Not in my backyard - a qualitative research about the effects of protest.

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ABSTRACT,

Over the last three decades, the annual amount of refugees increased a lot. This sparked a lot of political debate on how to handle the massive flow of immigrants. In 2014, a lot of emergency Asylum seeker centers (AZC's) had to be established in the Netherlands. In this thesis, Sixteen Dutch municipalities which experienced protests because of the planned AZC's were researched. In seven of the sixteen municipalities, the protests were so severe that they are considered to be non-normative. From the sixteen municipalities, nine experienced a change of policy. The aim of this thesis was to find out whether or not the protests had a significant influence on the municipalities council in the decision to change the policy towards AZC's. Furthermore, the aim was to find out how protest in terms of altering municipal AZC policies, relates to political opportunities within the municipality. Clear was that in order for the protests to influence the municipalities policy, often a political opportunity had to be present.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Subject and relevance.

Dutch farmers are holding rallies across the country demanding more control of power and change in policies meant to reduce nitrogen emissions. With long columns of thousands of heavy tractors and many more farmers they occupied one of the central squares of the Hague and threatened to take over the Houses of Parliament (Van der ploeg, 2020). Meanwhile Greta Thunberg was traveling around organizing school strikes for climate, demanding governments and businesses around the world to cut carbon emission faster than the current rate (Murray, 2020). In other parts of the world, Hongkongers are protesting against plans from the government to allow extradition to mainland China. Hackers group 'Anonymous' has hacked the United Nations' website to create a page for Taiwan. Situations in which citizens no longer support the status quo, maintained by the government or the system, can be called political opportunities (McAdam, 2013). Political opportunities can be strengthened by a multitude of things. One of these is social unrest. Social unrest is a situation in which people are not happy with the state of affairs in their country, state or municipality. When social unrest occurs at local level, it is usually expected that the municipalities, the police and other local organisations, such as housing associations and schools, try to minimize it. (Helsloot, Hoek, Kleuver, 2007; Jovanovic, Renn, Schröter, 2011; Arts & Butter, 2012). Most of the times municipalities would rather try to prevent social unrest a priori rather than try to minimize its consequences afterwards. However, because the causes of social unrest are hard to predict beforehand, this is usually unattainable. Furthermore, social unrest is normally characterized by a short but intense reaction in society (Smeets, Moors & Beatens, 2009). However, it can evolve into a more long term phenomenon if the underlying issue keeps returning. Such is the case in the Netherlands with the ongoing refugee crisis (VNG, 2015). In September 2015, the municipality of Enschede announced that they intended to accommodate 600 asylum seekers in the neighbourhood of Eschmark. This news resulted in anger amongst the local population (NU, 2015A). Several aldermen of Enschede received threats about the AZC (Dutch abbreviation: Asylum seeker's center). (Tubantia, 2015) and there were large scale protests that led to the arrest of six people (NU, 2015A). Police officers used billets to prevent a protest group from continuing their unwanted protest to the city center (Algemeen Dagblad, 2015). Later, Mayor Van Veldhuizen prohibited yet another protest march in fear of disturbances. This seems to be prompted by the many threatening messages posted on social media (Tubantia, 2016), which is growing in importance (Aral, 2019). In the end, ideas to locate the AZC in Enschede were postponed. This situation in which political decision were altered due to social unrest, stands not on itself. There were, to our best knowledge, sixteen municipalities that experienced comparable social unrest to plans locating AZC's, in the same period. Under which; Arnhem, Rotterdam and Purmerend. However, the means of expressing social unrest- such as through. protest, varies among the municipalities as well as its outcome in terms of canceling, delaying or changing plans to locate AZC. The aforementioned protests against AZC's were not ignored by the local governments. In ten of the sixteen municipalities where the citizens protested against an AZC, the AZC either got canceled or the amount of refugees housed was reduced. Protests can be divided in two different types. Specifically normative and non-normative protests. Normative protest can be defined as a form of protest where citizens take an initiative to show the government or municipalities that they do not agree with their plans, but do say within the limits of the law. Whereas non-normative can be defined as a form of protest where citizens break the law when expressing their opinions about the plans of the municipalities and governments (Barnes & Kaase, 1979; Moskalenko & McCauley, 2009). Did the protests impact the decisions? Scholars have addressed this question and developed several insights. For instance:: the 'ladder of citizen participation' written by Sherry Arnstein (1969). Added to that, articles and books written by Huberts (1988). Huberts published the book 'Protest en Pressie' translating to 'protest and pressure'. A book written by Opp (2009) 'Theories of political protest and social movements: A multidisciplinary introduction, critique, and synthesis'. While the aforementioned psychological literature has recently yields renewed interest in the motivations underpinning participation in collective action, the effectiveness of protest actions has received less attention. Amenta (2010) attempted to research the matter and suggests that protests are rather for agenda setting than to actually influence policy. Thus, while psychology has made progress in describing the motivations for people to engage in collective action, the consequences of those protest actions for achieving social change remain relatively untouched (Louis, 2009). This study will give light to the latter, the impact social movements make on policy. This study looks into the relationship between political opportunities, protests and political decisions. This will be done by using The Political process theory, developed by Mcadam (1982). This theory separates itself from other citizen participation and social movement literature, in that it directly focuses on the link between social movements and the effectiveness of protest.

1.2 Academic relevance

Literature states that citizens can influence policy with use of protests and their role in social movements. However, according to scholars it does not happen often. Arnstein (1969) wrote a paper about the impact of protests and came to the conclusion that people do not have a lot of influence on political decisions. A study conducted by Giugni (2007) questioned the influence of citizens on policy. He concluded that, social movements can be effective in initiating policy changes only when they can take advantage of favorable political

opportunities. This thesis will aim to contribute to the existing literature. Firstly, this thesis will look at the connection between political opportunities present in municipalities and the decision to cancel the AZC. Secondly, this thesis will compare normative and non-normative protests and the influence of them on the municipalities AZC plans. The results show that the protests had influence on the municipalities policy. This is at right angles to the existing literature which opens new doors for more research. Zorlu (2017) has done research on why people protest against AZC's, this thesis will continue that work into showing the effectivity of the protests.

1.3 Practical relevance

The refugee crisis has been a salient topic in Dutch politics over the last couple of years. People will undoubtedly remain divided over the issue, but both sides will want to know in what way their role in a social movement affects the final outcome regarding the establishment of an AZC.

1.4 Research Question

In this paper I will attempt to outline the effects protests have on political decisions. To do this I will answer the following research question: ***How did the protests in the sixteen municipalities influence the municipalities decision to change to plans of an AZC?***

Using scientific studies, but also paying respect to government documents, legal texts and news articles, this question will be answered.

1.5 Thesis Outline

This thesis will contain of 6 chapters. The first chapter of this paper examines the foundation of this thesis and introduces the central research question. Chapter two centers around the theory that is used as the basis of this research. The third chapter will consist of the methodology that is used to answer the research question. The fourth chapter will consist of the results. The fifth chapter will consist of the analysis of the results and the last chapter will conclude and discuss this paper.

2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A great deal of literature exists on the subject of citizen participation and social movements. A review of this literature indicates there are some commonly accepted principles that are used by scholars. The Political process theory (PPT), developed by Mcadam (1982) treats social movements as a type of political movement. Indicating that the roots of a social movement are found in the availability of political opportunities.

More precisely, the political process theory looks at political opportunities that are present or need to be present in order for social movements to achieve their objectives. If the government stands their ground, meaning that their position is strongly rooted, this indicates that the government is prone to repressive behavior meaning that the chances are high that a social

movement might fail. (Dobson, 2001; Foweraker, 1995; Phongpaichit, 1999; Tilly, 1978). The Political Process Theory is the central theory within this study because of various strengths. In contrary to its predecessors, Political Process Theory has defined social movements as efforts regarding politics, made by moral and innovative actors to serve a collective interest. Its strengths include the recognition of different governmental structures (Kriesi, 1995; Tarrow, 1996), the impact of other social movements (Myer & Whittier, 1994) and use of protest waves, or so called protest cycles, which include viewing a social movements as process instead of a singular event (Almeida, 2008). PTT has been effectively employed in a wide range of contexts (Almeida, 2008; McAdam, 1999). There is an alternative for the usage of PTT in this study, especially Social Movement Impact Theory. But this theory is merely looking at organizational factors of social movements (Gamson & Wolfsfield, 1993). Meyer (2004) reviews the political process theory and found that scholars disagree on some basic principles. Since McAdam published his book "Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency", scholars extended and challenged the work. For instance, Caren (2007) describes that in his vision of the theory there are five key components that determine the effectiveness of protest groups in altering political decisions: political opportunities, mobilizing structures, framing processes, protest cycles, and contentious repertoires. The Theory of Neal Caren (2007) is broad and contains a lot of variables. Therefore, in order to attempt to answer the research question, the theory needs to be reduced in such a way that it will keep its relevance but can be researched with great precision. Therefore, a careful choice between the variables and its importance is made. .

The variables that will be used in this study are political opportunities and protest cycles (Kivunja, 2018). Firstly, there will be a look at the variable 'Political opportunities'. Political opportunities are a vital aspect in the political process theory. Without having political opportunities the objectives of the social movements have a hard time to reach their goals (McAdam, 2013). Political opportunities exist when the political system has weaknesses. There can be varying reasons why these weaknesses occur. However, they usually depend on a situation in which the people no longer support the status quo maintained by the system. The opportunities that arise from these weaknesses can be strengthened by other faors like political unrest or the disappearance of oppressive structures within a society which prevented people from undertaking political actions. For instance, the political enfranchisement of women and minorities was the driving force behind a lot of political movements in the twentieth century. Furthermore, Political orientation is an important factor that influences political opportunities according to Jeffery M. Paige (1971), He states in his paper 'Political Orientation and Riot Participation' that both political efficacy and political orientation have an influence on the subjective political culture, in that political orientation influences the feeling of trust in the local politics.

According to Neal Caren, protest cycles are also a significant determinant in the success of social movements. Within PPT, protests are the most important way a movement can express its point of view regarding a certain issue. Aside from this, protests also raise awareness among the general population, help with the recruitment of new members and increase solidarity among existing members. a protest cycle is a duration of time during which a movement protests a lot more than usual. A contemporary example of a protest cycle is the protest cycle that occurred during September 2019. During this month, climate change activists called for mass protest all throughout

the world. In the end, there were protests in about 150 countries with millions of participants worldwide. To continue, If a challenger places its issue onto the political agenda, it has increased its probability of winning some collective benefits for its larger constituency. Influencing the political agenda matters for achieving legislative gains (Baumgartner & Mahoney 2005), and movement protest is most influential at this early stage of the policy process.

The main goal of this study is to set out how protests, within multiple municipalities, influence the decisions made by the same municipalities. In this case, the decision about the establishment of an AZC. Political Process Theory is the theory used within this study to help develop a coherent and comprehensive framework about the variables planned to investigate. Although, PPT consists out of five different components, only two of those components are used to explain the central research question. Mobilizing structures, framing processes and contentious repertoires are not used as components for this study because, when focusing on too many variables, it becomes very difficult to propose a clear framework for the examination of the research problem. The information that is found when using more variables is often too general and it makes it easy to trail off into tangents which are unnecessary.

2.2 RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS

2.2.1 Political Opportunities

McAdam (1996) states that there are four dimensions of political opportunities. Firstly, the relative openness or closure of the institutionalized political system. Secondly, the stability or instability of that broad set of elite alignments that typically undergird a polity. Thirdly, the presence or absence of elite allies. Lastly, the state's capacity and propensity for repression. A more recent research by Tarrow (2011) suggests that the presence of elite allies is the most important in the case of political opportunities. He states that if the challengers (activists) have allies that can negotiate on their behalf (the municipal parties), they are more encouraged to take action. William Gamson (1990) provides historical evidence for similar processes in a democratic system. The process of creating political opportunities by social movements is quite simple when elite allies are present. Firstly, a social movement needs to protest to address an issue and put it on the political agenda (Agnone, 2007). After that, the municipal parties will debate about the issue and the allies can use the current sentiment as an argument. A research by Hutter & Vliegenthart (2018) show that parties do respond to street protests. Added to that, they are more likely to respond if they are in opposition and if their competitors have reacted to the issue.

According to Amenta (2010), if a social movement places its issue onto the political agenda, it has increased its probability of winning some collective benefits. Influencing the political agenda matters for achieving legislative gains (Baumgartner & Mahoney 2005), and protest is most influential at the early stage of the policy process. According to Tarrow (2010), early stage activists can take the initial disorganization or unpreparedness as a permanent weakness.

In the 1990s European countries experienced a massive increase in asylum applications. Over the last three decades, the annual amount went from 15,000 to 300,000. This sparked a lot of political debate on how to handle the massive flow of immigrants (Hatton, 2004). The Netherlands was no exception to this phenomenon. According to the UNHCR (2001) The Netherlands was the country with the biggest growth of asylum seekers, causing a fierce political debate about policies towards asylum seekers. This debate is seen as a debate between left leaning and right leaning parties. In general, most people associate right leaning parties with anti-immigration policies rather than left leaning parties (Mudde, 2010 & De Witte, 1996). However, the literature adds more nuance to this perception. The study of Alonso & Fonseca (2011) hypothesized that mainstream parties, both leftwing and rightwing, will try to exploit anti-immigrant sentiments in a country to win votes. This would indicate that not only the extreme right is the driving force behind the recent 'anti-immigrant turn' of electoral politics in Western Europe. Meguid (2008) confirmed this hypothesis by showing that, in a country like France in the 1980s and 1990s, the extreme right parties vote-share increased even as the percentage of immigrants decreased or levelled off. Meaning that right leaning parties gained ground without immigration being an issue. Thus Meguid argued that the connection between right leaning parties and a conservative view on immigration was weaker than thought before.

However, the biggest part of the literature states the opposite. A lot of scholars state that the right "owns" immigration issues in voting campaigns and that the general view of right leaning parties is towards immigration is more conservative (Ivarsflaten, 2005). Research by Thranhardt (1995) confirms that right leaning parties are often seen as being more critical towards immigration. Ignazi (2003) goes as far as stating that immigration is a large variable in the emergence of extreme right parties. According to Natter (2020) It is widely assumed that left-wing governments tend to be pro-immigration and that right-wing governments are generally in favor of restrictive immigration policies. Added to that, according to Fennema (2006) all the extreme right parties have in common that since the 1980s all their campaigns are against the growing influx of immigrants. From the 1980s onwards, the theme around the migrant problem became the" unique selling point "of these parties. The aforementioned literature provides enough evidence to show that there is indeed a contradiction in views on immigration between left and right leaning parties.

One of the main reasons for the primary focus on elite allies within this study is because of its high importance within the components of political opportunities (Tarrow, 2011). Not including the other components of this variable, namely the relative openness or closure of institutionalized political systems, the stability or instability of elite alignments and the capacity and propensity of the state for repression, has a variety of reasons. Regarding too many general information sources, a difficulty of explaining many variables in detail, the difficulty of creating a clear framework including too many variables and the decision about what journals and articles to include and look into.

Proposition 1: ***Municipalities with political allies present are more likely to change AZC policies to protests.***

2.2.2 Normative vs. Non-normative protests

Political process theory forms the basis of this thesis. While looking at how social movements influence political decisions,

protest cycles seem to have a large influence. A definition of protest cycles was introduced in the research of Tarrow (1994). He defines this phenomenon as "a phase of heightened contention across the political system", where actions and interactions between social movements and authorities are intensified. These interactions may end in three different things, especially reform, repression or revolution. Tarrow (1994) also list multiple characteristics of protest cycles, including a fast diffusion of collection action, the creation of political opportunities by already established social movements, innovation in the midst of a disagreement, the establishment of change within collective action frames, the coexistence of both organized and unorganized social movements and an increasement in the interaction between social movements and authorities. During the phase of heightened contention, different types of protest can emerge (Della Porta, 2013). Two forms of protest are important to look at while determining the influence of protests in protest cycles, non-normative (violent) and normative (non-violent) protests. There is a large dissemination between the effectiveness of the two. To take the two forms of protest together, the term collective action will be used. Louis (2009) defines collective action as a movement that plays a significant indirect role in effecting social change through changing public opinion.

The term collective action can include a wider range of disparate actions. Scholars have been at pains to distinguish between normative and non-normative forms of collective action. However, it is important to have a clear definition of the two in order to create and test an hypothesis. Scholars distinguish normative protests by actions that are moderate but not militant (e.g., Barnes & Kaase, 1979) and those that reflect activism but not radicalism (e.g., Moskalenko & McCauley, 2009). So, we will define normative protests as protests where citizens take initiatives to show they are not agreeing to the plans of the municipalities, but do stay within the limits of the law (e.g. attending peaceful protests). Non-normative protests will be defined as protests where citizens take initiatives to show they do not agree with the plans of the municipalities but break the law by doing so (e.g. violence).
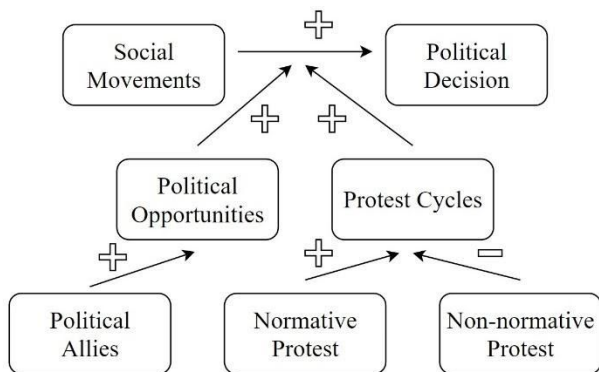

Figure 1: Conceptual framework based on the Political Process theory (Mcadam, 1982; Caren, 2007)

Scholars have argued that violence is vital to spark social change. Like Thomas Jefferson said "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants." However, one can find a contrasting theme in the historical, socio-political literature. Mahatma Gandhi emphasizes the importance of strategic non-violence. Recent empirical evidence supports his claim. For example, Stephen and Chenoweth (2008) wrote a paper called `Why Civil

Resistance Works`. They found that major non-violent campaigns have achieved a success rate of 53%, compared to 26% for violent resistance campaigns. To extend on that literature, Jones and Libicki (2008) analysed 648 terrorist groups between 1968 and 2006. They found that of 268 terrorist groups that had ended, a large part (43%) had done so by rejoining formal political processes. Interestingly, this number was six times larger than the number of terrorist groups that successfully crushed through military intervention, namely 7%. Looking at the aforementioned literature can one state that non-normative protest is ineffective in swaying public and political opinion to achieve their goals? Or might it be the case that non-normative protest is counterproductive? Existing literature supports this case. However, is this the case for AZC's?

The literature presented above, forms the foundation for the following research proposition.

Proposition 2: ***Non-normative protests are more likely to result in altering policies regarding AZC's than normative protests.***

Research Methodology
3.1 Method
To answer the research question, will have to select cases. At the moment of writing, there are 51 asylum seeker centers in the Netherlands. Our case selection consists of sixteen cases which are not selected at random. In order to be relevant to the research question, there are some criteria which the cases have to meet. This is called criterion sampling (Bryman, 2012). The three criteria are as follows. Firstly, The opening date of the AZC has to be around 2015. This will make the research more reliable, since the political climate in the Netherlands will be similar in each case. Secondly, there should have been some sort of citizen participation in the AZC discussion, be it normative protest, non-normative protest or just presence at a council meeting. Lastly, there may only be one AZC selected per municipality. Since there are sixteen cases, this will be a multiple case study. By comparing the cases, the propositions can be checked and the research question can be answered.

After the cases were selected, the data was collected and coded. To collect the data, Qualitative research was done. The main source of data were newspaper articles. Both national and local newspapers have been used. In cases where a municipality is too small to have a detailed article about the protests in a national newspaper, local newspapers were used. Kuttschreuter et al. (2011) showed that in the media coverage of a firework disaster, local newspapers used significantly more human interest and economic consequences frames. This could be explained by the readership of the newspapers. The local newspaper focused on the relevance of the crisis for local residents and, therefore, made use of the human interest frame and the economic consequences frame more often than the national newspaper. The data was collected via LexisNexis, a digital newspaper database. It was important that the search of the studies was unbiased and this search started with the identification of different keywords and search terms. Concepts discussed in chapter two are included in the key words and search terms. Some of these terms that were used are "AZC" AND "Protest" OR "Gewelddadig Protest" , "Asielzoekerscentrum" AND "Protest" OR "Gewelddadig

Protest", "AZC" AND "Vluchtelingen" OR "Activisten". Furthermore, two things had been considered. Firstly, the date of the article. Secondly, the specificity of the article. After the relevant newspaper articles were collected, the useful information was extracted, ordered and coded.

To get a clear view on the political orientation from the municipalities, a political spectrum had to be created. A political spectrum is a commonly used and taught indication of the positions of the political parties. According to Heywood (2017) a political spectrum is a system to characterize and classify different political positions in relation to one another. These positions sit upon one or more geometric axes that represent independent political dimensions. However, there is a problem that is created by using the political spectrum. Namely, the division between left and right leaning on the spectrum is an average of all the different points of views. For example, a party can have a position that is "left" concerning immigration politics but "right" concerning ethics.

To get a clear division on "left" and "right" in immigration politics, a political spectrum based solely on immigration politics had been created by reading, analyzing and extracting data from the party manifestos and with the help of the analysis of the NGO VluchtelingenWerk. Each party received a score between -5 (conservative towards immigration) and +5 (progressive towards immigration). The score was based on five matters. Firstly, does the party want to accept any refugees? Secondly, does the party only want small AZC's? Thirdly, does the party want to invest in employing refugees in their own region. Fourthly, does the party want more policy from Europe? Lastly, does the party want to broaden the children's pardon?

The PVV is known as a right leaning party when it comes to immigration politics. *"Revoke all previously granted asylum residence permits for a definite period. Close all the AZCs"* (Volkrant, 2017). Added to that, they state that *"Real refugees can always be helped in their own region"* (Nu.nl 2015). The PVV can be placed at the far right side of the spectrum. The VVD is a bit more generous if it comes to asylum policy. *"The VVD believes that people who are fleeing from war and violence should be taken care of. These refugees are looking for security, but have already found it in the safe European countries on the edges of Europe."* (Nu.nl 2015) The SGP's party manifesto is quite similar to the VVD. By stating: "*Asylum seekers who are not entitled to stay should be deported as soon as possible"* they are placed at +2 on the spectrum. The 50Plus party manifesto states that they want to "*help refugees in their own region"*. However, they want to support refugees with basic needs if they are in the Netherlands. (50Pluspartij). *"The CDA considers it a moral duty to provide refugees with a safe haven in times of war"*. However, they will have to be sent back when the country of origin is considered safe again (CDA Party manifesto). The PvdA states that, *"Asylum seekers with a residence status receive full assistance, care and opportunities in the housing market"* (nu.nl 2015). The D66 is even more generous towards refugees, their party manifesto states that there is no difference in refugees and native Dutch people in terms of care and assistance. The Christenunie states that they want to treat refugees like they wanted to be treated themselves. Integration is of mayor importance and we have to help them find jobs in the Netherlands (Nu.nl, 2015). The SP states that they want to give purpose to the life of refugees, they need to get a vision on the future. (SP party manifesto). Groenlinks can

be seen as the most leaning party. They state that the Netherlands currently still takes too few recognized refugees from Greece and Italy (Volkskrant, 2017).

PVV	+5
VVD	+3
SGP	+2
50Plus	+1
CDA	0
PvdA	-1
D66	-3
Christeunie	-3
Sp	-4
Groenlinks	-5

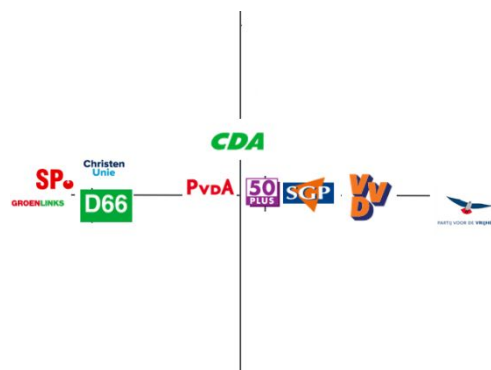**Table 1: Score Immigration Politics**

Figure 2: Political spectrum based on immigration politics

3.2 ANALYSIS & CODING

Content analysis is a widely used qualitative research technique. Initially, researchers used content analysis as either a qualitative or quantitative method in their studies (Berelson, 1952). Later, content analysis was used primarily as a quantitative research method, with text data coded into explicit categories and then described using statistics. This approach is sometimes referred to as quantitative analysis of qualitative data (Morgan, 1993). More recently, the potential of content analysis as a method of qualitative analysis has been recognized, leading to its increased application and popularity (Nandy & Sarvela, 1997). According to Hsieh & Shannon (2005), there are three forms of qualitative data analysis that have been useful to interpret data from content. From the three forms, conventional, directed, and summative, the latter will be used to analyze the collected content. Typically, a study using a summative approach to qualitative content analysis starts with identifying and quantifying certain words or content in text with the purpose of understanding the contextual use of the words or content. In the case of this thesis, there will be a selected few standard keywords that will be researched for every municipality. Additionally, there will be unique keywords created during the reading and studying of the newspaper articles. To organize the keywords a codebook will be created. The codebook will have four sections. The first section being the topic of the articles. The topic of the articles refers to the municipality the articles are focused on. The second section will consist of the axial code, the overarching main theme of the keywords. The axial codes are the same for every municipality. The axial codes are respectively, plans, normative protest, non-normative protest, change of plans. The third section consists of the codes. The

codes are the preselected keywords and the keywords created during the analysis of the content. The keywords are (translated from Dutch to English); Plans, Violence, Threats, Police, Arrest. The last section consists of the quotes that are extracted from the content. These quotes will be interpreted and used in the Results section.

4. RESULTS

In the results section, the situation in the sixteen municipalities will be explained briefly. Firstly, there will be a look at how citizens tried to influence the decision to change the plans for the AZC through protests. Secondly, there will be a look at what political orientation was present at the time of the protests. Lastly, there will be a look at the results of the protests in terms of altering political decision in light of our propositions.

4.1 Enschede

4.1.1 Protest cycles

In September 2015, the municipality of Enschede announced that they want to accommodate 600 asylum seekers in the neighbourhood of Eschmark. This resulted in anger amongst the local population. (NU, 2015A). Several aldermen of Enschede received threats about the AZC (Dutch abbreviation: Asylum seeker's center). (Tubantia, 2015) and there were large scale protests that led to the arrest of six people (NU, 2015A). Police officers used billets to prevent the group from continuing their unwanted protest (Algemeen Dagblad, 2015). Later, Mayor Van Veldhuizen prohibited yet another protest march in fear of disturbances. This seems to be prompted by the many threatening messages posted on social media (Tubantia, 2016). The weeks after the first protest, were very uncertain both for the protest group and the municipality. The protest group, which started to grow in numbers, gave itself a name: DGT (Dolphia against the municipality). (AD, 2016a) DGT was put away as an extreme right leaning club. However, they label themselves as concerned citizens. In Februari 2016, five members of DGT threw molotov cocktails at a mosque. According to the public prosecutor, this attack was a protest against the AZC. In the end the arrival of the AZC gets called off. However, according to a spokesman of the municipality, the reason for calling off the AZC is, it not being needed anymore because of the 'lower than expected inflow of refugees'. The AD (2016) confirms this by stating that the municipality of Enschede announced that it would consider a damage claim of several thousand if the arrival of the AZC is canceled. Enschede wants the sunk costs to be for the account of the State Secretary. *"The municipality has made all kinds of preparatory costs,"* a spokesperson told the AD.

4.1.2 Political orientation

The municipal elections from 2014 [appendix A], show that D66, SP and Burgerbelangen Enschede were the three biggest parties in Enschede (Allecijfers, 2014). The coalition consisted of D66, BurgerBelangen Enschede, CDA, VVD and ChristenUnie. This means that according to the political spectrum from 1A, The political orientation in Enschede is left leaning. Furthermore, the local party, BurgerBelangen Enschede, took a left stance in the debate. Their party manifesto consisted of the argument: *"The party Burgerbelangen Enschede believes that our municipality also has an obligation to receive refugees within our municipal boundaries"* (Burgerbelangen Enschede, 2015)

4.2 Gorinchem

4.2.1 Protest cycles

In October 2015, the municipality of Gorinchem announced that they want to house 300 asylum seekers in Lingewijk, a part of Gorinchem. The activist group, which call themselves ~~vluchte~~Lingenwijk started a petition and collected 700 signatures (Rijnmond 2015). The spokesman of the activist group tells RTL news that the protests will go in a proper way without any destruction or threats (RTLnieuws, 2015)
Eventually the CAO blows off the AZC. The location of the AZC would be too expensive. A new location in Gorinchem is chosen.

4.2.2 Political orientation

As can be seen in Appendix B, the PvdA, VVD and SP were the three biggest parties during the 2014 elections. The coalition was formed with the SP, VVD, SGP, D66 and GroenLinks. This coalition is left leaning.

4.3 Geldermalsen

4.3.1 Protest cycles

In the end of 2015 the city council announced that they want to house 1500 refugees in the municipality of Geldermalsen. (Omroep Gelderland, 2015). The citizens are not happy with the size of the AZC and show their dissatisfaction through social media. *"The AZC is literally in my backyard. my vegetable company is on the border of the AZC."* (RTL Nieuws, 2015). Social media are also used to organize a protest march on the evening of the city council meeting. The protest starts off peacefully. *"People put out banners around the city".* (De Volkskrant, 2015a) However, the atmosphere turns grim quickly. During the council meeting around 2000 people are standing outside of the city hall. Just a few minutes into the meeting, the mobile unit of the police has to intervene. The newspapers articles mention that rioters are throwing fireworks and rocks at the city hall. Additionally, they *"threw rocks, fireworks and empty cans at the police".* (De Volkskrant 2015b) After two months, the city council decides that there will be no AZC in Geldermalsen. They claim to have discussed the arrival of the AZC with the citizens. The council states that *"On the basis of all these opinions, and the expressed worries about the political situations, the vast majority of the city council of Geldermalsen shares the opinion that there is no support for an AZC in our municipality."* (Nu.nl 2016)

4.3.2 Political orientation

Appendix C, shows that the three parties with the most votes were Dorpsbelangen, SGP and VVD. The local party, Dorpsbelangen is right leaning in the AZC debate. Their party manifesto states that they do not want an AZC of any size. (Dorpsbelangen, 2019) The coalition consisted of Dorpsbelangen, SGP en CDA, this is a right leaning coalition.

4.4 Harderwijk

4.4.1 Protest cycles

In september 2015, the municipality of Harderwijk announced that they are going to house 800 asylum seekers in an old barrack in the neighbourhood of Kranenburg-noord (OmroepGelderland, 2015). Harderwijk Anders (2015), a political protest group, created a Facebook page and attempted

to negotiate with the city council. They requested the municipality to half the amount of incoming asylum seekers. The negotiations seemed to have worked when the city council agreed with their request. However, the final decision of the COA concluded that 800 asylum seekers would be housed. (De stentor, 2018).

4.4.2 Political orientation

The three parties with the most votes were the Chritenunie, CDA and the VVD. The coalition consisted of the ChristenUnie, CDA, Stadspartij Harderwijk Anders (SHA) and the VVD. The SHA is left leaning towards immigration. They support the plans of an AZC. This means that the coalition is left leaning.

4.5 Oranje

4.5.1 Protest cycles

In the smallest village from the Drenthe province, Oranje, things got out of hand at the start of 2015 (Joop, 2015). There was a little arousal as the COA revealed that an AZC, where 700 people would be housed, would be established. The little arousal quickly turned into heavy protests as the secretary of state, Klaas Dijkhoff, decided that this number would be doubled.. Busses with asylum seekers got blocked while people threw rocks at them. *"Videos where a woman attacks the car of Dijkhoff, also a member of parliament for the VVD, went viral on the news"* (RTVDrenthe, 2015). After this non-normative protest, the dutch house of representatives decided to debate about it. The motion gets accepted and the amount of asylum seekers is brought back to its original number (NOS, 2016)

4.5.2 Political orientation

Appendix E shows that the PvdA, CDA and the D66 were the three biggest parties in the municipality of Midden-Drenthe. The coalition consisted of the PvdA, CDA, ChristenUnie and GroenLinks. This means that the political orientation is left leaning which results in less political opportunities for the activists.

4.6 Purmerend

4.6.1 Protest cycles

In the end of 2015 the city council announced that 750 asylum seekers will be housed in Purmerend (NH nieuws, 2015) After this announcement, a city council meeting is organised. During the meeting, citizens rush the council chamber. Although, the police are forced to remove the citizens from the meeting. *"The police ... Send away",*(De Volkskrant, 2015) There were no criminal offenses committed. The meeting is canceled after those present start chanting anti-AZC chants. *"They clap and chant: 'No AZC, No AZC'"*(NH nieuws 2015A). After a long debate, the mayor decides to cancel the AZC. (NH nieuws 2015b)

4.6.2 Political orientation

The three biggest parties in Purmerend were the Stadspartij, D66 and PvdA. The coalition consisted of The Stadspartij, D66, VVD, CDA and AOV. This coalition is right leaning.

4.7 Rijswijk

4.7.1 Protest cycles

At the start of September, 2015, the mayor of Rijswijk announced that there are plans to house 500 asylum seekers in

Rijswijk (Omroep West, 2015a). During the weeks following the announcement, the city council planned meetings where questions could be asked. During the meeting, both opponents and advocates of the AZC could speak freely. There was some attempt to protest when a facebook page called out people to join a protest march against the COA. A concerned citizen told Omroep West (2015): *"My message ... apparently people rather protest on the internet." (*Omroep West, 2015b) Besides the Facebook page, nothing major was mentioned in the newspapers. This indicates that there was no protest. After a long city council meeting, the council agrees to continue with the original plans. (Omroep West, 2015c)

4.7.2 Political orientation

The three parties with the most votes were Beter Voor Rijswijk, Gemeentebelangen and D66. The coalition consisted of Gemeentebelangen Rijswijk, D66, VVD, SP en GroenLinks. This is a left leaning coalition.

4.8 Heesch

4.8.1 Protest cycles

In the start of 2016 the mayor of Bernheze, the overarching municipality of Heesch, announced that they want to house 500 asylum seekers in Heesch for a time period of ten years (Trouw, 2016a). The citizens of Heesch immediately responded by putting two dead pigs at the location where the AZC was planned (Trouw 2016b). Next to the pigs they put a banner which stated "500 is too much". A spokesperson of the citizens of Heesch told the Brabants Dagblad, a local newspaper, that they are not particularly against an AZC in the neighbourhood. However, they are against the size and the duration of the AZC. (BD, 2016). A few days after the pig incident, the citizens organized a protest via Facebook. The organizers of the protests planned a peaceful protest. However, when people started throwing eggs at the Town hall, the atmosphere changed. *"The square in front of the town hall was 'swept clean' by the police after the rioters started throwing fireworks and eggs."* (Trouw 2016c) After some debate, the city council decided that the plans for the azc will be canceled.

4.8.2 Political orientation

In Appendix H can be seen that the CDA, SP and Lokaal were the three biggest parties during the municipal elections. The local party, Lokaal, has voted against an azc for 500 people. Therefore, they can be viewed as right leaning. The coalition consisted of the CDA, Lokaal, D66 and SP. Since the CDA and SP got most of the votes, it is fair to state that the coalition is left leaning.

4.9 Steenbergen

4.9.1 Protest cycles

At the start of 2015, the council of the municipality of Steenbergen announced that they are considering establishing an AZC where 600 asylum seekers would be housed (NOS, 2016). During the council meeting the council declared ordinance. The police received information that hooligans from the football club Feyenoord wanted to disturb the meeting (NOS, 2015). During the meeting proponents of the AZC got yelled at. In the end the council decided to cancel the AZC. A spokesman of the Citizens, Sander Booij, told the NOS:*" We have set an example for the rest of the country. If you express your opinion and show that you disagree, then the council will listen"*. The Volkskrant (2015) stated that *"The information*

evening went without the expected violent incidents, the mayor said that the atmosphere was 'grim'."

4.9.2 Political orientation

In appendix I, the results from the 2014 municipal elections, can be seen that the three biggest parties were GewoonLokaal, VVD and the Volkspartij. In this municipality, it is worth it to point out that Geert Wilders received the biggest amount of votes in the provincial elections. The coalition consisted of GewoonLokaal, VVD, D66, CDA and Steenbergen Anders. This is a right leaning coalition.

4.10 Otterlo

4.10.1 Protest cycles

In the end of 2015 the council of Ede announced that they are planning to house 600 citizens in Otterlo. (Telegraaf, 2015). The citizens of Otterlo, a village with 2400 inhabitants, stayed calm after the announcement. They do not particularly disagree with an AZC. They do however disagree with the largeness of the AZC. A couple of days after the announcement the citizens of Otterlo held a protest. Banners with the text "600 no, 100 okay" are carried around. The protests were peaceful (Omroep Gelderland, 2015A). A poll was held in Otterlo. From the 2400 citizens 1465 filled in the poll. 1445 were against an azc with 600 asylum seekers. (Omroep Gelderland, 2015B) Van de Knaap, the mayor of Ede, understands the anger of the citizens of Otterlo and assures them that they will not house 600 asylum seekers in Otterlo (Hart van Nederland, 2015)

4.10.2 Political orientation

The biggest parties in Ede were respectively the SGP, Christenunie and CDA. The coalition was formed by the CDA, ChristenUnie, GemeenteBelangen, D66 and PvdA. This is a left leaning coalition.

4.11 Westelbeers

4.11.1 Protest cycles

In the end of 2015, the mayor of Oirschot announced that 212 asylum seekers would be housed in Westelbeers. After the announcement the citizens started protesting by putting up banners that stated "50 okay, 212 no" (Telegraaf, 2015). The citizens of Westelbeers are angry because the municipality does not allow citizens to participate in the debates. The citizens request a referendum but the city council denies the request. The plans do not change and the 212 asylum seekers will be housed in Westelbeers.

4.11.2 Political orientation

As can be seen in Appendix K, the three biggest parties were the CDA, de gewone man and the SP. The coalition consisted of the CDA, SP, Dorpsvisie and the PvdA. This is a left leaning coalition.

4.12 Zeewolde

4.12.1 Protest cycles

At the start of April in 2015, the COA requested the city council of Zeewolde to house 1500 refugees.
(Leefbaar Zeewolde, 2015). Right after the news goes public, a protest page on Facebook is created and liked over 1100 times. This peaceful protest gets a lot of attention in national politics. Geert Wilders, party leader of the PVV, came to the city council meeting to give his opinion. (NOS, 2015)After the meeting the city council decided that 1500 refugees is too much. *"According to ... support".* According to the mayor 600 refugees is enough. He emphasizes that his decision is based on

the opinions of the citizens of Zeelwolde and not based on the speech of Geert Wilders. (Omroep Flevoland, 2015)

4.12.2 Political orientation

The three biggest parties after the 2014 municipal elections were Leefbaar Zeewolde, Christenunie and VVD. The coalition was formed by the parties Leefbaar Zeewolde, ChristenUnie, VVD and CDA. The local party, Leefbaar Zeewolde is right leaning. Omroep Flevoland (2015) stated that *"the biggest party of Zeelwolde wants a smaller AZC than is being proposed".* The coalition is right leaning.

4.13 Beverwaard

4.13.1 Protest cycles

In the end of 2015, the mayor of Rotterdam, Aboutaleb, announced that 600 refugees will be housed in Beverwaard. (NOS, 2015) The sentiment in the neighbourhood turned negative and people were encouraging each other to protest. *"They come ... steal".* (volkskrant, 2018) The protests start out peaceful. Via a Facebook page, the citizens show their anger. However, the peaceful protests do not last for long. During the city council meeting, rioters throw with fireworks, rocks and destroy a few police cars. *"The rocks ... from Rotterdam".* Besides that, the mayor of Rotterdam, Aboutaleb, canceled the meeting halfway because there was too much noise. The police arrested three citizens during the protest. The efforts of the citizens did not pay off, the city council decided to establish the AZC (Trouw, 2016).

4.13.2 Political orientation

The three biggest parties after the 2014 municipal elections were Leefbaar Rotterdam, PvdA and D66. Leefbaar Rotterdam is right leaning in the AZC debate. The website of Leefbaar Rotterdam (2015) stated that "*Leefbaar Rotterdam has always been against an AZC. However, they can not count on the support of any other political party.*" (Leefbaar Rotterdam, 2015) The coalition consisted of Leefbaar Rotterdam, D66 and CDA. Although Leefbaar Rotterdam is right leaning, the coalition is still left leaning because of the other parties involved.

4.14 Blitterswijck

4.14.1 Protest cycles

In the end of 2015, the COA announced that there are plans to house 750 refugees in the Blitterswijck neighborhood. (1limburg 2015A) The college van burgemeester en wethouders agrees with the plans from the COA. The city council is the only party left to agree. During the city council meeting, which is documented, the citizens of Blitterswijck show their skepticism. During the meeting, a citizen asks:" is there a possibility to decrease the size of the AZC". The mayor answers:" It is either 750 or none". (Venray raadsinformatie, 2015) The citizens argued that it is not responsible to have 750 refugees while the neighbourhood has 1100 citizens. *"56% of the citizens want a maximum of 250 refugees for a maximum of two years".* (1limburg 2015B)After the city council disagrees with the COA and the college B&W, they propose to house 450 refugees instead of 750. (1limburg 2015C) After the actuall inflow of refugees turns out to be lower than expected, only 400 refugees were housed in Blitterswijck. (limburger, 2017)

4.14.2 Political orientation

The three parties with the most seats after the 2014 municipal elections were CDA, SP and Pp2. The coalition consisted of CDA, Samenwerking Venray and D66. This is a left leaning coalition.

4.15 Tilburg

4.15.1 Protest cycles

In the end of September in 2015, the COA proposed a plan to house 400 refugees in the Fatima neighborhood in Tilburg. At an informational meeting organized by the city council, the citizens of Tilburg show their dissatisfaction about the plans. *"at the meeting the local residents made a lot of noise"* (NOS, 2016). When the mayor proposed the plants, they were often answered with *"a lot of shouting"*. (bd, 2015)The city council decided to continue with the original plans and establish the AZC for 400 refugees.

4.15.2 Political orientation

The three biggest parties in Tilburg were respectively D66, SP and Lijst smolders. The Coalition consisted of D66, SP, CDA and GroenLinks. This is a left leaning coalition

4.16 Hardenberg

4.16.1 Protest cycles

In the start of 2015 the municipality of Hardenberg announced that they want to house 1000 asylum seekers in Hardenberg. Before the city council takes its decision, they organized three informational meetings. (Hardenberg.nu, 2015). At the meetings, the citizens argue that 1000 asylum seekers is too much. The city council agrees and lowers the amount of asylum seekers to 700. (Gemeente Hardenberg, 2015)

4.16.2 Political orientation

The three biggest parties in Hardenberg were respectively the CDA, Christenunie and PvdA. The coalition consisted of the CDA, CU, PvdA, D66 and VVD which is a left leaning coalition.

4.17 General results of all municipalities

4.17.1 Political opportunity

The first proposition states that the success of protest in terms of altering municipal AZC policies, relates to the presence of political allies within the municipality. As stated in the theoretical framework, if the existing political system is vulnerable to a challenge, it creates an opportunity for social movements to create a challenge and try to use this opportunity to gain political significance. In the theoretical framework it was also discussed and theorized that the presence of elite allies creates political opportunities. Furthermore, there was theorized that in a right leaning municipality, Anti-AZC protests had more chance to succeed. In support of this proposition was found that Geldermalsen, Purmerend, Steenbergen and Zeewolde had a right leaning coalition and experienced a change in the policy. Thus having elite allies in the city council might provide more opportunities to chance to alter policy. Furthermore, when facing left leaning coalitions, activists are likely to face more difficulties to change the policy. We found that from the twelve remaining municipalities, which were left leaning, six experienced a change in the immigration policy. Due to the aforementioned discussion, it can be said that the proposition is supported.

Municipality	Political Orientation	Change of plans
Enschede	Left	0
Gorinchem	Left	1
Geldermalsen	Right	1
Harderwijk	Left	0
Oranje	Left	1
Purmerend	Right	1
Rijswijk	Left	0
Heesch	Left	1
Steenbergen	Right	1
Otterlo	Left	1
Westelbeers	Left	0
Zeewolde	Right	1
Rotterdam Beverwaard	Left	0
Tilburg	Left	0
Blitterswijck	Left	1
Hardenberg	Left	1

Table 2: Political orientation

4.17.2 Normative Vs. Non-Normative

While scholars argue that non-normative protest is counterproductive, our findings suggest the opposite. I proposed that non-normative protests are more likely to result in altering policies regarding AZC than normative protests. The results support this. Looking at the statistics in table 3, it seems like non-normative protest has a bigger impact on political decisions than normative protest which means that the protestors from Rotterdam Beverwaard were rightfully stating that *"We should have smashed the windows of the town hall on the Coolsingel. Wherever they did, the AZC got canceled."* The results suggest that the more severe the protest the more likely the change in policy towards asylum seekers. Moreover, the findings from Jennings (2019) show that violence can increase media attention in the short term and larger protest size sustains it over the longer term. This can also be confirmed by our results. In the municipalities where there was a lot of violence, there was more media attention which resulted in more citizen participation. To support this theory, the cases of Heesch and Geldermalsen can be used. They experienced the most severe protest and they also experienced a change in policy. In the case of Oranje, there was so much media attention that there were questions asked in the house of representatives, which later on decided to cancel the AZC.

Municipality	Normative	Non-normative	Change of plans	amount of citizens
Enschede	1	1	0	158,553
Gorinchem	1	1	1	36,682
Geldermalsen	0	1	1	26.818
Harderwijk	1	0	0	47,581
Oranje	0	1	1	150
Purmerend	1	0	1	79.532
Rijswijk	0	0	0	51.742
Heesch	0	1	1	12.547
Steenbergen	1	0	1	24.815
Otterlo	1	1	1	2.380
Westelbeers	1	0	0	329
Zeewolde	1	0	1	22.476
Rotterdam Beverwaard	1	1	0	623.652
Tilburg	1	0	0	211.648
Blitterswijck	1	0	1	1.020
Hardenberg	0	0	1	60,594

Table 3: summary of results

5 Discussion

In this section, an elaboration will be given about the results of the research. From the collected data, some conclusions can be drawn. The focus will be around four elements: the implications, interpretations, limitations and Recommendations.

5.1 Political opportunity

Social movements seek to change existing understandings about how to address AZC issues. They do so by targeting political elites and institutions, as well as public attitudes by protesting. To return to Amenta's (2010) comments discussed in the paper's introduction, when social movements seek to shape policy in municipalities, the goal is not just agenda setting but the goal is to actually influence policy. Having political parties as elite allies can facilitate the success of the policy shaping through their position in the municipality (Kriesi 2015). The results of this study add to Kriesi's study by showing how the political parties facilitated the success of social movements in the municipalities. There was found that in a lot of municipalities a city council meeting was arranged after the protests had started. These city council meetings were arranged to discuss the plans of the AZC and to vote whether or not they had to change the policy. What clearly came forward was that the elite allies of the social movement used the current sentiment as an argument in the debate. The more violence and anger there was in the municipalities, the stronger the argument the elite allies had. Therefore, this study builds on the study by Hutter & Vliegenthart (2018).

The next important thing we found is that, the results show that there is not a straightforward connection between the accessibility to political allies and policy changes. Still six of the twelve left leaning municipalities experienced a change in policy. The reason for this might be the counter social movements that stood up to the anti-AZC protestors. One of such started in Enschede. A Facebook page, welcome in Enschede, was started. Added to that EnschedeVoorvrede, a social movement, went to the anti-AZC protests to show dissenting opinions. But since there was no research done, it is hard to estimate its influence.

To return to Tarrow's (2011) comments made in the theoretical framework, it seemed like his statement about the 'presence of elite allies' being the most important factor can find common ground with this study. However, there were some findings worth sharing. Firstly, I argue that the elite allies are always present in some form in municipal politics. Even if they are not present in the coalition, they can influence the decisions of the coalition. Furthermore, like stated in the theoretical framework, a political opportunity is a broad term. It is a sum of a lot of elements. If the influence of elite allies is smaller than needed, other elements need to be present to make sure the activists succeed. This thesis focused on one element, the presence of elite allies. I would advise future scholars to look at more elements of the political opportunity theory.

5.2 Normative vs. Non-normative protests

A review of the literature showed that a lot of scholars support the ideas of Stephen and Chenoweth mentioned in the literature review. This thesis shows a contradictory view and therefore adds to the existing literature. This study argues that non-normative protest has more influence on policy than normative protest. This has a few reasons. Firstly, to return to the comments of Aral (2019) discussed in the introduction, the growing social media attention in the Netherlands is starting to have a bigger influence on policy. This study adds to that idea by showing the importance of Facebook to plan protests, news websites to share information and social media in general to measure the sentiment. In this study was found that non-normative protests got more social media attention which, in the current age, means more political attention. A study by Holt (2013) confirms this statement. His study suggests that frequent social media use among citizens can function as a leveller in terms of attracting political attention. These findings show that the current state of social media is not particularly safe. More sensation gets more attention. I would advise future scholars to research the link between social media sentiment and the amount of violence used at a protest. Besides social media, something that clearly stood out was the connection between the size of the municipalities and the reaction from the city council. I would advise future scholars to look deeper into this variable.

6. Conclusion

This thesis was set out to answer the question: how did the protests in the sixteen municipalities influenced the municipalities decision to change to plans of an AZC? I proposed that political opportunities, specifically elite allies, had to be present in order for the activists to influence municipal policy. The results supported this proposition.

Furthermore, the results showed that the severity of the protests mattered. It can be concluded that when the protests were more sever, the case got more social media attention. Added to that, the results support the theory by Aral (2019), that social media has a large influence on policy. Thus meaning that, more sever protests had a higher chance of the AZC getting canceled. To conclude, the protests had a significant influence on the municipalities AZC policy. With elite allies being present, the activist groups were bound to succeed. Added to that, the severity of the protests seemed to have a large impact which was controversial to the existing literature.

7. Recommendation and Limitations

Over the last centuries, protests that were related to political decisions, increased in frequency, in number of participants and with regarding to a diverse range of issues. Protests concerning the change of decisions made by the municipality about the Azc's are only involving one of these issues. Lately, groups have been protesting against racism, Black Lives Matter, and against national policies with regard to the coronavirus. A recommendation to future scholars would be to look at these protests in terms of both severity and the presence of elite allies. Does a right leaning political government and the severity of protests lead to a change in policies with regard to these current political protests?

As for the issue of policy change regarding AZC's. Lubbers et. Al (2005) indicated that the ratio of the number of refugees per inhabitant is not decisive for the emergence of protest. However, in this paper it was concluded that it seems to have an influence on the results of the protest. Perhaps it will be of importance to use municipality size as a main variable. Secondly, it might be smarter to not give the paper a big political meaning like this paper. People could feel put in a box.

There are several limitations to this study, which include the trustworthiness of the newspapers. Each of these newspapers has its own point of view, which can include either a right leaning political view towards the topic or a left leaning view towards the topic. The results which are mentioned by the journalists that wrote the newspaper may thus be politically biased. In addition, analyzing qualitative data is difficult and time consuming. To create a better view towards the impact of political opportunities and the origin of the protest, which can either be normative of non-normative, other scholar need research this in context to similar political issues, for instance Black Lives Matter.

A small sample size is another limitation. Out of the sixteen municipalities, there are twelve municipalities with a left leaning political view and only four municipalities with a right leaning political view. It can be said that left leaning municipalities are overrepresented and that the sample size of right leaning municipalities is too small. This small sample size makes is difficult to assess a significant relationship between the variables of political opportunity, severity of the protest and a change in policies, but only for right leaning municipalities.

Due to this small size, the conclusion of the research may be to generalized.

Finally, future research could include other information sources. This thesis solely focusses on data obtained from newspapers. Nowadays, the current generation, also called digital natives, mainly use social media to find support for their causes. In addition, petitions can be created and signed online A comprehensive study about policy changes should include all kinds off mass media sources to create a complete pictures of the influence of different kinds of protests and the variety of political opportunities that can be created by the use of these media.
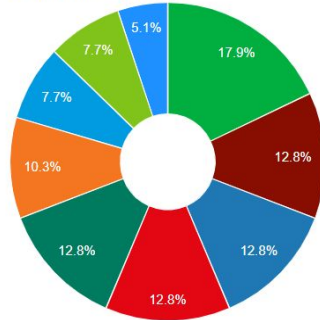
8. Acknowledgement

A:Enschede

Percentage zetels per partij:

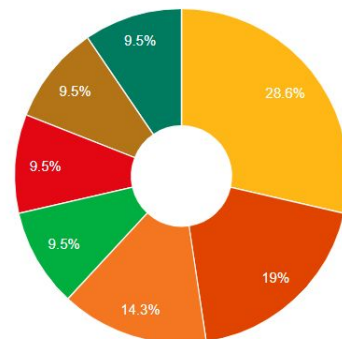Legend: D66, SP, Burgerbelangen Enschede Bbe, PvdA, CDA, VVD, ChristenUnie, GroenLinks, Overige

- 17.9%
- 12.8%
- 12.8%
- 12.8%
- 12.8%
- 10.3%
- 7.7%
- 7.7%
- 5.1%

B:Gorinchem

Legend: PvdA, VVD, Stadsbelang, SP, ChristenUnie SGP, CDA, GroenLinks, D66, Gorcum Actief

- 20%
- 12%
- 12%
- 12%
- 12%
- 8%
- 8%
- 8%
- 8%
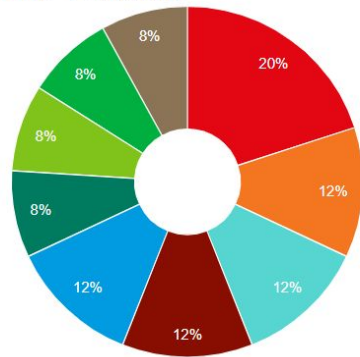
C:Geldermalsen

Percentage zetels per partij:

Legend: Dorpsbelangen, SGP, VVD, D66, PvdA, Leefbaar Gelderma..., CDA

- 28.6%
- 19%
- 14.3%
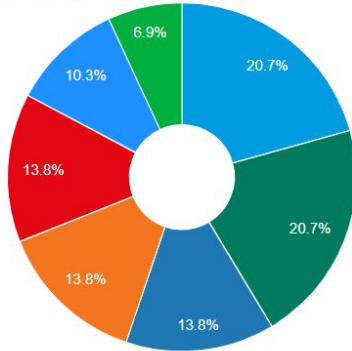- 9.5%
- 9.5%
- 9.5%
- 9.5%

Appendix:

D:Harderwijk

Percentage zetels per partij:

Legend: ChristenUnie, CDA, Stadspartij Harderwijk Anders, VVD, PvdA, Gemeentebelang Harderwijk Hierden, D66

ChristenUnie 20.7%, CDA 20.7%, Stadspartij Harderwijk Anders 13.8%, VVD 13.8%, PvdA 13.8%, Gemeentebelang Harderwijk Hierden 10.3%, D66 6.9%

G:Rijswijk

Percentage zetels per partij:

Legend: Beter voor Rijsw..., Gemeentebelan..., D66, VVD, PvdA, CDA, SP, GroenLinks, Onafhankelijk Rijswijk

Beter voor Rijswijk 17.2%, Gemeentebelan 17.2%, D66 13.8%, VVD 10.3%, PvdA 10.3%, CDA 10.3%, SP 6.9%, GroenLinks 6.9%, Onafhankelijk Rijswijk 6.9%
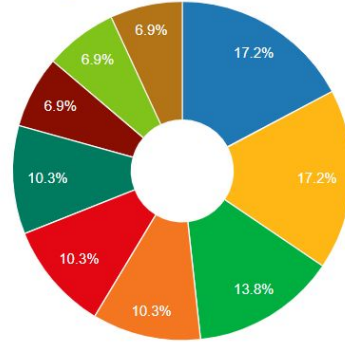
E:Oranje(MiddenDrenthe)

Percentage zetels per partij:

Legend: PvdA, CDA, D66, VVD, Gemeentebel Smilde..., ChristenUnie, Gemeentebelangen, GroenLinks

PvdA 26.1%, CDA 17.4%, D66 13%, VVD 13%, Gemeentebel Smilde 8.7%, ChristenUnie 8.7%, Gemeentebelangen 8.7%
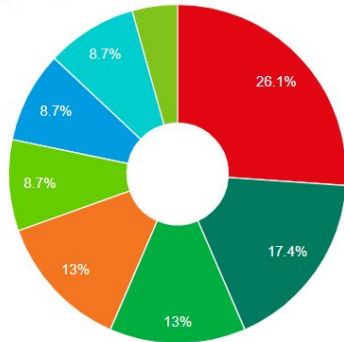
H: Bernheze

Percentage zetels per partij:

Legend: CDA, SP, Abb Bernheze..., D66, Blanco lijst, Progressief B..., VVD

CDA 23.8%, SP 19%, Abb Bernheze 19%, D66 14.3%, Blanco lijst 9.5%, Progressief B 9.5%, VVD 4.8%
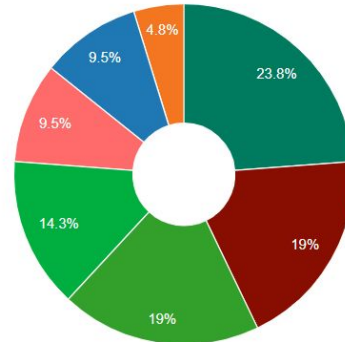
F:Purmerend

Percentage zetels per partij:

Legend: Stadspartij, D66, PvdA, Algemeen O..., VVD, Leefbaar Pur..., CDA, GroenLinks, Trots

Stadspartij 22.9%, D66 14.3%, PvdA 11.4%, Algemeen O 11.4%, VVD 11.4%, Leefbaar Pur 8.6%, CDA 8.6%, GroenLinks 5.7%, Trots 5.7%
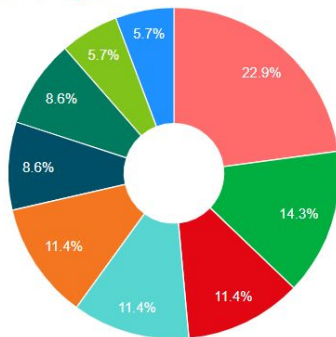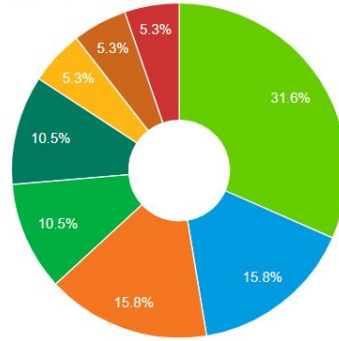
I: Steenbergen:

Percentage zetels per partij:

Legend:
- Gewoon Lokaal
- VVD
- De Volkspartij
- D66
- PvdA
- CDA
- Lijst Steenbergen Anders

Pie chart values: 21.1%, 15.8%, 15.8%, 15.8%, 15.8%, 10.5%, 5.3%
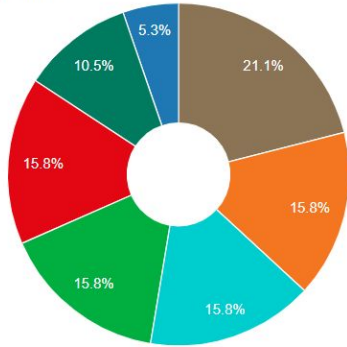
L: Zeewolde

Legend:
- Leefbaar Ze...
- ChristenUnie
- VVD
- D66
- CDA
- PvdA Groen...
- Burgerbelang
- Zeewolde Liberaal

Pie chart values: 31.6%, 15.8%, 15.8%, 10.5%, 10.5%, 5.3%, 5.3%, 5.3%

J:Otterlo(Ede):

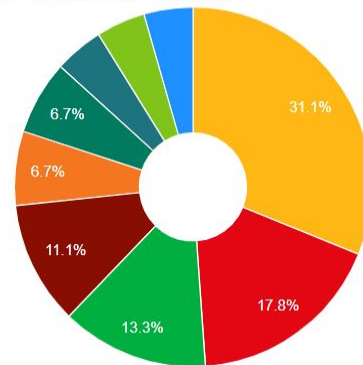Percentage zetels per partij:

Legend:
- SGP
- ChristenUnie
- CDA
- Gemeente Belangen
- D66
- VVD
- PvdA
- Burgerbelangen
- Groenlinks Pe

Pie chart values: 17.9%, 15.4%, 15.4%, 12.8%, 10.3%, 10.3%, 7.7%, 5.1%, 5.1%
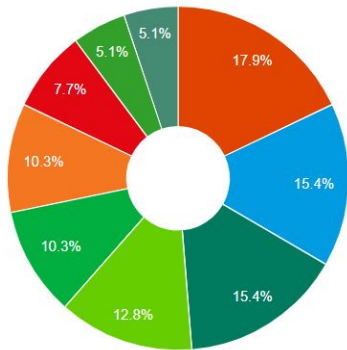
M: Rotterdam

Legend:
- Leefbaar Rotterdam
- PvdA
- D66
- SP
- VVD
- CDA
- NIDA Rotterdam
- GroenLinks
- Overige

Pie chart values: 31.1%, 17.8%, 13.3%, 11.1%, 6.7%, 6.7%

K:Oirschot

Percentage zetels per partij:

Legend:
- CDA
- De Gewone Man
- SP
- Dorpsvisie
- VVD
- D66
- PvdA

Pie chart values: 23.5%, 17.6%, 17.6%, 11.8%, 11.8%, 11.8%, 5.9%
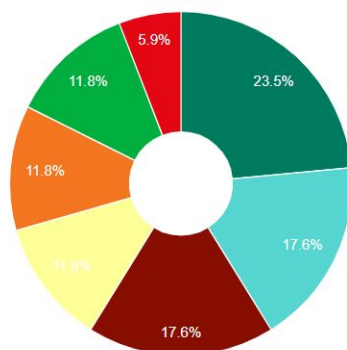
N: Venray

Percentage zetels per partij:

Legend:
- CDA
- SP
- Pp2
- D66
- Samenwerking V...
- VVD
- Inventief
- PvdA

Pie chart values: 33.3%, 14.8%, 11.1%, 11.1%, 11.1%, 7.4%, 7.4%
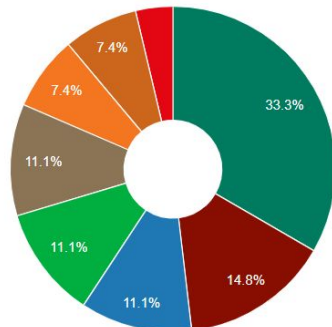
O: Tilburg

Percentage zetels per partij:
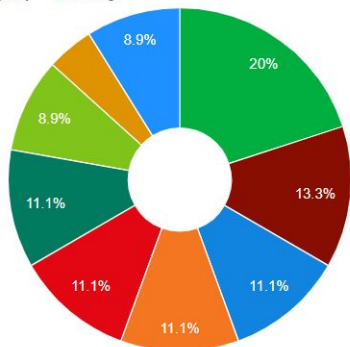
P: Hardenberg

Percentage zetels per partij:
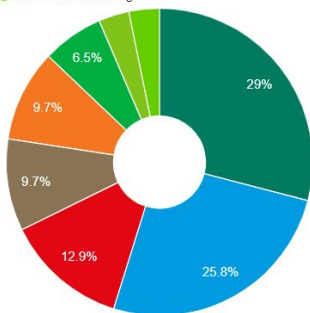
Q: Summary table.

Municipality	Normative	Non-normative	Change of plans	amount of citizens
Enschede	1	1	0	158,553
Gorinchem	1	1	1	36,682
Geldermalsen	0	1	1	26.818
Harderwijk	1	0	0	47,581
Oranje	0	1	1	150
Purmerend	1	0	1	79.532
Rijswijk	0	0	0	51.742
Heesch	0	1	1	12.547
Steenbergen	1	0	1	24.815
Otterlo	1	1	1	2.380
Westelbeers	1	0	0	329
Zeewolde	1	0	1	22.476
Rotterdam Beverwaard	1	1	0	623.652

Tilburg	1	0	0	211.648
Blitterswijck	1	0	1	1.020
Hardenberg	0	0	1	60,594

Zeewolde	Right	1
Rotterdam Beverwaard	Left	0
Tilburg	Left	0
Blitterswijck	Left	1
Hardenberg	Left	1

Appendix S

Otterlo	2015	1
Heesch	2016	1
Enschede	2016	0
Geldermalsen	2015	1
Gorinchem	2015	1
Hardenberg	2016	1
Harderwijk	2016	0
Oranje	2014	1
Purmerend	2015	1
Rijswijk	2016	0
Rotterdam	2016	0
Steenbergen	2016	1
Tilburg	2015	0
Venray-Blitterswijck	2016	1
Westelbeers	2016	0
Zeewolde	2016	1

Appendix R

Municipality	Political Orientation	Change of plans
Enschede	Left	0
Gorinchem	Left	1
Geldermalsen	Right	1
Harderwijk	Left	0
Oranje	Left	1
Purmerend	Right	1
Rijswijk	Left	0
Heesch	Left	1
Steenbergen	Right	1
Otterlo	Left	1
Westelbeers	Left	0

CODEBOOK

Topic	Axial code	Code	Quote
Enschede	Plans	Refugees	Volgend jaar worden daar zeshonderd vluchtelingen opgevangen
	Non-normative	Violence	demonstratie tegen het centrum al arrestaties verricht wegens mishandeling, belediging, en het brengen van de hitlergroet.

		arrest	In totaal zouden zes mensen zijn aangehouden, meldt Tubantia. Ze werden gearresteerd wegens het brengen van de Hitlergroet, belediging en mishandeling.
	Normative		In eerste instantie verliep de demonstratie vreedzaam. De demonstratie is aangekondigd via onder meer de social media.
Geldermalsen	Plans		De raad zou praten over de komst van een azc voor 1500 mensen.
	Non-Normative protest	Riot	"Tientallen relschoppers waren door de hekken buiten het stadhuis gebroken."
		Fireworks	"Ze schreeuwden leuzen en gooiden met vuurwerk, stenen en blikjes naar de politie" Ze zijn aangehouden om diverse feiten, meldde de politie, waaronder het gooien van vuurwerk en stenen naar de politie Buiten gooiden honderden betogers met vuurwerk en stenen Buiten klinken sirenes, vliegen de bakstenen in het rond, knalt het vuurwerk en joelt de menigte uitdagend. Er verspreidt zich een vuurwerklucht door de raadszaal.
		Arrests	Er is zeker één relschopper opgepakt De politie heeft woensdagavond in Geldermalsen veertien mensen aangehouden die betrokken waren bij rellen buiten de raadszaal.
		Ontruiming	De raadszaal in Geldermalsen moest wegens de rellen worden ontruimd De vergadering werd na korte tijd afgelast en de raadszaal ontruimd.
		Protest	"honderden mensen stonden te betogen tegen een azc" "protestmars tegen het plan van het college van burgemeester en wethouders."
	Change of plans	AZC	Een grote meerderheid van de gemeenteraad laat in een gezamenlijke verklaring weten tegen de komst van een azc te zijn. Er komt geen asielzoekerscentrum in de Gelderse plaats Geldermalsen. Gemeente Geldermalsen sluit komst azc uit De gemeenteraad schrijft in een open brief dat de komst van een azc 'niet verstandig is' nadat vorig jaar rellen waren uitgebroken tijdens een raadsvergadering.
Gorinchem	Plan	Plans	De gemeente Gorinchem heeft het Centraal Orgaan opvang asielzoekers (COA) aangeboden om ongeveer driehonderd vluchtelingen op te vangen
	Non-Normative	Threats	Een bewoonster bedreigde tijdens de bijeenkomst een wethouder.
	Normative		De actiegroep Lingewijk heeft donderdagavond 700 handtekeningen aangeboden uit protest tegen de komst van een asielzoekerscentrum in Gorinchem. We zijn een handtekeningenactie gestart", zegt een van hen, Ruud van Es

			We doen het niet met een hoop tamtam, met vernielingen, we gaan niet lopen bedreigen.
	Change of plans		
Geldermalsen	Plans	plans	Er moet een nieuw asielzoekerscentrum voor 1500 vluchtelingen komen in Geldermalsen, dat wil het college van de gemeente.
	Non-normative	Violence	Relschoppers bestormen gemeentehuis Geldermalsen om azc. De raadszaal in Geldermalsen is ontruimd, nadat buiten flinke gevechten waren uitgebroken. Volgens de politie gooiden de relschoppers 'Cobra's 8' naar de politie De ramen van het gemeentehuis van Geldermalsen zijn gesneuveld
		Threats	Als het uit de hand dreigt te lopen, wordt de vergadering geschorst.
	Normative	Social media	Op facebook is inmiddels een [protestpagina](#) gemaakt.
		Banners	Een reclamebureau in Geldermalsen verkoopt spandoeken, die nog voor het debat van de gemeenteraad geleverd kunnen worden.
		Interviews	Het is letterlijk in mijn achtertuin. Mijn groenbedrijf grenst er rakelings aan
Harderwijk	Plans		
Heesch	Plans		
	Non-normative	Pigs	In het Brabantse dorp Heesch zijn woensdag twee dode varkens gevonden op de plaats waar een asielzoekerscentrum is gepland. Toen dat nieuws bekend werd, legden tegenstanders al twee kadavers van varkens op de plek waar het opvangcentrum moet kome dode big opgehangen aan boom Op een stroomhuisje was een tweede dood varken neergelegd. De gemeente heeft de dode dieren inmiddels verwijderd.
		Demonstration	Burgemeester Moorman geeft noodbevel af wegens uit de hand gelopen demonstratie. Extra bevoegdheden politie om openbare orde te herstellen. De politie beëindigde de demonstratie, de ME veegde daarop de omgeving van het gemeentehuis schoon.
		Vuurwerk	Het plein voor het raadshuis is door de Mobiele Eenheid (ME) 'schoongeveegd', nadat er met vuurwerk en eieren werd gegooid. ME'ers werden bekogeld met vuurwerk, eieren en houtblokken. Op de beelden is te zien dat er vuurwerk naar de ME werd gegooid. ME veegt plein schoon na vuurwerkbekogeling
Steenbergen	Plans	Idea	De gemeente wilde het idee om 600 asielzoekers op een terrein naast een basisschool op te vangen aan de burgers voorleggen .

		Normative	Vooraf was er al [een noodverordening van kracht](#) omdat de politie het vermoeden had dat supporters van de harde kern van Feyenoord naar de bijeenkomst zouden komen
			Bij de politie is informatie binnengekomen dat supporters van de harde kern van Feyenoord vanavond naar Steenbergen komen.
			De inspraakavond verliep zonder de gevreesde geweldsincidenten, de burgemeester stelde achteraf wel dat de sfeer 'grimmig' was.
			De avond ontaardde in een grimmig debat waarbij de burgemeester en voorstanders werden uitgejouwd.
			toen burgemeester Vos het woord nam klonk boegeroep, sommige aanwezigen staken middelvingers op en en hij werd onderbroken.
			Geregeld was uit de volle zaal applaus te horen of werd 'vol is vol' of 'azc nee' gescandeerd.
Oranje	Plans	Plans	In het Drentse dorp Oranje worden meer asielzoekers opgevangen dan van tevoren was afgesproken.
		Sentiment	De bewoners van het dorpje zijn echter fel tegen die verdubbeling, veelal afkomstig uit oorlogsgebieden zoals Syrië.
	Non-Normative	Death	'de eerste dode gaat vallen, dat gaat gebeuren'
		Attack	Na een bijeenkomst houden boze inwoners bussen met asielzoekers tegen en belagen de dienstauto van staatssecretaris Dijkhoff.
			Boze burgers belaagden de auto van Dijkhoff na de besloten bijeenkomst.
			Boze inwoners van Oranje hebben vanavond staatssecretaris Klaas Dijkhoff belaagd.
Purmerend	Plans	Plans	Purmerend wil minstens 750 vluchtelingen opvangen en de gemeente is daar ook toe in staat
		sentiment	De politie heeft op verzoek van de burgemeester van Purmerend een woedende mensenmassa uit de raadzaal moeten sturen.
	Normative	Police	De politie heeft op verzoek van de burgemeester van Purmerend een woedende mensenmassa uit de raadzaal moeten sturen.
			Bij een raadsvergadering in september kwamen zoveel tegenstanders opdagen dat burgemeester Don Bijl de zaal liet ontruimen
		Violence	Woedende burgers Purmerend bestormen raadsvergadering over komst AZC.
		Chanting	Inwoners van Purmerend zijn woedend. Ze klappen en schreeuwen: "Geen azc, geen azc!"
			tientallen inwoners weigerden om het debat in de publiekshal te volgen

		Protest	In Purmerend ging het idee van noodopvang van 120 vluchtelingen en een azc van tafel na hevige protesten van inwoners.
Rijswijk	Plans	Plans	Bij een hoofdelijke stemming waren negentien raadsleden voor het plan en acht tegen. In het azc moeten 500 vluchtelingen worden opgevangen.
		Message	Mijn boodschap is dat de grenzen dicht moeten', aldus Bello. 'Maar ik begrijp niet dat er niet meer mensen hier zijn. Nederlanders demonstreren blijkbaar liever op internet.'
Blitterswijck	Plans		In eerste instantie zou het gaan om een groep van 750 mensen Vakantiepark Het Roekenbosch in Blitterswijck moet een asielzoekerscentrum worden waar de komende vijf jaar 750 vluchtelingen worden ondergebracht
		Positive	Ook burgemeester en wethouders van de gemeente Venray staan positief tegenover het plan om het bungalowpark de komende jaren te gebruiken als asielzoekerscentra.
	Normative	Weerstand	Na forse weerstand van inwoners werd dat bijgesteld naar 450. 56 procent van de inwoners is voor maximaal 250 asielzoekers en 50 procent van de bevolking is voor een termijn van hooguit twee jaar. Inwoners van Blitterswijck wilden niet meer dan 250 vluchtelingen opvangen.
		Responsible	Wij willen geen 750 asielzoekers; dat is niet verantwoord.
	Change of plans	Decreased	Het gemeentebestuur van Venray verlaagt het aantal te huisvesten asielzoekers in een nieuw azc in Blitterswijck van 750 naar 450. Onder druk van het protest werd het maximum teruggebracht naar 450 Door de beperkte instroom van asielzoekers werd dat aantal door het COA bijgesteld naar 400. CDA, met uitzondering van raadslid Arie Vullings uit Wanssum, PP2, D66, inVENtief en PvdA steunden het voorstel van B en W om 450 mensen voor de duur van maximaal vier jaar, met een optie tot een jaar verlenging, op het park aan de rand van het dorp onder te brengen
Zeewolde	Plans		Zeewoldenaren hebben grote moeite met de plannen voor een asielzoekerscentrum voor 900 tot 1.500 mensen aan de Bosruiterweg. Begin april heeft het Centrum Opvang Asielzoekers (COA) een verzoek bij de gemeente Zeewolde ingediend om een Asielzoekerscentrum (AZC) te vestigen in het Polenhotel aan de Bosruiterweg
	Normative	Protest	Een protestpagina op Facebook heeft al meer dan 1100 likes opgeleverd
		Opinion	PVV-leider Geert Wilders is naar het raadsdebat in Zeewolde gekomen, om zijn mening te geven over de komst van een asielzoekerscentrum daar.
	Change of plans	Support	De gemeente Zeewolde gaat aan 600 vluchtelingen onderdak bieden in het nieuwe asielzoekerscentrum aan de Bosruiterweg in Zeewolde

			Volgens de burgemeester is nu gekozen voor 600 omdat daarvoor genoeg draagvlak is.
			De grootste partij van Zeewolde, Leefbaar Zeewolde, wil een kleiner asielzoekerscentrum dan burgemeester en wethouders voorstellen.
Rotterdam Beverwaard	Plans	Refugees	De opvang voor asielzoekers moet begin volgend jaar in gebruik worden genomen. Het centrum biedt plek aan zo'n 600 vluchtelingen voor een periode van vijf jaar
		Sentiment	Ze komen 'grabbelen en verkrachten,' klonk het op straat.
	Normative	Protest	Er waren protestmarsen waarbij een doodskist werd meegedragen.
	Non-Normative	Rocks	De bakstenen vlogen door de lucht in de Beverwaard. Zo woedend waren bewoners in oktober 2015 over de komst van een asielzoekerscentrum (azc) in hun wijk aan de rand van Rotterdam. Een groep van enkele tientallen relschoppers gooide met stenen en vuurwerk "We hadden de ruiten van het stadhuis aan de Coolsingel moeten ingooien. Overal waar ze dat deden, kwam het azc er uiteindelijk niet."
		Meeting	In Rotterdam kwam burgemeester Aboutaleb tijdens een bijeenkomst over een azc in de Beverwaard niet boven het geschreeuw en getier uit
		Arrest	Arrestaties na bijeenkomst over azc Beverwaard. De politie arresteerde drie mensen voor het bekogelen van politievoertuigen.
Tilburg	Plans	Refugees	Tilburg krijgt een noodopvanglocatie voor vierhonderd asielzoekers. Ook Tilburg krijgt noodopvang voor vluchtelingen In het voormalige woonzorgcentrum Jozefzorg aan de Kruisvaardersstraat 40 komt een tijdelijke noodopvang voor ongeveer 400 asielzoekers. Het voormalige zorgcomplex Sint Jozefzorg aan de Kruisvaardersstraat in de Tilburgse wijk Fatima gaat de komende jaren dienst doen als tijdelijke opvang van asielzoekers.
	Normative protest	Noise	Op de bijeenkomst lieten veel omwonenden zich letterlijk horen Toelichtingen op de plannen werden door een aantal van hen beantwoord met gefluit en geschreeuw.

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