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(T)races in the Afrikaanderwijk

The construction of space and the other, just outside the doorstep



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(T)RACES IN THE AFRIKAANDERWIJK

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ABSTRACT

In the Afrikaanderwijk, a very diverse neighbourhood, the latest election showed just how diverse it is with a large part of its inhabitants supporting a right-wing party with a strong nationalist sentiment and the other greater part a party supporting diversity. This thesis delves into the construction of place and the other as done by these right-wing sympathizers, sharing their closest space just outside their doorstep with others with a migration background, taking underlying structures of othering based on race and trace in consideration.

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Note: front page image is a self-taken picture taken of the Afrikaanderpark at the Afrikaanderwijk.

Preface

Having read about the Afrikaanderwijk, seen pictures and prepared a theoretic framework I was finally about to actually see the neighbourhood for the first time. The Metro drove into the light of day and as I stepped out into the rainy Dutch weather I looked down on an entrance of the neighbourhood for the first time and got overwhelmed by fears and uncertainties. Why would any inhabitant of the Afrikaanderwijk be interested to invest time in me? Is there even a connection of these inhabitants with the neighbourhood? Will any of these tensions I expect to find actually come up? As from this metro station looking down, it was just this grey and quiet combination of houses and streets in which a few pedestrians were walking towards their goal of the moment.

The local pubs became the foundation of the answer and were in fact surprisingly cosy as well. As I was looking for right-wing sympathisers I was very self-conscious about my personal progressive left perspective. In the preparation of my research I constantly found myself struggling with the idea I was condemning people as racists, as I was pointing fingers to people living in a for me perhaps unfamiliar world, judging others from out of my 'comfortable' leftish bubble. As I went there and talked with these inhabitants every day, the ease of this contact, the openness of these inhabitants and the kindness towards me, also brought food for thought. Not so much that I expected them to be unkind, merely that I sometimes found myself defending their ideas to a certain amount towards those interested in my own surroundings. Besides addressing my research there was a lot of space for fun, and jokes, and watching sports together and them not taking 'no' for an answer when they were offering me drinks every time. The rapport I build developed and some of the hardships they experience were understandable and my interpretation of them sometimes made me feel like a traitor, as they were so kind to share their stories with me and as a thank you, I tried to find the racist in them. Of course relativizing this I was not aiming to describe them as racists, but I was looking for underlying racial structures effecting their way of constructing the neighbourhood and their Turkish neighbour, for example. Still there were many times I felt like condemning them of something I was perhaps guilty of myself; as the white innocence effect. Blaming others and while blaming others simultaneously constructing yourself as the opposite.

Conducting research in my own society on a subject that matters to me and delving into the 'other' side of the conversation was a really interesting experience which I think should be done more often. Hochschild did so for her inspiring book *Strangers in their own land: Anger and mourning on the American right* (2016), and Nader (1996) also explains the need for studying 'all directions' and not just the appointed 'underdog' which is so popular in social research. There is an interesting tension between aiming for an objective relativistic stance of the researcher and the awareness of the individual that I am on the other side. I received a very warm welcome in these pubs and the inhabitants were very helpful in sharing their ideas or to point me in the right direction. I started my research both hoping for positive effects of sharing living space with the other, as well as looking for possible underlying racist structures and ended up with a deeper developed idea of society. My life has on some points probably come easier to me, as I was born in the middle segments of society, and the Afrikaanderwijk might be a neighbourhood filled with less people with a migration background before, it is however the way my new partners of conversation construct these neighbours with a migration background today, and the way negative experiences get attached or blamed to certain people, what embodies the actual food for thought and the goal for this thesis.

Having said all that, I would like to thank all the *Afrikaanderwijkers* who were willing to share their time with me, be so helpful and so kind for me and made this research possible. They did not only helped me with my research but helped me broaden my horizon simultaneously and this is something I will carry with me. Also I would especially thank Jelle van der M. for all the walks and inspiring talks and wish him all the best for succeeding in the positive plans he had for further

developing the community centre 'T Klooster in the neighbourhood. For other inspiring help and meaningful support I would like to thank Ron van Wonderen who was my supervisor during my internship for the Verwey-Joncker Institute. With critical questions and ideas he really supported me during the research process besides the practical support of making use of their offices and everything that comes with it. Great thanks of course also goes out to Oliver Kramsch, besides being my supervisor, helping and correcting me on the way to this thesis also for being the very inspiring partner in conversation as he is. Our conversations always brought me food for thought perhaps starting with discussing my thesis but without an exception ending on subjects far beyond.

Not to forget of course my family and friends. I really need to thank my parents for their patience and the here and there needed (financial) support, it would not have been possible without them. And my boyfriend Pim of course, whom also granted me patience and really supported me all the way through.

Happy reading,

Manou Hijlkema
November 2019

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1. Self-taken picture of one point of entrance in the Afrikaanderwijk on the right side of the dike.

1. Introduction

1.1 Entering the Afrikaanderwijk

Stepping in

Leaving the subway behind me, I cross the street, dodge the filthy black-coloured puddles and walk towards a small brick wall, the dike enclosing this part of the neighbourhood. The small stairs over the dike are scattered with plastic bags, empty cans and other litter. These stairs form the bridge on which I'm able to cross the neighbourhood-border and enter the Afrikaanderwijk. Leaving new apartment blocks behind me, somewhat less well-maintained three-high buildings, on which an extra fourth floor seems to be added later in time, scape this first street. Passing by residential houses, in between a café that once was, another that still is, a sex-shop, a barber and a car dealer, I follow this street towards the Pretoriaaan(lane). This 'main point of entrance' into the neighbourhood breathes newness and neatness and the impeccable intact colour of the benches siding the lane lay bare the close-by history of renovations making this lane as it is now. The sound of honking cars passing by both left and right of the broad walking area in the middle of this lane, is slowly being run-over by the yells of marketers asking for attention.

"Come here, come here! Good quality for small prices!" My nose shoots from fried fish, to incense, to roasted nuts. A garlicky olive-smell gets overwhelmed by a heavy though appealing smell of burgers. Shoes are bungling underneath white canopies, and sweaters and headscarves are just as much present as short skirts most mothers would not want their children to wear. When I close my eyes, my nose and ears takes me back to me beloved holiday destination Morocco. I smell its olives, nuts and spices, the language surrounding me even fits this image and when I open my eyes it seems Morocco is still here, however underneath a more depressing rainy sky. The people and clothing however would not stand out on Jamaa el-Fna, the famous square in Marrakech, but this is the Afrikaanderplein, the central square in the Afrikaanderwijk, the neighbourhood in Rotterdam in

which my focus is on the experience of the 'white Dutch inhabitant', sharing their neighbourhood with 'the other' next door. Except for a cheese-marketer and one old rollator-driven couple, one glance learned me why some people call this 'Little Istanbul' and perhaps are not far wrong, where are those 'white Dutch inhabitants'?

Two tall standing bar-tables covered with a 'new-years' starry cloth draw my attention as they give me this feeling of 'matter out of place'. The first month of the new year is already coming to an end, champagne or any other festivities are lacking and the clock hadn't stroke twelve yet however, when I look through the small dark windows, this small local bar seems in fact to be alive and 'tapping' for my inhabitants of interest.

I open the door in the small porch and am directly welcomed by a heavy smell of old beer and cigarette smoke. The walls of the bar are filled with funny messages like "*Afdeling hangouderen*¹", a fishing net, a rescue belt and other 'cosy' stuff. It is the kind of bar where the actual 'bar' is really the main thing, and people don't go and sit at some table near the window. At the bar, 6 of the barstools are filled with grey haired, white-coloured men at age and one similar looking woman. Every one of today's barstool filling, the *hangouderen*, together with the lady with dyed blond hair behind the bar, turned their faces as I walked in. "Hee girl! I'll be right with you eh!" the lady shouts at me friendly with a somewhat smoky voice. As I explained my research on the experience of the 'white Dutch citizens' in the neighbourhood, the *hangouderen* sitting at the bar today chuckled lightly stating that I will get a hard time as these 'white Dutch' are increasingly less present here. The couple at the bar explained how they too are relieved to have left the neighbourhood and their only reason of return is to come back to this bar, as one of the only places left where one can sit in between 'the Dutch'.

Living Together Apart

The above noted experience of the afore mentioned *hangouderen* entails an important aspect of this research. Firstly, they evidently feel addressed by- and clearly see themselves as 'white Dutch citizens'. Secondly, as they share their story of them moving out of the Afrikaanderwijk, they simultaneously reveal some underlying feelings regarding their experience of sociocultural borders within this neighbourhood and this local bar. They reveal their preference for a more 'white' environment, share how they feel more at home at a place with a ratio more in favour of inhabitants without a migration background. With this they draw a line somewhere, differentiating between them as 'white Dutch citizens' and 'the other'. They construct a border as if there is something withholding them to live together, even when they are constructing their daily lives within the same neighbourhood.

Crul, Schneider and Lelie (2013) argue how this thinking in differences, in opposites, is what humans naturally do. We differentiate between black and white, man and woman, Muslim and Christian, Amsterdam and Rotterdam or north and south. This oppositional thinking is part of our human identity construction and an essential element in this thesis. The framework in which this construction will take place, is place in itself. Is it not true that everything that happens, happens in space or at a particular place? Experiences, memories and social relations are examples of things that play a role in connecting with- or differentiating between people (Yuval-Davis 2006), but experiences happen at places, memories are attached to places and people are met- and social networks are constructed within places (Antonsich 2010). Therefore, when looking at social processes, I argue for the importance of taking the effect of space and place into account in order to really get a grasp. The affective bond between people and place, *topophilia* (Tuan 1974), and the conceptualization of space as empty and place as socially constructed space (Relph 1976, Soja 1989, Gyrien 2000, Escobar 2001,

¹ *Afdeling hangouderen* means something as 'department of loitering elderly', referring with a 'wink' to the common complaint considering loitering youth on the streets.

etc.) are therefore important 'grounding' theories for this thesis.

On the small scale of this neighborhood these inhabitants share their daily space beyond the doorstep. This neighborhood then is not 'just' a neighborhood, it is a neighborhood with a history, it belongs to the city of Rotterdam as opposite to Amsterdam and within Rotterdam there is another border that can be experienced as relevant, the one between the northern part of town, across the bridge, and their own southern part of Rotterdam, which also plays a role in inhabitants identity construction as a possible common denominator. Within such a common denominator, there is still very much diversity to be found, and by looking in to ways of living or thinking, the political scape is an interesting element in this neighborhood.

The latest national elections showed how diverse inhabitants are in this neighborhood. The populist party DENK with a rather migrant character was by far the most popular in the neighborhood and got half of the total votes, on the second place however it was the Partij Voor de Vrijheid (the party for freedom), the PVV, known for its strong sentiment regarding the Dutch identity and its negative stance on the Islam and citizens with a migration background. Ordering and bordering theories then make for an interesting case, stating how the world is ordered in between and within borders, creating a certain 'togetherness' of people sharing space within borders (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen 2002). This leaves one wondering about the case of this Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam, where sharing space within its borders does not seem to result in this coming together of people, or at least the political outcome makes one suggests otherwise. This led to the main question of this thesis:

How does living in- and identifying with the same space effect the identification with the 'other' just outside the doorstep, focusing on right-wing sympathizers increasingly sharing the space of the Afrikaanderwijk with their neighbouring 'others' with a migration background?



2. Map Rotterdam: encircled Afrikaanderwijk. Retrieved on: <https://www.kaartenplattegrond.nl/store/p179/rotterdam-centrum.html#>

1.2 Context

The neighborhood in question is the Afrikaanderwijk, a working class and mixed neighborhood in the South of Rotterdam. It is part of the larger district called Feijenoord, entailing an important part of South-Rotterdam with a name of perhaps some familiarity. This district is where the football club Feyenoord owes its name to, and this club actually started in the middle of the Afrikaanderwijk. Once a football field, now a square known for a famous market; the Afrikaandermarkt at the Afrikaanderplein. *Wijk* is Dutch for neighborhood, so Afrikaanderwijk is to be understood as Afrikaander-neighborhood. The same goes for Afrikaandermarkt, as *markt* means market, and Afrikaanderplein, as *plein* means square. These Dutch names will naturally be used in the rest of this thesis.

The Afrikaanderwijk

Monuments of history

The neighborhood came to being around 1900 with the arrival of the port in Rotterdam south and the new Woningwet of 1901, a new law on housing resulting in the urbanization of the Afrikaanderwijk. In 1901 Paul Kruger, the president of the South-African Republic and leader in the riot of the Afrikaanders in the Second Boer War, came to visit Rotterdam. The Netherlands empathized greatly with the *Boeren* who were seen as the descendants of the Dutch colonists, so to honor them and to honor his visit, the Rotterdam municipality decided to name the streets of the Afrikaanderwijk referring to relevant places, leaders or generals of the Afrikaners (Stadsontwikkeling, Ruimtelijke Ordening, 2011). A matter of which the irony can't be ignored, as this research will take possible underlying sociocultural structures into account, founded in histories where black and white, or slave and master categorized parts of society, where mostly colored 'newcomers' are constructed as the other in opposite to 'Dutch white citizens'. Irony as this neighborhood then owes its names to the country, as part of Dutch history, responsible for one of the few if not only Dutch words that is internationally acknowledged, apartheid, separation between white and non-white citizens.

The first Afrikaanderwijk-houses were built to host the 'dock-workers' of Rotterdam, and therefor this neighborhood has since its existence been a neighborhood for newcomers originally rooted elsewhere. In this case these dockworkers were mainly *gastarbeiders*, literally translated as guestworkers, which means that people moved to this neighborhood to live in order to work here, with the idea of returning to their homes afterwards (Van Duin et al, 2011). Therefor present not as actual migrants but merely as temporary guests. Firstly these dockworkers originated from Dutch provinces as Zeeland and Brabant but later Dutch borders were crossed and the Dutch labor force got enriched by many *gastarbeiders* from Spain, Turkey, Morocco, Italy and former Yugoslavia. These second stream of *gastarbeiders* came around 1960 and were not 'just dockworkers' but were actively part of the revival and reconstruction of Rotterdam after the destructive bombings which were suffered in the second world war (Deelgemeente Feyenoord & Vestia 2009). To honor this, on initiative of second generation *gastarbeiders*, in 2013 the municipality of Rotterdam presented the new monument; *Monument voor de gastarbeiders* (CBK Rotterdam 2013²).

Besides the historic relevance and the mixed character of this neighborhood, there is another reason why this monument was placed in this neighborhood specifically. In the Netherlands, when referring to the Afrikaanderwijk, those alive around the early seventies will soon think of the so-called 'Turkenrellen', literally Turk-riots (Lucassen and Lucassen 2011: 2006). In this time already there was an increase in Turkish inhabitants in the neighborhood and it was when Turkish house lords restricted 'white Dutch people' in getting houses, supposedly in a violent manner, when things

² Retrieved on <https://www.cbkrotterdam.nl/agenda/nieuw-monument/> (6th March 2018).

got out of hand. Riots between house lords, gastarbeiders and dockworkers came with the costs of over seventy arrests and many windows in the neighborhood (*ibid.* 2011). Therefore not only as acknowledgement and gratitude for the gastarbeiders but also as a positive symbol covering these dark days of the past, on the square of the Afrikaanderwijk now shines this star from the top of the monument.

Another monument in the Afrikaanderwijk is the Dijkwerkers (dockworkers), remembering the labor that was needed to keep the city safe from the sea³. A visit to the Afrikaanderwijk makes this very clear as the only way to enter the neighborhood is to cross a dike, be it by stairs or by car, one has to cross a dike to descend into the neighborhood. Together both monuments tell the story of the Afrikaanderwijk, a neighborhood of laborers, dockworkers with a very mixed character constructing (or constructed) and living in this same place.

Spaces, renovations and plans

Afrikaanderwijk is the one link between the so-called new city (Kop van Zuid, Parkstad) and the older residential area of the south of Rotterdam, making the Afrikaanderwijk as it is not the Kop van Zuid (head of South), which is the name of the bordering new neighborhood, but perhaps more the heart of South, as among others a research team concluded (Bet, Hinterthür and Meijel 2007: 19). In their book focusing deeply on the Afrikaanderwijk, they appoint the significance of the borders of the neighborhood, the lines of these borders which are made up by connection of the centers of north to south with a panoramic route (Maashaven OZ and Hillelaan), a (former) dike embodying the Dutch character of constructing life below sea-level (Brede Hilledijk) and a famous riverside passing by ports partly by being the base for the tram or train tracks which are still today an important link connecting Rotterdam city with all the southern neighborhoods (Bet, Hinterthür and Meijel 2007: 41).

These above described borders were once more solid entities, being train tracks, dikes and harbor areas. Current developments transformed these borders into lines of demarcation and connection at the same time. Developments started around the late 1980s with patching up 'De Kop van Zuid' and Katendrecht, and the finishing of the ultimate transformation of Rotterdam north and – south; the Erasmus bridge in 1996 (Doucet, van Kempen & van Weesep 2011: 1443). These developments changed the Afrikaanderwijk from a rather isolated area into a center-bordering neighborhood (Geurtz 2006). The more opening character of its own borders settled the next step into a further connection with the center; the upgrade of Pretorialaan or the transformation of former unlivable areas, like train tracks being rebuilt into Parkstad, a whole new living area (Stadsontwikkeling, Ruimtelijke Ordening, 2011). Here former buildings in a geographical pit, a lower level area called the Leeuwenkuil, got demolished for the area to get heightened up to create a better connection with the bordering area and this new Parkstad (Via Vestia 2010).

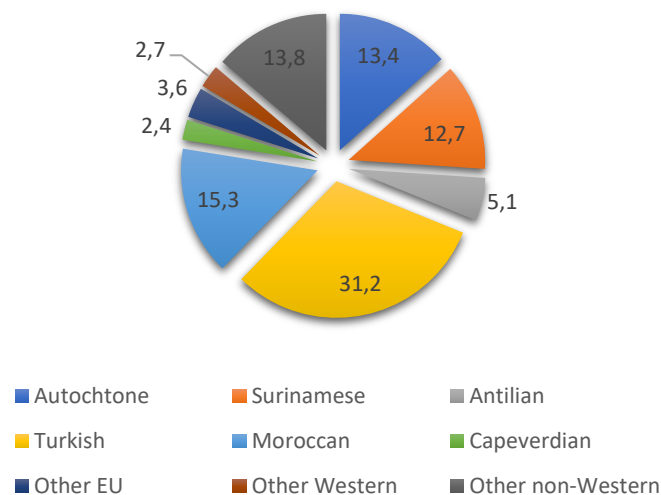
In 2009 the sub-municipality of Feijenoord, the southern municipality of Rotterdam of which the Afrikaanderwijk is apart, together with the real estate organization Vestia, brought out a destination plan for the neighborhood which beholds the vision of this area for the year 2020 (Stadsontwikkeling, Ruimtelijke Ordening, 2011). Vestia is the organization owning the majority of the real estate in the Afrikaanderwijk, so together with the sub-municipality they have all the necessary capacities to realize a better outlook for the neighborhood, which is the main goal of this destination plan (Platform 31, 2015: 8). The Afrikaanderwijk knows a negative image, both for the looks and the social status of the neighborhood, so there is much to win in renovating the neighborhood; improving the entrances of the neighborhood, the main square the Afrikaanderplein and the houses and streets, which were all exposed to years of decay, was and still is the main goal here. For the Afrikaanderplein and the Pretorialaan, which functions as an important entrance of the

³ Retrieved on <http://www.bkor.nl/beelden/dijkwerkers/> (14th June 2018).

neighborhood, renovations already started already around 2005 with not only improving the outlook but also the content; more hip cafes or coffee places (Dorenbos, Hafkamp & Van Hoorn 2005: 49).

Perhaps not surprising then, gentrification is a term not uncommon to referring to the current developments in the Afrikaanderwijk. Developments on the level of inhabitants, improving housing conditions, the arrival of more and more hip cafes or coffee bars, and the increasingly central character of the neighborhood are all aspects which might one assume this neighborhood is undergoing processes of gentrification. The definition of gentrification however is a contested concept (Lees 2000: 403), as is the question of its relevance for the Afrikaanderwijk (Geurtz 2006: 89), these are however not really relevant discussions for this thesis so by acknowledging the existence of this discussion, and taking note of the relevant developments in the neighborhood, the theoretic question of gentrification will further be left untouched here.

Ethnicities Afrikaanderwijk from January 2017



3. Based on Basisregistratie Personen (BRP) edited by OBI, retrieved from: https://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/jive?cat_open=Beleidsthema%27s/D

The Afrikaanderwijkers

The Afrikaanderwijk was one of the first 'mixed' neighborhoods in the Netherlands and still today gives shelter to Surinamese, Turkish, Moroccan, Antillean and 'white Dutch' inhabitants. In total the neighborhood is home to around 8000 inhabitants, with mixed backgrounds and relatively low levels of income and education (Wijkprofiel 2018⁴). The diagram below beholds the demographics of the Afrikaanderwijk showing percentages of inhabitants divided by their backgrounds, or ethnicities as used by the source.⁵

In the Afrikaanderwijk 32% of the households live from an income close to the social minimum and the neighborhood stands out negatively when looking at the number of people depending on social welfare and being unemployed (Rotterdam-Buurtmonitor 2019⁶). Perhaps it is not surprising then that the Afrikaanderwijk was one of the forty selected neighborhoods by politician Vogelaar in 2007 that are in the most serious need of attention and improvement

⁴ Retrieved on 12th of March 2018 from

<https://wijkprofiel.rotterdam.nl/nl/2018/rotterdam/feijenoord/afrikaanderwijk>

⁵ Based on Basisregistratie Personen (BRP) edited by OBI, retrieved on 12th of March 2018 from:

https://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/jive?cat_open=Beleidsthema%27s/Demografie

⁶ Retrieved on 11th of February 2019 from

https://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/jive?cat_open=Beleidsthema%27s/Demografie

(Visschers 2008). Being appointed as a so-called *Vogelaarwijk* in the Netherlands, ought to bring the attention and investments to increase the quality of life in the neighborhood. The success of this concept is still today a matter of dispute, for the *Afrikaanderwijk* however it shows that the neighborhood has a history of difficulties and as noted above, still today scores high on negative social and economic scales. The surroundings and ways of living are of course relevant to every social study, but for this research let's focus more on the social composition of the neighborhood.

It was an article in the newspaper which first brought my attention to the *Afrikaanderwijk*, and this article showed the diverse character of the neighborhood, taking note of the latest elections (Huisman 2017⁷). The mixed character of the neighborhood perhaps explains partly the polarized political character of today⁸. In the last elections approximately half voted for the party *Denk*, a populist party mostly attracted by citizens with a migration background, mainly Turkish. The party following *Denk* with a bit less than one fifth of the votes is the *PVV* (*Partij Voor de Vrijheid*⁹), a right-wing populist party with a rather negative stance on Islam and/or people with a migration background. Hence in the small geography of this neighborhood, space is shared between different minded inhabitants. The *Afrikaanderplein* in the center of the neighborhood represents this clearly as here one can find a mosque, one can find something that used to be a monastery but is on this day home to the community center and then there is the well-known market the *Afrikaandermarkt* twice a week, filled with spices from all over the world, as well as Dutch cheeses and fish. This square, as an interesting and possibly contested place, embodies an important stage in this research.

Political spheres

The national elections are the foundation for this research, as this is what brought special attention to the *Afrikaanderwijk*. During this fieldwork however there was quite the political sphere to be found here, as the local council elections fell at the end of the data collection. On the 21st of march everyone who owns a Dutch passport and actually lives in the Netherlands is welcome to vote for the representatives of their municipality for the upcoming four years. This vote for the municipality is in many cases in line with one's vote in the national context, as for the greatest part the parties are also similar. It depends on the city or municipality which parties are joining the battle, and every municipality has its own politicians or local party representatives, therefore political programs of the same party in a different municipality can be divergent. Besides the bigger parties who are also active on a national level, there are local parties at play as well.

The *Afrikaanderwijk* is of course part of the municipality of Rotterdam, and seen on a national scale, Rotterdam is not a mediocre case. Rotterdam has a strong connection with Pim Fortuyn, whom by several academics is seen as the layer of the groundwork for today's right-wing popularity and Islamophobia in the Netherlands. He broke with former political correctness, was the first to publicly speak of the failure of the multicultural society and bluntly called the Islam a backward culture (Kremer 2013: 2). Fortuyn's popularity on a national level might be highly disputed but in Rotterdam much appreciation still prevails. The municipality of Rotterdam is one of the biggest cities and important municipalities in the Netherlands and being a harbour city, a city of labours, Rotterdam used to be coloured labour politically as well. Lately however Rotterdam is better known to be leaning towards the right side of the political spectrum rather than the left. Departing from Fortuyn and *Leefbaar Rotterdam* and the national party *LPF* (*List Pim Fortuyn*), there were several grand events which are connected with the popularity of Wilders' *PVV* today. The murder of Pim Fortuyn, which brought a great shock upon the Netherlands, as such a political murder has been

⁷ Retrievend on 22nd of March 2019 from: <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/hoe-in-een-wijk-pvv-en-denk-de-grootste-werden~bd2ac3dd/?referer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F>

⁸ Political outcome retrieved on 22nd of March 2019 from: <https://maps.nrc.nl/tk2017dev/tk2017sb.php>

⁹ *Partij Voor de Vrijheid* literally means the party for freedom, hereafter referred to as *PVV*.

unthinkable in such a cultivated and developed country as the Netherlands is ought to be. It did not end here, as critical movies on the Islam were brought out, ending in another murder on Theo van Gogh, such a filmmaker with a political criticism on Islam (Ghorashi 2010). The effects of these events on the mind-set within Dutch society will be further handled in chapter 2.2 **Fout! Verwijzingsbron niet gevonden..** As the PVV beholds an important factor in this thesis, the party, its leader and its sympathizers cannot go without a short introduction. For a deeper analysis, journalist and researcher Chris Aalberts devoted a complete book on the PVV and its sympathizers (Aalberts 2012).

The PVV

The PVV is known for its anti-Islamization policy. This policy beholds the ongoing message towards other politicians and ‘the people’, warning them how the Islam will slowly take over the Netherlands and all its norms and values (Aalberts 2012). To realize this, Wilders advocates a ban on building new mosques, the closure of Islamic schools and a complete ban on burqa’s (Aalberts 2012: 9). Being a political party, the PVV naturally takes a stand on other topics as well. The PVV values the Dutch national identity highly and is mainly focusing on bettering the position of the Dutch citizens, making sure the money owned, stays within borders; making immigration more difficult, being against double citizenship, against development aid beyond borders and calls the human influence on climate change into question (Aalberts 2012, PVV election program 2017-2021¹⁰). On their website one is welcomed with the large banner: “The Netherlands ours again¹¹” accompanied with the face of Geert Wilders, and here one can find their election program for 2017-2021. This exists of one a4 size paper, of which approximately half of the statements belong to their first goal; to de-Islamize the Netherlands (PVV 2019¹²).

In the year 2010 the PVV became the third party in the Dutch house of representatives¹³, and in the year 2017 the PVV even became the second largest party behind the biggest party in the Netherlands the VVD; the conservative liberal political party (NRC 2017¹⁴). Evidently the PVV has taken a position within Dutch politics as a party to take into consideration for the long-term. Looking specifically at the votes in the Afrikaanderwijk, the numbers at the voting location at the Afrikaanderplein shows how Denk with 41 % of the votes was by far the biggest party, with a high number of inhabitants with Turkish descent this is hardly surprising. Following Denk however, it is the PVV who are represented by 14 % of the votes of Afrikaanderwijkers (NRC 2017¹⁵). As the PVV is described as a right-wing populist party, Denk gets described as not only the migrant party, but also as a more left-oriented populist party, using similar anti-establishment tactics and victimhood (Laan, van der 2016¹⁶).

Be it right or left, the populist parties seem to be on the rise, and this development does not stand on its own here in the Netherlands, but seems to be part of this shift to populism and the political right in other places in Europe but also in Australia and the United States (Modest & de Koning 2016). Rodrik describes how, based on economic history, a “global rise of populism” was the predictable reaction to globalisation, however not in this specific form (2017: 13). Populist parties stand for the common people, who risk to feel neglected in times of societal hardships, economically or social-culturally. Here is where a link can be made between populism and anxious politics and this ‘backlash of globalism’ as Rodrik among others calls it (2017: 13).

¹⁰ Retrieved on: <https://pvv.nl/visie.html> (March 15th 2019)

¹¹ Translated “Nederland weer van ons” retrieved on: <https://pvv.nl/visie.html> (March 15th 2019)

¹² Retrieved on: <https://pvv.nl/visie.html> (March 15th 2019)

¹³ Personally translated “De Tweede Kamer”

¹⁴ Retrieved on <https://maps.nrc.nl/tk2017dev/tk2017sb.php> (March 21th 2019)

¹⁵ Retrieved on <https://maps.nrc.nl/tk2017dev/tk2017sb.php> (March 21th 2019)

¹⁶ Retrieved on <https://www.trouw.nl/opinie/de-populistische-strategie-van-denk~a6df4b87/> (March 22th 2019)

Sociologist Hochschild writes about the conservative white working class in the United States; how in these times of globalisation, the fundament of 'these common people' is perceived as to be shrinking; technological developments taking away their jobs, 'others', for example refugees or immigrants take away their 'spot in line' leaving them behind in suspicion towards both state and 'the others' (2016: 136). So in times of uncertainty, populist parties speaking up for the common people, standing against the state who's neglecting them, and the 'others' who are intruding and taking away their home, can be the plausible answer (Hartleb 2011: 267). This relation between feelings of uncertainty, othering and right-wing populism is also what de Koning (2010) describes with eye on the Netherlands, and will be further discussed in the chapters 'Current state of Anxieties' and 'The Netherlands: roots and routes'. Now let's go back to the Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam, this working class neighborhood with a growing multicultural character. Keeping above mentioned theories in mind, the popularity of the PVV in this neighborhood can hardly be surprising but may very well serve as a small scale research-habitat for larger-scale developments, as will be further argued in the following paragraph.

Relevance

With populist and right-wing politics rising in popularity, theories for understanding these developments increase accordingly (Hartleb 2011, Rodrik 2017). The voices within these politics seem hostile towards 'other' sociocultural constructed groups within society and polarization has become a pressing issue. 'White rage' or 'angry white men' (*boze burgers*) are connotations used for these hostile voices, and are part of today's vocabulary (Sampson 2016, Hochschild 2016, Aalberts 2012). Dissatisfaction with the national system or one's personal situation results in more extreme political voting, supporting parties with negative stances towards sociocultural groups. Populist parties embody these 'voices to be heard', and the political party the PVV in the Netherlands is quite the example. Its latest popularity at the election showed how the strong and often anti-immigrant sentiment of this right-wing populist party apparently speaks to the hearts and minds of many people in the Netherlands. As people who voted for the PVV thus show their support for this polarizing sentiment, in some social circles voting for the PVV is seen as 'not done' and cause for shame or people hiding their ideas. As in the sentiment of the PVV, citizens with a migration background seem to receive a negative stigma, a similar fate seems to be facing the PVV-sympathizers. This however not to compare their situation, rather to illustrate the differentiations made within society. Both in theory and in society the relevance of this research is evident, as will get further elaboration in the following paragraphs.

In-difference: societal relevance

In political and academic discourse, anxious politics, racism or culturism are all pons in this play of a polarizing society. Political philosopher Bart Brandsma writes in his book *Polarisation* about the damaging 'us versus them' thinking in today's society (Brandsma 2016). He writes how this differentiated thinking is damaging the social stability on the scale of the entire continent, the nation or last but not least, within neighborhoods. This differentiated thinking in us and them is what polarization entails and is in line with former mentioned processes of othering, differentiating oneself from the other. This differentiated thinking creates a world classified in opposite poles, in being or belonging to either one or the other. Within academic discourse, including the later more deeply considered bordering and ordering studies (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen 2002) and within media as well, the focus on these poles as different groups highlight the extremes, in a way focusing on and affirming their differentness (Brandsma 2016). Van Houtum and Van Naerssen (2002) however do highlight the other connecting or bridging side of the coin of this differentiation as well, as will come up later in this thesis.

As this merely presents society as a differentiated space, Brandsma (2016) and van

Wonderen (2018) both emphasize the importance of bringing attention to the places of sharing or bridging, the place in between the extremes of black and white. This 'grey middle', the undecided silent majority of society, is effected by the extreme poles, which are with some help by the media, pulling and pushing them to 'pick a side'. This thesis is then following their line, however focusing on a certain extreme pole, on the white Dutch citizen without a migration background and with affection to a right-wing populist party. The goal is however, to make these alleged differences seem less extreme, less as an opposing pole but rather present them as fellow citizens, living in, or experiencing life as a different situation. In bringing attention to the so-called extreme group, the border between the group and the other might get blurry, or better said, the air surrounding these group-borders gets cleared to reveal the continuum on which the structure of identity categories within society is made of.

Therefore, as today's politics and social tensions in society reveal this polarizing situation, what is a better way to look for these places of sharing, then to turn to a (political) polarized place, in which on a small scale of a neighborhood, place is shared with the perhaps 'opposite pole'. To see oneself as a 'Dutch self' is only possible in opposition to an other, excluding an other, a non-Dutch, non-integrated or someone with roots elsewhere. Here is where Vollebergh vows for a new national (family) portrait, one made up of joined strangers instead of a homogeneous ideal national portrait, to move beyond the idea of otherness towards the ideal of being different together (Vollebergh 2016: 24). A society is made up by strangers, finding their way to live together, in order to create a society in which citizens really share their space of living, I don't vow to be indifferent to the differences, but rather to accept the fact that we live in difference, the need to understand each other, maybe learn of one's differences but more importantly have eye for each other's similarities, of our fellow humanness.

If polarization is (part of) the problem, the popularity of right-wing politics as embodied by the PVV does not ask for judgements or opinions, PVV-sympathizers should not be pushed aside as ignorant or short-minded, rather such a development asks for understanding and mutual respect and the will to hear each other out in order to find a way to live together. What this thesis adds to this debate is the local level on which this living together does or does not happen. How is this living together constructed and experienced when PVV-sympathizers and the constructed other, citizens with a migration background, are spatially living together in the same neighborhood? In the polarizing society of today, judgmental tones should be transformed into tones of understanding in order to work towards a society in which all citizens are equally free to live their lives. As from the political left judgmental tones can be heard considering the populist right-wing supporters, here the plea for the need of understanding of those other-minded in order to create space for an inclusive society for everybody. Therefore, this research is important in looking into the smaller-scale neighborhood level of sharing space with the constructed other, in order to understand these processes of othering which increasingly becomes part of the public debate in the Netherlands.

Scientific relevance

As theory on place attachment and belonging on a neighborhood-scale are increasing, it is this specific neighborhood which brings an important addition to these theories. Theories delve into the meaning of space and place for one's identity and argue towards the possible binding effect of sharing the same place (Antonsich 2010), or the increasing impact of place when one experiences threat (Relph in Proshansky, Fabian, Kaminoff 1983: 61). This thesis will bring these theories together on a very local level of extremes.

In an era of rising right-wing populism in the Netherlands, this neighborhood where both the right-wing supporters and the constructed 'other' are sharing their smallest 'political' place of belonging beyond the doorstep, these processes of othering are part of the daily livelihoods of the inhabitants of the neighborhood. As a bulk of research has been done on 'living together' and

polarization, showing its importance on a local neighborhood level as well as Vollebergh clearly describes (2016), this neighborhood is of extra interest as the extreme poles opposing each other on a political level are here a day-to-day reality. Moreover, as most theory in the past focused on the so-called victimized, the constructed other, the one's with a migration background, this research shall focus on the ones who are constructing the others as other, the ones who do the othering.

The extra level of theory added in this thesis is the focus on the underlying structures of not just trace, but also race, as the Dutch history has a foundation on, or earns most of its wealth today to racist structures in the past. As this is part of Dutch history, it is part of Dutch culture, and therefore its influences on the lives of Dutch citizens today should not be kept out. So in looking at the construction of the other next door, possible underlying structures on race will be taken along.

A change of terms

In the former paragraphs I speak of the 'Dutch' or 'the white Dutch citizens'. With this connotation I mean citizens who are rooted here, whose parents are rooted here and who see themselves as Dutch citizens and complementary have a light, or white skin color. Those connotations refer to a part of the Dutch population but using these connotations however could send out a certain message, as if citizens with a migration background are, or feel any less Dutch. This is not what is meant here, solely the difference in getting here is what is highlighted. Before, one spoke of *autochtonen* and *allochtonen*, connotations which use is now discouraged within the Netherlands. These terms were in fact brought to life by Hilda Verwey-Jonker in 1971, a Dutch sociologist to whom the organization helping me with this thesis owes its name.¹⁷ In 2017 the Dutch government stated to stop the use of these terms for their stigmatizing effect. Nowadays we speak of those with- and those without a migration background, and this will be used in this thesis as well. Other specific terms or words will be explained in the course of the text.

Thesis structure

Following the course of this thesis, the next chapter entails the theoretical framework. Starting on theorizing space and place it will work towards constructing place and constructing the other within the small and bordered place of a neighborhood. By delving into the current state of anxieties and the growing popularity of populism the step into the Netherlands will go into further detail on developments there considering roots, routes or race. In chapter three the choices considering the methods in conducting this research are set out, explaining how and why, led by the research question(s) and finished by a small essay on indignation and the influence of the individual of the researcher upon the research. In the fourth chapter the empirical data found in the field will be presented, starting with the inhabitants and how they construct the neighborhood, towards how these inhabitants construct the other in the neighborhood ending with a more deeper link with the theory. Finally in the fifth chapter one can find the conclusions considering the research, with some elaboration on recommendations for further research as well as personal reflections and aspirations.

¹⁷ Internship's organisation: Het Verwey-Jonker Instituut. <https://www.verwey-jonker.nl/>

2. Theoretic chapter

2.1 Space Matters

Topophilia

“Place is an organized world of meaning. It is essentially a static concept. If we see the world as process, constantly changing, we would not be able to develop any sense of place” (Cresswell 2003: 13).

This is how American geographer Tuan, who describes himself as rootless and had a youth of constantly changing places and constructing a new sense of home, argues on place. This chapter will therefor delve into this *topophilia*; “the effective bond between people and place or setting” (1990: 4). As this research revolves around and within space, focusing on processes happening in- and related to space, it is space as a concept that is in primary need of exploration. The importance of space or the role of place in today’s social life is broadly discussed and questioned by scientists ranging from geographers to sociologists or economists (Soja 1989, Low 2003, Sassen 2016). The argument made in this thesis on how still today for the construction of social life an important role is appointed to space and place, will become clear and founded within this thesis by looking to a bordered space of a neighborhood in which social constructions are being made and experienced. Before delving into this exploration it should be noted that one can speak of both space and place and these concepts are easily mistaken for one another. In differentiating between space and place, one could say the first step towards understanding the role of place in social life is made, as defining place is in a way giving meaning to ‘random’ space. This brings me to *topophilia* (Tuan 1990), the effective bond between people and place or setting, and this paragraph will elaborate on that, firstly defining space and place to lastly conceptualizing the role of place in the construction of one’s life in temporary society.

Space and place

“Since Plato, Western philosophy – often times with the help of theology and physics – has enshrined space as the absolute, unlimited and universal, while banning place to the realm of the particular, the limited, the local and the bound” (Escobar in Cresswell 2003: 12).

In his book *Space and Place*, geographer Tuan elaborates on this argument stating how “space is abstract. It lacks content; it is broad, open, and empty, inviting the imagination to fill it with substance and illusion; it is possibility and beckoning future. Place, by contrast, is the past and the present, stability and achievement” (Tuan 1975: 164-165). Space thus, as argued by Gieryn (2000) is something not bound to material form or constructed by cultural interpretation. Space has no meaning and is an empty concept whereas place is space given meaning. Place is space filled with people, behavior, objects and images (Gieryn 2000: 465).

The challenge of theorizing space and place dates back to the 1970’s where within the heir of existentialism, geographers delved into the “geographical nature of being-in-the-world”, leading to the understanding that “to be human is to be in place” (Cresswell 2003: 12). Here, place is taken as the root of human existence, of human identity. Having roots in a place can be visualized as a tree, deeply rooted in the earth with a specific position within the environment. This tree is looking into the world from this position, growing together with plants and trees in its surroundings, playing a part in other creatures’ lives and depending on them and its natural surroundings as well. It is about this grasp of one’s own position in the order of things, following the words of Relph, one of the main

geographers on theorizing space and place. His main argument is on the essential ordering power of place, how every act, experience, emotion or intention embodied by a human being, is connected in and with space (Relph 1976). Place thus gets described as an essential factor for significance in human life and in order to understand one's relation with place, the above mentioned difference between space and place is in need of some further exploration or revision. In his book *Place and Placelessness* (1976) Relph argues against an actual differentiation between space and place which would not do justice to the deeper relation between the two. In the *Key Texts in Human Geography* this intertwining of space and place is summarized as follows: "our understanding of space is related to the places we inhabit, which in turn derives meaning from its spatial context" (Seamon & Sowers, 2008: 44). Both Tuan and Relph received a critical wave of commentaries over the years, the main argument of this critique can be led back to the afore mentioned tree, rooted in a specific place. Unlike trees, human beings however are not actually rooted and attached to the ground but possess this amazing ability to move and scatter around the earth, both physically and mentally. The earth as well is not a static place, it is constantly changing with the possibility of movement at its core. As Relph never argued in favor of this static assumption but merely lay focus on the relation between space and place, the critique led to an increase of focus on this essential quality; the possibility of mobility and the person- and context dependency of this relation between space and place. This will be further handled in the following paragraph.

Place under construction

In Cresswell's *theorizing space* (2003) the absence of mobility in theories on place and space is pointed out. Within the temporary time-space compression¹⁸, mobility of course plays a big role in place-making and has to be noted in order not to fall in the essentialist and exclusionary trap of the meaning of place, roots and authenticity. Within the discourse of globalization, scholars predicted mobility and interconnectedness to take over the reign of place and time in the world, creating a dis-embedded world where 'to be human is to be connected' rather than '-to be in place' (Eriksen 2007, Harvey 1989). Technological developments made it possible to be, or be active, at several places at the same time, making one's actual location less relevant. This way, place can be challenged by mobility, which is the point Malkii brings to the table arguing against the perhaps former humanistic approach of place; as something static and rooted, as "a location for identity" (Cresswell 2003: 15). The strength of the effect then of the actual place of being might be reduced by mobility, the act- or the ability to act towards a self-chosen place of being. This then might question the idea of an unselfconscious place-identity in western societies, something Relph already mentioned under the connotation *placelessness* (1976: 6). The meaning of place here only becomes present in one's consciousness if their rooted place is threatened. This however does not inevitably mean that without a sensed threat, the meaning of place is nonexistent. Place then plays a more functional role as for the construction of social relations and feelings of belonging to place, or place-identity. Be it conscious or not, place is part of one's life and identity construction, but the ability to be mobile, to not be attached to a specific place, is something paramount in this contemporary world. Here and now, mobility thus cannot be overlooked and when stressing both people and places, this mobility should be taken into account rather than taking boundaries, borders and roots for granted. Mobility however is not able to replace the meaning of place, rather effects the character of place.

As in this research the place in question is a neighborhood, both the fact of one living and moving in or out of this neighborhood and the relations people have within and across neighborhood

¹⁸ Referring here to Harvey's theory on time-space compression in the 'shrinking' globalizing world (1999).

borders, are of importance. All experiences inhabitants have within this neighborhood, both spatial or social, are part of one's narrative in life and thus part of one's identity and are part of the process of constructing the place. Therefore place plays an essential role within this research. The above noted increasing meaning of place when experiencing threat is something particularly interesting, thinking about the PVV-sympathizers and their experienced position in the neighborhood, considering the shifts within the neighborhood and its inhabitants.

In focusing on mobility and place and the importance of connectivity, one cannot pass by on the influential work of geographer Doreen Massey, who conceptualizes (social) space as: "the simultaneous coexistence of social interrelations at all geographical scales, from the intimacy of the household to the wide space of trans-global connections" (1994: 168). Massey, as many others as well, differentiates in several 'spaces', referring to a space like the neighborhood and its inhabitants as this case beholds, as the social space. Without this 'social' connotation however, one can replace 'interrelations' with 'connections' and in fact not much will change. The core of Massey's argument is about how relations in space reach beyond the actual place, how one's sense of place is constructed within this net of relations. It is where these relations are connected and perceived in a particular way, that this place gets created and will forever be part of this endless process of (re)creation (Massey 2004). Places then can best be described as processes, always becoming. Opposed to Tuan's notion of space as empty, Massey takes space as full, filled with every possible connection, with everywhere, simultaneously. It is the focus on some connections specifically, expressed and/or experienced in a specific way, which makes the space of everything into the place of something.

On the one hand then, place cannot be taken as something rooted and authentic, as something static or materially present. Place continues however, to fulfill an important role in today's world and one's identity construction. Let's state that the idea of space and place is in line with our idea of the universe, the cosmos; it is out there, as a material reality, however its borderless existence is something beyond common understanding, our only way of understanding is based on all we know right now, on our contemporary construction of reality. Such is space; unfinished, unbounded but materially existent, and due to social and cultural construction, made into place (Massey 1994). This conception of space follows Lefebvre's notions of perceived (first), conceived (second) and lived (third) space (Lefebvre 1991). Perceived space is the physical space, the concrete space, the relatively objective space one encounters in one's daily environment. Conceived space is what can also be called the mental space, ideas on how space can be constructed or represented. When conceived- and perceived space are brought together one can speak of the lived space, the social space where the physical and the mental combined make meaning and construct life in space (Purcell 2002: 102). In Lefebvre's description of lived space, this is the everyday life as one's life in one's neighborhood; this is the stage where social relations and lived space are interconnected. Soja states how this third/lived space "can be mapped but never captured in conventional cartographies; it can be creatively imagined but obtains meaning only when practiced and fully lived" (1999: 276). Escobar describes the idea of this place as an event; gathering things, thoughts and memories (Escobar 2001: 143).

Philosopher De Certeau noted on city-life and places how we live in pre-structured places, as people are not able to move through walls, but these places would not function as such, without us living there (De Certeau 1984). Linking his terms to the inhabitants of a certain neighborhood; it are the inhabitants who fill the streets with their experiences, their memories, their opinions and their hopes. The following paragraph will continue on this path and delve into the way inhabitants fill the streets of the neighborhood.

Making the place

To focus on the neighborhood as a place thus means focusing on how inhabitants perceive, practice and 'make' the space which the neighborhood beholds, into place. What might be part of one inhabitant's daily place of life, might for the other be nothing more than a concrete background, empty of meaning. These perceptions of space however are never static, as place is something endlessly becoming, regulated by the ongoing construction of everyday life or as De Certeau described it as the cunning tactics of everyday life (1984). Taking these theories more towards this everyday life, Lewicka writes about the different perceptions and attitudes of participants towards their neighborhood and points to several researches showing how maps of neighborhoods drawn by residents differed widely from the census-based units (Lewicka 2010: 37). This refers to spatial perception, constructed by cultural conditioning, values, attitudes, motivations, and goals (Creswell 2003).

In their critical book about bordering in everyday life, Jones and Johnson describe evidently how this is constructed by people developing cognitive maps of places which are imagery, idealized and stereotyped (2016). "On the basis of such mental maps, they construct in-group and out-group identities. Social cognitive theories of stereotyping offer insights into this human enigma and the social construction of reality in relation to social and power relations in society" (Jones & Johnson 2016: 172). This cognitive mapping of places reigns back to the legacy of Kevin Lynch, as Pearce and Fagenze titled their article honoring the groundbreaking work of Kevin Lynch on the relation between citizens and their urban environment (1996). Lynch delved into the perception by the citizens of their environment and developed a for this thesis very useful framework to determine the so-called cognitive or mental maps of these citizens. This framework is built on five elements: "paths (the lines of movement), nodes (focal points of concentrated public activity), landmarks (significant points of reference), districts (composite areas of activity) and edges (the margins of the districts)" (Pearce & Fagenze 1996: 581). All these elements together, constructed and combined in unique and individual ways, are the spatial foundation for one's urban environment, combining this with the above noted experiences, memories, hopes and relations, this makes one's *topophilia*, one's lived space.

The above mentioned identity construction and experiences and relations will be further handled in the next paragraph, but this spatial perception leads to the starting point of this research, the mapping of the neighborhood. The neighborhood in question should not be marked and bordered by looking at a map, but rather should take shape through the lives and narratives of the inhabitants.

Hoodizenship

The former paragraph argued how space and place are still an intrinsic part of social life in contemporary society. This paragraph will continue on that path and elaborate on people's attachment to place, social ties and feelings of responsibility towards a place they call their home, beyond the doorstep. Lefebvre points to the importance of space for constructing one's life, as his famous theory on *The Right to the City* elaborates on the role inhabitants have in constructing 'their' city, but not least important the other way around, as membership in a community in this case is not based on ethnicity, nationality or birth, "rather it is earned by living out the routines of everyday life in the space of the city" (Purcell 2002: 102). As this research is not about a city but focusses on a neighborhood, before continuing the title of this paragraph should be taken into account. Stepping beyond the doorstep brings one firstly in their street, and secondly into the 'politics' of their neighborhood. As the title of this paragraph might reveal, it is how citizenship stands for nationality, stands for the connection to and being part of a nation, it is the here-invented word *hoodizenship* which stands for one's connections, identifications and feelings of responsibility towards one's neighborhood, one's hood. Now let's turn back to one's attachment to place.

Place-attachment

Place thus only makes sense as it is lived, it needs to be constructed by life. Life then is what takes place in place, making place an intrinsic part of life. Increasingly so, scientists delve into the relation between life and places, under the label 'place-attachment', thus beholding some kind of relation between individuals and their surrounding place or residential environment (Antonsich 2010, Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001, Lewicka 2010). The most apparent scale on which place-attachment is studied is the neighborhood. A research on language, race and place in a neighborhood in Amsterdam showed how, when cultural background or ethnicity would suspect a similar 'identity construction', place can be the decisive factor: "the process of identity formation by assigning self/other is multi-layered, but, more importantly, the most fundamental layer of assigning self/other is not language or race but place" (Cornips and De Rooij 2013: 156). In describing oneself, for many of us applies that the answer to 'who am I' is very much intertwined with 'where do I belong', being it a country, a city or a neighborhood.

Looking at places within urban territories, one's home and one's neighborhood fulfill the most central role in one's life. A home is often described as the place where one feels free to be oneself, experiences freedom of expression and the place where one feels safe (Antonsich 2010, Tucker 1994). This idea of one's actual home, the place of residence, as a safe place is however sternly criticized. This actual home does not automatically fulfill the above described role, as many (feminist) scholars emphasize that this home might not be the place where one experiences these feelings of freedom, safety and belonging.¹⁹ One's home or one's neighborhood is however undeniably the stage for a (substantive) part of one's life and therefore, the role of this place in one's identity construction should not be overshadowed by a possible lack of deep feelings of safety or belonging. Place attachment should be considered an integral part of human identity, as it "may contribute to the formation, maintenance, and preservation of the identity of a person, group, or culture" (Lewicka 2010: 381).

All above mentioned concepts influencing one's attachment to place come back in the framework designed by geographer Antonsich in his research on belonging (2010). This framework consists of five analytical factors influencing place-attachment and is useful for looking into the way these citizens feel attached to the neighborhood in question, the Afrikaanderwijk. The first is the autobiographic factor, in which personal memories or experiences are related to a place making this place part of one's narrative. The relational factor brings social connectivity with a place, instead of memories here relations or contacts are what connects one to the place. The strength of this connection or attachment depends on the character of the relationship. If within a place one experiences a special understanding or shares norms and values, linking an 'us-feeling' to those within the place towards 'them' beyond the place, one can speak of the cultural factor. The economic factor might also show its relevance in this research, this beholds one's future prospects; do they experience themselves as to be in power to create a safe and stable environment for themselves, now and in the future? Are they in power to choose the actual place of being or are they designated to their current or a certain situation? Seemingly less of interest here is the fifth factor which brings the legal details to the table. Predominantly applicable to migrants is the question if one's presence is legal or if there are legal issues concerning living in this particular place. The question is however if this effect can act in the opposite direction as well, meaning if one experiences a strong sense of legal rights to belong in a place, opposed to those with a migration background and therefore, whether be it legally or more perceived as such, experience a stronger right to this place than the 'others'. This touches already 'a sense of ownership' which will be handled more deeply in the following theoretical chapter, delving into the *State of anxieties*.

With this framework the connection of the hoodizens with the neighborhood in question will

¹⁹ Rose (1993), de Lauretis (1990) in Rose (1993) and Martin and Mohanty (1986), Massey (1994).

be analyzed as a possible point for connection with other hoodizens. In order to really get a grasp of how the other and the hoodizen is constructed, it is essential as argued hereunder, to delve deeper behind the web of social relations and look into the construction of borders and bridges within the neighborhood.

Borders or Bridges

When somebody is asked to make a drawing of a country, chances are high they will present an outline of the country's borders. We live in a world where borders are used to make sense, or structure the world around us (Newman, 2006). On a map a border is visualized as a line, a boundary between spaces. Life however, is not lived on maps or drawings and actual borders as lines of demarcation is not how borders are usually found. Borders are social constructs, as van Houtum describes it: 'they symbolize a social practice of spatial differentiation' (2002: 126). Borders mark the difference between 'us' and 'here' within the border, opposed to the 'them' and the 'there' beyond the border (Newman 2006). These bordered 'spaces' of identification however, can be bounded by hard borders, being the actual lines between territories, or cultural borders which are about identification and socio-ethnic groups which could cross territory lines as well as differentiate within territories (Hijlkema 2016: 6 in Dooves, Hijlkema, Middelkamp and Nicolai 2016).

In a neighborhood surrounded by certain 'hard' borders, separating the neighborhood from the outside area, certain in- and out groups are created. Those living within these borders are daily constructing their lives within the same space, making place together or side by side with the other hoodizens. What Van Houtum then calls the paradox of bordering, is how differences between the 'us' here and the 'them' out there are strengthened and the differences between members of the 'us' here are made less relevant. Effectuating bordering not only as an expected differentiating matter, but actually reducing differences simultaneously, making the conception of borders more than an othering factor of differentiation but also take note of the bridging factor towards certain community feelings within the group enclosed by borders (2002: 126). In this neighborhood then, where the ideological and perhaps ethnical 'other' belongs to this 'us' within neighborhood borders, this process of othering leaves one wondering, will living in- and identification with the same space lead to some kind of identification with the 'other' within this space or will there be more of a selective process of identification within neighborhood borders?

Considering the question of 'where do I belong', the 'where' does not evidently refer to an actual place within 'hard borders', but this could also refer to a place within 'soft borders', meaning belonging to a certain community or social structure (Antonsich 2010). In order to comprehend this social aspect of belonging, the analytical frame of Antonsich will be enriched with two factors Yuval-Davis constituted in her research on the politics of belonging (2006). The first is social locations, which beholds identity categories like skin-color, age, roots or gender. Every individual is a unique combination of categories, and these categories are given meaning by power structures of the surrounding society. Imagine every identity category as a path, and all these paths are approaching each other and come together at this intersection, this intersection then beholds one's social location. This social location still beholds a rather flat phenomenon and these 'paths' need to be seen in context and be given meaning. Whether one gets appreciated for walking a path or has to earn or work for the right to walk it, depends on the ground on which this path is built upon. This ground, the space and time in which one constructs one's life, is what gives meaning to these categories, one's axis of difference. This approach has its roots in the feminist discourse and goes by the name intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991).

Valentine, in her deepening research on intersectionality warns one to not fall into the trap of approaching intersectionality as if it were an actual intersection, a static coming together of axis of differentiation (2007). "Intersectionality captures the recognition that difference is located not in the

spaces between identities but in the spaces within” (Valentine 2007, 12). Similar to places which are endlessly becoming, under constant construction, so too Valentine describes identities and the classifications of identities to constantly being made and unmade, claimed or rejected. It is in line with the concept of super-diversity which Vertovec has brought to the table considering immigrants; “the necessity of considering multi-dimensional conditions and processes affecting immigrants in contemporary society” (2007, 1050), social locations then being part of these multidimensional conditions. As a next step beyond social locations, Yuval-Davis presents identification and emotional attachment as a second factor for belonging; one’s identity as a narrative one tells about themselves, considering who they are, where they belong but also to whom they belong (Yuval-Davis 2006). The analytical frame of Antonsich contains this already as the cultural and the relational factor, where one’s experiences, relations, memories and feelings all effect one’s attachment to somewhere and someone (Antonsich 2010). Crul, known for his study on super-diversity within the Netherlands, focused on contact within a multicultural city and draws an interesting conclusion for this thesis: “[i]nterethnic friendships represent a crucial foundation for a scenario of empowerment and hope. Conversely, the absence of these friendships will create a breeding ground for fear and humiliation” (2013: 81). The argument he makes is thus the more diverse one’s group of friendships, the less anxieties will be felt towards diversity or towards the other, but in case there is this closeness to the other but a positive contact or friendship is absent, the opposite will be the case.

So much for the cultural and relational factor, with the third level Yuval-Davis brings forward, a step will be made toward the second part of this theoretical chapter, away from place and space and into the political spheres of othering processes. This third level entails political and ethical values, as having or allegedly having similar values could serve as a root for belonging, a category for identification or a factor for feeling connected (2006). In order to get a grip of these (alleged) values, the larger sociocultural and political context needs to be taken into account. Therefore, before delving into this othering or bridging on the neighborhood level, there are social and political structures behind this othering which are in need of some extra elaboration. The next paragraph will therefor start with delving into the current political developments before going into more detail on the political issues at stake in this Dutch neighborhood today.

2.2 The current state of anxieties

In this day and age in many European countries, not differently so in the Netherlands, anxieties seem to be part of the public debate. Uncertainties in individual prospects or in the future of whole nation-states are embracing both the public debate and the political sphere of several countries in Europe, but play a part in North America or Australia as well, earning an academic term for itself as the ‘politics of anxiety’ or ‘anxious politics’ (Modest & de Koning 2016: 98). These anxious politics thus infiltrate the public sphere, politicians and the media, and encompass a link between emotions or affection and politics. The obvious conception could be that these anxieties result in an emotional vote rather than a rational one, which paves the way for certain political parties who claim to listen to the voice of the people where they feel to be ignored by other politicians. This development is in need of some further explanation and will be stressed hereunder following the concepts of populism, anxiety and the voice of the people.

Globalization and populism

The growing popularity of right-wing populist parties does not come as a surprise according to several academics; processes of globalization could be predicted to result in this so-called ‘backlash of populism’ which is described as inextricably linked with these anxious politics (Rodrik 2017: 13). As the term populism was born with a coalition of the ‘common people’ (het volk), meaning workers, miners and farmers, protesting against the ‘elite’, embodied by the financial

establishment of the United States in the late 19th century, this ‘new popularity’ of the similar battle between the ‘common people’ versus the ‘elite’, is labeled as the backlash of populism (Rodrik 2017: 12).

Before continuing the analysis of populism and the right-wing voter, the above dropped term ‘processes of globalization’ cannot be left untouched. Globalization is often used as a catch-all term with a focus on the neoliberal free markets, having a reducing effect on the power of the states and increases the global interconnectedness (Devetak 2008: 2, 5). Globalization however beholds beyond economic factors also essential cultural and societal dimensions like the homogenizing forces of a ‘shrinking world’, due to this interconnectedness, effectuating also in local cultures showing resilience reacting to this (Jackson 2004: 165), or the homogenization of policies and institutions in a neoliberal discourse (Gunter & van der Hoeven 2004: 7). To delve deeper into processes of globalization and populism would open a very interesting however lengthy whole new chapter, therefor these theories will, for the sake of this thesis, be reduced to the link between globalization and populism which applies here. Rodrik, a professor specialized in economics, globalization and politics, argues how technological developments, markets practicing a winner-takes-it-all logic and a decline in protection within the labor market, are all elements playing their part in causing this backlash of populism (2017: 13).

Where right-wing parties are expected to be supportive of the global market economy, populist parties stand up for ‘the little man’, they aim to protect the common people and the national economy against the greater global forces, in a way protecting a border between the national citizens and the global world (Mudde 2007). Populism on itself however can be described as a thin ideology as it says nothing about the actual political direction and does not behold specific solutions or ways of handling societal issues. Its only core value is ‘the common people’, who are opposite to- and have a hostile relation with the elite, and therefor need a populist party or -leader to let their voices be heard (Aalberts 2012: 14). As the financial crisis and the so-called refugee-crisis were both indisputably present in the political affair of the last years, not only in the Netherlands but in other European nation-states and the United States as well, it is this combination which according to Rodrik was logically expected to lead to the current popularity of right-wing populist parties (2017: 13). The current financial situation of the common people made the voters receptive for populist ideas and combined with developments on social-cultural levels this led these voters to support right-wing populist parties, feeding the fears of ‘the little man’. Why and how will be set out below.

Angry voices

This fear of the other as mentioned is not just at play in the Netherlands, but in other European countries and in the United States as well. Anxious politics are embodied by what several authors and academics has called ‘angry white men’ (Sampson 2016, Hochschild 2016). These angry white men are a concept receiving increasingly more attention. Sociologist Sampson wrote how their ‘white rage’ stands for both desire for justice against repression or discrimination and anxiety about dispossession, lost entitlements, and downward mobility (2016). Sociologist Michael Kimmel wrote about a popular radio talk-show in the United States which was mobilizing, as he describes it, “an army of angry white men” (Kimmel 2013: 32). In this show, feelings of vulnerability and insecurity are converted into aggrieved entitlement: “that sense that “we”, the rightful heirs of America’s bounty, have had what is rightfully ours taken away from us by “them”: faceless, feckless government bureaucrats, and given to “them”, undeserving minorities, immigrants, women, gays, and their ilk” (*ibid.* 32). Here a feeling of ownership is linked not only to those who come to claim some of it, but not least important, to the deciders, the government who own the power to divide.

The influential sociologist and academic Arlie Russell Hochschild delved deeper into this modern day phenomenon and executed a long term research on right-wing voters and Donald Trump’s popularity in the United States, leading to the book *Strangers in their own land: Anger and mourning on the American right* (2016). The anecdote below from one of her interviews describes

perfectly how the social insecurity of 'the common people' can be linked with a negative stance towards immigrants. As the situation in the United States can in some ways be compared to the situation in the Netherlands, the message within this anecdote can indeed make sense for the Dutch situation.

"You are patiently standing in a long line leading up a hill, as in a pilgrimage. You are situated in the middle of this line, along with others who are also white, older, Christian, and predominantly male, some with college degrees, some not. Just over the brow of the hill is the American Dream, the goal of everyone waiting in line. Many in the back of the line are people of colour - poor, young and old, mainly without college degrees. It's scary to look back; there are so many people behind you and in principle you wish them well. Still, you've waited a long time, worked hard and the line is barely moving" (Hochschild 2016:136).

With this quote Hochschild illustrates how the people who are 'patiently standing in line' comprehend the effect of progressive politics on their own situation, when migrants or refugees who 'have just arrived' are given a priority spot in the line, they see this as queue-jumping. When programs are set in motion to bring advantage to for example black people, or women, giving them extra support for the job market, this only has a negative effect on the situation of the 'white men'. The support for 'the others' taken together with the technological developments of a globalizing world, possibly result in these men to perceive their situation as if their fundament is slowly shrinking. The dams protecting their welfare security are opened to share its content with newcomers for whom the dams weren't built. More than just sharing the content, this is changing the content as well, making them feel like 'strangers in their own land' (Hochschild 2016).

This experience of losing control over one's life is something Castells already focused on, considering the globalizing network society (Castells 2011). As these networks are experienced as a threat to one's own life control, leading to individuals' necessity to hold on more strongly to some foundation, to some authenticity, this is strengthening the worth of what Castells called their primary identities; religion, ethnicity or nationality (*ibid.*). In this case it might not be about these networks threatening one's identity however, it is the effect of an experienced threat to one's way of life which results in a corresponding mood. The emotional foundation on which this mood is built consists among other things of a certain desire to return to what once was, combined with ideas on a certain division of who has what rights. De Koning refers to Gilroy (2005) and Hage (2016) summarizing this mood as combining "a mourning for lost greatness, hegemony and homogeneity, with a strong sense of who belongs, and a rendering as problematic of those who are framed as newcomers, outsiders and interlopers" (Koning & Modest 2016: 101).

This 'time of greatness that once was' is then characterized as a peaceful homogeneous time where in society quality of life is honestly distributed; life is safe, the future looks bright and certain, and values and culture are equally shared. Outsiders or 'new citizens' are then characterized as not fitting this image of the society that once was, as unable to become co-citizens, rather they are seen as intruders, as a threat for the future. As if nations, society and culture are static and homogeneous things, and all what is new and approaching needs to be kept out or exterminated. With this static idealization of nations and culture, or cultural fundamentalism, the fear of strangers, newcomers or others, also 'xenophobia' gets justified and constructed as a natural result of having roots in a country, and are therefore higher or at the top of this 'ladder of belonging'.

In line with this argument, Modest and De Koning argue how uncertainties on the level of insecurity, unemployment or lack of housing, are projected upon strangers, upon others (2016: 98). Here the link between (economical) insecurity and a process of othering is brought to the table, and

it is often (right-wing) populist parties who raise their voice for protecting the common people who share these fears and insecurities (Hartleb 2011: 267). It are the common people to whom most politicians seem to speak, whom most parties wants to reach, the bullseye of the current Dutch political debate whom without the right-wing populist parties might had been just another box on the political dartboard of society. Namely, it is the common people who embody the core of populist parties in general, as formerly explained, populists focus on the relation between the people and the elite, and claim to be the mouthpiece for the common people who feel ignored by the other politicians (Aalberts 2012: 13, Betz & Johnson 2004). In accusing current politicians of not representing the will of the people, populists position themselves in opposite of the current political system and are in favor of a more direct effect of the people's vote, shaped by referenda or other initiatives where the people can let their voices be heard (Aalberts 2012: 14). The specific situation in the Netherlands and the corresponding processes of othering are further stressed in the next and last part of the theoretical chapter.

2.3 The Netherlands: roots and routes

The above mentioned 'angry white men' refer to Americans and although the situation might be comparable to the Netherlands, it beholds a different group of people, on an other piece of earth, with a different history. It is essential then to understand what politics and which anxieties play a role in the Netherlands specifically. Following the words of de Koning (2016) and Ghorashi (2010) the following paragraphs will describe very shortly how the 'Moroccan youth' came to play an important role in this process and in a way came to embody the source of anxieties in Dutch society, emblematic for the need of defending Dutch society against the so-experienced threatening 'newcomers' in general. The neighborhood in question however, knows more Turkish inhabitants, and as these Moroccan youth serve merely as a symbol, the paragraphs thereafter will delve into more specific categories of othering, referring to roots, race and trace but firstly the role of these so-called 'troublesome Moroccans' are in need of elaboration.

Scape-goating in the Netherlands

The red flag firstly catching the eye here is the fact that these 'Moroccans' were referred to as if they constitute a homogeneous group, different from 'the Dutch' but similar to each other. As if other characteristics or social locations, like age or gender are less relevant. The 'troublesome Moroccans' mostly refer to young men, second generation migrants, which means they were born in the Netherlands but their parents arrived with the industrial migratory flow around the 1960's from Morocco, to work in the Dutch industries. These migrants are now familiar as the so-called 'gastarbeiders' (de Koning 2015: 157). The second generation 'troublesome Moroccans' then, became known to fill their days and the streets with loitering; ranging from hanging outside on the streets, to harassing passengers or stealing bikes. When even a politician in 2002 was bold enough to use the quite common used connotation 'kut-Marokkaan'²⁰ on national television, their national image seemed completed and their negative connotation legitimized; even a public figure, with an exemplary role being a politician, seemingly felt it was acceptable to use this stigmatization (de Koning 2015: 157). There were a few events leading up to this sphere which shall be swiftly handled hereafter.

From the 1990's onwards, the concept multiculturalism became a hot topic in the Netherlands and several events took this tension by hand leading it towards today's so-called 'multiculturalist backlash' and today's negative sphere surrounding the Islam. Globally, or better said, in the so-called 'western world', it was that one infamous eleventh of September at the beginning of the 21st century, which took this worsening position of 'new citizens' with an Islamic background by

²⁰ 'Kut-Marokkaan' can be literally translated as cunt-Moroccan.

hand. The attack on the World Trade Centre became symbolic for an attack of the 'Islamic world' against the 'modern Western world', creating distance and suspicion between citizens, coupling religion with culture and planting this idea of incompatibility between the Islamic and western world (Ghorashi 2006). This was something reaching beyond national borders, as America's financial center can be seen as a symbol for the so-called 'globalizing western world' (King 2004).

In the Netherlands other events followed which really 'lit the fire' locally. Important events are the murders on both Van Gogh²¹ and Pim Fortuyn²², the public dispute over the nationality of Ayaan Hirsi Ali²³ and the political upcoming of the populist right-wing anti-Islam politician Geert Wilders, still very present today with his 'Partij Voor de Vrijheid' (party for freedom), the PVV. Theo van Gogh as columnist and filmmaker, together with politician Ayaan Hirsi Ali produced the controversial short movie criticizing Islam, 'Submission part 1.'²⁴ In this movie Muslim women share stories on rape and abuse and turn to Allah, asking Him why the Quran is asking men to do these things to them. Predictably, this movie was very negatively received by the Dutch Muslim population, but the negative images considering Islam were shared with the public and could not be withdrawn. On the second of November in 2004, the Netherlands were shocked with the news that Theo van Gogh was shot and murdered while riding his bike in Amsterdam. The murderer Mohammed B., with a migration background, not only shot and stabbed van Gogh, but also left a note threatening Ayaan Hirsi Ali (ANP 2004²⁵). This murder and letter did not help to argue against negative images surrounding Islam. A few years later Wilders also released a movie called 'Fitna'²⁶ which was all in service of criticizing the Islam and its holy book the Qur'an (Ghorashi 2010: 106). Both movies were received with broad criticism, not only by the Muslim population, but by public opinion in general. The public space became increasingly more insulting towards Muslims as a population group, effecting their feelings of belonging and increasing the experience of 'feeling out of place' (Ghorashi 2010: 109). If such kind of threat or sense of marginalization is felt, people tend to turn to defensive manners considering one's roots. In practice this could mean a growing importance of authentic practices and a strengthening of boundaries of otherness.

This increasing effect of experienced threat on the meaning of one's connection or roots is something that has been mentioned before considering both the former mentioned *placelessness* by Relph, where a threat of losing one's place results in strengthening one's connection with this place (*in* Proshansky, Fabian, Kaminoff 1983: 61), or the approach of ordering and bordering theories as handled by van Houtum (2002) in which those within borders, either hard or soft, would feel more connected to each other if there is an 'other' beyond borders to whom they can feel opposed to, or different from. In the study of bordering described by van Houtum and van Nearssen applicable here, the making of a place embodies a certain act of "purification of unwanted elements" (2001: 127), based on a believed 'truth' of a fixed place in between borders, created by pursuing a certain sameness and cohesion. "Making others through the territorial fixing of order" is part of their idea of

²¹ Van Gogh, shot in 2004, was a columnist and filmmaker of the controversial film 'Submission', stressing the abuse of Muslim women in households. This film led to much discredit and upheaval, mostly within the Muslim population in the Netherlands.

²² Pim Fortuyn, shot in 2002, was a politically right-wing populist with an outspoken negative view on Islam.

²³ Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a Dutch-American feminist with Somalian roots who was a Dutch politician between 2001 and 2006 and became known for her criticism on Islam. She worked together with Theo van Gogh on the film 'Submission'.

²⁴ T. van Gogh (2004), *Submission part 1*. Consulted on February 20th 2018 on:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6rS8FJyX3gs>

²⁵ Retrieved on <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/bedreiging-hirsi-ali-in-brief-op-lichaam-van-gogh~be126f16/> (22th of May 2019).

²⁶ G. Wilders (2008, march 27th), *Fitna*. Consulted on February 20th 2018 at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2HlptyGvIIY>

bordering (*ibid.* 2001: 34). In the Netherlands these others referred to above, are already present within the actual hard borders and might thus also be part of some form of 'us' opposed to other 'others'. Within the actual Dutch borders, there are thus more borders and orders possible and it is for this case feelings of uncertainty, or mourning for lost greatness as de Koning describes, which for some result in the construction of the specific others embodied by (former) newcomers having a migration background (*ibid.* 2016). These 'newcomers' however do live on the 'good' side of the border opposed to citizens living in neighboring countries, therefor bordering theories of van Houtum could also apply into the other direction and result in finding some kind of sameness opposed to other 'others'. It is however when the experienced threat of populist and right-wing ideas comes in that certain orders are highlighted. It is exactly where these different approaches on the construction of borders collide, this idea of sameness within borders against this construction of social borders, opposing others while sharing space, where ordering and bordering finds populist othering in constructing the 'us' and 'them' in current society.

Ghorashi also shines a light on those others, with a migration background, strengthening their connectedness with each other and with their roots, as opposite to the 'Dutch' perceiving them as a threat and with this embodying a threat themselves (2010). Bear with me as I step into the footsteps of these 'Dutch', is it not a similar effect? As these populist Dutch anxieties are deposited at the address of the citizens with an Islamic background, it are Dutch roots and boundaries which might end up being strengthened and defended. It is the above mentioned uncertainty of one's own, or one's country's future which can result in the scapegoating of citizens with a migration background.

Despite the title of this paragraph, let's however stay aware that this movement is not a one way street, it is not that fear and borders solely result in scapegoating others but it might just as much result in the coming together of individuals. Simmel delves into the interdependence of connection and separation, how the one would have no meaning without the other, rather connection and separation existing as part of the same coin (Simmel 1909/1997). There is bordering, ordering and othering but also, always, there is a possibility of bridging, or an alternative concept called open doors (Van Houtum & Strüver 2002). As the idea of a bridge is connecting one side to another, a bridge means as much a connection as that it embodies the existence of a separation. A door is even more representative of this connecting-separating concept, as a door can be opened and shut, has the ability to include as well as exclude the opposing sides of the door. It is however not the door itself which decides on the ex- nor inclusion, it are people who control the door and decide if one is open to the others behind the door or rather wish to keep strangers out behind closed doors.

Turning back to the Afrikaanderwijk then, this thesis delves into the hard borders of the neighborhood, not just focusing on processes of othering, but therefore thus also looking for what bridges are constructed, and whether people are willing to open their doors. That having said, certain political incentives with a strong focus on differences can bring tensions in mixed neighborhoods like this one, with the possible result of distrust considering what lies behind one's door, expectedly making the construction of certain bridges within borders less likely. Geert Wilders publicly speaks out his fear of the Islamization of the Netherlands, beholding a transformation of the so-called 'modern' cultural norms and values with historical roots in the protestant-catholic Church, into a life under the sharia following the rules of Islam. The popularity of Geert Wilders, however seemingly decreasing again taking last council-elections into account, suggests that he is not alone in this fear; rather it might be shared by a substantial part of the Dutch citizens. As his party the PVV of course stands for more than just this one proposition, his stance in protecting the Netherlands against Islamization can surely be called his 'pet project'. This is in very short the route starting at the arrival of the gastarbeiders, the Moroccan industrial-working migrants, towards their sons becoming one of

the 'kut-Marokkanen', the scapegoats, emblematic for both the typical as the worst-case 'migrants-scenarios' in public, political or media debates in the Netherlands. Beyond this group-versus-group idea, the following paragraph will take a next step into 'the matter of roots'.

Tracing roots or race

The matter of roots

The latest Dutch election on March 15th 2017 revealed the popularity of Wilders at that time, as his party the PVV ended as the second largest party with 13 percent of the votes. On the road towards the election moreover it is not just the PVV which is reacting upon the former mentioned anxieties seemingly experienced by Dutch citizens. The Dutch identity became increasingly present in the public debate and was an important subject of almost all political debate-programs in the run towards the elections. Ghorashi already in 2010 writes how, when after 9/11 the sense of threat gets attached to the 'other', any possibility for a place of tolerance is swept away, letting fear and anger take its place (*ibid*: 110). Violent protests surrounding the 'Zwarte Pieten discussie'²⁷ or the arrival of a new asylum center are displays of this, as 'Dutch citizens' group together as being this representative group of 'real Dutch' to protect the Dutch identity against asylum seekers or people who threaten to change their traditions. Thus somehow, after years of being this country of migration, there are a comprehensive amount of citizens in the Netherlands who still strongly value differences between an 'us' embodied by Dutch citizens, and a 'them' supposedly less so.

In search for an explanation De Koning argues how the colonized past of the Netherlands leaked its feelings of superiority to the 'other' onto contemporary society and its new Dutch citizens, be it 'gastarbeiders', refugees or other migrants. Ulrich Beck shows with a dialogue how the identity of migrants is constructed in a very fixed manner:

A black man in Germany is asked: "Where are you from?"

He answers: "From Munich."

Q: "And your parents?"

A: "Also from Munich."

Q: "And where were they born?"

A: "My mother in Munich."

Q: "And your father?"

A: "In Ghana."

Q: "Ah, so you're from Ghana."

(Beck in Ghorashi (2010: 110)).

This way citizens with a migration background are not considered as 'real' Dutch and the Dutch society is constructed as homogeneously white opposed to the former called 'allochtoon' others, now called citizens with a migration background. These 'others' are thus constructed as outside society, in need of integration and de Koning argues how the Dutch society in this way gets constructed not just as originally white but also as originally 'trouble free', projecting problems and anxieties on to those 'others' on the outskirts of society (2016: 111). This is what Gloria Wekker means with the title of her book *White Innocence*; a strong Dutch attachment to a self-image that

²⁷ Discussions around the topic of Black Pete, a tradition part of Sinterklaas, festivities in the Netherlands focused on children getting presents from this Sinterklaas, and Sinterklaas has 'helpers' played by adults who paint their faces black, dress up and act a bit silly. At one side of the protest are people calling this racism due to resemblances of this Pete with former slaves. On the other side people underscore the fact it's tradition, and a children's party, having nothing to do with slavery but with Dutch culture and tradition, and this should be protected (NRC 2015, retrieved on: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2015/11/30/opinie-natuurlijk-is-zwarte-piet-puur-racisme>1405921 and Volkskrant 2013, retrieved on: <https://www.volkskrant.nl/magazine/-zwarte-piet-is-nooit-een-slaaf-geweest~a3527041/>).

stresses to be a tolerant, small and just ethical nation, colour-blind and free of racism. One that foregrounds being a victim rather than a perpetrator of (inter)national violence (2016: 39). In this book she delves into the denial of racism and the Dutch notion of their benevolent and innocent character, which has a strengthening effect on white privilege. "When fixing the other, one fixes oneself as the other of the other" (Wekker 2016: 41), meaning if the other with a migration background is fixed as bringing trouble, having 'original roots' in the current place is being fixed as trouble free, as innocent.

This 'construction' becomes painfully clear when looking at the way schools or neighborhoods having a high population with a migration background are described and handled within Dutch society. These are called 'black neighborhoods' or 'black schools', and this label gets paired with a negative connotation. It sticks a problematic character on the school or neighborhood as "sites where social problems concentrate" and as a school one would prefer to avoid for their children (De Koning 2015: 1205). This thesis then focuses on what can be, and has been called a 'black neighborhood' and bears such a problematic character as well. Considering processes of exclusion or negative images at play here, the question rises in how far the problems can be shuffled under struggles linked to certain socio-economical positions and status, or differences or clashes in behavior, norms and values between the so-called 'Dutch' versus the 'other', and to what amount it is the concept of 'White innocence' of the Dutch a factor in the process of othering in the Afrikaanderwijk? For all these factors are connected to these othering processes these are all concepts in need of reckoning.

Race or trace

Starting in the late 20th century, several authors write about a so-called new politics of exclusion, as in the 1990's the political right already gained much popularity in Europe, blaming the national crises on the migrants (Gilroy 1987, Vollebergh 2016: 19). Vollebergh effectively brings all literature together to draw a conclusion on the core of these new politics as an essentialist interpretation of culture, with an essential role appointed to rootedness and otherness concerning nation-states (2016: 19). As culture, norms and values become the core of national politics, it shifts the attention from the more biological connotation of race thinking, or racism, towards this cultural version, or 'culturism' as Schinkel calls it (Schinkel 2013: 1144). This paragraph will stress the relevance of racism and culturism in serve of this research.

As there are authors stressing the concept racism, considering the Netherlands as well, there are also authors arguing how within today's society perhaps culturism would be a better suiting term for a comparable construction in society. Racism entails believed differences between people based on one's roots, or as van Dijk defines it in his critical discourse study as "a social system of racial or ethnic domination, consisting of two major subsystems: racist social cognition (prejudices, racist ideologies) underlying racist practices (discrimination)" (van Dijk 2015: 75). The 'ethnic domination' in fact embodies the other side of the coin, as for many the term racism is already refined, perhaps unconsciously, approaching this more cultural meaning of culturism. Vollebergh elaborates how in "a culturalist discourse, cultural difference is presented as absolute, overarching all other difference" (2016: 22), at the core of identity and belonging.

As the non-existence of racism today would be an utopia to pursue, denying its existence would not turn this utopian truth into reality but will rather keep the relation; reality versus utopia, intact. Therefore don't mistake this argument for an argument against the existence of racism today, unquestionably that would be a world to pursue, however former structures have of course left their scars and therefor the acknowledgement of its presence is needed in order to 'deal' with it. Without opposing this argument perhaps one would better recognize or more easily acknowledge the present racist structures under a slightly different connotation. Race is socially constructed, it is linked to relations of power and processes of struggle. Race like gender is real in the sense that it has real, though changing, effects in the world and real, tangible, and complex impacts on individuals' sense of

self and life chances (Wekker 2016:23). However, in order to understand a concept like racism and comprehend its current significance, it is important to acknowledge the context and take into account the fact that times have changed. Wekker writes about “the dreamer of the dream”, with which she aims at the way the system of oppression is lived by the oppressor, the slave master, the white superior selves (2016 :3). This concept might embody the colonial structure in which it is was born and still today comprehend this ‘black and white’ structure of privileges, however these differences were once played out by the categories or status; ‘slave versus master’ but currently, at least in the Dutch (neighborhood) context of this research, the situation is quite different. Looking at the national level, this then ‘nationalist culturalist discourse’ seems not to refer to this so-called ‘biological’, racial or colonial inferior ‘other’ in opposite of the nation but rather to the migrant or to those with a migration background. At the surface, it seems all about the strangers or ‘foreigners’ who have roots elsewhere, and it is this fact of foreign-rootedness what sticks them with the connotation as being fundamentally different, and never really part of the “us” (Vollebergh 2016: 22). At this point not arguing for a displacement of racism by culturism in society, merely perhaps grasping a more comprehensible point of argument, as underlying these constructed differences of migrants, including values of differences depending on certain descent, the former colonial structures can not be pushed aside as ‘former’ alone. One’s roots affects one’s route into and within the Dutch society and the meaning given to both roots and routes does naturally not stand outside this society. That having said, when referring to these differences today, the focus seems mainly on cultural differences and tensions, therefor when referring to race with all its biological or colonial categories, one might find more relevance, or more ease in finding relevance in trace for this case, as the route from one’s roots towards one’s current place of residence is what makes one an ‘other’, is what decides upon one’s belonging in the current place, and one’s belonging to the affiliated population. For this argument or view, this nation or its population is then seen as culturally homogeneous, based on an idea of a history, a present-day constructed memory of a nation filled with peace and unity and a population similarly belonging to this nation, or as Wekker describes it as a nostalgia for an invented unproblematic white Dutch society (Wekker 2016 :108). Vollebergh turns to Gilroy’s view on how the migrants, or those with a migration background, are then threatening this so-imagined ‘cultural integrity’, threatening to disturb this alleged peace within state-lines (2016: 23). Gilroy stresses a certain ‘melancholia’ from citizens back to this time of peace and unity, in which the culture and identity belonging to this nation, as it once was or should be, is what explains the upcoming of certain political agenda’s (2005: 437). This brings us back to the former stressed nationalist politics, right-wing politicians and the Dutch identity playing a role in every active party in the latest national elections in the Netherlands, aiming to redefine or strengthen so-called national culture, identity and values. The question remains however, is this ‘just’ about trace or is it more a matter of current shape or outcome founded on societal structures dating back to times of black and white. In name of this research I would state it is no coincidence that race embodies the greater part of the word trace; one’s (t)race plays a decisive factor in constructing an us and them, and both race and trace should be taken into account in order to understand these processes of othering comprehensively.

2.4 Conclusion

Through the glasses of geographers Tuan (1990) and Lynch (*in* Pearce and Fagenze 1996), this thesis builds upon notions of space and place, starting with *topophilia*; “the effective bond between people and place or setting” (1990: 4). It is people who turn so-called empty space into place and fill this with their desires and dreams, with their experiences and day-to-day actions and decide on what this space beholds (Cresswell 2003). It are the inhabitants who make a place into a neighborhood, and it is of course the neighborhood which transforms people into neighbors. Therefor this thesis starts by focusing on the making of the place, to thereafter delve further into this *topophilia* and

inhabitants belonging to place.

As these theories on space are relevant over time and space, this thesis is situated in today's Dutch Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam. Here we take note of van Houtum's description of ordering and bordering (2002), defining borders as social constructs. It are borders which mark the difference between 'us' and 'here' within the border, opposed to the 'them' and the 'there' beyond the border (Newman 2006). In this case the borders surrounding the neighborhood can result in an 'us' feeling opposed to those living outside these borders, but also, within the borders of this neighborhood, there can be constructed and experienced other borders. It is where bordering collides with processes of othering, with in this case populist mindsets creating different (b)orders within these neighborhood borders. It are these inside neighborhood borders which brought this thesis into this particular neighborhood, where these worldly present politics of today are a day to day reality on these streets. With these politics referring to the increasing popular populist politics with a prominent role appointed to national identity. In several countries, the Netherlands being one of them, 'anxious politics' seem to be at play, with fears allegedly rooted or at least strengthened with the event of the attacks on the twin towers (Rodrik 2017). De Koning (2016) then argues how this fear of the other is mostly felt in cities where many close encounters with diversity are part of one's everyday life. It is where one mourns of lost greatness, hegemony and homogeneity, experience a strong sense of who belongs and where 'newcomers', the constructed others, are seen as problematic and lead to a feeling of losing control, a sense of disregard and dominated, loss of familiar surroundings and rights (ibid. :101). This fear finds its seeds in the perception of the nation as being a well-oiled homogeneous nation with shared values and lived norms, and the lack of these 'newcomers' to run on that same oil without causing some malfunction in the 'machinery' of the nation. These fears then feed the making of these categories of others in a spatialized manner, reconfiguring belonging, not-belonging or less-belonging to a nation, or any other bordered space. These categories of others are then not just cognitive categories, but entail affective and moral dimensions. The others then are mostly those rooted elsewhere, having a migration background. De Koning (2016) and Wekker (2016) emphasize the role of race and racism in these categorizations, but as this thesis focuses on the practical level of a neighbourhood, Schinkel's term culturism gets brought in as well (2013: 1144), where in current neighbourhood contexts most attention seems to go out to one's trace following their routes as root for one's cultural norms and values (Vollebergh 2016).

The relevance of the neighbourhood in question, the Afrikaanderwijk, is that on a very small and local level, inhabitants of this neighbourhood share 'their' place with the other, so-called newcomers, the one's supposedly less belonging. In the last election the right wing populist party the PVV scored very high in this neighbourhood, where the majority has a background tracing back to Turkey and this PVV has a rather negative stance on newcomers and their effect on the 'real Dutch' population and society. When social theory delves into processes of othering and polarization, the sharing of a personal space comes in and everyday encounters are theoretically expected to influence the outcome of these processes. Sharing space within borders might lead to certain us-feelings opposed to others beyond these borders. This neighborhood then seems a unique place to approach an understanding of the creation of the other whilst living together day by day.

3. Methods

In this chapter the choices and use of the methods for this research will be set out and explained. The methods were used to answer the following research question:

How does living in- and identifying with the same space effect the identification with the 'other' just outside the doorstep, focusing on right-wing sympathizers increasingly sharing the space of the Afrikaanderwijk with their neighboring 'others' with a migration background?

In order to answer this question, answers are sought for the following sub-questions:

- *What do inhabitants of the neighborhood see as the neighborhood? What/who is in/out?*
- *How do inhabitants of the neighborhood experience spatial belonging to the neighborhood? (bordering)*
- *How do inhabitants experience social belonging in the neighborhood? (othering)*
- *Is there an experience of hoodizenship in the neighborhood context? (benevolence, ethical responsibility, rights/plights)*
- *How is the other constructed in the neighborhood? (who, how, why)*
- *How is the self (white self) constructed in the neighborhood?*
- *How are these processes of othering structured; racism/culturism?*

3.1 Type of research

Processes of othering, bordering and place making concern qualitative rather than quantitative data, which behold not just subjective ideas and experiences but also unconscious processes. Analyzing these concepts in the context of a neighborhood is challenging and depends on several fields of research. Experiences of neighborhood-citizenship, *hoodizenship*, and processes of othering stresses among other things subjective stories rather than objective numbers, quantities or facts. Therefore a holistic approach is needed, based on qualitative research. Qualitative research keeps an open window for unexpected findings, unconsciously hidden information or new developed questions during the research which in the theory or interviews did not deemed important, or did not come up at all (DeWalt en DeWalt 2002). Former research has shown however that how people say they'll act or react in certain situations, often is not in line with their actual actions in real life. This brings forward the important research method within qualitative research, being participant observation. This kind of research makes it possible to really come to the depth of understanding on a deeper level than any other method, by actually being present and take part in the site of research (Taylor, Bogdan & DeVault 2015: 104). Through really *being there*, making use of all one's senses, participating in daily or routine activities and having small talk, one is not just getting information or becoming familiar with the daily course of events but will also be able to build more confidential relationships with the people around, possible future informants (DeWalt en DeWalt 2002).

The neighborhood in question, the Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam-South, is a mixed neighborhood where approximately half of the inhabitants voted for DENK and the other half for the PVV. For two months, at least two sometimes three times a week, I participated and observed at location. From walking around, addressing people on the street, to having a drink or a meal at someplace and meeting people there, to even ringing doors. By being there at a regular basis, returning to the same places, people started to know and trust me and I was establishing my *rapport* with informants. Through a snowball effect these informants helped me enlarging my network towards a complete and honest representation.

For this research, as is not unfamiliar in qualitative research, the sample, N, is quite small. The research question already focusses on a selective group within the neighborhood, and in order to put this group in a little perspective, all kinds of hoodizens were categorized in three made-up "hoodizen-types": type 1: the clear-headed (so and so), type 2: the bright-eyed (he-ho let's go!) and type 3: the fixed-sight (you stop you go). Type 1 inhabitants look at things in a rather simple and clear manner, type 2 share a rather positive and open attitude and type 3 are the inhabitants with a more black- and white view of society shared by right-wing sympathizers and thus the population of interest in this thesis. More elaboration on these hoodizen-types is presented in the paragraph on hoodizens found in the empirical chapter. In order to create a more inclusive image of the neighborhood, all types were in need for some meddling, but of course the hoodizens embodying the actual research population are dominating the main empery. The hoodizen types are invented solely and only for the use of this research. It is a way of catching several informants who have similar

attitudes or opinions on matters of relevance, and presenting differences between these types. Just as “[i]ntersectionality captures the recognition that difference is located not in the spaces between identities but in the spaces within” (Valentine 2007: 12), it are the hoodizen types which cannot be seen as actual categories, for which also accounts that the most interesting in these categories, might be what lies within. It is only within where the answer to the research question can be found, and these categories are only a tool in ordering and presenting data. On that note, using the opinions on a specific hoodizen for one specific type, does not mean that this hoodizen agrees with all the general ideas belonging to that type, perhaps only on one aspect but more elaboration on this in the empirical chapter.

3.2 Handling data

Throughout the research, all informants were asked for informed consent, meaning not a word is used of someone who did not know it was in name of this research, and had first agreed before continuing the conversation. In order to protect the ethics of the research all names were changed and some information belonging to some individuals were mixed in order to make it harder to link the data with one’s opinions. The self-made hoodizen types are also useful to protect the anonymity of the informants anonymous, as it gave the possibility to consider it as a group rather than a specific inhabitant. Also in the map the names of cafés are changed, but of course this effect is limited as one can walk around and easily find out the real names, still this way preventing to link the name of a bar to certain ideas propagated by its visitors. As an addition to verbal data, the inhabitants are invited to draw a map of their perception of the neighborhood. They were presented a map of Rotterdam, including the Afrikaanderwijk, and asked to color the aspects of Lynch’s map making; draw the boundaries of their neighbourhood in the city map and colour the spaces they actually know and go.

Based on an official census, other research or talks, the demographics of the neighborhood are constructed. Small talk, conversations and several kinds of interviews will serve as further important methods for data collection. Small talk and conversations are very open and unstructured and serve very well to get a full understanding of the themes that are relevant and alive in the livelihoods of the population. Informal and un- and semi-structured interviews are more prepared, and instead of merely listening and letting the informant do the talking, here more specific questions are asked. This is used as a follow-up tactic, to support the first data found in the field.

A recorder was used, always with informed consent of the interviewed person in question, in order to not miss any information given in the interview. This was always in combination with a notepad, to be able to take note of certain expressions at certain times within the interview.

As qualitative research results in stories rather than numbers, analysing the data is a challenging business. All interviews together with information of the informants are collected and added to Nvivo, a software program to support qualitative and mixed research by helping researchers to organize, analyse and find insights considering the retrieved data. Based on the theory and the relevant outcome of my interviews the main nodes are selected in which the data can be organised in Nvivo. These nodes can be found in the appendix.

3.3 Indignation

In every research the question of the influence of the researcher and the choices made in theory and practice on the retrieved data is of importance, and in qualitative research even more so, as the individual is present in the actual field of research. Nader (1996) describes how ideal scientific research is merely assumed to be objective, detached and serves a neutral scientific goal, free of values. Anthropologists, as beacons for qualitative research, are known for their relativistic stance, not for their personal political involvement for structural change. Combining my anthropological bachelors study with a master in Human Geography, ending up doing qualitative research, my

possible anthropological glasses cannot be ignored. Whereas in qualitative research, the researcher is personally involved with the subject of study, “being there”, participating and observing, the involvement of the researcher as a person is substantive. Therefore, the “objective researcher” is something already refuted and transformed in the need of acknowledging one’s personal involvement (DeWalt en DeWalt 2002).

As scientific research has the ability to feed the public opinion with knowledge, there is a responsibility here one should not deny. As Nader elaborates how “democracy is not possible without well-informed citizens who have access to a wide range of ideas” (Nader 1996: 4), it are scientists among others who have the ability to construct these ideas. Anthropologist then seem to mostly study what they like, “we prefer the underdog” argues Nader (1996 :19). However, by presenting the ‘suffering’ of the underdog without taken note of the ‘lucky few’, the powerful, or the ‘guilty parties’ these inequalities are hardly touched upon. Nader then elaborates on the importance of ‘studying up, down and sideways’ in order to grasp the logics of society and shed light on the web of power (ibid). For my research I deliberately chose to take not the stance of the suffering underdog one would take as the depicted victim at first. Instead of giving a stage to the voices of those who so often come up in social research in as for example victims of discrimination, I want to hear the voice of an other side of the public debate. I am indignant by the rise of right-wing politics, my blood pumps up when hearing groups applaud for their own people first: ‘eigen volk eerst’, and a negative image of these citizens is easily shared, despite the fact that their feelings might be shared by a substantive number of citizens. As once again, democracy is not possible without well-informed citizens, what is the meaning than of a democracy where only shallow voices are heard, emptied of their reason by being framed as brutal or ignorant. As this feeling is shared by a substantive number of citizens, it is this feeling which is in need of understanding.

Not surprisingly then, I have indignation as a motive for my research and aim to act as a responsible citizen part of society. A certain politically relevant contribution then, should not entail a manifesto in the way of losing its scientific reliability. With indignation as a motive one should take one’s own opinion into account to beware of coloured research, but to deny any opinion is to deny one’s own participation in today’s society. So instead of aiming for a ‘better’ more equal world by showing the necessities or inequalities of it, I op for the necessity of understanding the population we live in of which the growing popularity for right-wing or nationalist parties makes a part.

4. Empirical chapter

In this chapter the empirical data found in the field is linked with the theory described in the former theoretical chapter. Firstly a general sketch of the population encountered will be made, followed by a description of the focused population whose stories and experiences are used to answer the research question. In the chapter ‘The Hood’ the words of the population are used to draw the borders of the neighborhood. This means that the edges, nodes and districts will be mapped and described in the way experienced by the inhabitants. Hoodizens can’t be described as hoodizens without taking note of their own notion of this, therefor the following paragraph will delve into how the focused hoodizens experience their selves within the neighborhood. In the chapter ‘filling the streets’ the former mapped streets and districts will be filled with memories, experiences and feelings. As these chapters are all focused on one’s connection with the neighborhood, this connection is not as strong for everybody, and with everybody sharing their neighborhood. In focusing on the changes and developments considering the neighborhood, in the chapter ‘Winds of Change’ the process of othering will come forward.

As this neighborhood is a very diverse neighborhood with many faces, it is important not to draw a generalizing image based on a select part of the neighborhood, but also bring voice to inhabitants with different opinions or lives. The focus lies on the white population, so inhabitants

with other backgrounds are a more silent factor in this case. Within the white population there were different attitudes towards life and this neighborhood to be found, hereunder classified in three different types:

- Type 1: The clear-headed (so and so)
- Type 2: The bright-eyed (he-ho let's go!)
- Type 3: The fixed-sight (you stop you go)

In the course of this thesis these types will be used to illustrate different attitudes towards similar cases or situations, with type 3, the fixed-sight, especially, as this is the category mostly filled with the right-wing sympathizers, experiencing (neighborhood-)life in a rather straightforward way. Firstly the following chapter will describe in further detail the population and the above mentioned types.

4.1 The hood and its hoodizens

General hoodizens

In the paragraph focusing on the population of the Afrikaanderwijk, the very mixed character of this neighborhood became clear. The neighborhood is among others home to inhabitants with Turkish, Surinamese, Antillean and 'Dutch' backgrounds. This research however only focuses on a specific part of the hoodizens and with this does not implicate in any means to say something about all Afrikaanderwijkers in general. The mood of the focused population is perhaps rather negative, while many positive tones do fill the air within the Afrikaanderwijk as well. The multicultural character of a neighborhood like the Afrikaanderwijk seemingly has very divergent effects. For some people it is a point of attraction, it is something desired and something celebrated. For others it is something experienced as rather destructive, standing in the way of their peaceful way of living. For the sake of structure and clarity, these different approaches and attitudes to living in similar circumstances are here categorized into these three types. Individuals are however impossible to classify within three categories, and every person is its own mix and could not completely fit one category. It is for the sake of clarity that these categories will be used, but when quoting individuals for arguments in a certain category, it is not that that individual is classified or can be identified by that category. For the fixed-sight hoodizens however this is less so, as this is the category entailing the focused population of this thesis and therefor this category is merely filled by specifically chosen hoodizens. The deeper meaning of these categories will become increasingly clear throughout the course of this thesis but firstly here a short description is necessary.

- Type 1: The clear-headed (so and so)
- Type 2: The bright-eyed (he-ho let's go!)
- Type 3: The fixed-sight (you stop you go)

Type 1, the clear-headed, entails inhabitants who look at things as if they're all rather simple and clear, with a dispassionate attitude these inhabitants can be described as down-to-earth. As if they take note of situation, shrug their shoulders and conclude "well I could have strong opinions about it all, but that won't change the fact that it's just the way it is, nothing to do about it, it's just so and so".

Type 2, the bright-eyed, entails inhabitants who share a rather positive and open attitude towards the now and the future. This is a more energized category with inhabitants who look at problems and see possibilities, who look at destructed walls and see room for street-art, who look at children hanging on the streets and see future sportsmen or artists. These inhabitants have a rather bright outlook on the future, as if they take note of the situation, get excited and shout out "he ho,

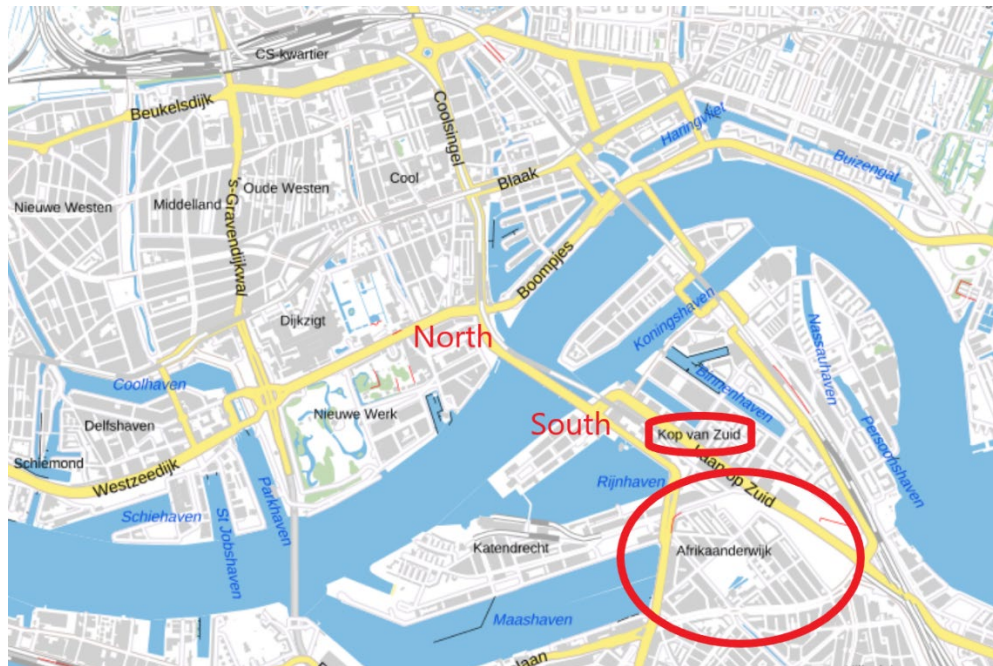
let's go! Let's come together and build our future!"

Type 3, the fixed-sight, is the category where one can find the focused population of this thesis and are indeed sympathizers of right-wing populist parties. These inhabitants share a rather fixed opinion on things, as if all is already decided upon, left is left and right is right, to even left is wrong and right is right. They share this rather black-and-white view on how other people are different, and therefore incapable of really living together. As if they took note of the situation, see a for them unknown, different or 'other' people entering their neighborhood and only depending on their looks deciding upon who's welcome; "you stop, you go!".

The hood

Borders and orders

The Afrikaanderwijk, as explained in the context chapter, is by some seen as 'the heart' of Rotterdam South. When crossing the bridge leaving North behind, one firstly arrives at the 'Kop van Zuid', the flagship of the city when it comes to urban development (see figure 5). This project started already in the late 1980s, and finished together with the Erasmus bridge which was completed in 1996, resulting in a new connection between the hip and central north of Rotterdam and this South-Rotterdam, long-time carrier of a bad image, now presented as ready for development (Doucet, van Kempen & van Weesep 2011: 1443). As this can be seen as the first step connecting south with north, the Afrikaanderwijk itself was still very much enclosed. Dikes and train tracks were the barriers surrounding the neighbourhood and the crossings of these barriers had the outlook fitting the negative image of the neighbourhood; ill-maintained steps, scattered with trash and old graffiti. It was when the municipality started the developments of the entrances of the Afrikaanderwijk, when the image of this neighbourhood got included in the process (Stadsontwikkeling, Ruimtelijke Ordening, 2011). As this is a more factual approach to the neighborhood, the theoretical chapter laid out how this thesis focuses on the neighborhood as experienced by the hoodizens. It are their paths and their edges, their districts, nodes and landmarks which will together create this lived map of the Afrikaanderwijk within the following paragraphs. In order for the paragraphs to follow to go deeper into the relation with and to the neighborhood, the neighborhood will be 'mapped' by using the framework of Lynch, with the elements paths, nodes, landmarks, districts and edges (Pearce & Fagenze 1996: 581).



4. *Map of Rotterdam*. Retrieved on www.ruimtelijkeplannen.nl

Edges and districts

In order to discuss an area, the edges of this area are of fundamental significance. The Afrikaanderwijkers were all quite unanimous considering the neighborhood's external borders, as Lynch called it for his framework (Pearce & Fagenze 1996: 581). The dikes create a 'natural' hard border dividing the within from the beyond. On the other sides there are the bigger roads with tram tracks which are quite difficult to cross and therefore as well are unmistakably 'hard' borders of the Afrikaanderwijk. There was however one area of discussion considering the *Brede Hilledijk* enclosing the neighborhood at one side. It is in between de 'Kop van Zuid' and the Brede Hilledijk where new apartment-blocks are built and are now home to many Afrikaanderwijkers who had to move out of their former homes in the Afrikaanderwijk due to renovations. Susan is one of those people and stated how she had to move out of the *Leeuwenkuil*, how her children's and grandchildren's childhood's home had to be left behind to be demolished in order to make place for new plans. She had to move into one of those new apartment-blocks; the Zuiderspoor complex.

"We didn't know any better or this was part of the neighborhood, always. Not that if it was not, we didn't go but this is what several officials told us. They probably could not care less, but for me there are feelings involved" (Susan, 5 March 2018).

Susan continues on these feelings explaining how these city renewal plans started with patching up the border areas, as the literal outer appearance of the neighborhood, these developments should still be in line with the character of the 'inner circle' of the neighborhood. With this inner circle she is referring mostly to the inhabitants of this neighborhood, but before delving into that however, the spatial inner circle will first be handled.

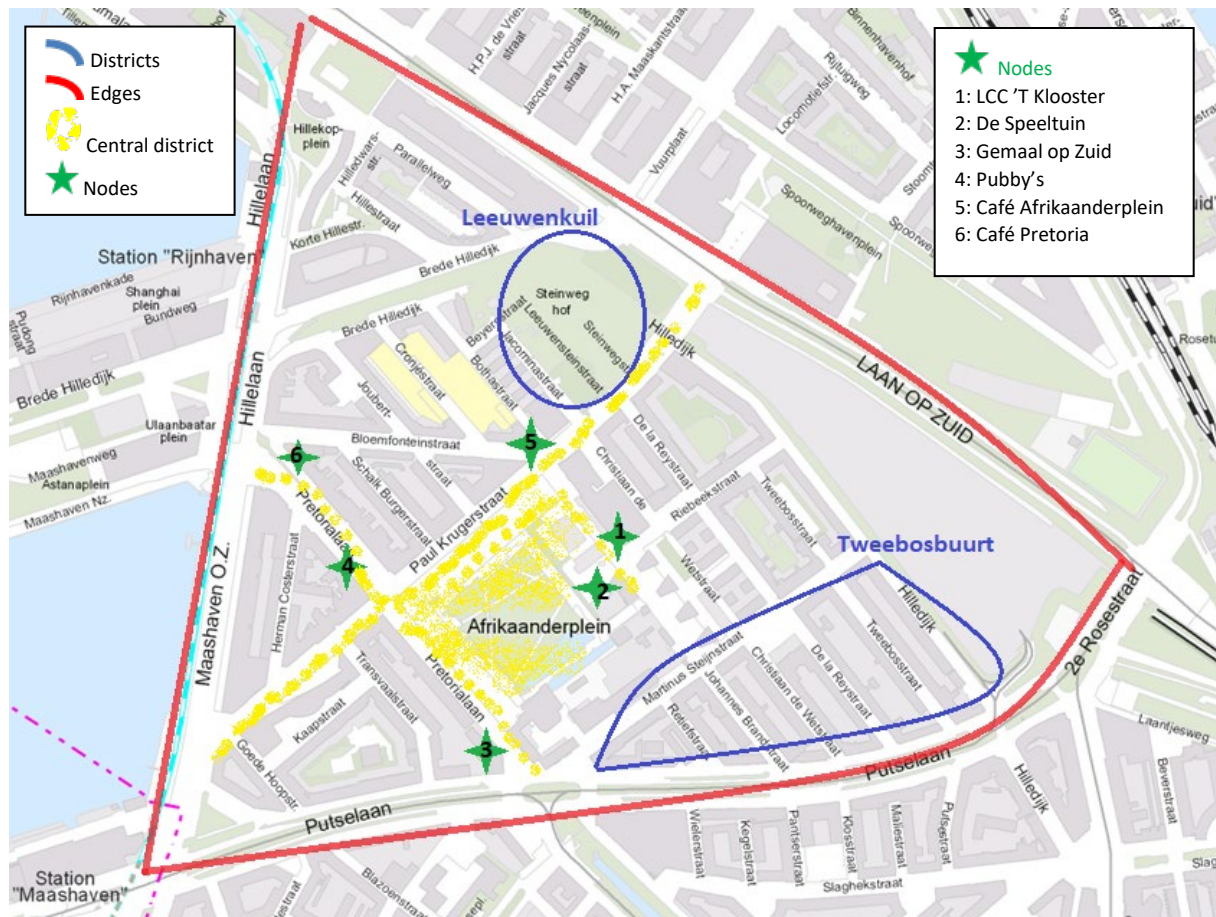
Within the Afrikaanderwijk there are some edges as well, differentiating the neighborhood in districts. There is the central point of the Afrikaanderwijk, this is where everybody can be found once in a while, this is where the market is and where the shops and cafés can be found. The Afrikaanderplein with the park, the surrounding streets and the main streets leading here can be seen as the central district; Afrikaanderplein, Pretorialaan and the Paul Krugerstraat. As this is a district, these streets of course also function as paths on which hoodizens move (see figure 6).

Not really part of a center but not solely a living district either, are the Putselaan, the Maashaven Oostzijde and the Hillelaan (almost an extension of the Pretorialaan), figuring as edge of the neighborhood but also home to many shops and cafés, as many people pass by here on route by feet, bike, car, tram or subway. These streets thus function as paths for many people from other areas as well.

Another district is the Leeuwenkuil (see figure 6), this is the former mentioned area from which inhabitants were displaced in name of renewal plans carried out by Vestia. This '*kuil*', Dutch for pit, got heightened in order to connect this area with the neighboring Parkstad, the new area ought to host housing, shops and even sport and swimming facilities (Vestia 2010: 38²⁸). Currently this district is an emptied area containing memories of home (Susan 05/03/2018). This leads to the bordering area Laan op Zuid and Zuiderspoor, which used to be more disconnected but after the above mentioned plans became easier to reach for the Afrikaanderwijk. Also, many hoodizens who used to live in the Leeuwenkuil just like Susan, were given a home here at Laan op Zuid, connecting not just geographically but also emotionally with the Afrikaanderwijk. Susan said that to her shock, she found out that in the voting for the community council, officially she was not part of the Afrikaanderwijk anymore and her vote would belong to another district. She and other (slightly displaced) Afrikaanderwijkers are however protesting against this (5 March 2018).

Furthermore there are of course all other streets and residential areas which do not really stand out, except for the Tweebosbuurt also highlighted in figure 6, due to its rather negative image. The Tweebosbuurt is the part people supposedly see as the 'bad part of the neighborhood' (Julia 21 February 2018). This is the place where the street-waste issue seems at its most vivid, and the sphere has a more distant and anonymous feel to it. Julia explains how the structure of the houses play a part in this, having a less open character in this area (21 February 2018). Walking through the Tweebosstraat and surrounding streets, one will observe that this is also the part of the neighborhood where renovations are perhaps most needed but until now has been left out or skipped of the developments and renovation plans. The fact that renovations are perhaps needed but are changing the neighborhood, is of course reflected in the feelings of the hoodizens. A consensus on these developments however seems absent and the ways these are interpreted seems to fit right into the Afrikaanderwijk-types, but more on this whilst walking down 'memory lane' in the latter chapter 4.2 *Filling the streets*.

²⁸ Retrieved on: Retrieved from: <https://docplayer.nl/1418948-Ik-doe-eigenlijk-alleen-maar-leuke-dingen.html> (April 4th 2019)



5. Edges, Districts and nodes. Retrieved on www.maps.google.nl ²⁹

Nodes

The Afrikaanderwijk is a neighborhood with different faces, with different parts having different characters. In the center of the neighborhood lies of course the Afrikaanderplein, a big open space which serves partly as a park and is also home to a playground belonging to the community center which is called likewise 'De Speeltuín' (Dutch for playground). Here things like Bingo for elderly, dart matches for adolescence and other game- or market days for all ages take place³⁰. The most significant use of this Afrikaanderplein is that of the open space, reserved for the Afrikaandermarkt twice a week. The square and especially this market thus serve as the center and most important node and landmark of this neighborhood. The openness of the space here does something with the openness of people states Julia (bright-eyed)³¹. She has done social work or teaching in many areas within the neighborhood, and having experienced different areas for a longer time she argues how she feels a difference. On the streets surrounding the Afrikaanderplein one can find shops, barbers, a bakery, coffee shops and cafés. There is also a primary school and the community center LCC 'T Klooster to be found, and just around the corner one can find the swimming pool.

It doesn't matter who you are, what background you have, what color is your skin or where you live in the Afrikaanderwijk, everybody makes use of this open space to some amount. Be it solely for groceries, shopping or for the pleasure of meeting neighbors; this is the main node of this

²⁹ Map retrieved from:

<https://www.google.nl/maps/place/Afrikaanderwijk,+Rotterdam/@51.9015684,4.4978366,16z/data=!3m1!1e1!4m5!3m4!1s0x47c4330d18bbe411:0x6b18a289e3f180df!8m2!3d51.899868!4d4.5018283>

³⁰ Informed at De Speeltuín (29 January), Interview Janet (1 February), Karim (15 January) 2018

³¹ Interview (21 February 2018)

neighborhood, Lynch's term for the focal point of concentrated public activity (Pearce & Fagenze 1996: 581). Susan says that now she moved away from her former home, the market is the place she still meets and talks to her former neighbors. Although all hoodizens I spoke with agree that the market is not what it used to be, everybody can be found here once in a while. With some however this is paired with frustration, with some 'mourning for lost greatness' complaining about how all variation has left the market, how it's all run by a few people and how all Dutch stalls (with Dutch owners) are leaving, as Angela³² complains but gets concurred by many others as well.³³ This will be further stressed going on the 'memory lane' as part of one's hoodizenship.

Other nodes that were found relevant to Afrikaanderwijkers refer more to locations indoors. There is LCC 'T Klooster, the above mentioned community center in which organization Humanitas has just taken over the steering wheel. During the time of this research it developed from organizational bits and pieces within an old, bald and badly maintained building, into this fresh and new more welcoming hall with a cozy looking reading- and coffee corner and a busy program striving to fulfill an including community service center, acknowledging the hardships of the inhabitants of this specific neighborhood.³⁴ Another, different kind of community building is Gemaal op Zuid, this old steam pumping station gives now shelter to many things, corporations, meetings, workshops and neighborhood community activity. It has a certain artsy and hip appearance, which is both complimented as criticized by hoodizens.

The pub *Pubby's*,³⁵ also the pub used for the introduction of this thesis, turned out to be an important node, specifically for my focused population. This is the local pub where mainly the older white residents come together on a daily basis to laugh, gossip, drink and complain. Even former hoodizens, who've exchanged the Afrikaanderwijk for a more quiet neighbourhood, still visit this pub to meet with their former neighbours. *Café Afrikaanderplein*³⁶ is a similar case, another café also mainly filled with older white residents or former residents of the Afrikaanderwijk. In these both nodes it is thus mainly the more black and white thinking 'type 3 hoodizens' filling their days here.

The opposite seems true for the newer coffeehouse Pretoria³⁷, this is a rather hip and modern café right at the corner of Pretorialaan and the Hillelaan, bordering the tram tracks and thus the outside of the neighbourhood. This coffee-place seems mainly to attract the more open and positive thinking 'type 2 hoodizens'. Also, as this café is really at the outskirts of the Afrikaanderwijk and really close to several corporations settled just outside the Afrikaanderwijk, it makes a perfect spot for lunch breaks or small work-related meetings.

4.2 Filling the streets

This chapter will move through the neighborhood by following inhabitants' paths in order to 'fill the streets' with their experiences considering the neighborhood. Besides the central district, the yellow area in the map above (figure 6), every hoodizen has their own path of movement, mostly connecting their nodes beyond the hood, with their home and nodes within the neighborhood. The nodes and districts in the map entail the physical space; Lefebvre's perceived concrete space which the hoodizens encounter in their daily life (Purcell 2002). How they perceive the space they move through depends on their experiences, their relations and their memories. This paragraph will then fill the above presented 'empty' paths and spaces with experiences, thoughts and memories in order

³² Interview (7 February 2018)

³³ Interview: Donna, Paul (7 February), Ronald (15 February), Informal conversation: several bar guests (10 January) 2018

³⁴ Conversation with representative Humanitas in the Afrikaanderwijk 24 January 2018

³⁵ For anonymity reasons within this thesis the pub will be referred to by the false name of *Pubby's*

³⁶ For anonymity reasons within this thesis this café will be referred to by the false name of *Café Afrikaanderplein*

³⁷ As there is no further reference to owners or employees of this café, here the original name is chosen.

to come to Lefebvre's lived space (2002), or how Massey describes space as full, filled with every possible connection with anywhere, anytime (2004). This becomes clear when looking at the differences in the perception of the neighborhood of several hoodizens. Where Julia, Carol or Karim describe the Afrikaanderwijk in such a different way as Angela, Maria or Jack do, it is clear that the space of a neighborhood is a contested place, depending on the people as John also argues³⁸. So let's follow the people.

Roots in the hood

The good old days

"Everybody knew everybody, those were good times, always" Patricia explains.³⁹ The Afrikaanderwijk is a folk neighborhood, people really feel they have a history here and brought books to share pictures and stories of how it used to be. Patricia, born in Afrikaanderwijk, works for almost forty years at Pubby's now, and this place, the work and the customers are all really part of her life, part of who she is.⁴⁰ She brought a little map to the interview with books and news articles about the Afrikaanderwijk, not only presenting the old neighborhood but also proudly some personal references to her and her café, for example in the time of the riots in the Afrikaanderwijk in 1972. Not only Patricia but also John, Susan and Jack brought books and pictures of their neighborhood, their history. Bringing up memories pulled other costumers into the conversation as well, an older lady who used to live in the Afrikaanderwijk around 1990, tells about how there used to be a fair and ice-skate-track at the Afrikaanderplein, where children used to meet and play together. "Before there was a market here, there used to be all kinds of things on the square, like a bandstand, with actual Dutch music yes!"⁴¹ Laughter got mixed with reactions of approval, "Dutch music"⁴², yes, those were the times", says the man sitting next to the lady; "when we knew one another, when someone in the neighborhood passed away, everyone used to hang white sheets out the windows, as sign of respect. Those were the good days yes, now it's all different of course."⁴³

All these memories of these Afrikaanderwijkers really make the Afrikaanderwijk an intrinsic part of their lives. Thinking about their youth would take them into the neighborhood. The 'good old days' they talk about, all took place in this neighborhood. On these streets they became the persons they are today and thus this neighborhood is settled firmly in their narrative. Antonsich called this the autobiographic factor, connecting these individuals to a place where memories and emotions are linked to or with this place that was or still today serves as a place where one feels at home, creating or strengthening a feeling of belonging to this neighborhood (2010).

It's all about the people

John however states how for him, home is with the people. He lived here all his life but emphasizes that for him it is the people who really make the neighborhood. Having spent so much time in this neighborhood he knows many people, and many people know him, this creates a familiarity and feeling of safety in the neighborhood and makes him never want to leave. "Honkvast" he calls it, which means staying at base, staying where you are.⁴⁴ This not only applies to John but to many others as well, even very 'bright-eyed' Afrikaanderwijker Julia, who has traveled and lived

³⁸ Interview (23 February 2018)

³⁹ Group conversation at Pubby's (10 January 2018)

⁴⁰ Interview Patricia (22 January 2018)

⁴¹ Group conversation at Pubby's (19 January 2018)

⁴² The Dutch music meant here aims at folksy songs in Dutch, mainly sentimental/emotional songs about life and love, easy to sing-along.

⁴³ Group Conversation at Pubby's (19 January 2018)

⁴⁴ Interview John (23 February 2018)

around the world, states how she will always return to the Afrikaanderwijk, as this is her home.⁴⁵

Both John and Julia explain how they are be proud to be Rotterdammer, proud to be south.⁴⁶ Years ago, before the renovations of the Afrikaanderwijk, the neighborhood used to be really closed off. More importantly, the Afrikaanderwijk used to have a very bad image, it was seen as an “*afvalputje*”, the social drain of society is how Julia described it (*ibid.*). This image together with the seclusion of the Afrikaanderwijk laid the grounds for a so-called Calimero-effect,⁴⁷ it only created a stronger “us against the world” idea, and this feeling is shared by all types of hoodizens from bright-eyed Julia to clear-headed John, from fixed-sight Jack to the Islamic Berat with a Turkish background. Against this bad image received, all hoodizens with all their differences within this neighborhood share a common outsider, and thus share a common ground which entails more than only the actual ground one walks upon. It is this common ground of differences then, which gets so often described as characteristic for the Afrikaanderwijk. A poor neighborhood, “messy but cozy” as Rob describes it.⁴⁸ This cozy messiness according to Rob is what Angela describes as downright terrible, trashy and ruined compared to how it was before. The messiness is however something agreed upon, as also goes for the cultural variety in the neighborhood. Observing the Afrikaanderwijk and listening to the hoodizens, the Afrikaanderwijk is a cultural mix when it comes to language; with Dutch being not always the leading language, or when it comes to religion, as the mosque and Islam are clearly present for the Islamic hoodizens, side by side with atheists, Christians, Hindus or Buddhists. Therefor one can really speak of a mix when it comes to ways of constructing lives, with different norms and values. The current influx of “*bakfietsmoeders*”,⁴⁹ as Lisa describes it, and the interest of the creative corner of society bringing art galleries into the old steam building, to even organized walking tours taking tourists or other interested through the ‘hidden opportunities in this poor neighborhood’⁵⁰ attracts people from all segments of society.⁵¹ As John explains how home is with the people, how it is about knowing people, and people knowing you, the great influx of new people, of ‘others’, not surprisingly does bring changes to this *honk* within John’s *Honkvast*-ness. In the later chapter ‘Winds of change’ this will be further handled, first the streets are in need of more filling.

Safe and sound

“I am not so easily scared” was Angela’s answer to my question about how she feels, living in the Afrikaanderwijk of today.⁵² She is one of the fixed-sight hoodizens who is quite clear on the sphere on the streets these days. Also Janet and Jack argue how they both always avoid to go out on the streets after nightfall. Angela tells stories about fights and even shootings just outside her door, never without mentioning the color of the skin of the perpetrators, which is without exception, always non-white. Patricia tells how her son received several portions of beatings in his upbringing, always by Moroccan and Turkish boys, and with a lack of input from their parents to possibly sort things out. “Well since then, it’s not that I hate them, I just don’t want anything to do with them” Janet explains (1 February 2018). It is not only about fights, but also traffic behavior or politeness of the kids on the streets which are often mentioned effectuating, or perhaps standing in the way of

⁴⁵ Julia (21 February 2018).

⁴⁶ ‘South’ in this case refers to south-Rotterdam (*Zuiderling* in Dutch).

⁴⁷ Calimero refers to a cartoon about the small black chicken Calimero, who is struggling with the unfairness of its tiny size. Calimero-effect is now officially recognized as eponym by the leading Dutch dictionary Van Dale referring to the feeling of not being taken serious due to a limited size.

⁴⁸ Interview Rob (7 February 2018), other café owner in the Afrikaanderwijk.

⁴⁹ Bakfietsmoeders, a today’s often used Dutch term, literally cargo-bike-mothers, representing the yuppie-moms in the middle/higher segment of society.

⁵⁰ Personally joined a tour from organization ‘Wijsje’ 24/02/2018 (<http://www.wijsje.com/>).

⁵¹ Interview with Lisa (7 February 2018).

⁵² Interview with Angela (7 February 2018).

these hoodizens feeling safe and sound. These feelings are responsible for hoodizens like Rose to move out, hoping for times to change in the Afrikaanderwijk to then move back to the place she calls home. "I cannot even walk the streets in a summer-dress anymore without being called a whore!" (12 March 2018).

Julia then comes with a whole different, bright-eyed story explaining how she have never felt unsafe in this neighborhood. "There used to be many junkies hanging outside, and sure they did some shady stuff, but they always greeted me friendly, even walked me safely home. So if anything, they made me feel more safe!" (21 February 2018). She explains how "it is about getting to know each other before one can realize we all want the same thing, we all want safety for our children and streets that are clean" (*ibid*). John, with a more clear-headed view, says that "you get what you give", he states it is mainly one's appearance what causes for possible trouble with others, and he explains to have never felt unsafe in the Afrikaanderwijk (23 February 2018).

Safety evidently is not a consensual subject for the Afrikaanderwijkers, but besides the cultural variety there is another consensus to be found, all hoodizens acknowledge that there is a problem with waste in the Afrikaanderwijk. Little plastic bags drift along with the wind and other plastic trash or cans are scattered over the pavement. Walking around one can hear the noise of tinkling cans rolling over the streets due to the wind or by the feet of kicking children. Even the big bins are surrounded with garbage bags, ripped open by cats and rats. Everybody realizes that the market is a big part of the problem, as twice a week many people enter the neighborhood and visit this market, buying products which gets then packaged in plastic bags, or visitors eat things out of paper bags or napkins. Twice a week then, some of this ends up on the street. This does not cover the whole problem of waste, as the garbage bags surrounding the bins are from Afrikaanderwijkers, and the bulky garbage thrown outside on a random day, instead of the specific bulky-waste pick up days, are logically also from the people who live here. The bread left-overs on the streets, another acknowledged problem for all hoodizens, has not even been mentioned yet, which is less a problem on itself as it is for attracting rats into the neighborhood. As for the litter, the problems are there, acknowledged by all, it is the notion of the source of the problem however, what divides the hoodizens once again.

Angela, as representative for the fixed-sight hoodizens, imputes it all on the "mentality of the foreigners" which "terribly annoys me", says Angela (2 February 2018). Others also note how "they just throw their garbage on the streets" (Paul, 7 February 2018), or "the parents just don't teach their children what is right" (Jack 15 February 2018). John, as a clear-headed hoodizen, merely points out how the parents send their children to take care of the garbage, and when the children see a garbage bag standing beside the bin, they just place theirs right next to it (23 February 2018). Bright-sighted Julia however thinks further and states, concerning the bulky garbage, how many people who live here, have difficult lives, small houses, bad health, not enough money or time to support their family, and thus have more difficulties to meet the 'supposed' easy task to do what's right, to know when it is time for the bulky garbage and otherwise keep the stuff inside the house (Julia, 21 February 2018).

So for the one the streets are filled with negative experiences, negative expectations and negative feelings. Whereas for others, these same streets withhold more positive experiences and positive feelings. Or in cases, perhaps it are similar actual experiences however experienced differently, perceived less negative or seen within- or explained through a specific context, such as Julia described above. A great part of these experiences naturally lies in ones history within the neighborhood and what of those experiences they use as foundation for their experiences today. To conclude this chapter, these experiences and ways of interpretation are categorized in the three hoodizen types, walking down their memory lane.

Types on memory lane

Asking about the history of the Afrikaanderwijk brings not only a certain glow or glance in the eyes of the bright-eyed hoodizens, but clearly touches the other hoodizens as well. As frustration or anger are regularly present in the stories of the fixed-sight hoodizens, this is 'conspicuous by its absence' when the good old days are being discussed. The Afrikaanderwijk has a history, which for them clearly beholds many good things and they all openly share to be proud to not just experienced that, but even more so to have been a part of that. In talking about the past, all hoodizens discuss some things they really miss today, or were so good back then. Except for the more recent past, on which hoodizens state that some improvements on safety on the streets have been made, nobody shares any negative experiences from the earlier past. With any common sense anyone knows that this earlier past has not been a paradise neither, as life is not a perfect picture and the Afrikaanderwijk has always been a working class neighborhood inhabited by the lower layers of society, so the assumption that life used to be merely positive here seems rather unrealistic. However this unrealistic picture is what seems to be living in the minds of the hoodizens, who all hold vast to the sentiment of an ideal past what has gone lost to them over time. This resonates with a former described theory on a mourning of lost greatness, described by Modest & De Koning among others (2016). For further detail considering the way hoodizens look at their past, the hoodizen types will be followed down on memory lane.

Walking down memory lane in the footsteps of the clear-headed hoodizens, they show you very different times, the stoops were filled with neighbors enjoying their leisure time together, and watching the children play outside, running, yelling and climbing around. That was the time before the screens swallowed the children's screams of play, when everything happened outside and everybody knew one another. This interchange of the life outside into living behind walls is what's happened everywhere, including the Afrikaanderwijk. Walk down this lane with bright-eyed hoodizens however, and one sees that the people known from the past, are still the good neighbors of today. Neighbors go way back, and having all different kinds of people here, the sphere outside shows how everyone can go together with anyone. It was only when politicians showed a difference between Dutch and Dutch Moroccan, when people started seeing things this way.

The memory lane of the fixed-sight hoodizens seems to show a stronger wish to go back to the old times, or perhaps are merely more negative considering the present. Back then, one could trust each other, we all shared the same language, the same culture. Now, I can't even communicate with my neighbors, then how can I trust them? They are new here, are changing the neighborhood, and seem to all know each other, us excluded. No, this neighborhood is not what it's used to be. Thinking back of past times logically goes hand in hand with discussing all that is changing or different now. As questions about their neighborhood made hoodizens think of the past, complaints about the present is what shortly followed after. As change has perhaps always been a hardship for men, or at least is an action that is cause for reaction, it has been very apparent in this neighborhood and very present in every conversation considering one's livelihood here. Therefor to answer the question considering how one experiences living together with another, everything that is the way it is now and the knowledge of how it used to be, might at least affect their experience, be it conscious or not. The next chapter will focus on the experiences of changes and bring these 'winds of change' to light.

4.3 Winds of change

As renovations took the neighborhood by hand, the changes and developments within the neighborhood reach far beyond solely the spatiality's like streets and buildings. As home is about the use of space and about the people, it is both space and people which are changing considerably. Some people were literally forced to (temporarily) leave their homes, others were forced by the consequential rise in prices and then there are those who might not have lost their actual home but

did lose their feeling of home due to their experience of sociocultural changes. It is at this friction where the making of the other becomes apparent, and touches all the above mentioned connections with one's home.

Types and the hood under construction

The fact that the neighborhood is under construction is a fact that every hoodizen acknowledges, but in which way and for the better or worse of whom and what is something quite divergent.

The fixed-sight mainly share a rather negative mindset considering the changes or the effects of these changes over time. "The municipality renovated this street, the buildings on both sides of the Pretoriaaan with the goal to improve it, but they only stripped it from its authenticity, its character! Look at it now, they did not even take the effort to be civilized enough to finish it, they just hammered a quick-fix cover over the spot where the now-forbidden canopy's used to be and left it there, crooked and all" (Jack 15 February 2018). As Jack shared this story with me, his experience of these renovations seemed to release some feelings of anger and mourning. Raising his voice he asked for my confirmation on the fact that it now wasn't a pretty sight, which was hard to deny considering it did look like a work in progress. Asking Jack about this however seem to have unloosened some nostalgic feelings as he went on about the old style of the houses, that everything was better before the municipality put their hands on it. As Jack seemed to be mourning about how great it all once was, he simultaneously took a negative position towards everything new entering the neighborhood. It is this holding on to the past, whether it is about the spatial renovations like above, or the social-cultural changes which will be more handled hereunder, the negative attitude towards all that is new is in line with what Modest & De Koning described as the effect of the mourning for lost greatness (2006: 101). More on this in the following paragraph, after taking note of the other types and their view on the renovations.

The bright-eyed look at the same renovations from a different and predominant positive angle. They see how an old and decayed neighborhood gets a make-over for the sake of a better living. "Things are finally getting better and better here! Buildings and houses are being renovated and patched up giving a positive boost to the Afrikaanderwijkers" (Julia 21 February 2018). Julia explains how these renovations are important to escape the negative image that hung over the Afrikaanderwijk for such a long time, and how she beliefs that now already great steps have been made.

The clear-headed hoodizens see both sides of the coin but do strongly share some worries considering the long-term effect of the developments for the Afrikaanderwijkers. Ronald explains somewhat in line with Julia how "renovations are helping to boost the neighborhood a bit, making it look less like a bad and neglected neighborhood, but prices are rising and shops can't keep up with these prices and are forced to leave, leaving empty spaces behind. Houses are improving but it stays a rather unattractive neighborhood" (12 March 2018). Susan, a 66 years old Afrikaanderwijker, has lived in a specific part of the neighborhood for 32 years. She states how she does not like the fact that everything had to change, that around 1986 old buildings were taken to the ground for new apartments to take their place. With this the prices rose too, making it impossible for former hoodizens to stay in their neighborhood. She finds it logical that they want to renovate the outskirts of the neighborhood, to improve its representation, but it should not be made impossible for the Afrikaanderwijkers to keep living there!

The fact that this home is not a static thing, but has been changing considerably over the past years, does have an effect on the above noted familiarity or feelings of safety in the neighborhood. Everybody uttered to have this wish to be *honkvast* in the end, to stay or return at base. In some cases however this base has undergone so many changes that it might not feel as the *honk* to feel *vast* to, or to feel connected with. Angela explains how this is how she experiences her once homely

neighborhood. She wished to be *honkvast* she says, she used to see herself staying in this neighborhood forever, as this was her neighborhood, but as this is not that same place anymore, its character has changed, she now wishes to leave as the loss has already come to pass. "If I could leave, I would leave right away, for sure! Only financially, my rent is so cheap here, and without a job or any prospect on one, I simply cannot afford to leave this place" (Angela 7 February 2018). This is the economical factor also part of Antonsich's framework of belonging (2010). In opposite to some other Afrikaanderwijkers who experience trouble to stay, her financial situation seems to obstruct her to move out of the neighborhood, pushing her in accepting some kind of belonging. This factor however also works the opposite direction, as Maria explains how due to the renovations in the neighborhood, the prices are rising and some people can't even afford it to stay in their neighborhood anymore (10 January 2018). As this might sound as a paradox, it has to do with social housing for the one case, and the rise in value and therefor rental prices after renovations for the other.

Whether one wishes to stay or to leave the neighborhood, the way it used to be is something precious, something highly valued and something preferably not to leave behind. Even the most bright-eyed I spoke with, who is very positive about the changes and renovations, also shares her positive and strong feelings considering the past. Where others might be mourning, there are also those who merely feel nostalgic about the greatness that the Afrikaanderwijk once contained. As this reflects on renovations on buildings and streets considering merely the 'hard space' of the neighborhood, mostly when Afrikaanderwijkers talk about their neighborhood they focus on the people who make the hood the hood. The next paragraph will therefor focus on the winds of change on a social and cultural level, introduced by a small anecdote.

TOMBY-theory

A matter of proportion (Little Istanbul)

As I step through the door I arrive in an open hall filled with several table-rows. 3 of them in the back were filled with small groups; on the right a group of 4 older women were fanatically playing cards, on the left, next to the window was a small group of middle aged to old men with some Arabic-like external features, talking in a foreign language. At the table in between were two older women sitting more quietly and I decided to go and ask if I could join them for a little chat about the neighborhood. They both reacted in a very dismissive way and were clearly not waiting for me to disturb them. When I then explained my research on the experience of the white Dutch Afrikaanderwijker however, their dismissive attitude radically turned into a table invitation. "Ah finally" a younger, middle-aged woman commented, who served the older two a platter of food before also joining our table.⁵³

The above described first reaction to one's experiences in the Afrikaanderwijk, is anything but an exception. The Afrikaanderwijk is a popular neighborhood for research for several reasons, up to the amount that schools and colleges organize trips to exercise interview techniques and gain insight into a very different and perhaps unknown world for the students. Due to this, Afrikaanderwijkers are not so excited for questions or interviews. Almost everybody's first reaction was an evasive one, until the focus on the 'white Dutch Afrikaanderwijkers' became clear, then their attitude turned into this almost grateful 'ah finally someone wants to listen to us!'-attitude, as here was the case.

Janet, the 'younger middle-aged woman' described above, thinks back to the arrival of the first Turk into her street, "Attaturk or something was it?" "No it was Anin", Astrid helped Janet out

⁵³ Vignette of personal experience in fieldwork (29 January 2018).

(Janet, Astrid and Rachel 29 January 2018).⁵⁴ “I remember how he was the first Turk to arrive in my street and now look what happened?! All Dutch people are moving out and it’s getting worse and worse here” stated Janet, with silent nodding confirmation by both Astrid and Rachel. All Afrikaanderwijkers seem to agree on at least one point and explain to me how the Afrikaanderwijk slowly transformed into this so-called little Istanbul. The fact that many ‘Dutch shops’ left the neighborhood for mostly Turkish to take their place is something acknowledged by everyone, however experienced quite differently.

Clear-headed Lisa talks about the Afrikaanderwijk being this little Istanbul as well but emphasizes mostly on the working-class character of the neighborhood and the creative people who are now increasingly entering the neighborhood.

Bright-eyed Julia explains how perhaps underneath that, the Afrikaanderwijk is a place with room for many characters and is as much a little Istanbul as it is a breeding place for creativity, for yuppies and for working-class people.

Perhaps not surprising, within my focused population the fixed-sight Afrikaanderwijkers, there is a negative overtone dominating their experience considering this Afrikaanderwijk-little Istanbul matter. As they talk about the Afrikaanderwijk becoming little Istanbul they mainly state that this development has gone way too far, or more strongly, should not be happening at all. More and more of ‘them’ are entering the neighborhood which causes more and more Dutch Afrikaanderwijkers to move out and flee from this change, a phenomenon what can be described as ‘white flight’. When they talk about ‘them’ they refer to the by them called ‘buitenlanders’, which literally means foreigners but in their case refers to the citizens with a migration background. More and more Dutch shops are leaving for Turkish coffeehouses or Shawarma-places to take their place. “I’ve got nothing against shawarma, believe me, but with five options for shawarma and no possibility anywhere to find my *speklapje*⁵⁵ anymore, I think it is clear it is just out of control here!” (Angela 7 February 2018).

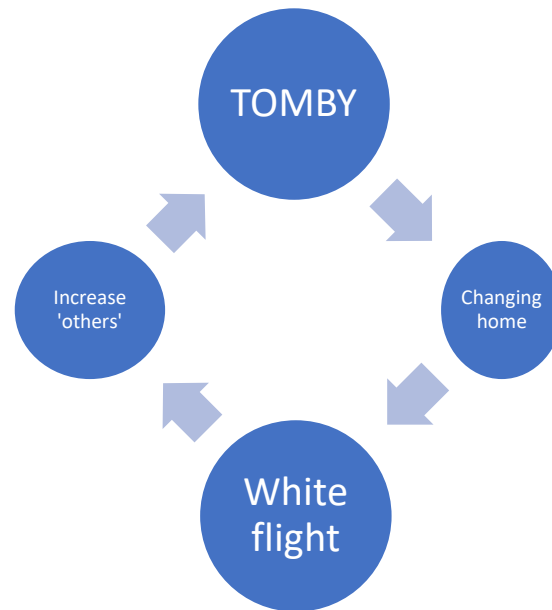
Majority to minority and the sense of ownership

The fact that people with a migration background are now part of Dutch society seems to be acknowledged to a certain level of acceptance, within the fixed-sight Afrikaanderwijkers as well. It is the amount entering ‘their’ neighborhood however what is cause for the annoyance, not to forget the feeling of them not being taken into account. This understanding on the one hand, but the rejection to the proximity within their own life on the other hand, might make one think of the NIMBY phenomenon; Not In My Back Yard. This theory originated, and is mainly used, in the context of wind power and windmills (Krohn & Damborg 1999). It entails the understanding of the need of these developments; these windmills are a good thing, or in this case these people are welcome, just not in my surroundings, not in my backyard. The Afrikaanderwijk however displays a more extreme situation some steps ahead of this, where ‘they’ have entered ‘their’ back yard in extreme amounts and brought drastic changes, this NIMBY-stadium seems far passed and perhaps a self-made-up TOMBY phenomenon is more fitting; Taking Over My Back Yard. As geographically their ‘back yard’ might still be there to be found, it is what this neighborhood embodies, how they knew their yard to be, to which they belong and are a part and therefor base a certain idea of ownership to, what is now lost to them. The TOMBY phenomenon here is an exponential one, as the more people with a migration background are entering the neighborhood, the more the neighborhood is changing and the more Afrikaanderwijkers choose to leave the neighborhood, causing even more change to happen. This TOMBY effect is clearly challenging the *honkvast*’ness of the Afrikaanderwijkers, as for some people the limit has past and to move out is the only way to find a feeling of home, elsewhere,

⁵⁴ Informal conversation at De Speeluin 29 January 2018.

⁵⁵ A Dutch type of fried pork belly, mostly a portion for one.

causing the minority position of the 'white Dutch Afrikaanderwijkers' to get worse. It is where TOMBY causes white flight which then increases TOMBY once again, visualized in the figure below (Figure 6).



6. Self-constructed figure on how TOMBY, changing home, white flight and increase of 'others' are connected.

Janet explains how it is the proportion which is the big issue here, where it once was one *buitenlander* to five Dutchmen, it is now the other way around: "we are now the minorities here, in our own country!" (Janet 1 February 2018). Taking note of these words by Janet, these developments affecting the place they (used to) call home, their place of belonging, seem to result in strengthening a feeling of ownership. When Janet or Jack talks about this it are the words 'we' and 'our' which clearly receive extra accentuation. "This is ours, our neighborhood, this is Holland!"⁵⁶ Is how also Rose's words indicate this effect how the fear of losing something seems to strengthen one's connection to it, one's sense of ownership.

There are two points of interest to take up from this point, which are obviously interconnected or in line with each other. First is the idea of ownership, as if one can speak of a one and only Dutch-Afrikaanderwijk-gene which flows through the veins of the long-term residents and results in granting this idea of a rightful ownership of the Afrikaanderwijk, 'their' neighborhood. Effectuating in that all that is different, or to be more precise, all who are not adjusting to fit this image, are lacking the true right for belonging. The second point here concerns how the fear of changes, turns into this blaming the new strangers. Changes and developments increasingly remove them further away from their nostalgic idea of home, strengthening this nostalgic image in which all that 'used to be' gets this boost towards this almost divine greatness in which former flaws or troubles are placed underneath the shadows of nostalgia. All that embodies this change, mainly the 'buitenlanders' in their case of interpretation, are burdened with carrying, at least partly, the blame for ruining their 'perfect home'. So what happens here is that 'they', the fixed-sight Afrikaanderwijkers, make a division between old and new, in which old is the nostalgic idea of their home as it used to, and should be, filled with the hoodizens who ought to belong there, the working-class Afrikaanderwijkers, the real Dutch citizens; the white Dutch Afrikaanderwijkers. They embody the natural heir and carry within them the heritage of the greatness of what once was. In all their

⁵⁶ This was a reaction to the way she was looked at, or yelled after, when walking the streets in a short skirt (Rose 12 March 2018).

memories down on memory-lane, it are the white Dutch Afrikaanderwijkers who sat on their stoops every day, it were their white little children playing outside, it were white hoodizens who filled the streets in 'better and saver' times. Until it came, the wind of change, and brought along others to fill the streets.

This division then is a representation of a similar association considering whiteness as mentioned earlier in this thesis. In *White Innocence* (2010), Wekker explains the troublesome character of describing this so-called innocent way of linking a peaceful past or history of greatness to whiteness in opposite to this troublesome present shared with strangers, newcomers, non-whites with a migration background. This natural heir of greatness and innocence which is mentioned as speaking for itself, is then linked to whiteness as the problematic character gets linked to the other. As it in this case comes together with seemingly objective facts, a once safe and sound neighborhood inhabited by white neighbors, transformed into a mixed neighborhood associated more with problems, one can argue it is without any racist or discriminative grounds that the others are the ones bringing problems. Is it however far-fetched to think that in this case the fixed-sight hoodizens interpret that the troublesome character brought into the neighborhood is to blame on these others as an ethnic group, as when these hoodizens talk about certain negative events, Angela for example made sure that the darker color of the skin of the perpetrator is always mentioned (7 February 2018). Why would she mention that if she would not believe the detail was of any meaning? As racism entails believed differences between people based on one's roots, problematic differences in character in this case seems to be linked to at least some extent, to the roots. What might also play a role here is that even while living in the same neighborhood, mainly between these fixed-sight hoodizens and those with a migration background a certain distance is felt and lived by, as will be further explained in the following paragraph.

4.4 Common ground

Lacking common ground

"This used to be such a good neighborhood, and it's really close to everything but yeah, I don't hate those people, I don't want to discriminate or anything, but *buitenlanders*..." (Jack 15 February 2018). As Jack explained to me how now it is only his work what is keeping him from leaving this neighborhood. He has his own business here which he inherited from his father and where he started to work when he was only 16 years old.⁵⁷ His observation that the majority of employees at the local pharmacy or a bank are wearing headscarves is something that irritates him. "You are in Holland, you're not there" he argues. "Don't stop selling ham-sandwiches on a high school because there is a high amount of Muslim kids on that school, or organize extra breaks for prayer, which is actually happening now, bugger off! You're in the Netherlands here!" Elisa, a customer who walked in, joined and stated: "sure come live here, I don't mind, but adjust, we are not the ones who should adjust!"⁵⁸ "It now seems that we are the ones being discriminated against!" As Jack talks about how Jantje has to take off his hat in class, but Fatima is allowed to wear her headscarf.⁵⁹ Or 'Muslim-swimming'; every Thursday two customers of Jack used to go swimming in the local pool, suddenly they weren't allowed, only Muslim women were welcome on Thursdays now. "Is that not diverse discrimination? I think it is!" is what Janet argued as she also brought this swimming issue to the table (1 February 2018).

Conversing with Jack, Elisa or Janet, a similar construction seems to come up; as Jack argues: "I don't hate them but..", Elisa said: "they should decide on their own, but..", and Janet explains how for her; "it is not that they're all bad, but..". In this manner they somehow defend the idea that their

⁵⁷ Interview Jack 15 February 2018.

⁵⁸ Elisa is of Australian origin but calls the Afrikaanderwijk her home for years now (15 February 2018).

⁵⁹ Jantje as exemplary Dutch boy name and Fatima for a Muslim girl.

position towards 'them' is open and in no way a discriminative one and present certain situations as facts or pure logic. "Headscarves, well they should decide on their own, I just don't like the view of it, makes the neighborhood look shabby, that's just how it is" says Jack. What is behind his statement that headscarves make the neighborhood look shabby? There are all kinds of headscarves and the shabbiness of them can naturally be questioned, the better question should then be what lies behind the idea of shabbiness experienced by Jack?

Asking Jack about relations with his neighbors with a migration background he states that "real contact is just not possible, because when push comes to shove, it will always be religion taking first place" (15 February 2018). These statements show how the fixed-sight hoodizens lay the emphasis considering their neighbors merely on the cultural differences. Their neighbors, including a broad range of different individuals with different characteristics, all get reduced to solely their religious affinity, as what Beck describes as the fixed manner of identity construction of the other (Ghorashi 2010). Religion even, in the argument of Jack, would be put above common sense, above any human characteristic, as he claims to believe that however close one befriends someone who is Muslim, when in line of this religion this Muslim will be ordered to murder the friend, every Muslim will do so (Jack 15 February 2018). So when looking at a headscarf for example, Jack sees religion, sees a Muslim more than an individual. Even in a less extreme situation than Jack described, the neighbors with a migration background are firstly all taken together referred to as 'them' and 'they', hereby already stripped of (relevant) differences within this 'group'. Secondly 'they' are joined together as different from 'us', Dutch neighbors, who are assumed to use common sense as opposed to them, being led by religion.

"When you talk with them they can be quite friendly people, I act normal towards them, I don't hate them, it is just the reverse discrimination which is a problem for me" as Elisa ostensibly rationally noted (15 February 2018). These examples are presented as so practical by these hoodizens that perhaps some matter of understanding considering these problems, to some extent, might not be that surprising. They grew up in a place feeling safe, living with fellow hoodizens, living by their known rules and traditions. They felt they represented the place, owned the place, as it is their home in their country. Drastic changes took that away from them, in quite a strong matter. The Dutch language being not predominantly present and with different clothing and food, the culture within these neighborhood borders seems different. When Jack or Janet explain they don't want to discriminate, they just feel that the balance is lost, that the integration has failed, that 'they' are just too different and that they themselves should not be the ones to adjust to those who are new, are they wrong in all the above? As it is of course not a matter of right or wrong, there is a matter overlooked in their case in which it somehow gets accepted that these new hoodizens are described as being less Dutch. Their way of living is seen not just as different but there lies a judgment of value underneath. According to Jack headscarves make the neighborhood look shabby. On the matter of why he had no answer but he and others did express to share their fear of things moving backwards these days, away from modern freedom back towards old-fashioned beliefs. This perhaps explains the so-called shabbiness of the headscarves, as this could then stand for the power religion has on everyday lives, differentiating in rights of women and men. The Netherlands today is a secular nation, the separation of church and state, the open and tolerance 'modernity' of what the Dutch state according to many Dutch citizens embodies is what followed after secularization. Depending on religious norms and values then seems perhaps more fitting in pre-modern times, but more on this in the later chapter on constructing the other.

In the theoretic chapter Ghorashi's argument entails how a sense of threat attached to the other sweeps away any possibility of tolerance, a similar effect seems to be relevant here (Ghorashi 2010). A threat to Dutch modern norms and values embodied by 'others' then locks away this possibility of tolerance. It seems mostly fear and anger what is projected upon the 'new

Afrikaanderwijkers' resulting in the idea that it is just not possible to live together, there is no room for common ground even while literally sharing it. Listening to the fixed-sight Afrikaanderwijkers, the daily fact of this living together seem to only worsen this relation, the following paragraph will elaborate further on this.

Departing common ground

What makes these Afrikaanderwijkers depart from this possibility to find common ground are a combination of ideas, frames and beliefs linked to observations from their streets. Whether those hoodizens would have voted for a populist right-wing party like the PVV if they've lived in a very different neighborhood is of course an unanswerable question, however the effect of this neighborhood on one's political affinity in their case, is something that can be looked into. Looking first at the bigger picture

'Taken away from us'

Within the fixed-sight hoodizens the feeling prevails that they, the true Dutch Afrikaanderwijkers, are getting a harder time from the municipality or government compared to these 'new' others. "They get everything done. A friend of mine wanted to open a *snackbar* across the street but was restrained due to a lack of baking-permits for that location. A month later a Turkish food-place moved in which somehow was allowed baking. You see?" As Jack shares his frustration on this unfair treatment (15 February 2018). This is a tone not uncommon under these hoodizens. "My neighbors don't go to school or work. I say Ahmed you go work! He laughs at me, acts to walk cripple saying 'oh my back, pain, pain, you call for me?' He is not in any pain, he is just getting free money! Repainting everything in the house, buying new furniture, going on holidays. They live here for 6 years now, don't speak any Dutch or go to school or work, it drives me crazy!" As customer Elisa airs her heart on the way her neighbors are able to abuse the system for which she explains to work really hard to be a part of. Angela and Donna share their story, both personal experiences as mouth-to-mouth, on how in the neighborhood it is hardly possible to find a job at the supermarket anymore. "Just don't fit here anymore as Dutch, they all talk their language anyway!" says Donna; "it's just reverse discrimination!" "For sure!" Angela continues, "The other day, I was standing in line for a fish stall, finally it was my turn and the Turkish guy of the stall turned to me, when all of a sudden a Turkish woman behind me yelled something in Turkish over my head and he actually started helping her first! That's just not right" (7 February 2018).

It is this friction which Hochschild describes in her book referring to the United States which seems to apply here as well; the feeling of patiently standing in line as a white citizen who've worked hard to earn a spot in this line, until you notice that these 'others', new citizens, are given a priority spot in line, very literally embodied by Angela's story above. As Elisa said (15 February 2018): "our elderly, who've worked hard building this country to what it is today are now rotting away in elderly homes receiving hardly anything, and they, the newcomers, get houses, furniture, everything!" A similar argument was brought to the table at Pubby's; "everyday Dutch people have to stand in line at the foodbank while those refugees walk around with new expensive phones."⁶⁰ A statement of a former Afrikaanderwijker, passionately confirmed with nodes, 'yes's' and other examples like expensive shoes by the three others joining our conversation.

Many hoodizens however declare not to blame this unfairness on the newcomers themselves, but to pin it on the government. "It is not so much the people as it is the one's making the rules, the government presenting them the opportunities which perhaps me and you would use in the same ways to be honest. It is the government who is creating this reverse discrimination"

⁶⁰ An informal conversation at Pubby's with two former hoodizens John and Patricia (12 January 2018).

(John 10 January 2018). The idea that the newcomers get what should have gone to Dutch citizens, in the words of Kimmel as mentioned in the theoretic chapter: “that sense that ‘we’, the rightful heirs of America’s bounty, have had what is rightfully ours taken away from us by ‘them’: faceless, feckless government bureaucrats, and given to ‘them’, undeserving minorities, immigrants, women, gays, and their ilk” (Kimmel 2013). Here a feeling of ownership is linked not only to those who come to claim some of it, but not least important, to the deciders, the government who own the power to divide. While blaming the government, Hochschild (2016) or Modest and De Koning (2016) argue how this still increases a social distance between ‘us’ and ‘them’, them being a threat for their future and with this, as above noted, sweep away the possibility for finding common ground. As this is the bigger picture, there is also the smaller daily picture of possible encounters on the streets which expectedly have some effect on the ideas and frames considering ‘the other’, the next paragraph will elaborate on that.

Generalizing experiences

As my focused population experience this transformation of the neighborhood into a small Istanbul, logically in their daily activities in the neighborhood they mainly experience encounters with ‘the other’. Talking about the neighborhood, all the positive points are about the location, the prices and their history in the neighborhood. All the negative points are pure and simple being blamed on ‘the others’, not so much as individuals but as a group sharing some assumed sameness in opposite to the norm, the white Afrikaanderwijkers.

The two main complaints about the neighborhood, shared by all of my interviewed hoodizens and not just the fixed-sight Afrikaanderwijkers, are about the trash on the streets and the bad traffic habits. The trash is something I was confronted with not only by every hoodizen I spoke with but also during every visit to the neighborhood. Walking around the complaints about the trash on the streets are proved legitimate. Plastic bags and other trash is scattered across the sidewalks, rats either dead or alive are no strangers to the streetscape, assumedly caused by the bread-leftovers which heaps up underneath the trees on a daily basis, and then there are the big collective trash cans which are always in good company of trash bags and old furniture surrounding them. As the bright-eyed or clear-headed hoodizens acknowledge the market as one of the main causes of the trash, luring rats and plastic bags into the neighborhood,⁶¹ the fixed-sight hoodizens declare how it are the *buitenlanders* who just throw their trash on the streets, who would just never learn, who due to their religion aren’t allowed to throw their leftovers in the trash and therefor turn the Afrikaanderwijk into this rat-Walhalla.⁶² As this leftover-issue gets acknowledged by the other hoodizens as well, the difference in attitude towards the problems between these hoodizens is illustrative for their positioning towards ‘the other’. The ease with which these fixed-sight hoodizens put the blame solely on the *buitenlanders* shows how a self-fulfilling prophecy is working its magic here. For them, the arrival of increasingly more *buitenlanders* is problematic, and subsequently every negative issue in the neighborhood which in their mind was not a problem before, will be put in the shoes of them, the *buitenlanders*. Another often mentioned problem in the neighborhood reflecting this ‘prophecy’ concerns traffic in the neighborhood.

The traffic is the second annoyance shared by many hoodizens. Pedestrian crossings being ignored and cars driving too fast is what seems to be the problem. “Last week I was walking with my friend on the pedestrian crossing when a man, as dark as the night, almost hit us with his bike! We were just crossing, we had right of way and he dares to put on a big mouth even! He just drove on, really right passed me!”⁶³ Angela’s story contains more than just the annoyance; it shows how

⁶¹ Julia (21 February 2018), Lisa (7 February 2018).

⁶² Angela, Donna, Paul (7 February 2018), Jack (15 February 2018).

⁶³ Angela (7 February 2018).

somehow the color of one's skin is found relevant for telling this story about bad traffic behavior. Angela's story does not stand alone in this point. Benny compares the streets with circuit Zandvoort⁶⁴ and tells how he never trusts to walk the pedestrian crossings: "they are not to be trusted those *buitenlanders* behind the wheel, they drive like it's Morocco or Turkey here!"⁶⁵

As the fixed-sight hoodizens share how they are the minority in the neighborhood, it is not surprising that the majority of experiences or encounters on the streets, are with hoodizens with a migration background, naturally including negative encounters. Therefore it can hardly be surprising that many negative encounters happen with hoodizens with a migration background. It is only when this aspect gets seen as a factor, as relevant actor leading to these negative encounters, when it gets to this point where negativity towards the other will expectedly prevail all day long. Listening to Angela, Donna, Paul or Jack, they all see their otherness as an explanatory issue behind those problematized encounters or experiences within the neighborhood. They see this otherness as something static in a way that they don't have any hopes for change on this matter. Statements like "that's just how they are" or "their religion will come first anyway" are just some examples of their dead-end perspective for living with the other in their neighborhood. Whether it is que jumping in the market, speeding on pedestrian crossings, dealing on the street or children shouting names, it will be merely 'other' perpetrating this, and observed by fixed-sight hoodizens it would be their otherness explaining their actions.

Summarizing this chapter then, hoodizens share a strong affection with this neighborhood and experience to be part of its history and therefore feel this sense of ownership, as they perceive this as their neighborhood. Today however, it is not the neighborhood it once was, and as its hoodizens describe the past as a merely perfect picture, the winds of change transforming the Afrikaanderwijk are colored with negative emotions. All that used to be perfect in the good old days, is now lost due to whatever changed in between, due to what- or whoever brought that change. Today the street image is mainly non-Dutch, and with most negative experiences one has, there is a high probability of it being with, in the words of a fixed-sight hoodizen, a *buitenlander*, wrongful chosen words to describe someone with a migration background. This idea then paves the way for the creation of a scapegoat, those who entered the neighborhood during these changing times are then being held responsible for other changes or negative developments as well, as if they brought that change, as if they took away their perfect picture of the good old days. Every negative experience or story they hear where there is a *buitenlander* involved, then only confirms this negative attitude towards them. This is what seems to be the case at least, for the perspective of the fixed-sight hoodizens on the *buitenlanders* in the Afrikaanderwijk of today.

Departing?

As human beings are no trees, do have roots somewhere but are very much able to move, these hoodizens in this case, or in most cases, chose not to leave. One complains, or feels sad or disappointed about some developments changing their neighborhood, but for them it still stays their neighborhood, their home. There are also those who merely mourn of the 'lost greatness', actually wish to move but are not able due to practical reasons, like financial reasons or health issues. The younger generation who is moving out, hope to someday move back, but only if this means to move back into the neighborhood it used to be, a neighborhood they feel they can raise their children in.⁶⁶ As today, mainly for their children, they argue they have to move, for their safety, as an ex-Afrikaanderwijker⁶⁷ explains. This 'ex-ness' can however be argued as she still claims to feel like an

⁶⁴ Circuit Zandvoort is a well-known (motor) race track in the Netherlands.

⁶⁵ Benny sharing his experiences and feelings considering the neighborhood he calls home for many years now.

⁶⁶ As argued in informal conversations with ex-Afrikaanderwijkers (7 February, 10 February, 12 February) and parents of ex-Afrikaanderwijkers (10 January) and still Afrikaanderwijkers (Maria 10/01).

⁶⁷ Informal conversation with a woman who now lives just outside the neighbourhood (12 March 2018).

Afrikaanderwijker, it is only at this moment that her home in her words hopefully temporarily is unfit to really construct a living, but the idea of home of the Afrikaanderwijk remains. So she is in a way *honkvast*, just like others who still live in the Afrikaanderwijk and hold vast to the idea of the perfect picture, of the Afrikaanderwijk how it was in the good old days. “It is sad, but I get it, everybody who can, will want to leave this place as it is now, they just don’t speak the language here anymore!” Is what Maria argues (10 January 2018). This thinking back to the good old days, where Dutch was the main language and the streets were safe, is oppositional to this intruding ‘other’ who is seen as outside this perfect bubble. The following chapter will analyze this further, linking this to former Dutch colonial history and thought constructions.

4.5 Constructing the other

In sharing experiences of frustration within the neighborhood, my focused population hoodizens automatically include some comments on skin-color or ethnic differentiation, as for the above mentioned anecdote on bad traffic behavior apparently it was deemed of added value to note that the perpetrating man in question was “as dark as the night” (Angela 7 February 2018). When asking more general questions about the neighborhood, these fixed-sight hoodizens found that it are mainly *buitenlanders* standing in the way of a nice and safe neighborhood. It is ‘their mentality’, them ‘just being different’, ‘just organizing their life differently’ or them ‘just not fitting in here’. These behaviors or characteristics are by them described as if it’s just the way it is, or the way they are; as static unchangeable facts. As an introduction to appointing these issues, several hoodizens like Jack or Janet apparently experienced the need to cover oneself in way of making clear that it is not about race, they don’t discriminate, but it ‘just’ are the *buitenlanders* who are the problem. Step by step, in this paragraph the troublesome character of this matter will now be approached.

A first troublesome matter is how complaints about behavior or customs, be it observed, experienced or passed by as a second-hand story, are by others received and used as facts. Whether completely true or not, there is not much point of discussion at this stage, as there is litter to be found on the streets, Dutch shops are leaving for Turkish shops to take their place, the Dutch lingo is not a clear majority in this neighborhood, rats are attracted by bread and for Muslims bread should not be wasted therefor it is mainly them throwing bread on the streets. Approximately every Afrikaanderwijker would agree on these matters, it is when one turns to the matter of whom and the idea of an individual action opposed to whole groups, when ideas and experiences grow apart. With the fixed-sight hoodizens, this is where a first us versus them becomes apparent. It is not that *buitenlander*, it are the *buitenlanders*. It are the *buitenlanders* who litter, not a few in specific. It are the *buitenlanders* in general whom are seen as the problem in this neighborhood. Thus, categories are made within this neighborhood, with *buitenlanders* on the one side and non-*buitenlanders* on the other; a newcomer with migration background versus the local rooted Dutch. My focused population, all belonging to their self-constructed non-*buitenlander*, local rooted or ‘actual’ Dutch category, ascribe the problems in the neighborhood to be caused by the *buitenlanders*. So after first describing themselves as being opposite to these *buitenlanders*, a similar effect will be true for the ascribed characteristics. In other words, they do not only construct the *buitenlanders* as troublesome, but in positioning themselves in opposite to them, they also ascribe themselves as being free from this trouble, innocent.

A similar construction can be found in a former chapter focusing on the roots in the hood, with the hoodizens thinking back to the good old days. The positive stories the hoodizens tell about the past, where mainly good memories are recalled, set stage in that time’s, so-recalled safe and friendly Afrikaanderwijk. The hoodizens responsible for not just this memorizing- but also the embodiment of these memories are the white Dutch non-*buitenlanders*. However the general view of these hoodizens on today’s Afrikaanderwijk is not only negative, it is clearly troubled and far from the friendly and safe place it used to be. With some relativism acknowledging the fact that times of

course have changed, when talking about the most dramatic changes the hoodizens seem to naturally find their way back to the familiar subject; the increasing amount of *buitenlanders*. So in thinking back to the good old days, embodied by the hoodizens of that time, there are memories of a positive and trouble-free neighborhood with white Dutch hoodizens on the one side, in opposite to a troubled neighborhood today, with a large amount of *buitenlanders*.

In both cases, in seemingly superficial complaints or ‘innocent’ memories, there is an identity construction to be found underneath which has been described earlier in this thesis as well. A construction working in two directions; both constructing the other and with this constructing themselves as the other in opposite to that other. This is exactly what Wekker describes in *White Innocence*; “when fixing the other, one fixes oneself as the other of the other” (2016: 41). Hoodizens attaching negative experiences to *buitenlanders* in this neighborhood is thus not the whole story here, rather it is in doing this, that their own oppositional category of ‘white Dutch’, gets constructed as without these negativities, as trouble free. This way almost creating this ‘license to blame’ as for all that is wrong with the neighborhood, it seems merely natural that the other is to blame as they, be it consciously or not, deemed themselves innocent as a matter of course. When they talk about the absence of a deeper level contact or of finding common ground with ‘the other’, they don’t hold themselves accountable. The factual character of some problems like litter and bread-leftovers then strengthen this license to blame. It creates the space to argue it has nothing to do with discrimination nor race, as there are clear and practical examples of these accusations to be grounded. The fact that it are *buitenlanders* who are responsible for this bread-leftover problem then becomes like a flagship covering for all kinds of assumptions. This embodies the argumentative circle which covers all that lies behind. The harmless looking image of the complaints in this neighborhood, as literal and superficial as they may sound, thus hide this identity construction leaning on old constructed differences of us and them, old and new, common and strange, Dutch and other or black and white.

Listening to the hoodizens they mainly refer to ‘just different ways of constructing their lives’, ‘different norms and values’, exactly what Schinkel argues in favor of referring to culturism rather than racism (2013). However the logic of culturism, focusing more on one’s actions than one’s roots, seems easier to defend, to find or to understand, to say it is ‘just’ culturism what keeps the lives of these hoodizens apart, what is responsible for current us versus them constructions, is perhaps exactly what puts this ‘license to blame’ on a pedestal. If underlying mind constructions are denied and only actions on the surface are taken into account, these constructions will stay intact and active underneath all sorts of social constructions, influencing on daily life whenever relevant under whatever connotation. Whether one defends the innocence of Black Pete or focuses merely on the goodness of the controversial Dutch history, not taking note of the older fundament on which this country and it’s society is built, is like denying its history all together. In defending the Dutch identity on the one side, and denying the influences of former Dutch actions and ways of (race-)thinking on the other, one gets inflicted in this contradiction in terminus; culture needs to be protected from change as if it concerns a static phenomenon shared by all ‘actual’ Dutch but when focusing on past actions, norms and values which brought us to where we are today, these means that got us there earn less popularity. In this concern, apparently this supposedly static phenomenon showed to be very much capable of change. Thus Dutch society today both embodies a culture rooted in the past, as well as being developed to be separated from this past altogether. Both protected as our own as denied any alliance. Black Pete needs to stay untouched as it is part of our culture, just as slavery is something atrocious solely belonging to the past.

The argument here is not about blaming hoodizens to be racists, or discriminative, it is about awareness of the underlying mind structures on which our social thinking is constructed. However hereby not stating that this is not the case, as above described interpretations and theory does

present otherwise, merely stepping away from an idea of blame and towards the focus of understanding what lies underneath. These mind structures are based on norms and values, unconsciously implemented in every citizen of any country with a particular history. The history of that specific country is the fundament on which that society is built today and therefore cannot be ignored as something belonging solely in the past. Frictions in today's society are looked at through a glass rooted in far history, leading back to old social group constructions. Glasses off, one sees a neighborhood with increasingly more citizens with a migration background, a neighborhood with people on the lower scale concerning income, employment and education and a neighborhood where the streets are common to trash, leftovers and vermin. Glasses on, some might see a neighborhood turning into a little Istanbul, where they, the newcomers, just throw their trash and leftovers on the streets and are taking over 'their' neighborhood. This naturally also depends on which or who's eyes are looking through these glasses. Bright-eyed hoodizens like Julia, having had positive experiences in her youth with many cultures, both at home or during travels around the world, heavily condemn the negative stance of the fixed-sight hoodizens. Clear-headed hoodizens like John acknowledge the problems caused by these *buitenlanders*, however in looking for a guilty party prefers pointing the finger to the government in managing these things. Fixed-sight hoodizens experience it more as the above noted description, their neighborhood is being ruined and taken over by newcomers, turning their Afrikaanderwijk in a second little Istanbul.

5. Conclusion

A diverse neighbourhood as the Afrikaanderwijk can be seen as a platform on which one can base the need to move towards a new national (family) portrait, to fall back to the words of Vollebergh (2016: 24). A portrait made up of joined strangers instead of a homogeneous ideal national portrait, and to move beyond the idea of otherness towards the ideal of being different together. That there are many differences together in the Afrikaanderwijk is proven to be no point of discussion, but to speak of joined strangers? These strangers are joined in the most practical sense of sharing space, they share their neighborhood in ways of having this place in common in which they construct their daily lives. Taking space as abstract, open and empty of meaning and content, following Tuan's words once again (1990). The Afrikaanderwijk is a place, with a past and a present. It is space given meaning and filled with people, behavior, objects and images (Gieryn 2000: 465). The hoodizens in this thesis than made the space of everything, into the place of something (Massey 2010). Lewicka (2010) argued how maps drawn by residents do often differ strongly from the census-based units, for the Afrikaanderwijk the borders are quite clear, the question of belonging however seems able to be border-independent. The Afrikaanderwijk was for this thesis taken as not marked and bordered by looking at a map, but by the lives and narratives of the inhabitants. The five elements of the framework of Lynch were used to fill the blanks: paths, nodes, landmarks, districts and edges (Pearce & Fagenze 1996: 581). All these elements together, constructed and combined in unique and individual ways, are the spatial foundation for one's urban environment, combining this with the above noted experiences, memories, hopes and relations, this makes one's *topofilia*, one's lived space.

The words of the hoodizens constructed an Afrikaanderwijk where borders are 'soft' and with feelings of belonging to the neighborhood while census-based maps would tell otherwise. Here two arguments are made, first the one of living just outside the neighborhood and feeling like belonging to, and actually constructing life in the neighborhood, therefore taking oneself as an Afrikaanderwijker. The other argument relies on the interconnectedness, as Eriksen (2007) argues that to be human is to be connected rather than to be in place, as earlier theories on geography and existentialism would argue. Building further is Massey's argument on how relations in space reach beyond the actual place, how one's sense of place is constructed within this net of relations. It is

where these relations are connected and perceived in a particular way, that this place gets created and will forever be part of this endless process of (re)creation (Massey 2004). Thus, the above mentioned borders of the Afrikaanderwijk, are present on the map, but for those Afrikaanderwijkers who moved out, who construct their daily life within different borders, might still apply a feeling of connection towards the Afrikaanderwijk, they might still feel like an Afrikaanderwijker. They belong to the Afrikaanderwijk as they see it, which in the case of the main hoodizens in this thesis, this idea of the Afrikaanderwijk was frequently founded on an older image of the neighborhood originating back to the youth of hoodizens who are now in their sixties or seventies. For many of today's hoodizens of the Afrikaanderwijk, who actually construct their lives within the 'hard' borders, there is no place to be found in these older images of the neighborhood. In stories of personal becoming and in memories as part of the autobiographic factor of Antonsich (2010), these hoodizens with a migration background are mostly being left out by the fixed-sight hoodizens, therefore earning less rights for belonging. The younger bright-eyed hoodizen Julia however, does tell about her positive experiences with neighbors with a migration background, and for her they belong here just as much as she does. She already grew up next to these neighbors, whereas the fixed-sight hoodizens really experienced a change.

The cultural factor of Antonsich (2010) gets brought in as well, with the focus on supposed similarities or togetherness within a certain place, opposed to those 'outside'. Several hoodizens shared their experience of this Calimero-effect considering that the Afrikaanderwijk used to be really closed off from the rest of Rotterdam, and most importantly from the north of Rotterdam. As the north stood for the place of development, chances and the modern center, the Afrikaanderwijk was known as the *afvalputje* of society. The in this case appointed identity created a stronger us-feeling opposed to the one's pointing such judging fingers. This can draw as well on the bordering and ordering theory of Van Houtum (2002), as on an experienced border between them out there, and us here within these borders resulting in this selective process of experiencing differentiation confirming in- and outgroup differences. This thesis shows however how this does not apply as strongly for every hoodizen. The matter of Afrikaanderwijkers feeling connected with, and even identify with the neighborhood has been spoken out by every hoodizen in this thesis, whether this applies to a stronger connection to any other hoodizen today was however less convincing. In order to come to an understanding of this apparently selective identity process, let's turn back to the autobiographic factor.

One's memories or history in the neighborhood clearly plays an important role for one's belonging, this is part of the autobiographic factor of Antonsich (2010) and an important factor in filling the empty streets of concrete, into Lefebvre's lived space, connecting the mental with the actual space. Following the paths of the hoodizens brought the lines in the map of the Afrikaanderwijk (Figure 1), listening to their stories and their memories which brought meaning to this. Memories of hoodizens painted a pretty perfect picture of the Afrikaanderwijk in the good old days, where children played on the streets and hoodizens sat on their stoops, all knew and trusted each other and felt no need to lock their doors. Naturally this picture is difficult, if not impossible, to meet or realize today, and however hoodizens declare to understand that time has changed, this still is the picture on which their idea of home and belonging in the Afrikaanderwijk is built. Asking about their life in the neighborhood they start off in history, presenting pictures of times in black and white and do it proudly if not sentimentally. These pictures are always part of their mental idea of the Afrikaanderwijk, and part of their connection with the neighborhood, or perhaps better formulated; this is how the neighborhood is always part of their narrative.

Another important factor for belonging, brought up by both Antonsich (2010) and Lewicka (2010), is feelings of safety and the experience of freedom to be oneself. Stories of hoodizens who don't feel safe to walk the streets at night, or don't feel free to wear a summer-dress due to possible

reactions they'll get on the streets, show how for these hoodizens the factors safety and freedom are not met. This accounts for the hoodizens belonging to the fixed-sight category, as other hoodizens also declared to experience no problem or to feel very safe and protected even. What accounts for these memories then, whether it is about safety, about knowing one another or about the freedom to be, they all sketch this beautiful picture of greatness what is now lost to them. In the chapter Winds of change becomes clear that the Afrikaanderwijk is a neighborhood not unfamiliar to change. Renewal plans and renovations take the neighborhood under development and also on a social-cultural level there is much action and diversity. As hoodizens declared the deep wish to be *honkvast* in a way, their *honk* has not been kept *vast* for them, meaning as these hoodizens have a wish to stay at their base, at their *honk*, it is now their *honk* that's been undergoing many changes, and did not stay *vast*, or stuck to them. The main complaint of the hoodizens belonging to the fixed-sight category is however the experience of an increasing presence of people with a migration background, taking over the scape of the streets including people, clothing, shops and language. The fact that one cannot find their so-loved Dutch pigs-meat *speklapje* anymore, but has three choices of Shawarma in their neighborhood, or that they're daily surrounded with a language they don't speak or understand, effects the feeling of those who've been calling this neighborhood their home for years. It creates this feeling that a neighborhood which once belonged to them, is now taken away by these 'others', newcomers, people with a migration background, or in words of some of them; *buitenlanders*. The neighborhood feels less and less like their home as it used to be, causing people to actually leave the neighborhood behind, whether or not taking the mental neighborhood with them across borders, but leaving their actual home in the neighborhood open for filling by possible more *buitenlanders*, causing a certain white-flight effect. So now, when the fixed-sight hoodizens talk about safety, litter or other things effectuating their feelings of home they do not just say it is getting less and less, they all throw it under one denominator. As they seemed to be mourning about how great it all once was, simultaneously a negative position is taken towards everything new entering the neighborhood. It is this holding on to the past, whether it is about the spatial renovations or the social-cultural changes, the negative attitude towards all that is new is in line with what De Koning and Modest described as the effect of the mourning for lost greatness (2006: 101).

There are two points of interest to take up from this point, the idea of ownership, as if one carries the one and only Dutch-Afrikaanderwijk-gene and that all that is different, or to be more precise, all who are not adjusting to fit this image, are lacking the true right for belonging. The second point here concerns how the fear of changes turns into this blaming the new strangers. The idea of the loss of a perfect past gets shuffled in the shoes of the newcomers. Not only in their shoes, but also in those of the government, into the politicians' shoes. The newcomers seize opportunities who are handed to them by the government, without taking them, the white 'Dutch' citizens, into account. The presence of 'some' *buitenlanders* is something rather accepted as a practical reality, the proportion however, influencing their position as well, is what's causing the most trouble. That they, the white Dutch Afrikaanderwijkers, are now in a minority position, is experienced as simply unacceptable. The feeling that they are being discriminated against, and feel limited in their freedom to wear summer-dresses for example, is a big cause for frustration. This transcends the personal sphere when fixed-sight hoodizens fear the downfall of Dutch modernity when headscarves and shawarma are given the power to completely erase the *speklap* out of the streetscape. These hoodizens see religion before the individual, the Muslim over the human, with the otherness shadowing over all possible daily encounters. Hence, the fixed-sight Afrikaanderwijker.

In the Afrikaanderwijk it mainly seems to come down to change. The neighborhood changed, and for hoodizens who are somehow familiar with change in their lives, moved or traveled a lot, seem to look at this quite differently than the fixed-sight hoodizens who proudly show their pictures of this neighborhood in black and white. Even when they moved out of the neighborhood in a later

stadium, they still share this connection to the Afrikaanderwijk and feel like they actually belong to this neighborhood, which is (currently) less homely for them due to changes in demography. The supposed logic behind the description of the changes in the Afrikaanderwijk by the fixed-sight hoodizens is what brings us to the main point of this thesis. The former Afrikaanderwijk gets described as nice and safe, and also white, and the current Afrikaanderwijk gets described as ruined, unsafe, and also hardly white. Every bad experience of these hoodizens this day, gets linked to or caused by an Afrikaanderwijker with a migration background. All that is ruined in opposite to the former times in the neighborhood, is now replaced by something with the hands of an Afrikaanderwijker with a migration background. Every negative point thus, is linked with someone with a migration background, with an 'other'. Besides grouping Afrikaanderwijkers with a migration background all together, this also constructs them as the 'other' opposed to themselves, the white Dutch Afrikaanderwijkers. The ones without a migration background, the ones who did always belong. They lack a trace as it would only keep one here, while following the trace of those 'others' would only lead to more 'otherness'. Here the 'white innocence' construction does its work, as all that is bad today, has come with the hands of the 'others', keeping the hands of their own group clean of any guilt, confirming both the separation of these groups, as determining on the guilty and innocent characters.

Now let's turn to the main question of this thesis: How does living in- and identifying with the same space effect the identification with the 'other' just outside the doorstep, focusing on right-wing sympathizers increasingly sharing the space of the Afrikaanderwijk with their neighboring 'others' with a migration background? Social theories on bordering or in- and outgroups could expect some in-group identification within neighborhood borders. Hoodizens did confirm this when mentioning a certain Calimero-effect in opposite to the more developed north-side of the city. The fixed-sight hoodizens, those with sympathy for right-wing parties, color this Calimero effect rather selectively. Founded on their old images of the neighborhood, Calimero would have been a predominantly white bird as these hoodizens remember how the good old times in the neighborhood were shared mainly with white Dutch hoodizens, and in times of downfall it were new hoodizens with a migration background changing their home. In blaming all downfall on these newcomers they assume a connection between their trace, and their bad behavior. Every bad experience they see or describe confirms this image of those with a migration background misbehave, in opposition to themselves the white Dutch hoodizens with good behavior. This way of looking would only enforce the idea of differences between that 'us' and the 'other' where roots and trace in the past have decided upon one's ability to behave or fit in. The fact that hoodizens with Italian or even Australian backgrounds are, without any mention, joining this conversation as belonging to 'us' and Turkish and Moroccan hoodizens are merely subjects of this conversation, as impossible to ever belong to 'us', might ring some alarming bells. Also known is that in the past this Afrikaanderwijk was filled with many migrant workers from eastern Europe, of whom now some are calling themselves Afrikaanderwijkers. This makes one think it is about more than just having a trace, but underlying processes of othering on which the Dutch nation and culture has been built for ages, should not be left in the dark, which takes away the 't' here, ending up with race. Referring back to "the dreamer of the dream" as Wekker describes how the system is lived as decided by the oppressor (2016 :3), the hoodizens of interest here may not feel like they are in the position of deciding on the system, but it is still their system, their dream, in which these 'others' infiltrated. The will of these hoodizens to be *honkvast*, and their resistance and negative view on change reveals a certain assumption of a former stability, an earlier stage where things were good. Which is in line with the alleged history of peace and unity of a nation, the so-imagined cultural integrity, under threat by 'migrants' as Vollebergh described (2016: 23). These experienced threads then feed the making of these categories of others in a spatialized manner, reconfiguring belonging, not-belonging or less-belonging to a nation or a

neighbourhood. In current neighbourhood contexts most attention seems to go out to one's trace following their routes as root for one's cultural norms and values (Vollebergh 2016). Sentences like 'that's just how they are' or 'their mentality just frustrates me' makes one think that the level of othering by these fixed-sight hoodizens goes beyond trace, but fits the racist social cognition part of van Dijk's definition of racism (2015). The argument here is not about whether these hoodizens are racists but to focus on the social system underneath. Van Dijk describes it as "a social system of racial or ethnic domination" (2015: 75), and whether the Netherlands entails such a system today might seem like a big question, but denying its presence perhaps is just as questionable, as the presence of this system was an unquestionable fact in the past. As the Netherlands knows a long history of racism and slavery, owns much of its wealth today to the backs and bones of enslaved 'others', the idea that some of this former culture and system has left its trace on today's society, can hardly be surprising. Where the streets of this Afrikaanderwijk own their names to white suppressors in South-Africa, and the Sinterklaas celebrations, with this silly-acting servant the black Pete, is a yearly matter of discussion due to the resemblances of black Pete with former slaves, are clear examples on the surface of traces of this Dutch history, clearly present in Dutch everyday lives. So clearly present on the streets, the idea that these traces have left some structures behind in one's thinking, effectuation social and cultural constructs in society, perhaps unconsciously colouring one's observations and experiences and with this colouring the world, might be easier to comprehend.

The urge towards Wekker's "white innocence", found in the Afrikaanderwijk as well, is the layer in need of peeling. The idea that after such a history of differences, all citizens would be able to construct themselves and others in a rightful manner sounds more like an utopia to pursue than an actual reality. So to return to the question whether it is 'just' about trace or it is more a matter of current shape or outcome, founded on societal structures dating back to times of black and white, the answer would be that these options could not exist apart. Perhaps it is no coincidence that race embodies the greater part of the word trace; one's (t)race plays a decisive factor in constructing an us and them, and both race and trace should be taken into account in order to understand these processes of othering comprehensively. As traces of Dutch culture, including the past, are present in the way Dutch citizens construct the 'other', and these right-wing sympathizers experience the need to protect their society, they therefor turn to this 'other' to blame in times of downfall or uncertainties. Their unconscious innocent self-image opposed to these blamed others, gets then validated again by their own mind construction, using their daily experiences or observations on the streets and presenting their judgements as straightforward, natural facts.

6. Reflections and recommendations

6.1 Reflections

Opinions

For this research I submerged myself into a for me new world. Myself I grew up in a middle-income family, unfamiliar with poverty, got taught on a Montessori high-school, went to university and within the Netherlands lived in this rather comfortable leftish bubble and surrounded myself mainly with friends with similar lives and views. The growing popularity of right-wing parties of late, was cause for lots of discussion and in my circle of friends and acquaintances people who vote for parties like the PVV get easily shuffled aside as ignorant. Personally, although not agreeing on the main arguments of these parties, I vow for an open view and the need to understand these movements within people's minds and thus voting behavior for the sake of an inclusive society. This led to some discussions on the way, also with so-called bright-eyed hoodizens of the Afrikaanderwijk, who compelled me not to focus so much on these negative tones in this neighborhood. Julia told me

that things are getting better here, and more attention to these complaining people will only strengthen their position. These comments did effect in the need to present the views of the other hoodizens types in this thesis as well, and the need to underline that of course, some views of the fixed-sight hoodizens do definitely not account for the majority of the Afrikaanderwijkers. Only focusing on positive tones however, will not let these negative tones disappear, merely only hide them to perhaps even grow stronger underneath, as a large part of the problem seems to be that they don't feel heard. They don't feel to be taken seriously, will lose trust in society, lock themselves within their own save environment and with this dispose them from any option to reconsider, of any contact with the other. Society is changing rapidly, neighborhoods are changing rapidly and by denying greater effects or difficulties of these changes, the humane factor is not given a chance. The approach of some to see this neighborhood as only positive, as a colorful pallet of chances as some bright-eyed hoodizens describe it, for people with a history somewhere, such change might be difficult, and this should be acknowledged. It is not about right or wrong, it is not about supporting right or left, it is about the necessity of living together, and this is something relevant for everybody, always. But the other side is also not desired, as there are many positive developments as well, and the diversity in the neighborhood accounts for background as well as for political views, and there are many people concerned with the neighborhood to bring people together with festivities or projects. At these things however, it are mainly the same small group of people who are present, and the same majority absent, to whom most fixed-sight hoodizens belong.

As open and undefined I tried to move myself through the neighborhood, hoodizens apparently easily were able to pin me down as a leftish person. With this in mind, fixed-sight hoodizens still had no holding back in blaming the *buitenlanders*, involving skin-color in a way that shocked me here and there, knowing that I did a research. Apparently they felt no shame in sharing these sentiments in such a way. They seemed so convinced of their right considering their frustrations that they felt it was alright to talk about these people, "as black as the night", or to share their frustrations considering the mentality of the *buitenlanders* as a generality. As their actual annoyances were understandable, it is the way they describe it what causes trouble, but will this trouble be any less if no one wants to hear them? A growing popularity of these right-wing parties shows enough, they need to be heard and need to be understood in order to create an inclusive society. Not to condemn all right-wing parties, but as shown in the theoretical chapter, a large share of these parties embody a protest-vote against the status quo and the elite, sharing an indignation with current affairs, as am I in a way.

Perhaps this thesis might be food for thought, a mind experience, for people to look at racism differently in order to get a grasp of actual racism today. To turn it around, into a situation other people can identify with, to see how some constructions can work. How seemingly superficial frustrations can be based or inflicted with racist thought constructions, and that this can happen unconsciously, but should be something brought more to the surface in order to ever get rid of it. That perhaps racism today is still a problem within everyone or, whether we like it or not, is able to thrive on our human urge to categorize life, combined with all we learn in life, might end up in othering practices somewhat in line with old ideas, but only comes up in times of distress.

Practices

Time, money and willingness were the borders of my research. Living in Utrecht I had to travel up and forth to the Afrikaanderwijk. Here I could walk around, trying to find informants, or sit somewhere, trying to meet informants. With the weather not always blooming, every time I wanted to stay longer in the neighborhood, I had to enter some café or bar, have a drink or a bite, hope for some hoodizens there or otherwise for the weather to improve for me and hoodizens to go outside. As this research was applied during the winter, there were some less successful days. This costed me both time and money. Moreover, I now went home every day, and never spend the night in the

neighborhood, or was there for the really early mornings. Meaning, my schedule was limited and therefore my experience of the neighborhood was limited, by both time and season as well, being there in the winter, I am sure the sphere in the summer would be quite different and more people would be outside to meet each other, and meet me of course.

As many of my fixed-sight hoodizens had their own meeting place, of which Pubby's was a popular spot, this was a bar, and in a bar they drink. To participate and get friendly with them, I joined them and they clearly enjoyed to buy rounds and include me as well. Alcohol influencing as well my own, as the minds of my informants, unfortunately made some of these moments merely for bonding, as one cannot use opinions brought out by informants under the influence. Of course meeting people, to later meet up for an interview without the alcohol, made these rounds at Pubby's very useful.

Another issue within applying research was the fact that the neighborhood has been quite the popular research location. Known for its troubling character, poverty, diversity and current developments, many students or organizations already conducted research here. Effecting in an unwilling attitude towards me, another student eager to talk with them. Also some informants told to had some bad experiences, were known for an interview on YouTube which went viral and painted a really bad picture. They explained that now they are more cautious in sharing their feelings and opinions, or not willing at all. Luckily many informants did open up when I told them I wanted to hear the voice of the Dutch white inhabitants of the Afrikaanderwijk, insuring also their anonymity within this research.

6.2 Recommendations

This research has its limitations due to organizational and time limitations. However this research had the focus on the experience and construction of specific inhabitants of a neighborhood, I would present it as a beginning of a bigger research in order to really built towards an argument. In the Afrikaanderwijk I chose for more deeper conversations with the focused fixed-sight hoodizens and with this mainly limited myself to these hoodizens. In order to get a completer image of the neighborhood, to compare their experiences of things with other hoodizens, these other hoodizens should be heard in further depth as well.

Another recommendation for further research would be a comparative research within a different neighborhood. There are neighborhoods which are comparable considering the diversity of backgrounds and culture, but have very different voting behavior. In order to look for explanatory differences for the hoodizens within this research, it could be very interesting to look into such a neighborhood to perhaps find the cause in life-certainties, or financial situation, which can be expected but needs to be founded.

6.3 Aspiration

As with bright-eyed hoodizens there is the will to bring people together in the neighborhood, they mainly reach the same group of people. In my internship and with a social worker within the Afrikaanderwijk there were a lot of talks and researches to somehow bring different groups within the neighborhood together. To get them to talk, share what is on their minds and create an understanding for the lives of another, getting people to think beyond personal win, personal situations. These bright-eyed inhabitants, or other left wing voters, who share such a negative view on these right-wing voters, should first put themselves in their shoes, in their situation, before judging. These fixed-sight inhabitants, or other right-wing voters, should of course do the same. Try to look beyond their personal situation and think further to try and understand the others in this story. I found myself explaining or almost defending the right-wing hoodizens to my friends and this presented the exact problem of such a case. Political opinions are always involved, but when it comes to persons, their experiences and feelings should get the freedom to be heard in order to

counter the polarization of society. Everybody is a mix of hoodizen types, has some things from any type in one, depending on one's position in society, ones experiences, lessons in life, and choices, one leans more towards the one type than the other. An important lesson here is that it is important to realize that for every situation, every conflict, every argument, individuals approach that specific situation throughout their individual type or glass of that moment. This glass is founded on deeper constructions with cultural or historical roots which in times of fear and threat will come out in the worst ways in order to defend their own place. In order to construct a balanced living together, the presence of these underlying structures should not be denied, one should be willing to critically look to oneself, including prejudice and privileges and pursue the willingness to understand each other's situation and approach. Avoiding to close this thesis with this seemingly innocent humanistic beacon, let me end with the message that as proven within this thesis, innocence is a dangerous term and when called upon, beware that there always is another side opposed to it.

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8. Appendix

8.1 Topic list

In kaart brengen

Wie ben je?

- Geboorteplek: levensloop/achtergrond (migratie)
- Leeftijd, geslacht
- Burgerlijke staat, familie, gezinssituatie
- Opleiding, Werk, Vrije tijd
- Levens/Geloofsovertuiging, politieke voorkeur (laatste verkiezingen)

Ruimtelijke wijk (gebruik kaart)

- Paden: beweeglijnen, waar kom je
- Grenzen: tot waar, muur/gebouw/spoor/rivier
- Gebieden: 1 area, verdeling?
- Knooppunten: ontmoetingsplekken (stoplicht, bankje, winkel, café, markt, etc.)
- Bakens: herkenningspunt/houvast

Sociale wijk

- Op de paden: wie kom je tegen?
- Binnen gebieden: wie wat waar?
- Knooppunten: wie en hoe
- Bakens: hetzelfde?
- Relaties in kaart: groen=zeer bevriend, geel=bevriend, roze=goede kennis, blauw=neutraal, wit=onbekend, paars=wantrouwend, rood= negatieve relatie → doorvragen: wie/wat/waarom
- Relaties buiten de wijk: afkomst, cultuur, klasse, etc.

De verdieping

De eigen opvatting

- Nederland
- De wijk (vroeger, nu, toekomst) karakter (sociaal/ruimtelijk) plus/minpunten
- 'De ander' (migratie achtergrond(welke), religie, klasse) betreffende gedrag, gebruiken, opvattingen, functie
Marrokkaan, Turk, Polen, Antilianen, etc. (jong/oud, m/v, wiewatwaar waarom)
- Betekenis afkomst

Zichzelf in de wijk

- Levensloop
- Eigen toekomst in de wijk (legal/eco/socio)
- Betekenis wijk
- Imago/rol in wijk
- Erbij horen/ergens buiten vallen
- Relaties
- Buren (mate contact, toenadering, communicatie)
- Taalbarrière, omgangsnormen, misverstanden
- Cultuur (wijk, zelf in wijk, andere wijken)
- Actief in wijk
- Verantwoordelijkheidsgevoel (voor wie/wat, waarom?)
- Hulpvaardig voor 'de andere' buur? → hulp nodig?
- Veiligheid
- Overlast (ruimtelijk/sociaal)

Maatschappelijke positie/gevoelens

- Tevreden persoonlijke situatie (verbeteringen; woning, werk, loon, uitkering, etc)
- Tegemoetkomen rechten (te kort gedaan?)
- Kansen in samenleving
- Concurrentie: arbeid/woning/sociale zekerheid
- Erbij horen (wie wel/niet)
- Nieuwkomers: gevoelens/opvattingen
- Etnische/culturele diversiteit, klasse verschil, meningen
- Discriminatie (zelf, vrienden, buren, wijk)
- Gemengde wijk? 'Zwarte' school? Zwarte piet? Witte NL? Vluchtelingen? Terrorisme?
- Bronnen: ervaringen, via-via, (social-)media
- Migratie achtergrond: binnen of buiten maatschappij, probleem? Bij wie?
- Verantwoordelijkheid

Verliesgevoelens

- (Minder) Thuis in wijk
- Samenleving-thuis
- NL identiteit (beschrijf? Onzekerheid?)
- Hoe 'hoort' het? (land-burgerschap-wijk)
- Gewone Nederlander
- Vreemde in eigen land/wijk
- Vroeger- nu - toekomst

Algemeen

- Hoe staat het er voor met het land?
- Wat merk je daar zelf van?
- Wat merk je daar van in de wijk?
- Problemen
Wat zijn die? Waar liggen die? Sinds wanneer? Wat is de oorzaak? Bepaald deel/inwoners van de wijk? Oplossing?

- Ontwikkelingen
- Is er iets wat jou aan je buren bind of juist niet?
- Wat heb je gemeen met buren? → wie wat waar (niet)
- Blick op de toekomst
- Stemgedrag: wie, wat, waarom

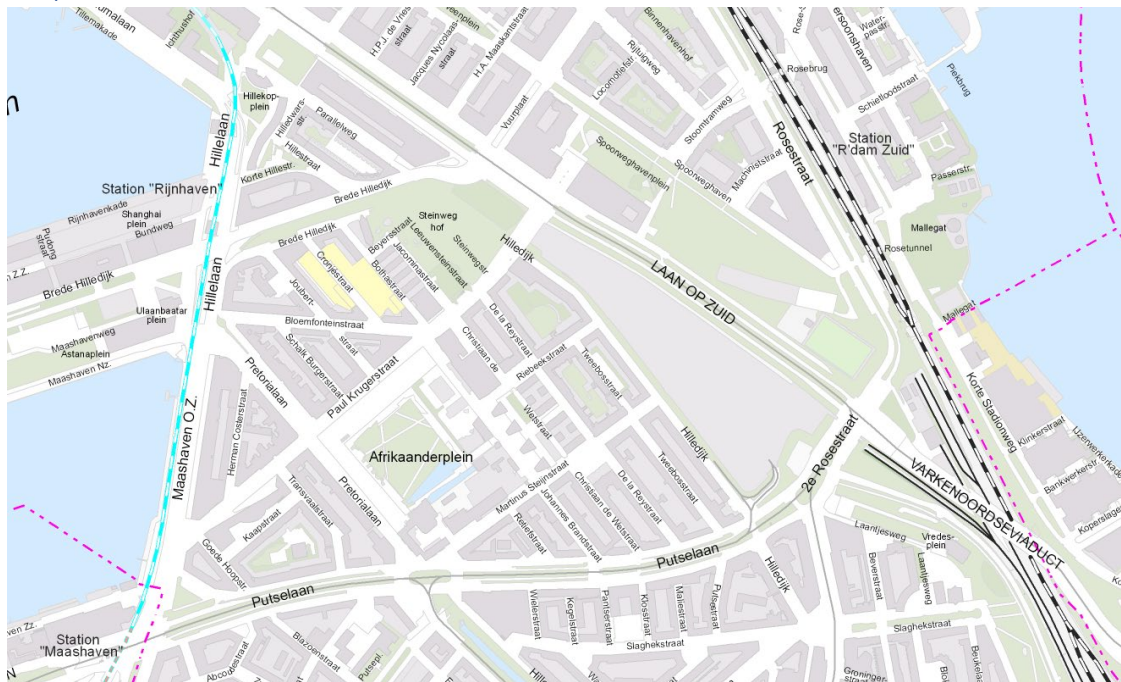
8.2 Short topic list for 'walks'

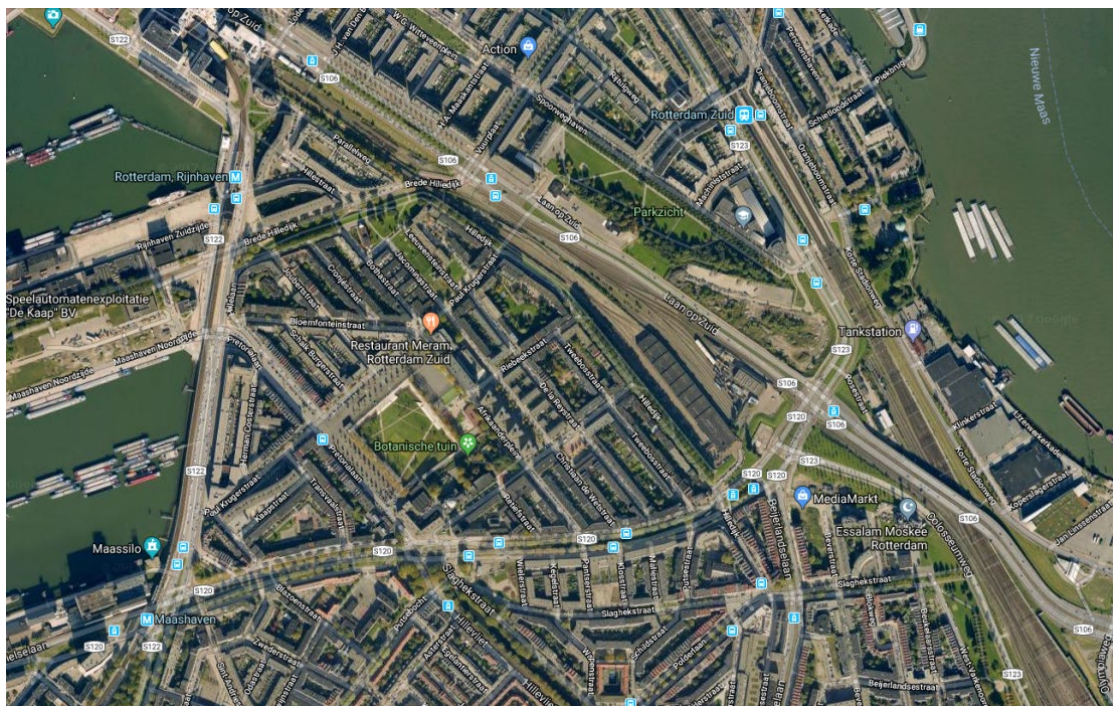
- Wat betekent de Afrikaanderwijk voor jou? (werk/woon-hoelang-hoe vaak)
- Hoe zou jij de Afrikaanderwijk omschrijven? (schoon, veilig, gezellig, rustig, gemengd)
- Hoe is de wijk in vergelijking met andere plekken denk je?
- Heb jij veel contacten hier? Wat voor?
- Ben jij een echte Afrikaanderwijker? → Wat houdt dat in? Wie niet?
- Heeft de Afrikaanderwijk bepaalde cultuur? Waar merk je dit?
- Voel jij je hierin thuis?
- Heb jij het gevoel dat je hier hoort? Waarom wel/niet?
- Wat moet anders?
- Voel jij je verantwoordelijk? Wie/wat dan?
- Ervaring mee?
- Wat is hier allemaal veranderd sinds je jeugd hier?
- Wat in afgelopen jaren?
- Verandering grenzen van de wijk?
- Verandering openheid van de wijk? (Hilledijk?)
- Wat doet dat met mensen die je tegenkomt?
- Voel jij je een echte Nederlander? Waarom? Wat is dat?
- Kan iedereen een echte NL worden?
- Waar denk je aan bij etniciteit? Bij ras? Bij een zwarte wijk? Bij wit?
- Hoe kijk jij aan tegen migratie stroom?
- Zijn hier gelijke kansen?
- Waar denk je aan bij discriminatie? Racisme?
- Ervaringen, voorbeelden?
- Verantwoordelijkheid voor succes?
- Waar denk jij aan bij polarisatie? Welke groepen? Wat is het probleem?
- Waar haal je informatie hierover vandaan?
- Hoe kijk jij naar Nederlands verleden en verantwoordelijkheid in heden? (zwarte piet, zeehelden, witte privilege)
- ... anders → cultuur niet altijd al veranderend?
- Hoe zie jij de toekomst voor je?
- Waar hoop je op? Wat verwacht je?
- Waar hoop je op qua politiek? Stemgedrag?

8.3 Shorter topic list for 'walks'

- Hoe zou je de Afrikaanderwijk omschrijven?
- Wat betekent Afrikaanderwijk voor jou?
- Ben jij een echte Afrikaanderwijker? Wie horen daar bij?
- Heerst hier een bepaalde cultuur?
- Overeenkomsten met burens?
- Voel jij je hierin thuis? Vrij om jezelf te zijn hier op straat? Iedereen zo?
- Wat zijn positieve dingen aan de wijk? + negatieve dingen?
- Wie daar verantwoordelijk voor?
- Doe je zelf iets?
- Sfeer in de wijk?
- Heeft wonen in wijk jou gevormd? → blik op migranten?
- Polarisatie
- Discriminatie
- Rechten
- Nederlandse identiteit
- Wat zegt dat over jou?

8.4 Maps





8.5 Call for informants

De 'witte Nederlander' in de Afrikaanderwijk

Onderzoek naar de inwoners van de Afrikaanderwijk

2018

- Bent u een 'witte' Nederlander woonachtig in de Afrikaanderwijk?
- Ben u bereid uw ervaringen binnen de wijk met mij te delen?
- Dan ben ik op zoek naar u!

Doel van onderzoek

De Afrikaanderwijk is een wijk waar steeds meer mensen met een migratie achtergrond wonen en daarom heel interessant met het oog op leven en omgaan met diversiteit. Er is al veel onderzoek gedaan in deze wijk, maar ik ga specifiek op zoek naar de ervaring van de 'witte Nederlander' in de wijk. Landelijk wordt er gesproken over mensen met een verschillende achtergrond die steeds meer langs elkaar heen leven. Ik wil onderzoeken hoe dit zich uit op buurtniveau en daarvoor heb ik uw ervaring en mening nodig. Kunnen we iets leren van de Afrikaanderwijk? Wat kan er beter in de Afrikaanderwijk?

Onderzoekswijze

Het betreft een kwalitatief onderzoek dus ik ben vooral op zoek naar inwoners die echt in gesprek met mij willen gaan over hoe zij de wijk en de inwoners ervaren. Alles wat u mij vertelt wordt natuurlijk anoniem verwerkt.

Over mij en mijn achtergrond

Ik ben Manou Hijlkema, 27 jaar, geboren en getogen in Utrecht. Ik doe dit onderzoek ter afsluiting van mijn master sociale geografie aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen. De uitvoering is aan de hand van mijn stage bij het Verwey-Jonker Instituut te Utrecht.



Contact

De aankomende tijd kunt u mij regelmatig door de wijk zien wandelen, observerend en op zoek naar inwoners die hun ervaringen met mij willen delen. Het kan zijn dat ik u aanspreek of zelfs een keer langs de deur kom om te vragen of u bereid bent tot een gesprek. Wilt u uw ervaringen met mij delen stuur dan een mailtje naar mhijlkema@verwey-jonker.nl, een berichtje op Facebook, of spreek mij aan als ik voorbij kom lopen. Vragen of suggesties zijn altijd welkom!

Alvast bedankt en hopelijk tot ziens!

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8.6 Nodes for Nvivo

De wijk

- Ruimtelijk
 - Bouw
 - Groen
 - Paden
 - Schoon
- Sociaal
 - Community
 - Cultuur karakter
 - Relaties
 - Sfeer
 - Taal
 - Veiligheid
- Verantwoordelijkheid

Delen met de burens

Ergernis buitenlanders

Ervaringen

- Ervaring Nederlanders
- Ervaring buitenlanders
- Ervaring anders
- Gevoelens wijk
- Thuis
- Vrij om zelf
- Veilig
- Anonimiteit
- Eigen imago rol
- Betekenis voor u
- Hoodizenship
- Plichten
- Rechten
- Verantwoordelijkheid
- In de wijk
- Verleden
- Toekomst
- Ideaalbeeld
- Individu
- Geslacht
 - Man
 - Vrouw
 - Anders

- Leeftijd
- Burgerlijke staat
- Levens geloofsovertuiging
- Werk
 - Ambtenaar
 - Loondienst
 - Werkeloos uitkering
 - Zzp eigen zaak
- Woongeschiedenis
 - Anders
 - Afrikaanderwijk
- Achtergrond
- Opleiding
 - Hoog (HBO WO)
 - Middel MBO
 - Laag t/m VO
- Politiek
- Locatie
- Opvattingen
- Afkomst
- Bruggen
- De Nederlander
- Discriminatie
- Gelijke kansen
- Buitenlanders
- Nederlanders
- Verantwoordelijkheid van slagen
 - Individu
 - Staat
- Verhouding met/zonder migratie achtergrond
- Vluchtelingen

9. Summary

In many places ranging from America to Australia to several European countries, it is right-wing populism and nationalist sentiments which are on the rise. The voices within these politics seem both protective towards national security and identity, and hostile towards 'other' sociocultural constructed groups, making migration and polarization pressing issues and increases a need for understanding these developments. Terms as 'angry white men', 'white rage' or the Dutch '*boze burgers*' are increasingly part of the vocabulary of today. Dissatisfaction with the national system, one's personal situation or political choices on distributing prosperity and (social) securities, result in more extreme political voting and the support for parties with negative stances towards sociocultural constructed 'others'. It is the popularity of the right-wing populist PVV which led to this thesis in the Afrikaanderwijk, a neighborhood in Rotterdam in which sympathizers of this party and their sociocultural 'others' share their living space, just outside the doorstep.

Theories on space and place, complemented by the bordering and ordering discourse would suggest that sharing space within borders would lead to a certain 'us-feeling' for all those within. Differences between those within borders would be experienced as less important, rather sameness would be emphasized, in together being different from those beyond borders. With this in mind, the situation in the mixed Afrikaanderwijk makes an interesting location for research as inhabitants share their living space within neighborhood borders, with the cultural and political other. The Afrikaanderwijk serves as a small-scale representation of things happening on the global scale as well. Differences collide in between borders on a daily basis and in order to pursue a deeper understanding of how the other is constructed, open and qualitative research methods are used and the choice is made to only focus on the, for social research rather unpopular part in need of understanding, the right-wing sympathizers. Leading to the main question of this thesis: *How does living in- and identifying with the same space effect the identification with the 'other' just outside the doorstep, focusing on right-wing sympathizers increasingly sharing the space of the Afrikaanderwijk with their neighboring 'others' with a migration background?*

During the fieldwork the very diverse characters and views of the *hoodizens*, a self-invented term for inhabitants of a neighborhood, resulted in the categorization of three hoodizen-types; type 1 the clear-headed, entails inhabitants who look at things as if they're all rather simple and clear, with a dispassionate attitude these inhabitants can be described as down-to-earth. Type 2 the bright-eyed, entails inhabitants who share a rather positive and open attitude towards the now and the future. Lastly, the main focus for this research is type 3, the fixed-sight. This last category indeed includes the sympathizers of right-wing populist parties, who share a rather fixed opinion on things, as if all is already decided upon, left is left and right is right, to even left is wrong and right is right. These categories are of course a simplification of reality as no one really completely fits a box, rather these categories are used to analyze and present different views more comprehensively.

The hoodizens of the Afrikaanderwijk show how the connecting effect of sharing the living space of a neighborhood is mainly a possibility very much depending on other processes of othering. Hoodizens calling the Afrikaanderwijk their home for a long time now, base a considerable part of their image of the Afrikaanderwijk on their memories. These memories connecting them to the neighborhood are filled with stories of the 'good old days' and former 'greatness', increasingly developing towards the discomfiting reality of today. As hoodizens declared the deep wish to be *honkvast* in a way, their *honk* has not been kept *vast* for them, meaning as these hoodizens have a wish to stay at their base, it is their base that's been undergoing changes. The memorized Afrikaanderwijk gets described as nice and safe, and also white, opposed to the current Afrikaanderwijk as messy, unsafe, and also hardly white. Here the 'white innocence' construction does its work, as all that is bad today, has come with the hands of 'others', keeping the hands of their

own group clean of any guilt. The will of hoodizens to be *honkvast*, and their negative view on change reveals an assumption of former stability where things were good, just as an alleged history of peace and unity of a nation, where the so-imagined cultural integrity gets threatened by newcomers. It is where negative experiences get attached to characteristics of 'others' as a group, as 'a people' where the trace or race question comes up. As traces of Dutch culture, including the past, are naturally present in the minds of its citizens, this also effects the way Dutch citizens construct society, themselves and the 'other'. How these right-wing sympathizers experience the need to protect their society and here turn to the 'others' to blame in times of downfall or uncertainties. Perhaps it is no coincidence that race embodies the greater part of the word trace; one's (t)race plays a decisive factor in constructing an us and them, and both race and trace should be taken into account in order to understand these processes of othering comprehensively.