



Universiteit Utrecht

The Gansstraat demonstration

The location of the Islamic migrant other at a
spatial contesting performance

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Abstract

Anti-AZC protest performances communicate a rejection of an (potential) AZC within a particular geographical area. It is the case, however, that these performances cover more than a territorial struggle. With the use of spatial theory the Gansstraat demonstration, a collaboration between a local anti-AZC movement and a national political party based on anti-migration sentiments, is understood as a contestation where the perceived spatial homogeneity is threatened by a change of representation to the particular locality of Sterrenwijk in Utrecht.

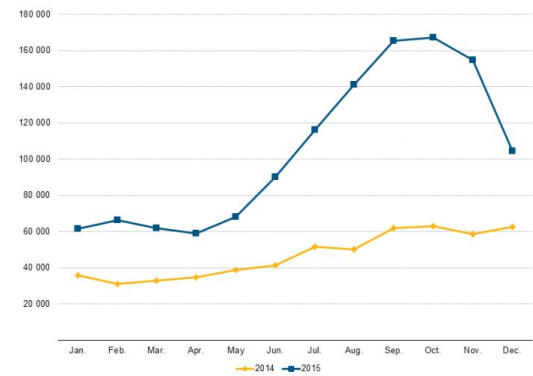
It appears that a perception of the migrant other contributes to a desire to secure the territorial boundaries of a social homogeneity, particularly as multiple anti-AZC protests are performed in Islamophobic rhetoric. This is also the case with the Gansstraat demonstration.

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Introduction

Although there are different estimates on the total number of refugees entering the EU, since the beginning of 2014 an increase of asylum applications has been detected: where in May 2014 40.000 immigrants filed for asylum, the number in May 2015 has increased towards 70.000 asylum seekers. Especially since May 2015 there has been a significant augmentation (see figure 1).



Source: **Figure Asylum applications in Europe**

The increased number of asylum applications is perceived as problematic by multiple EU governments. The sense of crisis is apparent on a political scale, where specific difficulties with refugee shelter regulations prevailed. Governmental bodies have to decide on refugee shelter settlement because refugees, while deciding on their asylum application, need to be housed, need to be fed, and need to be taken care of. However, multiple EU countries have stated not to possess the means or capacity to house refugees accordingly (European Parliament Research Service, 2016). The governmental apparatus in the Netherlands had to decide on refugee housing for over 50.000 asylum applicants (European Parliament Research Service, 2016). The asylum applicants are placed in Asiel Zoekers Centra (AZC), which in some cases are newly built.

The so called migration crisis is not only apparent on a political scale. State decisions on refugee shelter allocation have led to the existence of local anti-AZC protest movements. These social protest movements try to prevent AZC settlement in their neighbourhoods by organizing protest marches and demonstrations. An AZC is branded as an unwanted facility in a specific geographical area: the members of local anti-AZC movements believe an AZC should especially not come too close, and otherwise should not be too big or should not stay too long. There are examples of protest performances throughout the Netherlands (NRC, 2016; NOS, 2016; Ghosen, 2016). Also in Utrecht, local based anti-AZC movements have organized protest marches in the neighbourhoods of Sterrenwijk and Overvecht, places where the municipality scheduled AZC settlement (Ghosen, 2016)

According to Sibley (1988), protest performances can be understood as a practice of geography: a type of social behaviour which protects the spaces that are considered pure and valuable. A potential AZC appears to threaten the perceived spatial homogeneity and social homogeneity of localities. In other words, the AZC protest performances are a space contestation where representations of a particular locality are threatened by a potential change. The two concepts of, firstly, spatial homogeneity, and, secondly, social homogeneity, constitute for the perceived uniform composition of people in space, being territorial bound. It states the intertwining of space, identity and citizenship and presents how the anti-AZC demonstrations cover more than a territorial struggle.

As the anti-AZC protest performances are a practice of geography, it wages a discussion on who is allowed to be in or excluded. It appears that the perception of the migrant other contributes to the desire to secure the territorial boundaries of a social homogeneity, particularly as multiple anti-AZC protests are performed in islamophobic rhetoric. In the case of the anti-AZC protest demonstration in Ewijk, different “Mohammed is not welcome” banners were displayed. During an anti-AZC performance in Enschede, pig carcasses were exposed at a potential refuge shelter location site. The process of identification where differences with the other group are emphasized, whether based on culture, ethnicity or religion, also reinforces the own identity based on similarities. By doing so, the anti-AZC demonstrations cover more than a struggle over territory and wage a discussion on citizenship.

To gain a better understanding of how anti-AZC protest performances, initiated by the experience of a migration crisis, wages discussions on identity and citizenship, a particular protest performance is researched in more detail. The Gansstraat demonstration on the 21st of May 2016 in Utrecht was organized by the local-based anti-AZC movement Zeg Nee Tegen AZC Pieter Baan Centrum Utrecht, with the facilitation of the NVU. The NVU is a political party based on a national socialistic ideology. The research question is as following: How do anti-AZC protest performances, as spatial contesting phenomena, wage discussions on citizenship and identity, and which notions of Islam manifest in and influence these discussions?

The Gansstraat demonstration is researched through the use of spatial theory. The theory embraces all the different sociological elements located within a protest march and unravels the presence of many paradoxes. Furthermore, islamophobic rhetoric is barely researched in relation to space which identifies the scientific relevance of this thesis. But more importantly, it will help to gain insight in a confusing reality of opposing opinions, paradoxes and the apparent crumbling of a social cohesion.

The spatial concepts will be introduced in chapter 1 Conceptual framework, and serve to identify the Gansstraat demonstration as a spatial contested performance in chapter 3 The Gansstraat demonstration. In between chapter 1 and 3, there is chapter 2 Methodology which elaborates on chosen research methods. The conceptual framework of chapter 1 also serves to better understand how the different representations of Sterrenwijk and the potential AZC are constructed and co-constructed. This is presented in chapter 4 Space contestation: threat of changing representations. Chapter 5, Location of the Islamic migrant other at site of contestation, analyses how the Islamic migrant other is considered as dangerous. It also presents how much identity, citizenship, and space are intertwined and shape our perspective on reality. The sub questions will be outlined below and support to answer the research question in the conclusive chapter Conclusion.

The sub questions are:

- How can the Gansstraat demonstration be understood as a social protest performance?
- How can the Gansstraat demonstration be understood as a space contestation?
- What does Sterrenwijk represent for local and national protesters?
- What does the potential transformation of the PBC building into an AZC represent?
- Which discourses on Islam are present during the Gansstraat demonstration?
- Which characteristics of the migrant-other are considered place-bound?

Chapter 1 Conceptual framework

To better understand how the Gansstraat demonstration as a spatial contestation, initiated by the experience of a migration crisis, wages discussion on identity and citizenship, it is important to have a closer look at anti-AZC organisations as social protest movements. Social movement theory serves to identify the Gansstraat demonstration as a social protest performance and outlines the important characteristics. The developed knowledge functions as the building block for the understanding of social protest performances as contesting phenomena. At last, there is a theory outline on the perception of the migrant other and the perception of the Islamic migrant other. This is included as the anti-AZC protest performances seem to be conducted in Islamophobic rhetoric. Within the last section there is an explanation on Islamophobia as a scholarly contested term.

Social protest movements

Social movement theory studies social protest movements. It seeks to explain their existence, their organisations forms, their modes of tactics, and how their members are mobilized (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996; Taylor and Van Dyke, 2004). Within this field of study there are multiple and various definitions of social protest movements. There is an ongoing debate on whether to approach social protest movements as an organization or according to their performances. For this research there is chosen for a definition that approaches social protest movements according to their performances: "A conscious, collective organized attempt to resist or reverse social change" (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996; 1631). This is decided upon because collective action in itself, besides written and spoken arguments, sends all sorts of signals.

In social movement theory it is generally acknowledged that two factors contribute to the formation of a social protest movement (Meyer and Staggenborg, Taylor and van Dyke, 2004; Leitner et al., 2008). Firstly, people have to believe that their form of action is necessary and, secondly, that it will be effective (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996). The presence of a perceived (potential) threat develops the necessity of collective action. In some cases the perception of threat is enough for initiating agency (Taylor and Van Dyke, 2004).

Potential effectiveness is the second factor and refers to the possibility to effectuate a change. These changes can be various, ranging from achieving public and media attention to actually influencing policy-making (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1966; Leitner et al., 2008). Potentiality increases when political opportunity structures are present, which are defined as traditions and institutions supporting change (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996). To increase potential effectiveness, different social protest movements can decide to collaborate (Wahlström, 2011). Interplay of movements is identified on different spatial scales, from national to local organizations, as well as on different ideologies (Wahlström, 2011).

In the definition of social protest movement, Meyer and Staggenborg (1996) put emphasis on the mode of action. Protest events can be performed in various ways, identified as a social protest movement's tactical repertoire (Taylor and Van Dyke, 2004). A demonstration or protest march has to meet three points of criteria to be labelled as a confrontational tactic. Firstly, it needs to involve more than one person. Secondly, involved actors need to make a claim or express grievances. Thirdly, the march or demonstration must be held public and by doing so, the form of collective action transforms into a site of contestation, "in which bodies, symbols, identities, practices and discourses are used to pursue or prevent changes" (Taylor and Van Dyke, 2004; 268). An analysis of the site of contestation identifies the transmitted signals of a social protest performance.

Space contestation

Social protest performances can be understood as a site of contestation. This concept however does not comprehend, firstly, where the different bodies, symbols, identities, practices, and discourses come from. Secondly, the concept does not identify how the different bodies, symbols, identities, practices, and discourses are used. Place-making and territorialisation, both concepts within spatial theory, contribute to a more detailed understanding. They will be explained in the following paragraphs.

Within spatial theory it is acknowledged that space is socially constructed and that physical spaces stand in relationship with the society that inhabits them (Wahlström, 2011). Physical spaces are synonymous to place: a specific geographical area where meaningful material is located (Gieryn, 2000). It is not only the material form that represents meaning

as it is through these material forms that social processes occur (Gieryn, 2000). The following definition of place by Leitner, Sheppard and Sziarto (2008; 161) states this clearly: "Places are sites where people live, work, and move and where they form attachments, practice their relations with each other, and relate to the rest of the world." The concept of place locates the presence of bodies, symbols, identities, practices, and discourses within a territory. Besides that these pieces construct place, they also function to communicate possession or exclusion during a demonstration (Wahlström, 2011; 40). This is identified in the process of territorialisation. Territorialisation, then, analyses which meanings are present at the site of contestation and how they are used for communication.

A demonstration is, besides a site of contestation and a territorialisation, mostly a space contestation. As space is the realm where place and its importance breed, space contestation covers more than a territorial struggle. Space contestation includes the struggle over meaning, where a potential change of place representations, due to the presence of an unwanted facility, is considered as threatening (Gieryn, 2000). According to Sibley (1988; 410), place representations can be built on a perceived homogeneity as he states that "many instances of collective action are against groups who appear to threaten the perceived spatial and social homogeneity of localities, where the threat comes from differences in ethnicity, sexual orientation, disability, or lifestyle". The rejection of differences takes place by securing boundaries to maintain a perceived spatial homogeneity. The securing of boundaries is reflected in the anti-AZC protest performances, which corresponds to Sibley's (1988) notion of practice of geography: different type of social behaviour which protects the spaces that are considered to be pure and valuable. What constitutes as pure and valuable is closely connected to meanings and attachments constructed in place.

During anti-AZC demonstrations, the members of social protest movements communicate the rejection of a (potential) refugee shelter. The potential refugee shelter is branded as an unwanted facility within a specific territory. The demonstrations have a spatial dimension, and therefore the Not In My Backyard (NIMBY) principle cannot be unmentioned. The NIMBY principle refers to this type of community opposition targeted at an unwelcome facility in a particular neighbourhood (Dear, 2007). Geographical proximity indicates when residents will engage in collective action: the closer residents are to an

unwanted facility, the more likely they are to oppose” (Dear, 2007; 291). Both the NIMBY principle and the concept of geographical proximity can be explained by the importance of meaning to the particular place. Again, this meaning is constructed by the present bodies, symbols, identities, practices, and discourses within that territory.

Perception of the migrant other

Social protest performances can be understood as a spatial contestation in which there is a perceived threat of changing representations to a locality. This thesis will research both types of representations, located in the spatial contested performance of the Gansstraat demonstration. Firstly, there are the representations of Sterrenwijk and, secondly, the representations of how Sterrenwijk will change with the presence of an AZC. Because the perception of the migrant other appears to construct the representations at least partially, the concepts of identity and citizenship are included.

Kofman (1995) outlines two approaches which formulate on what grounds people decide who can be in or excluded from a particular group. The first approach states citizenship, defined as the belonging to a community in place, in terms of social and political contribution. The second approach states citizenship as naturally determined and located within demarcated spaces. There are different spatializing systems that contribute to the process of keeping citizenship within boundaries, whether based on contribution or natural heritage to place. Low (2009; 391) outlines multiple spatializing systems, and presents once again, how social processes such as identity formation and notions of space and place co-construct one another. Examples of such spatializing systems are legal instruments restricting entrance to a particular place, political decisions on what to build, physical enclosures, and discursive strategies to identify the type of desired behaviour (Low, 2009; 391).

The spatial contested performances by the anti-AZC organisations also wage a discussion on identity. According to Demmers (2012) there are two approaches to understand identity. Firstly, there is the primordialist understanding, which would consider citizenship as naturally determined. Primordialism regards identity as something inherent and therefore static and not dynamic. Constructivism is the second approach, and analyses identity as an ongoing process of formation constructed by boundaries (Demmers, 2012).

These boundaries are constructed by a presence of differences between groups, and similarities or homogeneity within a group (Demmers, 2012). As differences do not exist without the presence of similarities, the in-group identity and the out-group identity co-construct each other.

According to Gupta and Ferguson (1992; 9), the boundaries of social and spatial homogeneities shifted because of an erosion of cultural distinctiveness by the “rapid expanding and quickening mobility of people in the postmodern hyperspace”. The scholars follow a constructivist approach. The processes of migration and immigration support the idea of mixing of categories, and indeed raise questions on the intertwining of space and identity. The following quote from Van Houtum and Van Naerssen (2001; 130) captures the intertwining of space and identity very well, and states how the other can be perceived as a threat “The actual placement of strangers is often conceived of as a threat to nationally cohesively ordered space and identity, since the other is now inside, resulting in places of diaspora, cultures-in-between, of hybrid and border-culture.”

The perception of the other as threatening is nourished by discursive practices generating differentiations between us and them or between the in-group and the out-group (Van Houtum and Van Naerssen, 2001). This perception, of the migrant other being different, and therefore threatening, contributes to the idea that the mixing of categories should be prevented. In the case of the anti-AZC performances this practice of othering is subjected to a process of ordering space: the refugee shelters, and what they represent, are rejected within particular areas. What the refugee shelters represent, to what extent these are influenced by notions of Islam, and to which places they form a threat are topics of interests.

There is a focus on Islam as within the so-called migration crisis, the anti-AZC protest marches are performed using islamophobic rhetoric. To better understand how the perception of the migrant other is used within the spatial contested of the Gansstraat demonstration, it is important to consider what the concept of Islamophobia entails.

Islamophobia is an unfounded hostility against Islam (Marranci, 2004). Unfounded hostility against Islam can be expressed in two ways. Firstly, there is an expression of fear, prejudices and stereotypes of the Muslim other. Secondly, the term can have a focus on

discrimination and racism in regard to the Muslim other (Kunst et al., 2013). However, the term Islamophobia is scholarly contested: it has too many objectives and is not clearly defined (Marranci, 2004; Volpp, 2002). Alternative terms are developed.

Marranci (2004) argues for the understanding of Islam or Muslim hostility derived from a fear of multiculturalism, or rather, the fear of mixing categories. The fear of mixing categories, then, can be perceived in Islamophobic attitudes and/or expressions. Volpp (2002; 1576) outlines how islamophobic rhetoric has developed since the event of 9/11 and states a “racialization wherein members of this group are identified as terrorists, and are disidentified as citizens.” According to Volpp (2002), the master discourse of Orientalism contributes to the process of racialization of Arab and Middle Eastern people. Orientalism is a term developed by Edward Said and states how representations of the West and the East are constructed in relation to another (Volpp, 2002). To be more precise, Orientalism describes how Western representations of the East serve, firstly to identify the characteristics of the other, and, secondly, define the West through its opposition to the East (Volpp, 2002; 1586). The concept of Orientalism corresponded to the constructive approach of identity, where the self-identity is co-constructed with the other.

Chapter 2 Methodology

This chapter presents the choice of anthropological research methods. It provides an explanation of the research methods and it provides information on my key informants. At last, I included a personal reflection on fieldwork to present my positionality in the field.

Anthropological research methods

The conceptual framework is based on three anthropological research methods. Qualitative data is obtained by practicing the anthropological research methods of participant observation and in-depth interviews. Together with ethnographic writing it attempts to secure an emic perspective. The anthropological methods are applied as they are “considered essential in detecting meanings, feelings, and experiences “(Boeije, 2010; 56).

Participant observation is a research technique that is especially known within the field of cultural anthropology (Boeije, 2010). Strength of the research method lies in its dual character. On the one hand it includes the art of observing the surrounding, the community and their actions. On the other hand it implies that the researcher becomes part of the community. The researcher participates in their culture (Boeije, 2010). Although this research did not give me enough time to build an in-depth rapport with my respondents, I did participate in demonstrations, protest marches and a city council meeting on AZC implementations policies. One of these protest events was the Gansstraat demonstration on the 21st of May 2016 in Utrecht, which is the focus of interest in this research. The names of the people with who I have spoken during this demonstration are feigned. In this way their anonymity is protected.

I have conducted three in-depth interviews with social protest movement members. All of the respondents had no problem with being mentioned by full name. Their names are, therefore, not feigned. Through the Gansstraat demonstration I came in contact with Martin de Regt and Ben van der Kooi, both from different protest movement backgrounds. Although Martin de Regt does not have a NVU membership, he does hold a great loyalty towards the political party and its chairman. Ben van der Kooi considers himself a non-conformist activist and has participated in many different anti-AZC and anti-migration protest actions. Ben is a well-known Dutch neo-Nazi. Through Facebook I have come in close

contact with Frankie Verkooijen, member of multiple locally based anti-AZC movements in Utrecht. He helped with the organization of the Gansstraat demonstration.

The interview schemes are drafted with the help of “Kwalitatief interviewen: kunst én kunde” (Evers, 2011). The schemes functioned as guidance and due to its open-ending character it left space for spontaneous interactions. Within the leading questions there were a couple of things to be considered. Firstly, prevention of an essentialist approach of religion. The questions about Islam are formulated in such a way that it leaves space for interpretation of religion. Secondly, it was important to be careful with concepts like place and space due to their constructed and abstract character. The leading questions, therefore, gave the respondents the possibility to define the concepts themselves.

At last there is the ethnographic writing in which I have embedded my field notes in diary fragments. I have chosen this style of writing, firstly, to present my positionality in the field. Secondly, by doing so I emphasized the relationship between the researcher and the people I have spoken to. Writing the diary fragments improved my understanding of people. I hope the diary fragments have the same effect on the reader.

Personal reflection

Anthropologists reflect on the effect they have on the studied culture. To reduce the problem of subjectivity, anthropologists can also reflect which effects those cultures have on them (Kahn, 201; 17). It is for this reasons that the following paragraphs presents personal reflection on my fieldwork.

During my fieldwork I realised that the anti-AZC movement as a research topic was personally difficult. This personal difficulty was encountered because, firstly, I did not share my respondent’s views on AZC settlement, and, secondly, because I did not want to be associated with the extreme ideologies of my respondents. The internal dilemma caused some nervousness during the Gansstraat demonstration and during interviews, especially when my respondents expressed a type of racism.

Although the research topic and the fieldwork experiences caused an internal dilemma, it also ensured positive insights. First of all, I became more aware of my position

within a social homogeneous environment of highly educated people. Within this environment, opinions on migration and AZC settlement barely differ. The research field gave me the opportunity to come in contact with people I normally would not speak with, and engage with people who think differently. It made me aware of my own stereotypes and judgements. Secondly, engaging in participant observation and conducting the interviews were a practice in listening. Although it was hard not to argue with my respondents, it helped to understand their perspective more easily. At last, I realised that my respondents are not only defined by their views on migration issues or AZC settlement. It was during the interview with Ben van der Kooi, openly a neo-Nazi, where I thought that in a different context we could have been enjoying a beer together. In no way I identify with his ideology, but Ben is more than a neo-Nazi.

Chapter 3 The Gansstraat demonstration

21st of May 2016

In the morning of the 21st of May 2016, the neighbourhood square in Sterrenwijk, Utrecht, becomes gradually crowded with people. People are shaking hands, chatting about the weather and drinking coffee they brought from home. Some of the people take a seat on their scooters, as the demonstration only starts in half an hour or so, while others get their Dutch flags ready.

A man is placing a banner in front of the community centre, situated on the neighbourhood square. I walk up to him and he introduces himself as Jan. Jan is a Sterrenwijker, an inhabitant of the Sterrenwijk neighbourhood, and informs me how he has spent the last couple of weeks: "I have handed out flyers and stickers, and updated our Facebook page almost every day!" Jan asks me if I am a member of the Facebookgroup and I answer affirmatively. Jan nods satisfied and continues talking: "Then you know why we organized the demonstration today. We do not want to have the Pieter Baan Centrum transformed into an AZC." The citizens of Sterrenwijk, and all the other activists who decided to join the demonstration today, express their grievances towards the city council plan on the transformation of the psychiatric observation clinic Pieter Baan Centrum (PBC) into a refugee shelter. "AZC weg ermee!" people with the flags start to call their slogans. They do not want to have a refugee shelter in their neighbourhood.

The people of Sterrenwijk organized the Gansstraat demonstration in the hope to influence the city-council decision on AZC settlement in their neighbourhood. The territorialisation of the protest march is identified, firstly, in the slogan "AZC weg ermee". The pronunciation communicates a rejection of the potential refugee shelter within the geographical area of Sterrenwijk. Territorialisation is identified, secondly, in the protest route (see figure 2). By marching through the streets of Sterrenwijk, towards the PBC which as a potential refugee shelter is considered as an unwanted facility, the people tried to assert control over the contested territory (Dear, 2007; Wahlström, 2011). The Gansstraat demonstration became a site of contestation through its performance and conforms to the

definition of social protest movements by Meyer and Staggenborg (1996) in which bodies, symbols, identities, practices and discourses were present (Taylor and Van Dyke, 2004).

The locally organized social protest movement “Zeg Nee Tegen AZC Pieter Baan Centrum” felt it was necessary to act after frustrations with the city council. Mieke is a lady who I met while marching, who states how the neighbourhood has been poorly informed on the potential AZC settlement, and how they were not included in the political decision making: “They have not asked us anything!”. Michelle marched with us and outlined why she finds this problematic: “We have to defend Sterrenwijk. We are afraid that the place will not feel as home anymore when all these refugees are coming.” Both Mieke and Michelle fear a type of displacement within their own neighbourhood, corresponding to Gupta and Ferguson’s (1992) statement on an apparent erosion of cultural distinctiveness within a locality.

Because of a perceived potential threat and the perception of not being heard, Sterrenwijkers have moved to confrontational tactics. It is precisely the need to act that is identified as one of the two factors contributing to the formation of a social protest movement (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996; Taylor and Van Dyke, 2004).

21st of May 2016

While Mieke is ventilating her dissatisfaction with the situation, Jan joins the conversation. We are at the beginning of the protest route, and I am surprised that some of the men are cycling. Jan is also on his bike. He says: “We are simply being cheated by politics.” I ask him what he means by this and he continues his monologue, while winding on his bike

because of low speed. According to Jan it is very difficult to get in touch with the town council. He has tried many times and every time he is informed differently. He tells me that there is little information and that he has the idea that no-one really knows what is going to

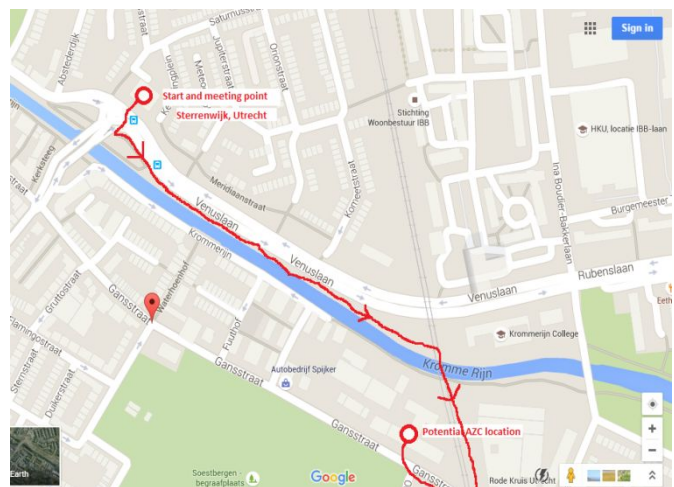


Figure 2 Gansstraat demonstration route

happen: “Is the AZC going to be a home for men or for families? How many people will be there? Is the AZC going to be permanent or temporary?”

Frankie is also a Sterrenwijker and together with Jan and some others they are the organizers of the demonstration. I met him at the end of the march, where he was holding two Dutch flags, and I interviewed him a couple of weeks later. “We find it necessary to revolt against AZC settlement in the way it is happening now”. Frankie continues: “Then you go to the municipality to tell your story, right, and then you sit there and you just notice how they do not want this to happen. They do not want you to counteract really”.

To increase the potential effectiveness of their demonstration, the Zeg Nee Tegen AZC Pieter Baan Centrum Utrecht asked the NVU for facilitation. The NVU is a national political party based on a national socialistic ideology². The collaboration between the local and national social protest movements is also a collaboration between movements who hold (partially) different ideologies (Wahlström, 2011). Zeg Nee Tegen AZC Pieter Baan Centrum Utrecht has the aim to prevent AZC settlement in the neighbourhood of Sterrenwijk, while the NVU is better characterized as an anti-migration party.

The local social protest movement decided for collaboration to gain greater media attention, something Frankie had experienced with the Lucas Bolwerk demonstration earlier this year. Generating a greater media and public attention is connected to potential effectiveness, identified as the second factor contributing to the formation of a social protest movement (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996; Taylor and Van Dyke, 2004; Leitner et al., 2008). The Lucas Bolwerk demonstration was organized by Zeg Nee Tegen AZC Utrecht in collaboration with the regional anti-migration movement Pegida. As Pegida is an upcoming regional protest movement and often in the news, Frankie thought it was a good idea to ask them to help with the Gansstraat demonstration: “I called them yeah. But they said that they are being threatened. Yeah, I do not know to what extent that is true, but they did not

² The NVU is a political party launched in 1972 that strove for a Greater Dutch state, united by Flanders and the Netherlands. Although it rejected any form of fascism or National Socialism, racism was latently present. This changed from 1974 onwards under supervision of Joop Glimmerveen: leaders like Mussolini and Hitler were publicly praised, violence towards (illegal) immigrants was praised and racist pamphlets were distributed. Because of the racist ideology, including anti-Semitism, the NVU became forbidden (Lucardie and Voerman, 1990). Nowadays, the party is still active.

want to come.” Frankie and the other organizers found an alternative in the NVU of whom members were also present at the Lucas Bolwerk demonstration:

“The NVU was also there and when Constant Kusters [NVU chairman] wanted to speak, Pegida members walked away. I think that is very childish. I mean, we all do not want to have refugee shelters so why walk away? Irene [another member of Zeg Nee Tegen AZC Pieter Baan Centrum] sought contact with the NVU and they were very enthusiastic to speak at our demonstration at the Gansstraat.”

Frankie describes a tension between the NVU and Pegida. While both protest movements are against AZC settlement, they do have ideological differences. The following Gansstraat experience presents how these ideological differences have caused tensions. The diary fragment also presents how the ideological differences do not matter to everyone. It is presented, however, to identify the interplay of social protest movements on different ideologies as well as on different spatialities (Wahlström, 2011). Besides, it also presents how Sterrenwijk is of importance not only for people who live within the neighbourhood.

21st of May 2016

We have reached the end of our walking route and we take place in the demarcated square in front of the PBC. The police have demarcated the place with red and white tape. In this way the protesters can be identified easily. On my left side there are protesters speaking in German, and I realized that there are foreign activists present. I identify the foreign activists as German Pegida members by the flags they are holding. I am surprised by their presence, as I had heard before about the tensions between Pegida and the NVU at the Lucas Bolwerk demonstration.

On my right side there is an NVU member who informs me about the problem: “They believe we are too radical, but we are standing here today right? Where is Edwin Wagenveld [chairman of Dutch Pegida]? Besides, their focus is way too much on issues outside of the Netherlands and Europe. We from the NVU are standing up for the Dutch; we support activities in the Netherlands and nothing else. We believe that that is important. Let me give you an example, during a Pegida demonstration in Amsterdam, Pegida members walked

with Israeli flags. Uhm, that is the same as supporting Wilders and then you do not support Dutch activities. No, then you support Israel.” I am a bit dazzled by his explanation, but I realize how his arguments fit within the NVU’s national socialistic ideology.

I ask the Pegida members why they decided to join today: “We do not want to have any AZC in Europe. Not a single one.” And they continue shouting their slogans with a German accent on the rhythm of the protesting public: “AZC weg ermee! AZC weg ermee!” I shout along, a bit uncertain, and when a NVU member picks up the microphone to hold a speech, I ask the Pegida members if they mind the NVU organisation: “No. We do not want to have any AZC in Europe. We have to protect our soil. That is way more important.”

The demonstrating group was a mix of protesters: Sterrenwijkers, NVU members, Pegida members from the Netherlands as well as from Germany, and I identified people from the Belgian right extremist group Vlaams Verzet. The concept of proximity by Dear (2007) perfectly explains the Sterrenwijkers involvement. It does not, however, account for the involvement of the other activists that were present. The mix of protesters calls for a new perspective on the NIMBY principle: the local backyard, place where importance is located, seems to be stretched to national or even regional proportions.

All protesters felt the importance of Sterrenwijk to protect the neighbourhood against a refugee shelter. But it is not the material form, of the PBC which may be transformed into an AZC, which constitutes a threat to Sterrenwijk. The Gansstraat demonstration is a spatial contestation because of a fear of changing representations. The next chapter will present the Sterrenwijk representations and how these are conflicting with AZC representations.

Chapter 4 Spatial contestation: threat of changing representations

The Gansstraat demonstration can be understood as a performance that communicated a desire to protect Sterrenwijk. The neighbourhood needs to be protected against a refugee shelter, and against what a refugee shelter represents. It is exactly this fear of changing representations that identifies the Gansstraat demonstration as a spatial contestation. But what is it that Sterrenwijk represents? And are these representations, and meanings attributed to the place, different for national and local protest movement members?

21st of May

While I got on my bike I realised that I had no clue where the Gansstraat is located. I took my phone and with Google maps I sorted out the directions. It turned out that it was only a ten minutes bike ride. When I arrived I recognized the street: I have cycled through many times while not being consciously aware of its name. Sterrenwijk is one of the neighbourhoods which I have labelled as a no-go area to cycle alone after eleven o'clock at night. The neighbourhood is identified as a low-quarter by citizens and the municipality of Utrecht. I ask Michelle, who is born and raised in the neighbourhood, if this perception is true: "Yeah, people always say that we are such a problematic area, but you know, everyone is really friendly towards each other. There are close relationships between neighbours, and our homes are always open for each other. Besides, the neighbourhood is really child friendly you know. Like, we have a couple of primary schools and there are loads of sports associations around."

While Sterrenwijk is known as a problematic neighbourhood, the Sterrenwijkers themselves have different perceptions. Michelle considers the place child-friendly because of the presence of primary schools and because of the broad avenues where children can play freely. Jan shares Michelle's perception of Sterrenwijk as a friendly neighbourhood when he mentions the presence of an elderly home: "We help each other you know, also the old people that live here." Although Sterrenwijk is a friendly home for both Michelle and Jan, they do realize how much that counts for insiders and not so much for people who are not from there. Mieke confirms this: "The Sterrenwijkers form a tight community; it is hard to get in."

Frankie is one of the insiders. He lives in Sterrenwijk with his girlfriend and his stepchildren. He also agrees on the perception of their home as friendly and safe. He mentions the presence of a park closely situated to the PBC: "It is a place where people relax. My stepchildren go there very often." Frankie's perception of Sterrenwijk as safe is expressed by the hypothesis of how the neighbourhood will become unsafe with the presence of an AZC: "Yeah I know for sure that things will happen. Yeah uh, when the refugee shelter comes I won't allow my girlfriend to walk alone at night. And I also think she won't be safe in the park." The place will also become unsafe for his stepchildren: "You do not want to know all the things that will happen when they [his stepchildren] have to cycle to their grandparents. Especially for the young girls, you do not want that. What if something like in Cologne happens here?" Frankie mentions the incident in Cologne, where on New Year's Eve multiple women were sexually assaulted by, it appeared, immigrant men.

It is not the first time that Frankie outlines a fear of Sterrenwijk becoming unsafe with the presence of the migrant other: "They do not know how traffic works. They will just walk on the streets. And then, when you want to say something about it, they will get angry with you." I ask Frankie if he ever experienced something like that before, he answers evasively.

Although Frankie's perception on Sterrenwijk and how it will change are all based on hypothesis, they do present an insider's meaning of the place. For Michelle, Jan and Frankie, Sterrenwijk means a safe neighbourhood. Frankie also makes some rather interesting observations about the Sterrenwijk surroundings containing a Christian character, and how the Christian uniform composition in space is threatened by the presence of differences. The following observations by Frankie are a clear example of what Van Houtum and Van Naerssen (2001; 130) have stated about the intertwinement of space and identity: "The actual placement of strangers is often conceived of as a threat to nationally cohesively ordered space and identity, since the other is now inside." In the case of Frankie's perception it is not about an actual placement but a fear of placement and not about the national cohesively space but the socially uniform composition of Sterrenwijk.

10th of June 2016

We sat down at one of the big tables in the café. Frankie finally agreed to meet me for an

interview, and stated once again why initially he was so hesitant: “You know, many people have an opinion about us. They say that we are racists or something. But we really aren’t. We just do not want our neighbourhood to change, which definitely will happen negatively when the refugee shelter arrives. I ask him how he thinks the place will change. Frankie tells me about the Christian cemetery in front of the PBC, and how that can be problematic: “You know what will happen if these people [asylum seekers who will be placed in the PBC] had some drinks? Then they will walk to the cemetery and destroy all the crosses.”

Frankie presents another hypothesis. There is a Red Cross building across the train tracks close to the Gansstraat. According to Frankie, the Red Cross will provide the refugees with food packages and water. However, the refugees will not tolerate the help as the Red Cross volunteers wear cross symbols. Frankie even suggests that the refugees will use violence when they come in contact with the Red Cross volunteers: “Yeah, they will just throw it [food packages] at the heads of these people.” I ask Frankie why he thinks this will happen: “They are just bad people, like it is in their nature.”

Frankie’s perception of the migrant other is one of a violent, non-Christian and sexually skewed individual. Frankie also believes that these characteristics are naturally inherent, regarding identity from a primordialist approach. The primordialist approach states identity as static and not dynamic (Demmers, 2012). This would mean that the migrant other, according to Frankie, will not be able to adjust to the friendly values Sterrenwijk represent: “They do not adjust to the Dutch culture. We have seen that in the past years with the multicultural society, which is not working. The differences are just too big between our cultures.” Within this quote, Frankie states the presence of differences with the others as a threat to the similarities among Sterrenwijkers. Interestingly, Frankie does not consider Christian refugees as a threat towards the in group: “Look, the European countries are Christian from origin. So these countries are the place for Christian refugees to settle down. With them we have more in common.” Christianity is considered as a similarity.

The perception of the migrant other is constructed in relation to the neighbourhood representation. To be more precise, the perception of the migrant other is constructed in opposition to the in group identity of Sterrenwijkers: the migrant other will be a

non-Christian within a Christian neighbourhood. The migrant other will be violent, in a safe environment. And at last, the migrant other's sexual morality will not correspond to Sterrenwijk as a place where women and girls can walk around freely. Paradoxically, Frankie as a Sterrenwijker does not conform to the Sterrenwijk representations. He is a non-Christian and has a personal history with violence. Frankie has a stadium ban because he participated in violent football riots. Frankie, however, is not considered as a threat by his neighbours because of his in-group status. His belonging to the group, or citizenship, is naturally determined: he is born and raised within the neighbourhood. It is, therefore, the case that not only the in and out group identities are perceived from a primordialist approach. Their citizenship status is also perceived as naturally inherent and located within demarcated spaces (Kofman, 1995).

Where Frankie outlines the Christian character of Sterrenwijk, Martin mentions the Germanic-Christian tradition of the Netherlands which need to be protected:

“It does not matter if you go to Enschede, Utrecht, South-Limburg or Terschelling. It is all Dutch and located in the Netherlands. We have to protect our Germanic Christian society.” I asked Martin what he means by the Germanic Christian society, and he suggested that I should read the EDDA³. He also gave some examples of typical Germanic-Christian traditions: “Today, if you leave your house you have to lock the door at least with four locks. And not only in the big cities anymore, even in small villages. When I was young, and when I lived in Utrecht, that was not the case. My mother always left the door open. I identify that as something typically Germanic. And unfortunately, I repeat, unfortunately, that is not the case anymore since we let other people in.”

Although Martin had lived in Utrecht when he was younger, he does not hold any personal attachments with the neighborhood: “No no, it is not the Gansstraat per se. We have to prevent that more people contribute to the demolition of the Netherlands.” Martin does not have personal attachments with Sterrenwijk, but he does consider the place as valuable. Sterrenwijk is perceived valuable because it represents a homogeneous

³ The EDDA is a collection of Icelandic mythological writings from the Middle-Ages. It is a work that served as inspiration for many Nazi leaders, because of the Germanic myths included within the Edda. The Dutch protest theologian researched the EDDA and perceived the mythical work as bases for the National Socialistic ideology (Verwimp, 2003).

population, which according to Martin is the real Netherlands: “You know, in Sterrenwijk there are not many immigrants or coloured people. How it is supposed to be!”

Ben is another protester who does not hold a personal attachment with Sterrenwijk. His perception of the neighbourhood corresponds with Martin’s representation of Sterrenwijk as Dutch. For him, however, the PBC building has a significant meaning. For a prolonged time, the PBC has housed Volkert van der G., murderer of politician and Islam critic Pim Fortuyn. The particular meaning prevailed his choice for the Gansstraat demonstration, as during our interview Ben informed me that multiple anti-migration protests were planned for that day: “I have been at the PBC a couple of times before you know. We protested against the imprisonment of Volkert van der G., as we wanted him to have the death penalty. But yeah, no, I do not feel anything else for the location. I mean, I have nothing to search there. I just do not want to have an AZC in Utrecht. I do not want to have any AZC in the Netherlands. The Netherlands is full, and we have to protect what is ours.”

To conclude, the Sterrenwijkers attach positive values to their neighbourhood. Mieke, Michelle and Frankie all talk about friendliness, safeness and the presence of close relationships with the in-group. Martin considers Sterrenwijk as a typical Dutch neighbourhood, when he identifies the in-group as a socially homogenous group. Sterrenwijk is perceived as a spatial homogeneity: a uniform composition of citizens in space (Sibley, 1988). Both Frankie en Martin attach Christian characters to the uniform composition in space. For Frankie, the perception of Sterrenwijk containing a Christian character is based on Christian symbols at the contested site. For Martin, this perception follows from the idea that Dutch society is based on Christian Germanic traditions.

Martin and Ben do not share the same personal attachments to the place as Mieke, Michelle or Frankie. They do, however, consider the place as valuable. For them, Sterrenwijk is valuable because it represents the Netherlands. It seems indeed the case that the local backyard is stretched to national proportions. For all, Sterrenwijk is considered as home and all of the respondents fear a type of displacement with the presence of an AZC. The fear of displacement is realised by the migrant other’s identity that does not correspond to the Sterrenwijk representation. Following from this perception, the migrant other’s citizenship

status to the community is rejected, where both identity and citizenship are perceived from a primordialist approach.

The next chapter will present which symbols and practices, present at the site of contestation, contribute to the discourse of the Islamic migrant other as threatening (Taylor and Van Dyke, 2004).

Chapter 5 Location of Islamic migrant-other at site of contestation

To protect the perceived spatial homogeneity of the neighbourhood, the migrant other's potential citizenship to Sterrenwijk is denied. According to my respondents the migrant other's identity differs too much on cultural and religious ground, to be included in the particular locality of Sterrenwijk and the Netherlands. This chapter research more-in-depth which present symbols, bodies, and practices at the site of contestation transmit the message of religious differences being dangerous, to identify the discourse on the Islamic migrant other.

21st of May 2016

According to the planning presented on Facebook, the demonstration had to start 10 minutes ago. People are far from ready. Some of them are still handing out Dutch flags, while others are unrolling their banners. I am surprised by the texts on these. Almost all of the banners are targeted at Islam (see photos). While I am observing the banners, I am approached by a man. He asks me if I am one of them, and points at the crowd. I tell the man that I will join the protest march out of research interest. The man starts to smile: "Ah okay, well I want to join as well but my back is hurting a bit so I don't think I will make it." The man continues to inform me why he supports the demonstration and I find out that he is a Syrian refugee: "You know, I had to flee the country because of Muslim extremists. I am against the Islam, it is dangerous!" It turns out that the man does not fully understand the goal of the demonstration. He believes that the demonstration is targeted at Islam, and not against a refugee shelter. When I tell him that the demonstration is organized to prevent AZC settlement in the PBC building, he looks dazzled and walks away.



The encounter with

the Syrian refugee presents how the demonstration objectives were not totally clear. There

were banners targeted at the AZC settlement, hung between trees on the protest route. Within the crowd, however, not a single banner was focused on the potential refugee shelter. The banner that spoke out most formulated: "Islam terror". Martin's view on the migrant other as criminals fits within the banner statement: "The refugees that are entering our country are almost all Muslims. This is dangerous as Islam is still preaching terror, war, and criminality." It is during our interview when I ask him if he can elaborate on this perception.

"If you have a look at how the Islam originated, you will find out that their values do not correspond to ours at all. We support values like respect, charity and happiness, while Muhammad was a criminal warlord, who stole, raped, and extorted his way into a religion. Muhammad was a terrorist and does not differ from our contemporary terrorists like Osama Bin Laden. It is for this reasons that I think that the PBC building actually has an advantage to house refugees. The PBC rooms can be locked from the outside. In this way we can control their movements, and lock them up when necessary."

Martin possesses an anti-Islam attitude. He believes that the migrant other's religion is dangerous because it is founded on anti-Western values (Marranci, 2004; Volpp, 2002). According to Martin, these Western values are based on Germanic Christian traditions while Islamic religion is barbaric. Martin's perception of the Islamic migrant other as dangerous is also identified in his idea that it is allowed to lock up refugees.

Martin's expression of the Muslim other is part of a public discourse where Muslims are considered as criminals or terrorists (Volpp, 2002). It is not only Martin who expressed this anti-Islam and anti-Muslim attitude. During the Gansstraat demonstration there were multiple speeches following this practice. The first speech by Constant Kusters, chairman of the NVU, transmitted an image of the Islamic migrants wearing bomb belts and shouting Allah Akhbar.

21st of May 2016

All flags are up in the air and people start to cheer when Constant Kusters picks up the microphone. Besides the high number of Dutch flags, there are also protest signs where a Muslim is hiding a bomb in his turban. Constant informs us that we are almost ready to walk,

but that there a couple of things he would like to say first: “Thank you all for being her today! I can see we are all very enthusiastic to protest as we do not want a refugee shelter in Sterrenwijk. We do not want to have a refugee shelter in the Netherlands. We do not want refugees who shout Allah Akhbar. We have to prevent that they will come and pull the string that will blow us, and this neighbourhood, away!”

While the Islamic migrant other is seen as a criminal or terrorist, the Islamic migrant other is also perceived as possessing a different sexual morality. Frankie already mentioned this when he feared a situation like Cologne. Martin states that the different sexual morality already caused casualties: “It already happened so much. For instance, a woman in Almere was dragged from her bike and she was sexually assaulted. The man who did this was a Muslim migrant. For them it is normal to do that.” For Martin it is one of the reasons why Islamic immigrants are dangerous and Christian immigrants are not: “I do not want to have Christian refugees either, as I believe that the Netherlands is full, but they would not form a threat.”

When Ben explains to me why he considers Islam as a black religion, it becomes clear that also he would not fear Christian refugees: “Where Islam is a black religion, Christianity is a white religion. I mean, people who are Muslims have a darker pigment, and the original people here in the Netherlands or anywhere else in Europe are lighter pigmented than the Muslims. And it is exactly the discoloration of the Netherlands that we need to fight against.” For Ben, the Islamic migrant other is considered as dangerous as he distinguishes their skin colour from the Western white norm. At the same time he attaches inferior characteristics, like criminality, to coloured people:

“We have so much criminality in Rotterdam! And it all happened when the street view become more and more coloured. I mean, I live there and I have been a victim of criminality. I have been robbed by foreigners. And I can see who robbed me, and yes they were all foreigners.”

Ben informs me that not all coloured people, synonymous with foreigners, are Muslim. For this reason he emphasizes that not only the discoloration of the Dutch neighbourhoods need to be prevented: “Especially now we need to focus on Islam. I mean, the Dutch culture will overgrow with Islam. You already see it with the neighbourhoods here

in Rotterdam where a lot of Muslims live. There are all different mosques, and so many of them.” Ben already experiences a type of displacement in his neighbourhood, by a changing street streetscape. The mosques are unwanted facilities and symbols for a dangerous religion: “You cannot deny how harmful it is. It has such a negative impact. I really believe Islam does not belong in the Netherlands.” The bodies of coloured people form a threat to his perceived pureness of white people.

Within the respondents views on the migrant other, religion, culture and race are not considered as separate entities. It is Martin who later on in the interview states the problem with cultural differences, besides the religious differences:

“Well, of course it is the religion. But the problem is also located in the cultural differences in the Middle East. The Arabic immigrants would not be able to settle down here. There is too much of a climatologically difference. I mean, if you place an Eskimo in the Netherlands you will have the same problem!”

Martin and Ben place religion and culture within a particular geography. According to them, Christianity is Western and Islam is Eastern. Christian refugees would not be a threat, as long as they are not from the Eastern region. Although denied citizenship to Sterrenwijk, perceived as a Dutch community, is expressed in islamophobic rhetoric, citizenship is actually based on cultural similarities within demarcated spaces which are too different to the Western values. The social protest members consider citizenship as naturally determined, demarcated within a specific place (Kofman, 1995). The solution they propose corresponds to this primordialist understanding.

29th of May, 2016

The interview almost comes to an end. Before I stop the recorder, Ben wants to tell me about his solution to the perceived problem. He outlines how shelter within the own region, of the Arabic migrants, is best. Arabic migrants being Christian are also not welcome: “You know, our cultures are too different. Even is he a Christian, and not dangerous, the cultural and racial differences are just too big.”

When I speak with Martin a couple of days later, he confirms Ben’s perspective on shelter within the own region as the best solution. He states that it would be more than

logical to shelter European refugees, if a war breaks out on European land: “I mean, I think the Netherlands is full but yes if there is a European war we have to shelter the refugees. It is our duty to do that for our people. Besides, we share the Christian-Germanic traditions meaning that there would be no difficulty living with each other.”

At the site of contestation, during the Gansstraat demonstration, multiple symbols like the Dutch flags and the anti-Islam banners signalled a message of exclusion. My informants consider the migrant-other as non-Dutch or non-white, and therefore threatening the pure spatial homogeneity of Sterrenwijk. The present symbols are located within an islamophobic discourse where the Muslim-other is considered a terrorist. It appears that religion and culture are not considered as separate entities: to both Christian and Islamic refugees from the Eastern region entrance would be denied as their cultural lifestyle would differ too much from the Western culture. However, the dangerous aspect in the perception of the migrant-other is identified in the religious difference. My respondents' knowledge on Islam is little, and mostly constructed in relation to their own Christian identity. Paradoxically, they do not have to be Christian themselves.

Conclusion

The Gansstraat demonstration on the 21st of May 2016 is researched to develop knowledge on how specific notions of Islam manifest and influence the discussions on citizenship and identity within the spatial contesting phenomenon of anti-AZC protest performance. To do so, the Gansstraat demonstration, organized by the local based anti-AZC protest movement Zeg Nee Tegen AZC Pieter Baan Centrum Utrecht with facilitation of the national political party NVU, had to be identified as a social protest performance: “A collective organized attempt to resist or reverse social change” (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996). The Gansstraat demonstration was a collective attempt to influence the city council decision on AZC settlement within the neighbourhood of Sterrenwijk. The protesters branded the potential refugee shelter as an unwanted facility.

The concept of territorialisation served to analyze which meanings were present at the site of contestation. The Gansstraat demonstration is a site of contestation precisely because through its performance it transmitted a message of rejection. By marching through the streets of Sterrenwijk the people tried to assert control over the territory, and with the presence of Dutch flags and anti-Islam banners it communicated a perspective on who is allowed to be in or excluded. Although the social protest performance appeared to be a territorial struggle, where it rejects an unwanted facility within a specific geographical area, spatial theory served to understand how the struggle is actually one over meaning.

To understand the Gansstraat demonstration as a struggle over meaning, the neighbourhood representations had to be identified. The Sterrenwijkers attached many positive values to the place where they practice their everyday activities. The values are therefore very connected to these activities: Sterrenwijk is considered safe because of the close relationships between the in group members, where children can be brought up freely and play in the park or attend school associations. Their representations are very specific, where the Sterrenwijk representations of the other respondents are constructed within a broader perspective of Dutch pureness. For Ben and Martin the neighbourhood presents a Dutch community, where the spatial homogeneity is white and Christian. For all, the neighbourhood is valuable because these representations initiated a protest march to prevent a mixing of categories. This reality presents a new perspective to the NIMBY

principle: the local backyard, where meaning and value is located, is stretched to national proportions.

Interestingly, a paradox is identified within the analyses of the neighbourhood representations. The Sterrenwijkers themselves do not have to correspond to the type of desired behaviour presented within the representations. Due to their primordialist perception on citizenship, where belonging to a place is naturally determined, Sterrenwijkers who are born and raised in the geographical area are part of the community.

The primordialist understanding on identity and citizenship also influences the fear for a mixing of categories, where there is a perception of the migrant other who cannot adjust to the meanings and values of Sterrenwijk (and implicitly the Netherlands). Their presence in an AZC, therefore, would change the representations and, according to the respondents, will cause the crumbling of a perceived social cohesion. The perception of the migrant other, however, does not stand on its own.

First of all, during the research project it became very evident how the migrant other's identity is constructed in opposition to the group identity of Sterrenwijkers: the migrant other will be violent in a safe environment, is a sexually skewed individual in a place where children and women can walk around freely, and will be a non-Christian in an Christian locality.

Secondly, the migrant other's identity is constructed within a discourse where Muslims are considered as criminal or terrorist. This is mostly identified through the present symbols, bodies and practices at the Gansstraat demonstration. And although the respondents did not consider culture, ethnicity, and religion as separate entities, the research shows how only the religious differences are considered as dangerous. The knowledge on the other religion, however, is very little and a racialization of Muslims, based on that little information, is present.

- What does the potential transformation of the PBC building into an AZC represent?
- Which discourses on Islam are present during the Gansstraat demonstration?
- Which characteristics of the migrant-other are considered place-bound?

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