

The debate on the integration of 'allochthons' in Belgium

Lecture for Mitra Naemi's class by Jan Zienkowski

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introduction

- ❖ Why study the Belgian (Flemish) integration debate?
 - ❖ Case studies and problematizing everyday concepts
 - ❖ An academic or a political concept?
 - ❖ Integration in Europe and in the US
 - ❖ Integration and its sister concepts
- ❖ Some common understanding of integration (language, religion, gender, norms & values)

Overview

- ❖ introduction
- ❖ (A) Articulations of integration
- ❖ (B) Integration, allochthony, and culturalisation
- ❖ (C) counter-hegemonic interpretations of integration
- ❖ (D) Integration: interpretive tensions
 - ❖ Tention 1: integration and social ontology
 - ❖ Tention 2: integration between imagination and representation
 - ❖ Tention 3: integration as a natural vs institutional (political) process
 - ❖ Tention 4: the failure of the integration process vs the failure of integration policy
 - ❖ Tention 5: integration as an established reality vs integration as a process
 - ❖ Tention 6: on the locus of integration
- ❖ (E) Conclusions

(A) Articulations of integration

- ❖ I focused on the minority debate from a minority perspective
 - ❖ debate: a dialogic and intertextual network where people shift between a multiplicity of subject positions in an attempt to impose and fix the meaning of politically contested discursive elements (e.g. (national) identities, roles, values, practices, etc. ...)
 - ❖ every debate consists of a multiplicity of articulations or statements

(A) Articulations of integration

- ❖ The notion of articulation was a key theoretical and empirical concept in my research
 - ❖ etymological notions of 'articulation'
 - ❖ the domain of (artistic) expression) - a performance
 - ❖ linkages and connections - a way of linking signifiers and practices
- ❖ Laclau and Mouffe: a linkage or connection of discursive elements + when 2 elements are linked, their meanings change: 'integration' means something else in the context of a book on European politics, then in a book on architecture.
- ❖ Meanings alter as new interpretive and discursive links between concepts, practices, theories, methods, voices, and identities are established
- ❖ Articulation as a performative practice + (re)articulation as a research practice (see also Glynos and Howarth)

(B) integration, allochthony, and culturalisation

- ✧ In order to understand this Flemish minority debates, we need to take a look at the following concepts:
 - ✧ (1) allochthons and autochthons (allochthony / authochthony)
 - ✧ (2) integration (of allochthons and autochthons)
- ✧ What do these notions mean? What are the hegemonic interpretations? And what are the alternative interpretations?

(B) integration, allochthony, and culturalisation

- ❖ (1) allochthons and autochthons

- ❖ a binary pair: the elements of binary pairs in social and political discourse are always placed in a hierarchic position: darkness / **light**; black / **white**; poor / **rich**; popular culture / **high culture**; etc. ...
- ❖ the notion of 'allochthony' and the associated notion of 'culture' are functional equivalents of 'race' in Belgium and in the Netherlands; the relation being allochthon / **autochthon**
- ❖ The objects that should be integrated or that should integrate themselves have been designated as guest workers, (im)migrants, allochthons, new or old Flemish
- ❖ In practice, these notions are mostly associated with specific groups: **Moroccans, Turks, and/or Muslims** (sometimes also **black people** that do not speak (standard) Dutch)
- ❖ When I told people that I investigated the political world views of intellectuals and activists with a Moroccan background, they frequently responded as follows:
 - ❖ oh, so you are investigating integration
 - ❖ oh, that's interesting, so, ... how about the integration of allochthons ?
 - ❖ do you only talk to allochthon politicians or also with autochthons?

(B) integration, allochthony, and culturalisation

- ❖ (1) allochthons and autochthons

- ❖ this binary pair originates in the **policy discourse of the Netherlands** - the first policy document in which these terms were used date from the beginning of the seventies
- ❖ etymology:
 - ❖ Greek *allos*: other + *chton* (land, soil, or earth)
 - ❖ the official Dutch definition includes the following elements:
 - ❖ allochthon: someone with a Neatherland nationality who is born in another country or who has at least one parent of foreign decent, disregarding his or her nationality
 - ❖ in the official discourse of the NIS (Neatherland Institute for Statistics), a distinction used to be made between Western and non-Western allochthons. Western allochthons supposedly resembled the Neatherlands economically and culturally.
 - ❖ e.g.: a person with Dutch and Japanese parents was not considered to be an allochthon
 - ❖ People with Turkish or Moroccan backgrounds were allochthons.

(B) integration, allochthony, and culturalisation

- ❖ (1) allochtonen en autochtonen (allochthons and autochthons)
 - ❖ in Flanders, the notion was introduced in order to avoid the negative connotations that concepts such as guest worker or migrant acquired over time under the influence of racist and far right discourses
 - ❖ In the official Belgian documents of the Royal Commissioner for Migration (KCM), the Neatherland notion of allochthony was adopted and slightly adapted:
 - ❖ (1) the generational criterion was extended to the third generation
 - ❖ (2) the weak socio-economic position of migrants becomes an integral element of the Flemish definition of allochthons
 - ❖ (3) the notion of allochthony is given a more explicit cultural content

(B) integration, allochthony, and culturalisation

- ❖ (1) allochthonen en autochtonen
 - ❖ KCM: “by allochthons we understand all persons who are legally residing in Belgium and simultaneously fulfill the following conditions, whether they possess the Belgian nationality or not: (a) have at least one parent or grand-parent which is born outside of Belgium, (b) find themselves in a disfavored position because of their ethnic origin or their weak socio-economic position”
 - ❖ the KCM defined ethnic minorities as groups of allochthons that can be traced back to a particular country of decent

(B) integration, allochthony, and culturalisation

- ❖ (1) allochthons and autochthons
 - ❖ this binary pair was widely adopted in academic, political, and popular discourse(s)
 - ❖ at the same time, a process of semantic narrowing and associative widening quickly took place (Blommaert & Verschueren): the concepts mostly refer to Arabs, Moroccans, Turks, and Muslims
 - ❖ *“the incorporation of other than Moroccan and Turkish groups into the category remains rare and only occurs for very specific rhetorical and argumnetative purposes”* (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998)
- ❖ The notion of ‘allochthony’ would inherit all the negative connotations of the concept of ‘migrant’

(B) integration, allochthony, and culturalisation

- ❖ (1) allochthons and autochthons
- ❖ it is possible to distinguish different phases in the discourse about minorities
 - ❖ (a) guest workers should retain the culture of their countries and should not disappear into the countries of migration (fifties, there was a need for industrial workers in Western Europe)
 - ❖ (b) guest workers are staying and become migrants: integration and emancipation of migrants are considered to be group processes (seventies and eighties - de-industrialisation)

(B) integration, allochthony, and culturalisation

- ❖ (1) allochthons and autochthons

- ❖ (c) nineties: a culturalist phase: pluralism and multiculturalism are either celebrated or demonized: the most important objects of integration are allochthons
- ❖ several authors talk about culturalism and/or culture politics. Etienne Balibar talks about neo-racism. Willem Schinkel summarizes Ballibar's concept of neo-racism as follows:
 - ❖ *"In what Balibar calls neo-racism, the culturalist argument is inverted. One presupposes: 'yes, there are different cultures, and those cultures are inherently alien to each other. They are incompatible and should not be mixed'. Where racism criticizes the mixture of 'races', neo-racism directs its criticism at the mixing of cultures. Whereas racism is linked to the presupposed 'first nature' of man, new racism links up with his 'second nature' or 'culture'. (Schinkel 2008: 313)*
 - ❖ In notions such as 'clash of civilizations', or in 'allochthony', we can trace a cultural logic or a culturalist logic that explains the inequalities between allochthons and autochthons first and foremost with respect to unbridgeable cultural differences
 - ❖ in Flanders these logics interact with a homogenizing and assimilatory logic as well.

(B) integration, allochthony, and culturalisation

- ❖ (2) integration

- ❖ integration in sociology

- ❖ In the US one talks about assimilation of migrants. In Flanders, this is politically incorrect. In European discourse(s) one tends to prefer the concept of 'integration'.
 - ❖ In sociology, 'integration' usually means a reciprocal process that concerns both the (members of the) 'host society' and the 'migrants'
 - ❖ According to Schinkel, the problem of integration concerns the paradoxal problem of social order:
 - ❖ Willem Schinkel: *"Sociology occupied itself with the relationships between institutions that were part of society, as well as with the relations between individuals and the whole. This relationship was thought of as institutionally determined. Along with the emergence of society as an organism, the problem of this organization remains central to social philosophy and sociology. The integration of the social whole involved the insertion of its parts"* (Schinkel 2008: 112-12)
 - ❖ According to Schinkel, the **ideal of integration is based on the concept of a society as a fully coherent and closed organic whole**. If something is wrong with this 'whole', it must be sick. This 'integration problem' thus explains our hypochondric attitude with respect to migrants and allochthons.

(B) integration, allochthony, and culturalisation

- ❖ (2) integration
- ❖ Van den Eede, Wets and Levrau describe integration as follows
 - ❖ integration is a policy strategy aimed at the creation of new forms of social cohesion
 - ❖ integration does not involve homogeneism but a social constructivist perspective on what people share in dialogue and conflict
 - ❖ both too much and too little integration can be problematic for a society

(B) integration, allochthony, and culturalisation

- ❖ (2) integration

- ❖ according to Schinkel there is something called an integration paradox:

- ❖ From a sociologic point of view, integration is a problem that concerns everyone, including the sick, the elderly, criminals, women, the unemployed, psychiatric patients, etc. ...

- ❖ Sociologically speaking, it is impossible not to be integrated

- ❖ If one looks at public discourse on integration, it seems to be a permanent problem, a hypochondria

- ❖ This hypochondric attitude goes hand in hand with the idea of an 'imaginary outside', the idea that there is a space outside of society.

- ❖ This is a paradox since it is - sociologically - speaking impossible not to be part of society.

- ❖ Van den Eede, Wets en Levrau identified another integration paradox: the representation of minorities becomes more negative as one participates in more Flemish contexts

(B) integration, allochthony, and culturalisation

- ❖ (2) integration

- ❖ The discursive (pragmatic) usage of 'integration' by the 'tolerant majority' in Flanders has been investigated as well (Blommaert & Verschueren 1998)
 - ❖ integration is used as a reflexive verb: one (has to) want to integrate oneself, one rarely says 'I will integrate you' or 'our society has to integrate these migrants'
 - ❖ one needs to integrate in something - a movement from the outside to the inside
 - ❖ the Latin 'integer' literally means 'to complete'
 - ❖ the notion of integration thus functions as a boundary concept
 - ❖ when integration fails, this is usually the result of a 'lack of will' *or* of the collective culture of the migrant under discussion

(B) integration, allochthony, and culturalisation

- ❖ (2) integratie

- ❖ in sociology, the notion of 'integration' frequently differs from mainstream usage of the term
 - ❖ sociology deploys more clear-cut definitions of integration
 - ❖ sociologists often talk about 'indicators' of integration such as 'contacts between members of different groups', 'participation in organisations, etc. ...'
- ❖ mainstream discourse on integration is marked by a high degree of vagueness, the question 'what do I need to do to integrate myself' is often asked (ironically) by so-called minority members

(B) Integration, allochthony and culturalisation

- * In terms of the theory of articulation outlined above, one might say that hegemonic discourse on integration can be summarised as follows:
 - * chain of equivalence 1: allochthons - migrants - guest workers - new Flemings, non-whites with a disadvantageous socio-economic position who cannot speak (standard) Dutch
 - * chain of equivalence 2: autochthons, Flemish, Belgian, white,
- * The concept of (non-)integration is what provides all of these identities with coherence in hegemonic discourse on integration

(B) integration, allochthony, and culturalisation



- ❖ on decisions in Gent, Amsterdam and Antwerp

(B) integration, allochthony, and culturalisation

- ❖ Recently, the Belgian newspaper *De Morgen* decided not to use the binary pair 'allochthons-autochthons' any more in its analyses
 - ❖ "This newspaper chooses not to use this terminology any more. Doing so, we do not want to wipe the problems of multi-ethnic and multi-religious conviviality under the rug. The immigration debate deserves to be held in all vehemence. Every day again.
 - ❖ "This brings us to the core question: can one practice good journalism with a notion such as 'allochthon' in the news? Fully realizing that this has a stigmatizing and exclusionary effect. With a definition of a word that is much too vague in daily practice. A short-hand is not an excuse for a simplistic and much too under-nuanced labeling of a group of people.
 - ❖ It is and it remains relevant to write that the small group of men that bothers short-skirted women in the streets of Brussels is of Maghrebian decent. Just like one has to report that the instigators of the riots in Borgerhout are extremist muslims, and that the young rioters are also muslims. That weak students in education are weak because they are 'speak another language', or have parents who 'speak another language'. Or that we report that a successful entrepreneur is from Ghent, from Antwerp, or a Turkish Belgian.
 - ❖ Living together in our cities happens in a more multi-ethnic and multi-religious way than ever. In a few generations, we have substituted a solid white, catholic dominated society for a colorful mix of inhabitants with different roots, other convictions, and very different lifestyle patterns. At the same time, social and material inequalities are striking, our minorities are lower educated and have less opportunities on the hyper-competitive labor market.
- ❖ Question: do the logics of culturalism and / or homogeneism and / or assimilation disappear along with the allochthony / autochthony binary pair?

(C) Contrahegemonic interpretations of integration

- ❖ *Analysing political engagement: an interpretive and functionalist discourse analysis of evolving political subjectivities among intellectuals and activists with a Moroccan background in Flanders*
- ❖ What did I investigate?
 - ❖ mostly interviews
 - ❖ observations on public fora
 - ❖ intellectuals and activists
 - ❖ mostly with a Moroccan background, living in Flanders / Belgium / Europe
 - ❖ usually highly educated

(C) Contrahegemonic interpretations of integration

- ❖ Most people were found by means of a combination of a snowball method and media-monitoring, I was mostly interested in people who publicly voiced their opinions on minority issues
- ❖ (evolution of) political points of interest
- ❖ (evolution of) political engagements(s)
- ❖ (evolution of) political ideas
- ❖ sources of inspiration
- ❖ reasons for participating in my research project

(C) Counter-hegemonic interpretations of integration

- ❖ Notions of integration may shift in the context of the interview depending on the identities and issues at stake.
 - ❖ Ahmed (AEL activist)
 - ❖ (1) on 'integration' and a successful 'integration trajectory'
 - ❖ from streetboy
 - ❖ to Kif Kif: 'a reward for a kind of integration trajectory'
 - ❖ not unequivocally positive
 - ❖ lack of activism (defined by an attempt to interpellate streetboys) is evaluated negatively
 - ❖ in this context, Ahmed activates his identity as an AEL activist

(C) Counter-hegemonic interpretations of integration

- ❖ About shifts between subject positions (Zienkowski 2011, 265-270)
 - ❖ (2) the debate on integration policy and 'proof of integration'
 - ❖ Issam positions himself on the left/ right axis
 - ❖ Flanders hasn't held the debate on 'integration policy' and 'exclusion', the 'left is at least as much to blame for this how shall I put it for the bankruptcy of this situation'
 - ❖ Issam also mentions a preferred mode of integration
 - ❖ "... in the Netherlands ... today still eh, it's incredible ... that is really a proof of integration that one has people ... muslims, Moroccans who can give their opinion and who can be assertive and who appear on television ... who can express their individuality without needing the help of someone else

(C) Counter-hegemonic interpretations of integration

- * About shifts between subject positions (Zienkowski 2011, 265-270)
 - * 3) integration policy and diversity policy as a cover term for the same politics of assimilation
 - * assimilation is a non-desirable form of integration
 - * assimilation = integration - activism: it leads one to turn away from islamic and arabic practices
 - * religious and political subjectivities are activated implicitly in this context

(C) Counter-hegemonic interpretations of integration

- ❖ The meanings of 'integration' emerge across a series of 'tensions'
- ❖ taken together, these tensions provide a map of the various positions my interviewees took in the debate on integration
- ❖ all usages of integration mentioned below are counter-hegemonic in the Flemish context

(D) Integration: interpretive tensions: spanningsvelden

- ❖ overview of semiotic / discursive tensions:
 - ❖ Tention 1: integration and social ontology
 - ❖ Tention 2: integration between imagination and representation
 - ❖ Tention 3: integration as a natural vs institutional (political) process
 - ❖ Tention 4: the failure of the integration process vs the failure of integration policy
 - ❖ Tention 5: integration as an accomplished fact vs integration as a process
 - ❖ Tention 6: on the locus of integration

Tention 1: integration and social ontology

- ❖ Hakim: 'ideological liberalism' as the 'solution' for a conflation between integration and assimilation (Hicham el Meziane - VLD (later SPa))
 - ❖ first generation migrants "are being confronted with an other that wants to assimilate them"
 - ❖ moreover, "sometimes they don't ... make a distinction between integration and assimilation"
 - ❖ consequently, "those groups react" and "withdraw themselves"
 - ❖ this gets them "stuck with that mentality or that culture and they remain stuck with the culture their fathers brought along from their country of origin"



Tention 1: integration and social ontology

- ❖ Hakim: 'ideological liberalism' as the 'solution' for a conflation between integration and assimilation (Hicham el Meziane - VLD (later SPa))
- ❖ whereas, the hegemonic conflation of integration and assimilation leads to seclusion on the part of migrant groups, Hicham does consider a more liberal articulation of integration to be more productive
 - ❖ (cfr. excerpts 42 and 43 on p. 272)
 - ❖ a plea for more 'freedom' in an 'ideological' sense of the word
 - ❖ a plea for party politics as a means for (liberal) integration

Tention 1: integration and social ontology

- ❖ Najib Chakouh articulates a very different social ontology based on metaphors that highlight 'viscous' texture of society
- ❖ this world-view correlates with Najib's sceptic attitude with respect to the world-view he associates with the statistician Quetelet:
 - ❖ "to put people into squares ... and then you have the world as a cupboard ... 'you are talking about', 'ah', ... 'should we' ... 'ow' ... 'Greeks' open the locker ... 'migrant' open the locker ... there is seemingly a locker for everything even though it isn't so ..."

Tention 1: integration and social ontology

- ❖ Najib Chakouh articulates a very different social ontology based on metaphors that highlight 'viscous' texture of society
 - ❖ Najib uses metaphors such as 'blob', 'plasticine', 'slimy' in order to articulate a view of society that is 'an object' that coheres, but whose elements cannot be neatly separated and isolated from each other (see excerpt 46 p 274)
 - ❖ the resulting view on integration is very different from the view he associates with Minister Marino Keulen (see excerpt 47 p 274)

Tention 2: integration between imagination and representation

- * Some examples:

- * Karima Adouiri (AMV): media as gatekeepers

- * “Emancipation, integration has to do with work and schooling and education and development but ... that was not picked up by anyone ... and one keeps on saying like ‘yes but if you would take of that headscarf then you would find work’ yes ... and then you are back at go”

- * Amane X on an ‘integration policy’ based on the principle of the ‘transferability of dreams from older generations to younger generations’

- * “... in an integration policy, in a diversity policy, one not only needs to take current needs and values into account, but also and especially the expectations of people. there is too often an expectation like ... (turns to me and addresses me in a more conversational tone) you see me sitting here on a chair and I guarantee that your image about me and about how I will grow old does not include a headscarf. In my image about how I will grow old whether ... whether this is really the case or not it does not matter, these expectations are there but are not being articulated ... in my expectation there is not a hair on my head that thinks about growing old without a headscarf

Tention 2: integration between imagination and representation

❖ Some examples:

- ❖ Nadia Fadil: mosques as 'one of the most integrating places' of the 'imagined community' - the 'religious trip' she experienced during her puberty, constituted 'a kind of resistance' and 'legitimate rebellion' against her father who did 'not pray' and did not visit the mosque. (excerpt 53 - p 278) + integration as a matter of writing a collective history in various media

Tention 3: integration as a natural vs institutional process

- * Abdellatif Akhandaf: 'integration' does not happen automatically
 - * the government needs to 'put' 'some things' 'in motion' in order to make integration possible
 - * especially where 'differences are big with respect to skin' color, 'values', 'norms', and religions, the integration process will take longer
- * Najib Chakouh: integration as a natural process
 - * Najib does admit that one should 'make sure that everything keeps on going in that direction' (similarity to Abdellatif) but 'integration happens anyway', 'what we are doing now, from a historical perspective is lost time ... because in the long run ... it will solve itself'

Tention 4: the failure of integration policy vs the failure of the integration process

- * Najib Chakouh: makes a clear distinction between both failures, moreover, he associates the various 'critical stances' with respect to this bankruptcy with various political actors
 - * creates a hierarchy between the 'actors' on an axis of meekness - assertivity - radicality in terms of critique on 'integration policy'
 - * AEL is 'radical' in terms of 'their demands and performances', 'they are a lot less diplomatic'
 - * 'Kif Kif is not exactly weak eh, it's also reasonably (radical) but not until that level
 - * And for instance, Chakkar is even less (radical) then Kif Kif I think ... well, on that level at least
 - * 'The integration sector well it's meek eh, it's like with its tail between its legs, tree-hugging and sweating in the heat ... and not daring to say anything'
 - * 'The policy of Keulen (liberal minister of Inburgering) for instance, I don't call that a policy eh'

Tention 4: the failure of integration policy vs the failure of the integration process

- ❖ Ahmed Zizaoui: both integration and 'the bankruptcy of integration' are empty signifiers over which a struggle for political meaning is waged
- ❖ associates the claim that integration has failed with right-wing voices in society - he provides an example of an interaction after a screening of the documentary *My Story* by Mohamed Ihkan.
- ❖ the following statements are associated:
 - ❖ "integration has failed", "it is about time that they all start to speak Dutch", "it is really no option that we have to make sure that the staff of institutions for old people knows the language of these people, because if I go abroad I have to speak that language as well, and so on ..."
 - ❖ Ahmed's critique of this position should be understood in terms of his left-right political topography and his attempt to occupy a 'centered', 'objective', and 'realist attitude' that should not be confused with 'racism'

Tention 5: integration as an accomplishment vs integration as an ongoing process

- * This tension is closely related with the extent to which the notion of integration is semantically or pragmatically narrowed, and the extent to which the associative widening of the notion is limited.
- * Mohamed Chakkar: 'I prefer to talk about societal integration' (it is society's turn to engage in an attempt to integrate migrants etc.)
- * Mohamed Bouziani: defines integration as a practice of adhering to national laws and paying taxes
- * Bilal Benyaich: 'integration starts with having a job'

Tention 5: integration as an accomplishment vs integration as an ongoing process

- ❖ This tension is closely related with the extent to which the notion of integration is semantically or pragmatically narrowed, and the extent to which the associative widening of the notion is limited.
- ❖ Amane X: there is 'a disappointment int he integration discourse and in the pattern of expectations with respect to integration ... among themselves not in policy ... perhaps also in policy, but also with respect to their own expectations ... the disappointment of their parents the disappointment of the speed in which institutions adapted themselves. as much as the equally righteous disappointment of institutions with respect to allochthons like 'come on that goes really slowly' ... but if anything evolves slowly, it is human mentality, the human mind of the homo sapiens'
- ❖ Amane X: 'Perhaps there is too much integration at this moment, and that's all right, and so one looks for warm nests, and that's okay too eh ... those two seem to exist

Tention 6: on the locus of integration

- ❖ The meaning of integration also differs depending on the locus of integration: integration into what?
- ❖ Nadia Fadil: the mosque as an integrating institution; ‘what is the imaginary community of Europe and how do we make sure that those migrants will become a part of this and not be considered as allochthons or as outsiders any more’
- ❖ Karim Hassoun establishes a moral transnational geography based on ethnic and religious identifications and a universal principle such as justice (e.g. excerpt 76, p. 291)
- ❖ Samira Azabar: My faith pushes me to engage myself with respect to, actually it is kind of weird and uhm, you might probably call that contradictory uhm, because it does not correspond to faith but But faith actually stimulates us to engage yourself and to integrate. And how do you do that most efficiently? By always going into discussion with those who are basically ... the government.

(E) Conclusions

- ❖ The notion of 'integration' is so hegemonic that it also functions as an important signifier in contra-hegemonic discourses
- ❖ Nevertheless, this does not mean that 'integration' is *always* an empty signifier.
- ❖ the meaning of this notion depends on it's articulation with specific subject positions and other values / abstract categories uttered in the same context
- ❖ The articulation of a contra-hegemonic interpretation of 'integration' is often surrounded by a great deal of metapragmatic discourse.
- ❖ Metapragmatic discourse allows individuals to distinguish between their own interpretive discourses and those of others. It allows for a conscious differentiation between identities in and through discourse.

concluding quote

The debate should be about equality, autonomy and citizenship. Summarized, it needs to be about emancipation. I argue against integration, because I am in favour of emancipation. This is more than a lame discussion about definitions, this touches upon the essence of building a new society upon the acceptance of diversity. (Abdou Bouzerda - Dutch AEL activist)