
       c) Importance
       d) By means of
              > Political level
              > Grassroots level
              > Counter-discourse
              > Other

6. Facilities

       a) Resources
              > National & municipal policy
              > Organization
       b) Cooperation
       c) Willingness
              > Support discourse
              > Muslim communities
              > Other organizations

7. Prospects
       a) Positive
       b) Negative