

**The Good, the Bad, and the City:  
the case of the Krim, Sebastopol and their legacy in Enschede**

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Cover: Noord Esmarkerrondweg, Velve-Lindenhof (Photo: Koen Salemink)

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Koen Salemink,  
June 2009

## Abstract

From 1861 until 1934, two urban neighborhoods by the name of the Krim and Sebastopol were prevalent in the Dutch city of Enschede. What started off as the first expansions of the old city, turned into the first real slums known in the context of Enschede. Especially in the last years of their existence, the Krim and Sebastopol were quite notorious in Enschede and the region. *Anti-urban myths* about the Krim and Sebastopol developed in this period of industrialization and urbanization. People living in those neighborhoods were regarded as 'no good'.

In the years after the demolition in 1934, myths about the Krim and Sebastopol still hummed through the city. The neighborhoods were physically gone, but they lived on within the stories that were told by people. It seemed that descendants of inhabitants of the Krim and Sebastopol still suffered from the negative image that was attached to those neighborhoods.

The main question of this research is: *How is it that myths of the past about the disappeared neighborhoods the Krim and Sebastopol still play a role in contemporary society of Enschede?*

Archive studies, in-depth interviews, (participatory) observations, and analysis of cultural expressions and high art were done to find the answer to this question.

The answer to this question can be found in people and places. First, well known families which once lived in the Krim and Sebastopol are still present in the city. The way of life of these families is often linked to *travelers* and (urban) *social ills*. Mainstream society regards these families as different.

Second, the Krim and Sebastopol always had contemporary successors. The Krim and Sebastopol were the first ghetto's, or problem areas. However, after the demolition of these neighborhoods, poor people still tended to spatially cluster in certain places. At first there were 'new Krims', like the Gaskrim, but later on many descendants of Krim- and Sebastopol families and other economically deprived people clustered in neighborhoods like Velve-Lindenhof and Dolphia. The most dominant place in the reproduction of myths between 'good' and 'bad' in Enschede is the trailer park at Sleutelweg.

Furthermore, the descendants of Krim- and Sebastopol families sometimes suffered from the negative label that the Krim and Sebastopol gave them. This was the case when they applied for a job for example.

Human agents also play an important role in the reproduction of certain images and myths. The writers of the book 'Al is de Krim ook nog zo min...' about the history and daily life in the Krim and Sebastopol, Martin Bosch and Gerrit Jagt, are such human agents. The writer, poet and songwriter Willem Wilmink is another important human agent in the case of Enschede. These human agents made sure that the stories and myths about the Krim and Sebastopol were immortalized.

There is also a difference between the opinions and reproduction within the lay- and professional discourse. Within the professional discourse it is conventional to emphasize the fact that people should not be regarded as different, based on the background of those people. Within the lay discourse however, it is more conventional that people do judge others based on their background.

The answer to the main question of this report, is that myths about the Krim, Sebastopol, travelers, caravan dwellers, and social ills in general live on because new places and settings, in which similar behaviour is performed, have developed. Contemporary problem areas, which often house the same families as the Krim and Sebastopol, are the modern versions of the Krim and Sebastopol.

This however raises a new question. Are the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol only about the Krim

and Sebastopol, or are they part of the more general myths about travelers, caravan dwellers, and social ills in urban areas? The latter seems quite logical, but the fact remains that the Krim and Sebastopol were the first places in Enschede where the myths of travelers, caravan dwellers, and social ills were present. This might be the explanation why especially the older generation in Enschede, sixty years and older, still sometimes refer to behaviour, belonging to the myths of travelers, as 'Krim-behaviour'. It can be interesting to research whether the Krim and Sebastopol are still present within myths in Enschede when the older generation is no longer there.

## Samenvatting

Tussen 1861 en 1934 bevonden zich in Enschede twee stadswijken genaamd de Krim en Sebastopol. Wat begon als twee uitbreidingswijken van de oorspronkelijke oude stad, verwerden tot de heuse eerste getto's in de Enschedese context. Vooral in de latere jaren van hun bestaan waren de Krim en Sebastopol zeer berucht in zowel de stad als de wijdere regio. Anti-stads mythen ontwikkelden zich over de Krim en Sebastopol, in deze tijden van industrialisatie en urbanisatie. De mensen die in deze wijken woonden werden beschouwd als 'niet veel goeds' of, zoals dat in het Twents heet, 'pröttel'. In de jaren na de sloop in 1934 bleven de mythen over de Krim en Sebastopol rondgaan in de stad. De wijken waren fysiek verdwenen, maar ze leefden voort in de verhalen die mensen in de stad vertelden. Mensen die afstamden van Krim- en Sebastopolbewoners leken te lijden onder het negatieve imago die beide wijken nog altijd droegen.

De hoofdvraag van dit onderzoek is: *Hoe komt het dat mythen uit het verleden over de verdwenen wijken de Krim en Sebastopol nog steeds een rol spelen in de huidige Enschedese samenleving?*

Archief bestudering, diepte interviews, (participerende) observaties en analyse van culturele uitingen en kunst is uitgevoerd om tot een antwoord te komen op deze vraag.

Het antwoord op deze hoofdvraag kan gevonden worden in mensen en plekken. Ten eerste leven veel voormalige Krim- en Sebastopolfamilies nog steeds in de stad. De manier van leven van deze families wordt vaak geassocieerd met reizigers, woonwagenbewoners en (stedelijke) sociale problematiek. De hoofdmoot van de samenleving beschouwt deze families als anders.

Ten tweede hebben de Krim en Sebastopol altijd eigentijdse opvolgers gehad. De Krim en Sebastopol waren de eerste getto's, ofwel probleemwijken. Echter, na de sloop van deze wijken bleven groepen arme mensen zich ruimtelijk clusteren op bepaalde plekken. Eerst ontstonden er 'nieuwe Krims', zoals de Gaskrim, maar later clusterden afstammelingen van Krim- en Sebastopolbewoners en andere economisch minder bedeelden zich in wijken als Velve-Lindenhof en Dolphia. De belangrijkste plek in de reproductie van de mythen over 'goed' en 'slecht' is het woonwagenkamp aan de Sleutelweg.

Daarbij ondervonden, en ondervinden soms nog steeds, afstammelingen van Krim- en Sebastopol soms nadeel van het negatieve label dat de wijken de Krim en Sebastopol aan hun mee hebben gegeven. Dit was het geval wanneer deze mensen bijvoorbeeld solliciteerden voor een baan.

Menselijke verstrekkers van informatie, of boodschappers, spelen ook een grote rol in de reproductie van bepaalde imago's en mythen. De schrijvers van het boek 'Al is de Krim ook nog zo min...' over de geschiedenis en het dagelijkse leven in de Krim en Sebastopol, Martin Bosch en Gerrit Jagt, zijn zulke boodschappers. De schrijver, dichter en liedjesschrijver Willem Wilmink is eveneens een belangrijke persoon in Enschede wat betreft het doorgeven van bepaalde informatie. Deze 'boodschappers' hebben ervoor gezorgd dat de verhalen en mythen over de Krim en Sebastopol zijn vereeuwigd in

hun teksten.

Er is ook een verschil tussen de lekendiscours en de professionele discours wat betreft de meningen en de manier waarop reproductie plaatsvindt. In de professionele discours is het gebruikelijk om te benadrukken dat mensen niet be- of veroordeeld worden op basis van hun achtergrond (Krim, Sebastopol, reiziger, woonwagenbewoner). In de lekendiscours is het echter gebruikelijker om niet terughoudend te zijn wat betreft het be- of veroordelen van mensen op basis van hun achtergrond.

Het antwoord op de hoofdvraag van dit rapport is dat mythen over de Krim, Sebastopol, reizigers, woonwagenbewoners en sociale problemen in het algemeen nog steeds een rol spelen omdat nieuwe plekken en settings zijn ontstaan, waar soortgelijk gedrag vertoond wordt. Eigentijdse probleem- of prachtwijken, waar vaak dezelfde families wonen als in de Krim en Sebastopol, zijn de moderne varianten van de Krim en Sebastopol.

Dit roept echter een nieuwe vraag op. Gaan de mythen over de Krim en Sebastopol enkel over de Krim en Sebastopol, of gaan ze over de meer algemene mythen aangaande reizigers, woonwagenbewoners en sociale problemen in stedelijke gebieden? Het laatste lijkt vrij logisch, maar het blijft een feit dat de Krim en Sebastopol de eerste plekken in Enschede waren waar de mythen over reizigers, woonwagenbewoners en sociale problemen zich voordeden. Dit is mogelijk de verklaring voor het feit dat met name de oudere generatie Enschedeërs, zestig jaar en ouder, de mythen over reizigers, woonwagenbewoners en sociale problemen aanduiden met het label 'Krim-gedrag'. Het is wellicht interessant om te onderzoeken of de mythen over de Krim en Sebastopol nog steeds aanwezig zijn in Enschede wanneer deze oudere generatie is verdwenen.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

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### 1.1 Motivation

From 1861 until 1934, two urban neighborhoods by the name of the Krim and Sebastopol were prevalent in the Dutch city of Enschede. They were named after the Krim-war in the nineteenth century. The Krim and Sebastopol are part of the wider past of textile industry in Enschede and the region of Twente, with its rapid industrialization and urbanization. What distinguishes these neighborhoods from other neighborhoods, is the fact that during their existence the Krim and Sebastopol were given negative labels by mainstream society of Enschede. The Krim and Sebastopol were known as places of vice, places 'normal' people should avoid after dark. However, the inhabitants of the Krim and Sebastopol claimed that they might have been different than other people in Enschede, the stories told about them were over exaggerated (Bosch and Jagt, 1985). All in all, the Krim and Sebastopol became known as notorious places within the city of Enschede and its wider region. The people and families living there were part of that notorious image. Bosch and Jagt (1985) describe the stories about the Krim, Sebastopol and its inhabitants vividly in their book '*Al is de Krim ook nog zo min...*'. This book is based on their graduate research for their history study. However, their study stops at the demolition of both neighborhoods in 1934. Bosch and Jagt then give a short overview of what happened after that. They point out that the demolition of both neighborhoods did not mean that the stories and images of the neighborhoods vanished from the city. Their main point is that new neighborhoods with many of the people who lived in the Krim and Sebastopol could be seen as 'new' Krims and Sebastopols. So, their book tells the story of the Krim and Sebastopol during their existence, but it leaves the reader with the question what the exact legacy might be of the neighborhoods. During the existence of the Krim and Sebastopol, people told anti-urban myths about the neighborhoods. The Krim, Sebastopol, and their inhabitants were considered as vice. Urban phenomena which contributed to a negative image of the city, according to mainstream culture of that time. A culture that was undergoing a transformation from rural to urban (late nineteenth- and early twentieth century).

Another important feature that has to be mentioned here, is the fact that origin and ancestry of people still play an important role in the society of Twente. Being a born and raised 'Tukker', the researcher can state that the question 'woar bin ie van?' (dialect for 'what is your family name?') is a frequently asked question, both in rural and urban areas.

Sometimes when the researcher was asked the question 'woar bin ie van?', he answered with 'I'm from Salemink'. Salemink is a not a well known name in the part of Twente where his parents live, so sometimes people asked 'what's your mother's family name?' After mentioning that family name, people often responded in a way that indicated that people thought bad of that name. That family is known for 'no good', seemed to be the message. That family is known for being from the trailer park in Enschede, a family with a negative role in the past of Enschede. Curious about the origin of this negative association with family names in general, the researcher found out about the link between Krim and Sebastopol and certain family names, also in the case of his mother's family name.

### 1.2 Research questions

The combination of the past of the Krim, Sebastopol and the role of origin and ancestry is exactly what this research is about. It seems as if the Krim and Sebastopol are being reproduced, or kept alive, by the presence of certain families within the region of Enschede. But how does this take place,

what are the mechanisms behind this reproduction? What phenomena contribute to this reproduction?

Therefore, the main question of this research is:

*How is it that myths of the past about the disappeared neighborhoods the Krim and Sebastopol still play a role in contemporary society of Enschede?*

There are two important aspects to this main question. First, it is about the *construction* of myths. Second, it is about the *reproduction* of those myths. This leads to the following sub questions:

- *How did the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol and its inhabitants develop?*
- *How are these myths being reproduced in the society of Enschede and Twente?*
- *What is the interest of the actors that are involved in this construction and reproduction of myths?*

### 1.3 Hypotheses

Based on the information that lead to the statement of the research questions, it is expected that the reproduction mainly takes place through the presence of certain families, with their origin within the Krim and Sebastopol, within the city. An important aspect of this presence within the city is the fact that these families are probably spatially clustered, for example at the trailer park at the east of Enschede.

An hypothesis about the interests of the different actors is less clear in advance. First it has to be clear who all the actors are that are involved in this process of reproducing the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol. In this case, research has to be done to give an overview of the (potential) actors that are involved. Still, the interests of those actors is not clear in advance.

### 1.4 Relevance

First, the results of this research are relevant from a socio-economical viewpoint. When there is more known about how construction and reproduction of myths works, then this knowledge can be used to show where a story turns into a persistent form of stigmatization. It is up to the policy makers involved to use this knowledge, for example to prevent that certain (marginalized) groups will suffer from this stigmatization.

It also connects to the wider debate of urban problem areas. These areas are subject to a lot of political and academic debate. The research also contributes to the current reforms in policies regarding caravan dwellers in Dutch (urban) areas, initiated by municipalities and housing corporations.

More specifically, this research might show why certain families in Enschede are being *stigmatized*. The outcomes of this research can be valuable for the municipality or other (non-)governmental bodies which are involved in social policy.

Second, the results of this research are also of scientific relevance. Theories about myths are used to show how myths about disappeared places resonate through time and across space. Not much research on this topic has been done before. It is important that the view of the marginalized group is taken into account.

### **1.5 Guide for this report**

In Chapter Two theories about myths are treated to explain what myths exactly are, and how they work. Chapter Three zooms in on the specific case of the Krim and Sebastopol in the context of Enschede and Twente.

Chapter Four discusses the methods used in this research, along with the ethical issues that are involved in this research.

Chapter Five shows the results of the research, and Chapter Six comprises the conclusions and recommendations for further research.

## Chapter 2: Myths

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### 2.1 What is a myth?

In Chapter One it is mentioned that the concept of myth plays an important role in this research. So, first of all it is important to discuss the concept of *myth*. What is a myth?

There has been written a lot about myths and, closely related to this, images of places (Ashworth et al., 2007)(Meester, 1996). Much of that research is about how images and myths can be exploited economically, or, more precise, how images and myths can be commodified. The myths that will be looked at in this research are more influential in cultural and societal terms than in economical terms. At most it has socio-economical outcomes, where myths lead to stigmatization of images of certain places or people. More about that later in Chapter Three and Five.

This research focuses on the effect and outcomes of myths, a form of spatial image. In his book *Imagined Country* (1991), John R. Short writes about how the wilderness, the countryside and the city are imagined by people. He claims that the constructed images are based on myths. In Short's words, myths are:

*“An intellectual construction which embodies beliefs, values and information, and which can influence events, behaviour and perception. Myths are (re)-presentations of reality which resonate across space and over time, which are widely used and reproduced, which are broad enough to encompass diverse experiences yet deep enough to anchor these experiences in a continuous medium of meaning. The term myth does not imply falsehood to be contrasted with reality. An environmental myth can contain both fact and fancy. The important question is not ‘is it true?’ but ‘whose truth is it?’”(Short, 1991: xvi)*

Some very important features of myths are mentioned in the quotation above. A myth is usually a story, it is fixed in people's minds. It is an *intellectual construction*.

First, Short states, as mentioned above, that myths are intellectually constructed. A myth is constructed and reproduced, leading to a representation of a certain phenomenon. Myths are being communicated (see also Holloway and Hubbard, 2001: 143-176).

Second, myths resonate across space and over time, and they are widely used and reproduced. They are a continuous medium of meaning. This does not mean that myths are immune for spatial and temporal change, but it is possible that myths outlive the phenomenon they speak about. This is because myths offer people a hold on an ever-changing reality. This includes many myths about 'the good' and 'the bad'.

Third, myths influence events, behavior and perception. This means that the communication of myths not only leads to certain behavior and events. By communicating the myth, the myth is reinforced by people across space and over time. Some features are diluted, while a process of selection leads to overemphasizing of other features.

Fourth, the concept of myth does not imply falsehood to be contrasted with reality, they can be both fact and fancy. A myth is not necessarily true or false.

The most important question that Short poses here is 'whose truth is it?' This raises the question for the next paragraph: where do myths come from?

## 2.2 Where do myths come from?

In human geography, research about myths is mostly about myths that talk about certain places, certain groups of people and the interaction between place and people (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001). Difference between people is recognized by those different people because they see other people as 'the other'. This recognition of the other, and thereby the recognition of 'the self', is referred to as the *process of othering* (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001)(Short, 1991).

David Sibley (1995) has written quite a lot about othering. A theory about how othering originates is *object relations theory*. Sibley cites Claire Kahane (1992), who says:

*"Object relations theory assumes that from birth, the infant engages in formative relations with 'objects'- entities perceived as separate from the self, either whole persons or parts of the body, either existing in the external world or internalized as mental representations."(Kahane in Wright, 1992: 284)*

Sibley continues:

*"It (object relations theory, KS) suggests ways in which boundaries emerge, separating the 'good' and the 'bad', the stereotypical representations of others which inform social practices of exclusion and inclusion but which, at the same time, define the self." (Sibley, 1995: 5)*

Object relations theory also speaks of a *defense mechanism* of the human brain. This defense mechanism is a *natural feature of the human brain*, according to object relations theory. It helps people to deal with the question whether an object can be trusted. As an infant, it starts with judging objects like body parts which do not belong to the infants body. Later on in life, the entity of the objects changes. Objects can also be people. In the case of people as the objects, the defense mechanism helps individuals to deal with the question whether they want to bond with a person or not. Can this person be trusted, or is this person a potential danger? The features 'good' and 'bad' are essential here (Short, 1991).

Moreover, the defense mechanism of the brain at the level of the individual, results in *othering* at the level of groups of people. An individual recognizes that he or she belongs to a certain group, because all the individuals belonging to that group share certain features, for example language, religion, ethnicity, class or status. In this process of recognition, the individual again recognizes that other individuals belong to other groups, because they also share certain features that make them different from other groups. Again, the defense mechanism as a natural feature of the human brain is at the origin of the recognition of difference.

So, Sibley states that othering is about recognizing other people as 'the other', whereby people see themselves as the 'the self'. This leads, at a societal level, to a sharp demarcation between groups of people. It helps people to create and reaffirm their own *identity*, 'define the self'. If person A sees a different person (person B), he will automatically recognize things that are different from him, for it is a natural feature of the brain to recognize difference, according to object relations theory (Kahane in Wright, 1992)(Sibley, 1995).

This process described above is a process of recognition of otherness and difference, but also a confirmation of the self: 'he/she is that, but I am not, so I am this'. Othering helps to create an identity. This is also the case when groups of people interact with each other. One sees the different

other group opposed to their own group, based for example on language, religion, ethnicity, which leads to the recognition difference and a confirmed identity. This recognition of difference people and groups of people are the basis of myths.

As stated by Short, myths are *intellectual constructions*. These constructions originate through stories about 'the other group', stories that are based upon events, features of that certain group, a reaction that arises during interaction with that certain group and so on. For example, group A lives in a wealthy urban neighborhood. Group B lives in a more deprived urban neighborhood. When interaction takes place between these two groups, people from both groups mainly see the things that are different about each other. In this interaction people have their own reference of what is good or bad, 'beliefs and values' as Short calls them (Short, 1991). 'Group A is rich and posh', 'Group B is poor and they live in filthy houses'. Based on these experiences people create an intellectual construct about *people and place*. This construct is then communicated by people. The *communication* of this intellectual construct leads to the beginning of a myth: "an intellectual construction which embodies beliefs, values and information, and which can influence events, behaviour and perception" (Short, 1991).

Sibley's (1995) research on gypsies in western societies shows a quite radical version of othering, in which myths also play a role.

Gypsies in western societies have always been a group that deviated from the dominant culture. The dominant culture, in the western case, is that people choose a place to settle down. In Heidegger's words, people choose to dwell (Heidegger, 1986). People then get fixed in space, giving their own meaning to a particular place in space. However, gypsies are nomads. Travelling around (sometimes they are called travelers) is their way of life. People who belong to the dominant culture see this as a deviation of their norms and values. This is where the process of othering starts.

The more radical aspect of othering and gypsies in western society comes from the locations the gypsies live (role of place) and the way gypsies make a living (role of practice and everyday life). Gypsies usually live in a camper. Sometimes they live alone in a certain location, but most of the time they live together in a campsite outside of a town. In this way the gypsies are always spatially and socially excluded by the dominant culture.

In some cases, gypsies make a living by recycling all kinds of waste, for example scrap metal and used cars. This can lead to the linking of gypsies to filth, waste and dirt, and ultimately to the filthification of the gypsies as a group. In other cases gypsies deal with sharpening knives as a specialty, and sometimes their job and income depends on this specialty. This can lead to the association of gypsies with knives and weapons. Regular fights at the campsite are also well known in certain parts of society, especially in the Irish context. The search for 'gypsy fights', 'bare knuckle boxing', 'travelers fighting' produce a great number of hits on [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com) : over a thousand hits, and the top listing movies had over sixty thousand views. This adds the possible association of gypsies with violence.

The dominant culture often depicts gypsies as dangerous and violent because of the association with these knives, weapons and fights: an intellectual construction, which clearly embodies beliefs, values and information, and it also influences behaviour and perception. Gypsies are excluded by the dominant culture and they are perceived as filthy and dangerous. This intellectual construction is called a *myth* (Short, 1991). The case of the gypsies shows that these myths are indeed an intellectual

construction, which results from interaction between people (dominant culture and nomadic culture of gypsies) and place, leading to certain behaviour, and eventually to reproduction of the myth.

### 2.3 Myths and discourses

Probably the most important feature of a myth is the fact that *myths are communicated by people across space and over time*. According to Foucault, communication takes place within a discourse (Rajchman, 1992). This follows from Foucault's thinking about rationality. Foucault claims that there is no absolute rationality. This means that there is also no absolute truth, the world is plural. These multiple truths exist within a certain referential framework or arena. Foucault calls these referential frameworks/arenas *discourses*. Every different part or sector of society has its own vision on truth. Furthermore, Habermas writes about communicative rationality which leads to Diskurs. More than Foucault, he stresses the importance of the communicative (intersubjective) aspect of discourse/Diskurs (van Peperstraten, 2007). Habermas claims that rationality can only exist through communication between subjects (people). The main difference between Foucault and Habermas is that Habermas still assumes that man is (quite) rational. He still believes in modern thinking. Foucault, however, is one of the philosophers who initiated the poststructuralist and postmodern movement, for he does not assume a rational man exists.

Putting together the myths that are communicated in a certain part of society leads to the differentiation of discourses. These discourses discern themselves from other parts of society, because people within that discourse have developed an own way of looking or *gazing* at society, as Rose (2007) calls it. The gaze of people determines what a person sees when he or she looks at society. So, the people and their difference in gazing on society form different discourses. Rose (2007) writes about for example a male gaze that male persons in society have. Men see the world through their male, selective eyes. This male gaze is very different from the female gaze. Rose carries on to state that difference between people leads to different gazes in society (Rose, 2007:3).

Jones (1995) follows the idea that different ways of looking at society, and therefore multiple discourses exist. He discerns discourse like the lay-, academic-, media- (or popular-) and professional discourse. Within these discourses, different visions on what ought to be seen as 'the truth' are communicated by people, for example the academical vision on 'the truth'.

A discourse that can be added for this research is the 'culture and art' discourse. Art and other cultural phenomena are also a way of communicating (Rose, 2007). More about this later in this report.

As myths are *communicated*, they are also communicated (*reproduced*) within certain parts of society. Specific myths can be characteristic for specific parts of society. Myths are constructed, and the communication of myths is the reproduction of those myths. This construction and reproduction eventually leads to a *representation* of an aspect of society (a myth). However, a representation is always partial, selective and therefore distorted. So, *myths are partial, selective and distorted* (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001).

An important part of this research consists of the analysis of myths and the way they are communicated and reproduced within different parts of society, whereby specific parts of society can form a discourse (Rajchman, 1992). Communication is one of the things which contributes to the reproduction of myths: by communicating the myth, the myth is reproduced, but in this process of reproduction myths can be altered (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001).

Now that the main concepts concerning myths and discourses are treated, it is now required to use this knowledge for this specific research about disappeared urban neighborhoods and the reproduction of their images in the Dutch city of Enschede.

## Chapter 3: The Case of the Krim and Sebastopol

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### 3.1 The context

To show how this research is done, it is first important to explain the context in which the research took place. What is the place of the research, who are the people that were approached?

The place of the fieldwork, where the neighborhoods the Krim and Sebastopol used to be, is the city of Enschede. Enschede is a city in the east of the Netherlands in the region of Twente with 156.000 inhabitants. The city is known for its textile industry, -history and -heritage. Because of the textile history, the city is often described as a migrant society. The demand for labor during the booming time of the textile industry led to a great amount of migrants. At the beginning of the industrialization (late nineteenth and early twentieth century), they came mainly from the northern Dutch provinces such as Drenthe and Friesland. Later on, from the 1950's and onwards, it were Italians, Greeks, Turks and Moroccans, the so-called *gastarbeiders* ([www.enschede-stad.nl](http://www.enschede-stad.nl)) (Wiegman, 1987) (Roding, 1988). Societies which are culturally very diverse are referred to as *plural societies* (Ashworth et al., 2007). From early on, people in Enschede dealt with a great diversity of people, making the society of Enschede plural. This plurality leads to the recognition of difference within a society, difference which is required for the creation of myths, as both Short (1991) and Sibley (1995) state.

The research comprises the whole city of Enschede and its near environment. The objective of this research is to find out whether the Krim and Sebastopol (see 3.2) are still well-known within the city and its near environment, and if so, in what way are they reproduced. It would not be correct to be selective in advance when it comes to selecting who to approach for data. It is tried, although never fully possible, to get a whole lens of the situation of reproducing the former urban neighborhoods the Krim and Sebastopol. One should be aware of the flaws of the researcher concerning the transparency of societies. However, it is nevertheless good to at least try to give the whole lens of the situation, instead of pointing the reader into a certain direction (van den Bersselaar, 2003)(Flowerdew and Martin, 2005).

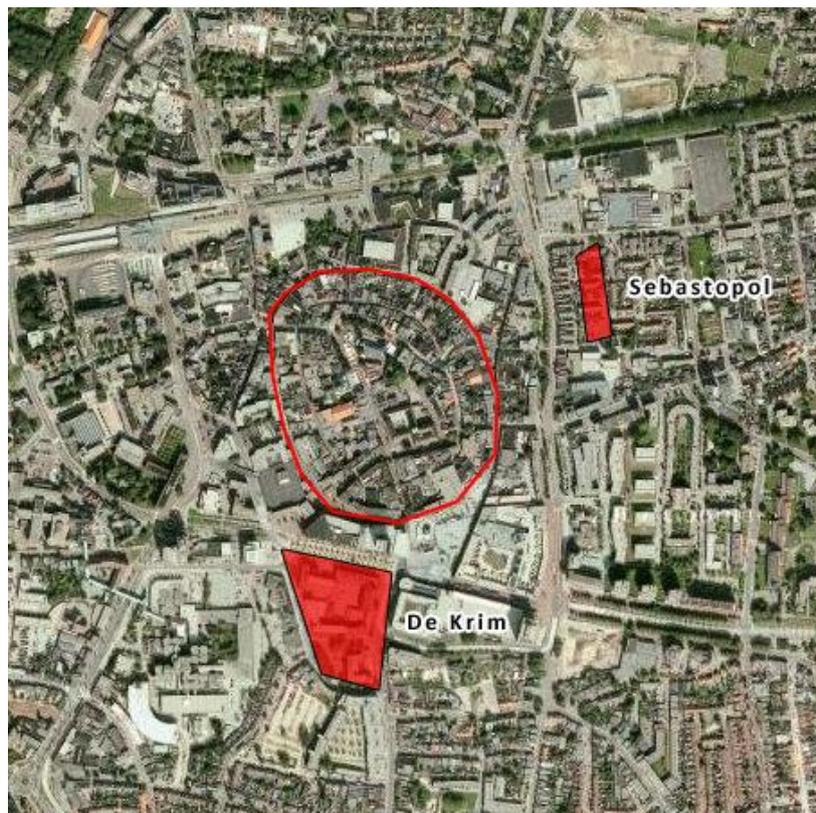
It is also important to point out that within the city of Enschede there is an increasing awareness of the presence of textile history and aspects relating to that history. This is mainly communicated through heritage, such as factory buildings from the industrial time and public art which refer to the textile industry. This coincides with a broader awareness of heritage in contemporary society (Ashworth et al., 2007). It seems that the role of textile history in the city is no longer something to be ashamed of, which was sometimes the case. Many of the socio-economical problems within Enschede were related to the collapse of the textile industry in the 1950's and 1960's (Roding, 1988). However, many of those problems are more or less dealt with, or the problems are no longer directly linked to the collapse of the textile industry. The history of the textile industry is now becoming something to be proud of, and it is often used the marketing for the city ([www.enschede.nl](http://www.enschede.nl)). The pasts tend to be more or less romanticized.

The Krim and Sebastopol are also part of this textile history of Enschede. Based on the information written above, it is plausible that also a revival of the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol may take place. It is also possible that people will romanticize certain aspects of the past. In the case of Enschede, this could be 'the notorious Krim and Sebastopol'.

### 3.2 History of the Krim and Sebastopol

This research is about two disappeared and demolished urban neighborhoods in the city of Enschede. The neighborhoods the Krim and Sebastopol were built in 1861, shortly after the great city fire. A large part of the city was destroyed in this fire, so a lot of people were homeless. Simultaneously, urban expansions were required because of the growing textile industry in Enschede. The region of Twente was appointed as the textile growth pole of the Netherlands, in which Enschede was a central place, bordering German industrial towns. Adding up these facts that a large part of the city was recently destroyed, and many migrants were drawn from other regions to fulfill the needs of the growing textile factories, Enschede had to expand her housing stock.

The 'Enschedese Bouwvereniging', a cooperation between influential entrepreneurs of the textile industry and other prominent citizens, decided that two neighborhoods had to be built *outside the original historical city*: the Krim and Sebastopol, in total just over two hundred houses. Figure 3.1 shows the position the Krim and Sebastopol would have in the current spatial setting in Enschede.



*Figure 3.1: Position the Krim and Sebastopol would have had in current spatial setting in Enschede. Notice the position outside the old city structure (Source: Google Maps, edited)*

This is where the spatial and social exclusion starts. The placing of the workers and migrants outside the city made the inhabitants of Krim and Sebastopol an isolated group. Spatially, the Krim and Sebastopol were excluded because of their position outside the city. Furthermore, the industrialists lost their feeling of solidarity for their workers, simply because they were out of sight. Starting to be neglected, the neighborhoods and its inhabitants started to deprive. The poverty of the people in Krim and Sebastopol was not noticed by the people and organizations responsible for poverty

reduction, which was badly organized as a whole. Unemployment was more common in Krim and Sebastopol than in other areas of Enschede. This situation led to the fact that the Krim and Sebastopol were referred to as ghettos. The first ghettos known in the context of Enschede (Bosch and Jagt, 1985). Sociologists like Marx and Engels described similar processes in industrializing, growing urban areas on the British Isles at that time (van Peperstraten, 2007).

This process of spatial- and social exclusion, together with *deprivation* and *poverty*, led to specific behaviour and activities, according to Bosch and Jagt (1985). Overpopulated houses, life on the streets, illegal trade, smuggling (the back-to-back houses made it easy for people to run from authorities, and the location of Enschede near the German border made smuggling an interesting way to make a living), alcoholism, regular fights, violent attitude toward authorities like the police and such. The Krim and Sebastopol were turning in to no-go areas for people who did not live there. Woods (2005) refers to the anti-authoritarian behaviour of inhabitants of the Krim and Sebastopol as *lawlessness*.

Figure 3.2 shows one of the streets in the Krim. Notice that the trailers of the caravan dwellers, who made up a part of the migrants in the Krim and Sebastopol, are not in the picture. The absence of these trailers is an important feature of this photograph. This absence is a form of purification. Othering, in the case of the Krim and Sebastopol, consists of *abjection*. Non-inhabitants of the Krim and Sebastopol tried to *purify their space*, as Sibley (1995) calls it. The caravan dwellers are the other, or even the abjected in this case. The photographer, most probably an outsider, excluded the trailers from the photograph. Traces of exclusion of certain inhabitants of the Krim and Sebastopol are found in this photograph.



Figure 3.2: Mauritsstraat, the Krim (Source: [www.enschede-stad.nl](http://www.enschede-stad.nl))

To keep their space purified, people in Enschede needed to reaffirm what and who was 'good' or 'bad'. So, stories about this 'bad' and negative behaviour and activities in the Krim and Sebastopol hummed through Enschede, thereby reaffirming the difference between 'good' and 'bad'. The myths about Krim and Sebastopol are *anti-urban myths*, as Short (1991) would call it, because of the

negative associations that a lot of people have towards the urban places the Krim and Sebastopol. The most notorious stories were about the fights between inhabitants of the Krim and the police. Other well-known features of the Krim and Sebastopol mainly regarded trading life. This was not a normal way of life in Enschede in that time, because most people worked in the textile factories (Bosch and Jagt, 1985).

On top of that, many immigrants in the Krim and Sebastopol were originally caravan dwellers. Some of them kept living in trailers, but for others the houses in the Krim and Sebastopol were their first regular house. Despite the fact that some of these caravan dwellers then started living in regular houses, they were still referred to as 'caravan dwellers' because they still had a different way of life. Their daily life mainly took place on the streets and not in the houses, because they were not used to living in houses. A house, or originally their trailer, was a place to rest and sleep (Bosch and Jagt, 1985). Research done by Sibley (1995) shows that caravan dwellers' deviant way of life enforces the process of othering.

Simultaneously, persistent stories about the Krim and Sebastopol arose. Inhabitants of Enschede who did not live in the Krim or Sebastopol created an intellectual construct ( a *myth*) of what the Krim and Sebastopol were like, based on the stories they heard. According to Bosch and Jagt (1985), these myths remained persistent throughout the existence of the Krim and Sebastopol (built in 1861, demolished in 1934).

This research is about the commemoration of the Krim and Sebastopol in contemporary Enschede (2009). However, first it must be made clear how the concepts as previously discussed comply to the Krim and Sebastopol.

### 3.3 The myths of the Krim and Sebastopol

Short's description (See 2.1) makes it possible to analyze the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol. This will be done according to the four features he ascribes to myths. Myths:

- (1) are intellectually constructed;
- (2) resonate across space and over time and they are widely used and reproduced;
- (3) influence events, behavior and perception;
- (4) do not imply falsehood to be contrasted with reality.

At the end, the question 'who's truth is it' will be asked in the context of Krim and Sebastopol in Enschede.

1. Just like all myths, the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol only exists in people's minds. Through perception and cognition, people turn aspects of real-life into an intellectual construct, which is not necessarily a reflection of reality (4). The story can be altered in perception and cognition. This intellectual construct is continuously reproduced by people, leading to a persistent story.

The myths of the Krim and Sebastopol first originated in the minds of non-inhabitants of the Krim and Sebastopol in Enschede and the near environment. However, research done by Bosch en Jagt (1985) shows that following the myths, inhabitants of the Krim and Sebastopol more or less started to believe in the myths that existed about them. So, after a while both 'the self' and 'the other' lived by the rules of the myth (3). The myths lead to certain expectations towards behaviour. Inhabitants of the Krim and Sebastopol were expected to

behave according to the myths. The intellectual construct leads the people, not rationality or the intellect itself.

2. The resonating of a myth across space and over time, and the wide use and reproduction of a myth is of great interest to this research. One of the objectives of this research is to find out how myths about places which no longer exist (the Krim and Sebastopol were demolished in 1934) still play a role in contemporary society.

First, during the existence of the Krim and Sebastopol, stories about the past of both neighborhoods were told for a long time after the actual event, all over the city and region (Bosch and Jagt, 1985). However, the research of Bosch and Jagt is done from a historical perspective. They studied the time period that the Krim and Sebastopol still existed. This research studies if and how the Krim and Sebastopol still exist in the contemporary society of Enschede.

Second, even after the demolition, the myths seemed to keep humming through the city and region. Popular literature, art, newspapers, work of regional historians and stories told by ordinary inhabitants of Enschede indicate that the actual place no longer needs to exist for the persistence of a myth. So, myths seem to resonate across space and over time, being widely used and reproduced.

3. The myths of the Krim and Sebastopol might influence events, behavior and perception. It is possible that people started to live and behave according to the myths, whereby people avoided travelling through or to the Krim and Sebastopol. It was not a place a 'normal person' should go after dark. Or, as one of the interviewees called it:

*"The Krim and Sebastopol were areas to avoid. I don't know this from my own experience, but my parents told me that." (City archivist of Enschede, age 56, March 2009)*

Bosch and Jagt (1985) also stress that the Krim and Sebastopol turned in to no-go-areas or ghettos. It seems that myths can influence events, behavior and perception.

4. The myths of the Krim and Sebastopol are based upon real events. Later, stories about these events were probably thickened by people telling the stories and popular media, like the newspapers (Bosch and Jagt, 1985). This makes the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol neither true or false: the myths are based on actual events, but they were often altered later on. So, the myths probably have features of truth, and features of falsehood.

Following the assumption that myths are neither true or false, it is also always difficult to answer the question 'who's truth it is?' The answer is always ambiguous. Although the myths are based on aspects of reality, the alteration by people who reproduce the myths (who most of the time did not live in the Krim and Sebastopol) makes the myths neither true or false. It is the truth of the group telling the myth, who in this way claim to have 'the' correct reflection of reality. However, (former) inhabitants of the Krim and Sebastopol ignore these myths as truth. They say their story is more real than the myths that hum around (Bosch and Jagt, 1985). This makes the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol a 'truth' told by non-Krim- and –Sebastopol people, about people from the Krim and Sebastopol. Myths are, also in this case, subject to interaction between people of a certain part of

society. Habermas calls this intersubjectivity, which refers to interaction between subjects/individuals (van Peperstraten, 2007). The stories or myths that are communicated within a certain part of society are not necessarily true, but always someone's truth or the truth of a group of people.

### 3.4 Reproducing the Krim and Sebastopol

Following the concept of discourse, it is so that the Krim and Sebastopol are not reproduced and represented in a singular way. Different people in different parts of society communicate differently about a topic. For example, in the culture and art discourse people tend to romanticize the Krim and Sebastopol. Good aspects of the neighborhoods are stressed, and quite negative aspects, like alcoholism and violence, are expressed in a funny way. A good example of this is a jolly song about a big fight between former inhabitants of the Krim in a new urban setting called Overschot. When the police arrived, the mob turned against the authorities (Bosch and Jagt, 1985).

*'Het hele Overschot stond in rep en roer  
een ieder greep er naar een bijl of mes  
ze moesten het leren jassie dat op het hoekje stond  
met z'n allen effe lekker op de pens*

*'The whole Overschot was in a riot  
everybody went for an axe or a knife  
they wanted that leather jacket on the corner  
all joined together to fly at him*

*Tante Rika sprak, wat hebben ze pappe toch geflikt  
hij ligt in z'n bed, heb in z'n kop een hele grote glip  
Manus Hendriks tippelt met een halve bovenlip  
Jantje Oostdam loopt met 't oogje op zijn wang  
hij schreeuwt; ik ben voor het hele Overschot niet bang  
maar ze doen het nou niet weer  
het doet nog wel een beetje zeer  
maar ze zijn nu de dikste vrienden weer...'*

*Aunt Rika said, what did they do to daddie  
He's on his bed, with in his head a big cut  
Manus Hendriks walks around with half a upperlip  
Jantje Oostdam has a bruising at the eye  
he screams, I'm not afraid of the entire Overschot  
but they won't do it again now  
it hurts a little bit  
but they're best friends again now...'*

(Source: Bosch and Jagt, 1985: 112, English translation by Koen Salemink)

A remarkable aspect of this song is that the song is made up by the people who were involved in the unrest. This song indicates that inhabitants of the Krim, Sebastopol, and other more or less deprived neighborhoods were aware of the fact that other people regarded them as 'less'. This again shows that myths influence perception, and that inhabitants of the Krim and Sebastopol were more or less aware of the stories that were told about them.

On the other hand, in the lay discourse people tend to overemphasize the fact that a lot of criminality was prevalent in the Krim and Sebastopol. This leads to generalization and stigmatization of the Krim and Sebastopol and its inhabitants as mere criminal places and people.

This generalization and stigmatization is one of the main angles of this report. In what way are the Krim and Sebastopol reproduced and represented, and is their difference between certain parts of society regarding how and what people communicate?

Chapter Five and further of this report will be about the search for the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol in Enschede after the existence of both neighborhoods. How, between who and in what different parts of society are these different myths reproduced?

### 3.5 Discourses

It is necessary to discuss the concept of discourse in the case of the Krim and Sebastopol in more detail here. In Chapter Two it is mentioned that there are several discourses which can be conceptually discerned: professional-, academic-, media (or popular)-, culture and art-, and lay discourse. Within these discourse a dominant way of looking at the world is prevalent. People within the lay discourse look (or gaze) at the world in a different way than people within the academic discourse do.

The concept of discourse is a theoretical term that refers to communication within a certain part of society. It is a kind of circle or arena in which people communicate, a framework for thinking and communicating about aspects of society. The distinctive way of communication between people distinguishes one discourse from another.

It is fair to assume that discourses are separate, but not independent, entities. Communication about the Krim and Sebastopol takes place in different ways. In this situation, different approaches/uses of the myths are regarded in different parts of society.

Following the ideas of Foucault, it is so that society is structured by *power relations*. Different groups have a different amount of influence on how certain information is communicated in society (Rajchman, 1992). Rose (2007) interprets Foucault as follows:

*“Foucault was quite clear that discourse was a form of discipline, and this leads us to his concern with power. Discourse, he says, is powerful, but it is powerful in a particular way. It is powerful, says Foucault, because it is productive. Discourse discipline subjects into certain ways of thinking and acting, but this is not simply repressive; it does not impose rules for thought and behaviour on a pre-existing human agent. Instead, human subjects are produced through discourses. Our sense of our self is made through the operation of discourse. So too are objects, relations, places, scenes: discourse produces the world as it understands it.”*  
(Rose, 2007: 143)

Power relations are based upon difference. Difference based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class and status (Rose, 2007). Possession of capital is another important differentiating feature in power relations.

A clear example of this difference in power between people is the dominancy of white, male individuals in mass media. The white, male, dominant view of reality is most prevalent in the media, thereby producing the world as the white, male world understands it.

Along with this power relations comes that people always have *interest* in communicating about something in a specific way, there is something at stake for them. The more powerful will try to fix their version of the truth for their own good.

It is broadly assumed, also by Foucault and Habermas, that discourses cannot be seen totally independent from each other. In reality, society is very much an intertwined construct. Societies may be plural in many cases, but that certainly does not mean that every part of that society can be seen as an autonomous fraction of that plural society.

Obviously, parts of society are always made up of people. The communication between people within a certain part of society can make up a discourse, which is:

*"...a particular knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it." (Rose, 2007: 142)*

Discourse is not an autonomous acting entity. It is a theoretical concept that handles about how people in a specific part of society think about the world.

The case of the Krim and Sebastopol is quite special, regarding its place in the society of Enschede and the communication about such a specific topic. It might be the case that a separate part of society in Enschede can be discerned which communicates about the Krim and Sebastopol. This part of society again has influence on other parts of society.

It is expected that the people that reproduce the Krim and Sebastopol make up their own specific 'Krim and Sebastopol sector' in society. These people have particular knowledge and an own way of looking at the past of the Krim and Sebastopol.

This report does not attempt to appoint certain data in to such a discourse. Such methods of categorization are never undisputable. However, it is possible to state that certain data is more characteristic and typical for a certain part of society. For example, if a person says something about the Krim and Sebastopol as an employee of the municipality, it is more likely to label such data as belonging to the professional sector than when he says it at a birthday party. The context in which a person says something is an important factor in 'labeling' the data.

The typifying of the data is not definite, but it contributes to the analysis by making the data more arranged.

## Chapter 4: Methodology

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### 4.1 Research approach

The methods used in this research can be characterized as qualitative methods. One of the aims of the research is to tell the stories of the Krim and Sebastopol in contemporary Enschede. Words are more suitable for telling a story than numbers, so that's why qualitative methods are more suitable for this research than quantitative methods.

The concept of triangulation is used to check whether the data, which resulted from the qualitative methods, can be confirmed or denied by other sources or methods. This triangulation is important when it comes to interviewing 'gatekeepers of knowledge' regarding the research. It is very well possible that gatekeepers communicate within their own circle, wherein they more or less think the same about a topic. In the case of the Krim and Sebastopol it is important to get gatekeepers' information confirmed (or denied) through other methods or sources, for example through observations in the field or in-depth interviews with non-specialists on the subject.

### 4.2 Research methods

Several methods are used for this research. As mentioned in Chapter Three, communication about aspects of the world is different in different parts of society. However, it is not so that a method is only applicable to certain parts of society. Even the analysis of cultural expressions is not only useful for the 'culture and art discourse'. This interchangeability of methods for the different parts of society is a logical outcome of the interdependence of those different parts of society. Society may be not clear and singular, but the used methods for this research have to be discussed separately.

#### 4.2.1 Secondary literature

Secondary literature was studied to get an overview of the topic and theories used towards myths in society. The theoretical framework is based upon secondary literature. This includes mainly scientific literature, but also literature produced by historical societies.

Although quite some research is already done on (urban) myths, specific research on the situation in Enschede with the Krim and Sebastopol is scarce. The research from an historical viewpoint, done by Bosch and Jagt in 1985, is the only research that is available on the Krim and Sebastopol. This is sufficient for an historical sketch and overview. However, to find out more about the resonance of the myths through time and over space, other methods have to be used.

Valuable research on contemporary problem areas in Enschede is done by Gabriël van den Brink (2008). He is a professor of public administration at the University of Tilburg. His report points out current problems in specific areas in the city. The report also refers to Krim and Sebastopol, and he recognizes the role of caravan dwellers as part of some problems in the city.

#### 4.2.2 Archives

Archives were used in order to trace families that once lived in the Krim and Sebastopol. The rent book of the housing company that built and owned the Krim and Sebastopol, 'Enschedese Bouwvereniging', shows the families that lived in those neighborhoods.

Combining these data with data from the phone book ought to create evidence for the often heard statement that a lot of Krim- and Sebastopol families still live in Enschede. If the names are clustered in a specific area, this will nurture possible reproduction of the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol.

### 4.2.3 In-depth interviews

In this report it is tried to give an overview of the Krim and Sebastopol in Enschede today. This means that the stories of these two disappeared neighborhoods and their influence on the society of Enschede after their existence have to be told. In-depth interviews are a good method for getting the stories told because of their level of detail; interviewees have the opportunity to tell their 'full version' of their experience with the past and its reproduction in contemporary society. In total, six semi-structured in-depth interviews are done for this research with eight people. Two interviews were with two people at the same time. The interviewees are:

- Chairman of neighborhood council Velve-Lindenhof, male, age 71, lives in Velve-Lindenhof
- Chairman of play ground association in Velve-Lindenhof, male, age 40's, lives in Velve-Lindenhof, descendant of a Krim-family
- City archivist of municipality of Enschede, male, age 56  
Employee of city archive of Enschede, female, age 60's, born and raised in Enschede
- Former journalist of newspaper Twentsche Courant Tubantia, male, age 64, born and raised in Enschede
- Initiator of Willem Wilmink Festival, male, age 58, born and raised in Enschede, writer of the book 'Willem Wilmink, dichter bij de Hemelpoort'  
Secretary of Willem Wilmink Festival, female, lives in Enschede
- Descendant of a Krim-family, often mentioned by mainstream society of Enschede a 'bad' family, female, age 50, lives in Denekamp

Another advantage of doing in-depth interviews is the snowball-effect. Interviewees are often capable of adverting the researcher to other persons who might be interesting to talk to in light of the research. A possible disadvantage of this is that the researcher circles in a network (or even a discourse) in which a specific, prevailing opinion is expressed. The researcher has to remain critical towards this possible bias.

At a given moment, the amount of new data which can be gained is minimal. This is the point of saturation.

It is important to recognize that the aspects expressed in interviews are at first opinions and truths of the interviewee. It is not the task of researcher to be judgmental about that. However, it is the task of the researcher to interpret these expressed opinions and truths. If an interviewee directly refers to the Krim and Sebastopol because of certain behaviour of certain people, the relationship between the Krim and Sebastopol and how the disappeared neighborhoods are reproduced is quite clear. No further interpretation is required. But reproduction might not always be so obvious and direct. For example, in this specific case of the Krim and Sebastopol, if an interviewee refers to certain behaviour which is associated with caravan dwellers, the researcher can add to this that this behaviour was first performed in Krim and/or Sebastopol. By referring to certain people as 'gypsy-like', the Krim and Sebastopol might be reproduced indirectly. The interviewee won't stress this, so the it's up to the researcher to interpret these aspects so that they become plausible for the use of

the research. It is at least relevant for the research to keep this relation between travelers and the Krim and Sebastopol in mind.

In most cases, quotes of interviewees are used for the sake of the argument or point made. The interviewees are informed about this, and they have read the quotation as it is used in this report. This is of course a correct way of dealing with quotations of other people. However, sometimes this check also provided new information on the topic, for example the correct spelling of a word or phenomenon in popular speech. A former journalist of a regional newspaper assured the researcher that the correct way of spelling in popular speech is 'the Krim', with 'the' before it, and not 'Krim'.

To stress it once again, the concept of triangulation is used to confirm or deny data provided by interviewees. To get a good overview on the topic it is important to use many different sources, also in the case of in-depth interviews.

#### **4.2.4 Observations**

The observations that were done for this research are not specific participatory observations with clearly bounded groups or populations. The observations that were done took place in the region of Twente, the region where Enschede is also situated.

The first kind of observations that were done took place in the fieldwork city of Enschede. These observations mainly consisted of taking pictures of aspects that are linked to the myths of Krim and Sebastopol.

Second, being born and raised in a village in Twente the researcher came back quite often from his city of residence (Groningen) to visit his parents in Twente. During these visits, conversations between people were observed. Sometimes the researcher heard people in his direct environment talk about for example the trailer campsite in Enschede. In these conversations Krim and Sebastopol are directly or indirectly reproduced. These observations have both lead to the interest in researching the topic (it raised questions), but the observations have also helped to obtain data. The places these observations took place are very diverse. However, based on the type of places (in people's personal places, for example in people's living room during a birthday celebration, or in workplaces) it can be said that these observations mainly deliver data that are part of the lay discourse. People spoke freely and not reluctant in these contexts. However, this means that the opinions given by people in these situations sometimes must be taken with a grain of salt.

Third, participatory observation is done as a bouncer at a disco in Twente. The researcher has worked for two and a half year as a bouncer at a disco in a village in Twente. This disco attracts customers from all over Twente, also Enschede. The approach of the bouncers and doormen is analyzed to see whether they treat people with specific surnames differently. If these people with specific surnames are one way or another linked to Krim, Sebastopol or the trailer park, then this indicates the reproduction of the myths of Krim and Sebastopol.

The actual observations were done from November 2008 until February 2009.

Just as with the in-depth interviews, the data that are delivered through observations are at first always truths and opinions of the people who expressed them. On the other hand, the researcher can (re-)interpret and analyze these expressions so that they get meaning for the research.

#### 4.2.5 Analyzing cultural expressions and high art

As Gillian Rose (2007) poses in her book 'Visual Methodologies', cultural expressions like art are representations of the actual world (for as far as an actual world exists). Following the cultural turn in geography, research on representations has become growingly significant in the discipline of geography. Rose:

*"...meanings may be explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious, they may be felt as truth or as fantasy, science or commonsense; and they may be conveyed through everyday speech, elaborate rhetoric, high art, television soap operas, dreams, movies or muzak; and different groups in society will make sense of the world in different ways. Whatever form the take, these made meanings, or representations, structure the way people behave – the way you and I behave – in our everyday lives."(Rose, 2007: 2)*

Rose's quotation covers a large part of possible forms of representations. For the method used in this research, the mentioning of 'high art' as a representation of elements of society is relevant. This means that high art, in the form of cultural expressions, are part of communication processes in everyday life.

Rose also states that representations are never static. Representations can be read or interpreted by people. People give new meaning(s) to representations while reading those representations. The individual experience of a representation is never fully fixed (Rose, 2007)(Ashworth et al., 2007).

Another important feature of representations like high art is that they are always an artist's interpretation of the actual world. In this way, the artist serves as a human agent. The artist initiates a partial, selective and biased representation of reality and communicates it in his or her work of art.

So, while analyzing a cultural expression it is important to keep in mind that it's always the artist's distorted way of representing the world, and people interpret that representation differently. Nevertheless, the culture and art discourse plays a great role in reproducing certain aspects of society and everyday life, so this discourse and the analysis is also relevant for Krim and Sebastopol in Enschede.

#### 4.3 Ethics: Researcher as human agent

When a person is asked to remember and narrate certain aspects of the past, he or she is more or less forced by the researcher to remember and reproduce the past. So, the researcher is also part of the process of reproduction. The researcher is the cause for retrieving memories. This is not just the case in this research, but also in the research done by Bosch and Jagt in 1985 (more on this in 5.3).

This has to be taken into account when the data is used for analysis and, eventually, to draw conclusions based on those data. The stories and opinions about the Krim, Sebastopol and its descendants maybe are still there, but it is also the researcher who revives these stories.

It is off course never the aim of the researcher to stigmatize people, by reproducing certain prejudices. These prejudices are however unavoidable. On the other hand, not mentioning certain prejudices would not give a good view of what is the case. If people are being stigmatized, then this stigmatization has to be explained. Unfortunately, this can come with reproducing prejudices and stigmatizing labels.

Another thing that has to be mentioned is the fact that the mother of the researcher is from a family that is often linked to the Krim. It is possible that when people are questioned by the researcher about the Krim and Sebastopol, that they automatically have a different attitude towards the researcher and the topic. This is an ethical issue that is unavoidable. In most cases, this information about the background of the researcher is not used, to prevent people to change their attitude towards the researcher and the topic. However, in the case of the trailer campsite of Enschede it is a kind of key to get in contact with the people at that campsite. So, in most interviews this information is certainly not stressed, but in the case of Krim- and Sebastopol descendants it can be useful. In the cases when this information about the researcher was used, it showed that the more or less similar background of the researcher and the interviewee/observed created a bond between them. Interviewees and observed people spoke freely about their experiences, based upon their background.

Summing up, the background of the researcher can be an access to data, but it can also be an cause for biased data. Therefore the researcher has to be aware of this probable bias in the data. The data has to be interpreted in such a way that the data can be used for the research.

## Chapter 5: Reproduction of the Krim and Sebastopol

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter shows the results of the research. First, the context of the Krim, Sebastopol and Enschede is explained. Do the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol continue to exist after their existence, and if so, in what way do they continue? The starting point for this analysis are the myths about Krim and Sebastopol which are discussed in Chapter Three.

Second, it is explained who the important human agents are that keep the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol alive. There are people that play or have played a big role in reproducing Krim and Sebastopol.

Third, it is tried to explain what the interest is of those people that communicate about Krim and Sebastopol. Why do they communicate about the Krim and Sebastopol? What is at stake for them?

Different places in the city of Enschede are referred to in the following chapter. These places are: the Krim, Sebastopol, 'Gaskrim'(small trailer park), Trailer park 'Sleutelweg', 'Euregiopark', Velve-Lindenhof, Dolphia. Figure 5.1 shows these places. In the case of the Krim and Sebastopol it shows where they would have been if they still existed.



Figure 5.1: Places referred to in the research. The red frameworks are highlighted areas in the city centre and at the east of Enschede  
(Source: Google Maps, edited)

### 5.2 Traces of the Krim and Sebastopol

#### 5.2.1 Families

The Krim and Sebastopol did not immediately disappear after their demolition in 1934. Physically, the neighborhoods were wiped of the map. Socially however, the Krim and Sebastopol did not disappear immediately after the demolition. The people that lived in the Krim and Sebastopol had to be placed elsewhere in the city. After all, they needed a place to live.

Some of the caravan dwellers from the neighborhoods went to a place just south of the Krim and Sebastopol, towards the so-called 'Gaskrim' (Bosch and Jagt, 1985). This was a site near the gas factory (see Map 5.1). Originally it was named different, but because many former inhabitants of the Krim went there, it was soon named 'Gaskrim' by the inhabitants of Enschede. Although the 'Gaskrim' is no longer in the state it once was, there are still a few trailers at the site at the Gasfabriekstraat. The municipality of Enschede made this an official standing point for caravan dwellers who are in the fair business, people who travel around with fairground amusements (see Figure 5.1 and 5.2). Here the link between people from the Krim and living in trailers is kept alive. Observations and interviews with for example the city archivist, the head of the neighborhood council and a former journalist of the regional newspaper 'Twentsche Courant Tubantia' also showed that people sometimes still refer to this place as 'Gaskrim'.

*"There are still many people in Enschede who still know the stories of the Gaskrim. The Gaskrim replaced the Krim in popular speech in the city and the region. The stories of the Krim and Sebastopol were prolonged, the people of those neighborhoods kept living together." (City archivist of Enschede, age 50's, March 2009)*



*Figure 5.2: Trailers at the former 'Gaskrim' (Photo: Koen Salemink)*



*Figure 5.3: Sign of municipality at trailer site. It says that only selected trailers are allowed to stand there (Photo: Koen Salemink)*

There are only five trailers and some warehouses at this small site. However, at the east of the city there is a larger trailer park. Figure 5.4 shows the geographical setting of this trailer park, 'Sleutelweg'.



*Figure 5.4: Geographical setting of the trailer park 'Sleutelweg' (Source: Google Maps, edited)*

Although there is no direct geographical link between the Krim, Sebastopol and this trailer park, the link between them is found in the families that live at the site. In the quote of the city archivist above it is also mentioned that inhabitants of Krim and Sebastopol kept living together. This is still more or less the case in contemporary society.

Data from the 'Huurboek Bouwvereniging Enschede 1922-1930', which shows who lived in the Krim and Sebastopol during those years, combined with data from the phonebook online ([www.telefoongids.nl](http://www.telefoongids.nl)), show that quite a few families at the trailer park carry the same name as families that lived in the Krim and Sebastopol. Figure 5.5 shows the prevalence of a common name in

Enschede, Jansen. This family name is evenly spread over the city.

Figure 5.6 shows the prevalence of a former Krim-name, B.. This family name is clustered at the east of the city, at the trailer park.

Figure 5.7 shows the prevalence of another former Krim-name, P., zoomed in on the east of the city. This family is spread more over the city than B., but the name still shows a clustering. This figure shows that this former Krim-name is clustered at the trailer park at Sleutelweg.

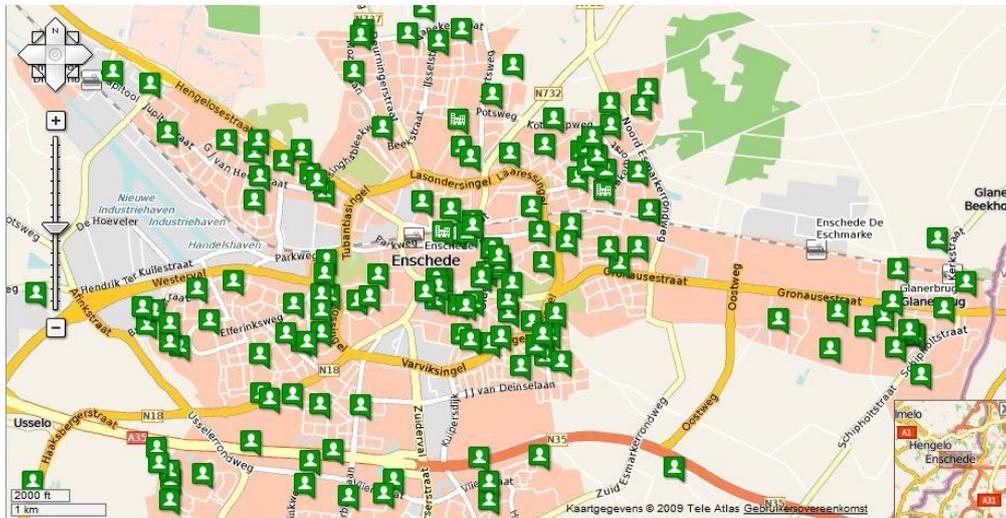


Figure 5.5: Prevalence of the name Jansen in Enschede. Green dots show addresses where people with this family name live (Source: [www.telefoongids.nl](http://www.telefoongids.nl))



Figure 5.6: Prevalence of the family name B. in Enschede. Green dots show addresses where people with this family name live. Most of them are concentrated at the trailer park at Sleutelweg (Source: [www.telefoongids.nl](http://www.telefoongids.nl))



Figure 5.7: Prevalence of the family name P. at the east of Enschede. Green dots show addresses where people with this family name live. The map shows that the family P. is also concentrated at the trailer park at Sleutelweg (Source: [www.telefoongids.nl](http://www.telefoongids.nl) )

Again, the link between the Krim, Sebastopol and caravan dwellers is confirmed here. The municipality of Enschede and the central government had plans during the 1980's to remove the trailer park at the east of the city, and move the caravan dwellers in to normal houses. The previous concept of clustering the caravan dwellers at a central site was no longer satisfactory (Roding, 1988). A large part of the trailer park was then removed. The replacement of the people took place quite selectively. Former caravan dwellers wished to live near the trailer park. Neighborhoods like Velve-Lindenhof and Dolphia near the trailer park took up most of the caravan dwellers (Van Den Brink, 2008: 204-205). Figure 5.8 shows the locations.



Figure 5.8: Enschede-East, locations of trailer park and neighboring neighborhoods (Source: Google Maps, edited)

Especially in Velve-Lindenhof, one of the forty so-called 'prachtwijken' appointed by the central government, this did not go well at first. 'Prachtwijken' are neighborhoods which used to be known as 'probleemwijken'(problem areas). Minister Vogelaar initiated the shift from the negative label of 'probleemwijk' to a more positive label of 'prachtwijk'(literally: wonderful neighborhood), to avoid stigmatization of those neighborhoods.

Velve-Lindenhof is characterized by people who have a textile worker background (Van Den Brink, 2008), and data from 'Huurboek Bouwvereniging Enschede 1922-1930' show that some families living in the neighborhood have a past that is linked to the Krim and Sebastopol too. The chairman of the neighborhood council confirms that the people in the neighborhood have a past in other worker's housing areas, including the Krim and Sebastopol.

The main common denominator that people in Velve-Lindenhof have is that most of them do not have a high income. Nowadays a great deal of the population is student, and another large part depends on a dole (Van Den Brink, 2008).

However, the deviant way of life of the caravan dweller people has lead to some misunderstanding between people who are actually quite similar, concerning their socioeconomical situation.

Differences between people who are otherwise quite similar, are stressed. As the chairman of the neighborhood council of Velve-Lindenhof puts it:

*"Those caravan dwellers just have another way of dealing with things. When there is trouble within the family, it seems they have just one way of settling it, and that's with a fight. And of course, those fights take place on the street. That's not a normal solution, if you ask me."(Chairman of neighborhood council Velve-Lindenhof, age 71, April 2009)*

The head of the neighborhood council states that living on the street is quite normal in Velve-Lindenhof, just as it was in the Krim and Sebastopol (Chapter Three). Van Den Brink (2008) also states that living on the streets is quite normal in Velve-Lindenhof. Caravan dwellers and former caravan dwellers are not the only people in the neighborhood that reproduce behaviour once performed in the Krim and Sebastopol, according to the head of the neighborhood council:

*"In the Krim and Sebastopol lived a lot of migrants from the north of the Netherlands. They were not used to the living standards as they were in the city back then. They came from places, for example the fields of Friesland and Drenthe, where they only had so-called 'plaggenhutjes' without running water. They just weren't used to living in a house, a house was a place to sleep, nothing more. And indeed, quite a few families in this neighborhood have a background in the Krim, Sebastopol or similar areas of the city like Overschot, Hoog en Droog, Pathmos. This idea of living on the street one way or another never left their mind. You can still see on days with nice weather that people here in Velve-Lindenhof live on the streets, in their front yards. So, it is not just the caravan dwellers who do not have a normal way of life. The neighborhood as a whole does not live according to the standards of our contemporary society. The families keep this tradition alive. A tradition which developed through poverty. But still, it really is a neighborhood here, people still know each other." (Chairman of neighborhood council Velve-Lindenhof, age 71, April 2009)*

Observations and interviews confirm that people in Enschede and the region know the names of the families that live or used to live at the trailer park. A selection of five family names are named by

every person who was observed while they spoke about the trailer park or criminal behaviour in the city of Enschede. People also know family names that once were well known in the Krim and Sebastopol. In some cases, names that were prevalent in Krim and Sebastopol are now prevalent at the trailer park 'Sleutelweg' or at the smaller trailer park at the Gasfabriekstraat. The myths of the Krim, Sebastopol and caravan dwellers are reproduced at these campsites.

Especially the names P., K., R., L. and M., the selection of five family names mentioned above, are named by the interviewees. However, the link between the names and the Krim and Sebastopol is not always that clear anymore. Mainly elderly people still are aware of the fact that those families once lived in the demolished neighborhoods. A former journalist of the regional newspaper Twentsche Courant Tubantia, who has written about the Krim, confirms this:

*"Indeed, there are names in the city that are well known, and not for their neat behaviour. Every city has that. And yes, their reputation was often settled in the days of the Krim and Sebastopol when quite a few of them lived there. A lot of people still know these names, but I don't think that people still link those names to the Krim and Sebastopol. And, many members of those families developed quite well and they now have good jobs. The older generation, about sixty years and older, that was born and raised in Enschede still knows that past. Yes, they still know the link between the Krim and those families, mainly from their parents. But, you know, the younger generation has no knowledge of it anymore. Only if they have a above average interest in the history of Enschede." (Former journalist of Twentsche Courant Tubantia, age 64, April 2009)*

Although not all people who communicate about those families are still aware of the link between those families, their specific behaviour and the Krim and Sebastopol does not mean that they do not reproduce that history. People can still indirectly reproduce certain aspects of a history. In fact, a lot of reproduction takes place without people being aware of what and how they are reproducing something.

For example, every time you pay with a euro, you reproduce the European Union as a supranational state. Many times this reproduction of the EU is done unconsciously, but still the EU is reproduced. The same thing might be the case when people in Enschede talk about certain families and their behaviour. The history of the Krim and Sebastopol as first ghettos within the city is unconsciously reproduced by mainstream society of Enschede. By stigmatizing certain families and members of those families the negative connotation of coming from the Krim and Sebastopol is kept alive. In this case, mainstream society is the subject, because they are the ones that communicate. The families where the communication is about are the object.

The older generation reproduces the Krim and Sebastopol explicitly. The younger generation reproduces the Krim and Sebastopol implicitly, or about travelers and social ills in general, by communicating about certain families in a negative way. The Krim and Sebastopol are sometimes used as negative labels. The history of the Krim and Sebastopol lives on in those families, because certain stories are still being told about them in the society of Enschede.

Still, the question remains whether people explicitly reproduce the myths the Krim and Sebastopol, or do the people now reproduce the myths of travelers in general? Might it not be the case that the

Krim and Sebastopol are temporal features of those myths about travelers in general? Chapter Six will discuss this question in more detail.

### 5.2.2 Professions

It is now clear that certain families carry the past of the Krim and Sebastopol with them. But how do these ideas develop? Why are some families seen as different from mainstream society?

This is mainly through what those families do, what kind of activities they are involved in (see 2.2).

First, families who live at the trailer park at the east of the city are often involved in businesses as dealing with scrap metal, dealing in used cars, and recycling business. Figure 5.9 shows the head sponsors of the football club of the trailer park. It shows businesses that are mainly involved in the businesses mentioned above (more on reproduction and sports in 5.2.3). The industrial zone 'Euregio Bedrijvenpark' (see Figure 5.8) that is located next to the trailer park houses many businesses that belong to people living at the trailer park. There are several car demolition yards, used cars dealers, scrap metal dealers and a paper recycling business.



*Figure 5.9: Head sponsors of the football team of the trailer park. Notice the prevalence of businesses in scrap metal ('metaalhandel', 'metalen') and used cars ('autohandel', 'autobedrijf') (Source: [www.fchetcentrum.nl](http://www.fchetcentrum.nl))*

Dealing with waste and used products of other people leads in mainstream society to the association of people with waste (Sibley, 1995). The intellectual construct mentioned in Chapter Three whereby people of the Krim and Sebastopol were involved in residual trading lives on at the trailer park. People dealing with filth are seen as filthy by other people (Sibley, 1995). This might also be the case with the trailer park in Enschede. Observations show that people living at trailer park 'Sleutelweg' are often associated with dealing with filth. It is more or less the cesspit of Enschede where you can get rid of your waste, and the people who live there are part of that cesspit. The nature of the business and trading the people at the trailer park are involved in leads to an association of the caravan dwellers to filth and waste. Or, as a disco bouncer in Twente once put it:

*“I recently bought two new cars. After a long search for the best place to trade my old cars for new cars, I visited a used car dealer at the trailer park near Glanerbrug. If you ask me it is the biggest scum you can find in the region, but they sure do know how to deal in cars!” (Bouncer at a disco in a village in Twente, male, age 41, February 2009)*

Second, trading life (see also 3.2) is also reproduced in neighborhoods like Velve-Lindenhof where many descendants of the Krim and Sebastopol families live. During the interview with the chairman of the neighborhood council of Velve-Lindenhof it became clear that many inhabitants of the neighborhood work from their home, which was also common in the Krim and Sebastopol.

*“Working from home is quite normal in Velve-Lindenhof. It is the other large group, next to students and people who depend on dole. As you walk through the neighborhood you will see that commercial- and crafts vehicles are parked everywhere. Many of those small businesses deal with used materials, like metal, textile and wood.*

*The presence of those small trucks leads to quite a lot of irritation among people who lose their parking space because of that. Not everyone is happy with the small businesses.”*  
*(Chairman of neighborhood council Velve-Lindenhof, age 71, April 2009)*

Observations in the neighborhood confirm that many commercial vehicles are situated in the neighborhood. Figure 5.10 shows an example of such a vehicle. The link between people who work from home and the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol is found here.



*Figure 5.10: Small truck in Velve-Lindenhof, belonging to a small business that deals with textile and metal (Photo: Koen Salemink)*

So, the professions and activities that people practice both at the trailer park and the neighborhoods near the trailer park is reflected visually. These professions and this trading life also reflects in a way how people lived in the Krim and Sebastopol. It is a modern version of it. In an extreme case this can

lead to the association of those people with waste and used materials by mainstream society of Enschede.

### 5.2.3 Places, spaces, and stories of reproduction

#### 5.2.3.1 Geographical areas

During the fieldwork it was noticeable that the reproduction of the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol is confined to specific places and spaces. The 'Gaskrim' is a clear example of prolonging the bases of the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol. There are more of these examples in the modern past of Enschede. Bosch and Jagt (1985) state that places where former inhabitants of mainly the Krim moved were given names like 'Drienerkrim' and 'Lipperskrim'. The 'Lipperskrim' was an area at the Lipperkerkstraat, near the current neighborhood Velve-Lindenhof. People from the Krim and Sebastopol carried those names with them, especially Krim-like names. Velve-Lindenhof seems like an extension of this 'Lipperskrim' through time.

In contemporary society of Enschede, the obvious *places* where the reproduction takes place are the trailer park and its neighboring neighborhoods Velve-Lindenhof and Dolphia. Those are the places the biggest concentration of Krim- and Sebastopol descendants can be found, based on the analysis of 'Huurboek Bouwvereniging Enschede 1922-1930' and [www.telefoongids.nl](http://www.telefoongids.nl). The places are also known for its inhabitants who work and trade from their homes, which was also a feature of the Krim and Sebastopol during their existence. Living and performing activities outside the house and on the streets is likewise a feature that nowadays takes place at the trailer park, Velve-Lindenhof and Dolphia. This used to take place in the Krim and Sebastopol during their existence.

The Krim and Sebastopol used to be the slums of Enschede. Nowadays Velve-Lindenhof and the wider east of the city of Enschede are regarded as problem areas (Van Den Brink, 2008). This can be interpreted as an *historical parallel* between these places. It might as well be that the trailer park and Velve-Lindenhof are some kind of extension of the social relations of Enschede in the past, which resonate through the city. Velve-Lindenhof is more or less the contemporary variant of the Krim and Sebastopol. The fact that much of the same families, but not every member of those families, live or have lived in those places does indicate this. Van Den Brink (2008) also points to this in his research on contemporary problem areas in Dutch urban areas. Van Den Brink refers to the "slums like the Krim and Sebastopol that are still well known in the city" (Van Den Brink, 2008: 185). Later on he points out that physical borders like the railway to the village of Glanerbrug are an 'obstacle' for getting access to Velve-Lindenhof and other parts of Enschede-East. This mainly has effect on the position against the wealthier neighborhoods at the northeast of Enschede (Van Den Brink, 2008: 195). The Krim and Sebastopol were also spatially excluded from the city (see 3.2). The spatial relations of the Krim, Sebastopol and Velve-Lindenhof within the city show similarities.

So, the parallel based on typing of both the Krim and Sebastopol and Velve-Lindenhof as problem areas can be made. There is also a similarity based on the position against the wealthier parts of the city. It can be argued that Velve-Lindenhof is a contemporary version of the Krim and Sebastopol. This historical parallel also makes it more obvious for mainstream society of Enschede to compare Velve-Lindenhof with the Krim and Sebastopol. It is also more obvious because many descendants of Krim and Sebastopol families live at Enschede-East nowadays.

### 5.2.3.2 Spaces: work floor

Furthermore, there are also specific types of *spaces* where the reproduction of the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol takes place more regularly. Based on observations and interviews that were done it can be said that the work floor is one of those spaces. Surnames still play a role in the process of getting a job.

An in-depth interview was done with a 'key person' which the municipality appointed for dealing with and coaching the youth in the areas where many descendants of the Krim and Sebastopol live. He himself is a descendant of a Krim family and a former caravan dweller. This is partly the reason he was appointed to this job:

*"I was appointed to this job by the municipality to solve the problems with the youth around here. A short time ago there was a lot of youth hanging around here in this area of Velve-Lindenhof. The reason why I got this job, is that I know most of the people here. I was able to reach the people behind their front doors, also the parents of the youth involved. If you know the people, it is easier to get something done.*

*An other problem at that time was that not all the young guys were from Velve-Lindenhof. They just had the space to hang around here, there was no control. In the media it was always about Velve-Lindenhof, but not all the guys involved were from here." (Chairman of a playground association in Velve-Lindenhof, former caravan dweller and descendant of a Krim family, age 40s, April 2009)*

The authorities used inside knowledge to deal with problems in the neighborhood. The background of this person helped to get him this job, although the reason still confirms a negative image. Discrimination based on surnames might also be an explanation for the large number of small businesses owned by descendants of Krim and Sebastopol families. If it is hard to get a job, starting a business of your own whereby that person works from home is one of the strategies to go around this problem.

In another in-depth interview with a descendant of a Krim family indicates that this discrimination based on surname was also present. It again shows that the work floor is a space where the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol are still (indirectly) present:

*"My brother once considered, about ten years ago, to give his three children the surname of his wife. He believes that people still judge us on our surname, even though we have nothing to do with the thing distant relatives have done in the past. He now has a good job as a teacher at a higher education institute, but before that he did notice that people sometimes seem surprised that a man with his surname had such education."(Antonette, lives in a village in Twente, age 50, maiden name is known as a Krim family name, February 2009)*

She continues about her own experiences:

*"At the end of 1977 I sent open applications to both hospitals in Enschede. I was trained as a medical analyst and I wanted to work at the hospital laboratory. I wasn't married yet at that time, so I still carried my maiden name, P.. When my open application was in, the head of the laboratory of the hospital at the Ariënsplein in Enschede entered the laboratory holding my letter in his hand, saying: 'Folks, somebody by the name of P. has sent an open application to*

*work as a medical analyst. I sure am curious to see somebody by the name of P. who actually is educated!*

*That's how my surname got me my first job. It was so special for this man to see somebody by the name of P. who was educated, that I could visit him on Saturday for an interview, that's how curious he was! Somebody by the name of P. who had studied, that wasn't possible, right?*

*Every time I walked in to him at the lab he asked me: 'Ah, miss P.! How's the family?' I always answered: 'They are all still at large, sir.' That's how the name of P. was known in Enschede in the late 1970's, people thought of us as scum, that's how it was. And even though I had nothing to do with the people at the trailer camp, I come from a normal house in a village, I was still judged as if I was one of them."(Antonette, lives in a village in Twente, age 50, maiden name is known as a Krim family name, February 2009)*

This examples shows that both the head of the laboratory and the descendant of a Krim family are aware of the stories that hum around about family P.. Discrimination based upon surnames is still felt within the society of Enschede and Twente, although a lot of that discrimination took place in the (recent) past. The discrimination is still fresh in memory.

However, interviews and observations show that judgments based on surnames are not confined to Krim- and Sebastopol family names. There are names that are not present in 'Huurboek Bouwvereniging Enschede', but they are also well known for the same features as the families that were present in the Krim and Sebastopol. These 'new names' do have a strong link with the trailer park and they are involved in the same sort of professions such as recycling.

### **5.2.3.3 Spaces: places for leisure**

Other spaces where the reproduction of myths of the Krim and Sebastopol takes place are places for leisure, such as the football pitch or bars and discos.

In the case of the football pitch, it is mainly reproduced because the trailer park has its own football club, FC 't Centrum. The football fields are located next to the trailer park.

It is the only football club in the region of Twente that was founded by caravan dwellers so they would have a football club of their own. The players scoring for the first team often carry Krim family names such as P. and B. ([www.tctubantia.nl/sport/amateurvoetbal](http://www.tctubantia.nl/sport/amateurvoetbal)) ([www.fchetcentrum.nl](http://www.fchetcentrum.nl)). The fact that the trailer park has its own football club re-establishes the sharp demarcation between the trailer park and the rest of Enschede en its surrounding region.

Interviews with the chairman of the neighborhood council Velve-Lindenhof and the chairman of the playground association confirm that most members of FC 't Centrum live at the camp, or the members are associated to the camp through family or work.

In the case of bars and discos, conversations with and observations of bouncers, doormen and owners show that some family names carry a negative label. During participatory observation as a bouncer (November 2008 until February 2009), the policy of the security members showed that certain surnames are treated differently. The researcher worked as a bouncer every Friday during that period. Identification check is often used to see if a person is old enough to enter the disco, but sometimes the bouncers see a surname that they say 'is known for getting in to trouble'. During the

observations it became clear that people, always male, with family names of the trailer park are often given an warning, based on their surnames:

*“They are lawless types, they have a problem with authority. And God knows what they bring with them! I think it is a good thing that we are more careful with such guys. At the end we are there for people’s safety, and our experience shows that they cause more trouble than other people.”(Bouncer at a disco in a village in Twente, male, age 41, December 2008)*

This quote is just one of many examples of how the bouncers at that disco think about people from the trailer park and certain families from Enschede.

Summing up, in the case of the football pitch, the caravan dwellers themselves reproduce the myths of the Krim, Sebastopol and travelers by keeping the demarcation between the trailer park and the rest of Enschede alive. In the case of the disco, the bouncers judge people based on their surnames.

#### **5.2.4 Conclusions**

All in all, aspects of the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol are very much still present in contemporary society of Enschede. Although the reference to these myths is not always done consciously, the fact remains that features of those myths are still present in contemporary Enschede. Stories about families, behaviour of those families, relations on the labor market and the work floor are still more or less based on social relations in the past time of the Krim and Sebastopol.

## 5.3 Human agents

### 5.3.1 Bosch and Jagt

There are several important human agents in the reproduction of the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol.

Two very important human agents in the process of reproduction are *Martin Bosch and Gerrit Jagt*. As students of the Radboud University in Nijmegen they wrote their thesis on the Krim and Sebastopol. Bosch and Jagt were both born in Enschede. Looking for a topic to write their thesis on, they discovered the Krim and Sebastopol “by accident”(Bosch and Jagt, 1985: 7). They saw that there was quite a lot of material on the topic, mainly in the records of ‘Enschedese Bouwvereniging’. They also recognized that the Krim and Sebastopol were still well known in the society of Enschede. They spoke to people who lived in those neighborhoods, thereby initiating the revival of the Krim and Sebastopol at a personal scale (Bosch and Jagt, 1985).

Based on their thesis they wrote a book about the Krim and Sebastopol. They contacted the regional newspaper Twentsche Courant Tubantia to create some media attention. By this they initiated a revival of the Krim and Sebastopol at a larger scale. A network of people and institutions then got interested in the topic. The Krim and Sebastopol obtained a prominent position in the social- and textile industry history of Enschede.

The journalist of Twentsche Courant Tubantia at that time about the book of Bosch and Jagt:

*“Those guys (Bosch and Jagt, KS) called about whether the newspaper was interested in writing an article about their book they would publish very soon back then. I did not know about their research, but it was an interesting topic to write about for the newspaper section for the city.”( Former journalist of Twentsche Courant Tubantia, age 64, April 2009)*

The city archivist of Enschede confirms this:

*“There was quite a lot of attention for the publishing of the book at that time. In the textile museum there was an exhibition on the Krim and Sebastopol shortly after the book came out. The newspaper wrote some articles about people who had lived in those neighborhoods. The Krim and Sebastopol were topical for a while at that time.”(City archivist of Enschede, age 56, March 2009)*

A clipping folder in the city archive of the municipality of Enschede shows that in 1985 five articles were published in the newspaper Twentsche Courant Tubantia. The articles are about the book by Bosch and Jagt, but also about people that were interviewed by Bosch and Jagt.

In the same clipping folder there is a series of articles from 1996, published in the same newspaper about people who had lived in the Krim and Sebastopol.

In 2001 an article is published in again the same newspaper about the one hundredth anniversary of the ‘Woningwet’. In this article the Krim is used as an example of how bad it could be before there were regulations on housing, such as the ‘Woningwet’.

In 2003 an article is published in the same newspaper about a former inhabitant of the Krim. In this article the Krim is called ‘the Jordaan of Enschede’. The Jordaan used to be a slum in Amsterdam (Laloli, 2007).

Bosch and Jagt are frequently used as reference in the articles mentioned above. So, Bosch and Jagt

have not just been a cause for media attention. They are also referred to when there was another motive to write about the Krim and Sebastopol, such as the 'Woningwet'.

Both in the articles about the Krim and Sebastopol and in the book by Bosch and Jagt a kind of nostalgic atmosphere is created. Interviewees frequently refer to how it used to be, saying that 'it will never be as back then'. People from the Krim and Sebastopol are portrayed as poor people who work hard and try to make the best of the situation. Illegal activities performed by people from the Krim and Sebastopol are ascribed to 'a different way of life', 'they created their own society within Enschede' (Bosch and Jagt, 1985). This creation of the Krim and Sebastopol as 'lost places' makes it that the book of Bosch and Jagt has a nostalgic touch to it.

All in all it is fair to say that Bosch and Jagt are key figures in keeping the Krim and Sebastopol alive. Not just by doing the research, but also by enabling the media. Also the tone in which the book is written did influence the reproduction of the Krim and Sebastopol.

### 5.3.2 Willem Wilmink

Another important human agent in the process of reproducing the Krim and Sebastopol is poet and songwriter *Willem Wilmink* (Enschede, 25 October 1936 – Enschede, 2 August 2003). Wilmink is known for his accessible way of writing. He made difficult, awkward, delicate and taboo-like matters accessible and understandable for a wide audience.

*"Willem Wilmink expressed things of life, emotions, stories that a lot of people experienced. He made it accessible. The universality of the themes he wrote about make s that his work is there for everyone. I give lectures about Wilmink and his work throughout the region. The public at those lectures really show that Wilmink has readers and listeners in every part of society. After the lectures the more educated people come and tell me about a certain feeling they experienced during a poem, while less educated people come and tell me that their birthday is the same day as Willem's. You see, everybody claims their own piece of Wilmink." (Bert De Haan, writer of the book 'Willem Wilmink, dichter bij de Hemelpoort' and one of the promoters of the 'Willem Wilmink Festival', age 58, March 2009)*

De Haan also stresses Wilmink's role as a school teacher. Wilmink was of great influence on what was and is educated in elementary schools in Enschede. De Haan states that Wilmink is still very much present in the current educational programs of elementary schools for two reasons: education in the use of language, and also for making history understandable for (young) children.

De Haan describes Wilmink as an poet and writer who was a kind of speaking-tube for the history of Enschede, especially the history of the common man in Enschede. Recurring themes in Wilmink's work are textile industry, the role of religion in the society of Twente and social ills in society.

Although Wilmink is known and read in all parts of society, the fact remains that only certain people with interest in poetry and music consume the poems and lyrics made by Wilmink. To know Wilmink's work requires a certain cultural interest. It is better to say Wilmink is known and read in all classes of society, by people with interest in culture. This makes Wilmink well known within a part of society in which people share a common interest in culture and art.

Adding up the facts that Wilmink is known and read by people of all kinds of classes and statuses, and that Wilmink is a speaking-tube for the history of Enschede makes him an important human agent in reproducing that history of Enschede. What is more important in this, is that Wilmink has written about the Krim, Sebastopol and the people who lived there. This was in the context of textile industry as well as social ills in society, thereby referring to the status of slums that Krim and Sebastopol were given. By describing and stressing the Krim and Sebastopol as slums, Wilmink seems one of the key figures in reproducing the Krim and Sebastopol in a negative way. However, the poems by Wilmink in which he refers to the Krim, Sebastopol and specific people have a nostalgic or even a romanticizing atmosphere over them.

Work of Wilmink in which he refers to aspects linked to the Krim and Sebastopol or directly to the Krim and Sebastopol are for example the poems 'Javastraat' and 'Textielstad'. 'Textielstad' is a good example of a poem in which the Krim and Sebastopol are placed in the wider context of textile industry and social ills. At the same time it has a nostalgic atmosphere around it. Wilmink writes about the history of Enschede as if it is something to miss, something that will never come back.

*Het is het eindpunt van de trein,  
bijna geen mens hoeft er te zijn,  
bijna geen hond gaat zover mee:  
Enschede*

*It is the endpoint of the train,  
almost no one has to go there,  
almost no dog goes a long so far this way:  
Enschede*

*De burchten van de nijverheid  
staan er nog her en der verspreid:  
spelonken, hol en afgeleefd,  
waar nu de wind vrij spel in heeft.*

*The industrial fortresses  
are still scattered:  
caves, hollow and decrepit,  
in which the wind now can suit itself.*

*Textielbaronnen van weleer,  
hun jachtgebied bestaat niet meer.  
Waar zouden ze gebleven zijn,  
Van Heek, Ter Kuile, Blijdenstein?*

*Textile barons of yesteryear,  
their hunting ground is no longer there  
Where are they now,  
Van Heek, Ter Kuile, Blijdenstein?*

*Hebben ze kinderen voortgebracht,  
hebben ze hier nog nageslacht,  
of koos dat snel een betere stee  
dan Enschede?*

*Have they brought up children,  
have they got offspring here,  
or did they quickly choose a better way  
than Enschede?*

***Krim, Berkenkamp, Sebastopol,***  
*het is voorbij. De maat is vol.  
Bijna geen heeft hier nog weet  
van uw gelatenheid, uw leed.*

***Krim, Berkenkamp, Sebastopol,***  
*it's all gone. The limit is reached.  
Almost no one here still knows  
of your resignation, your sorrow.*

*Dwars door het uitgeteerde hart  
loopt nu de kale boelevart  
met postkantoor en V&D.  
O Enschede, O Enschede.*

*Right through the emaciated heart  
now runs the bare boulevard  
with postal office and V&D  
O Enschede, O Enschede.*

(Source: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TSefqmGBNmw> , English translation by Koen Salemink.  
Bold added)

Wilmink keeps pointing out that it will never again be as it used to be. The Krim and Sebastopol are part of a past that is now gone, erased. That history is the textile industry history and its societal outcomes.

Wilmink seems to respond to a nostalgic feeling. “O Enschede, O Enschede”, and “Where are they now” confirm this aim of Wilmink.

However, Wilmink here reminds his readers of this past, thereby reproducing the past he claims is gone and forgotten. A great paradox speaks from this poem. This paradox is typical for the case of the Krim and Sebastopol. People refer to the Krim and Sebastopol as the past, but by *referring to* them, people keep the Krim and Sebastopol alive in the present.

By writing this poem, Wilmink made sure that the Krim and Sebastopol would be immortalized. Although it will never be known if that was his original intention or not, it still is the outcome of the poem.

Furthermore, in literary studies, Wilmink is referred to as a *neo-romanticist*. This is because Wilmink often writes about big themes such as death, the past of people, nostalgia, but in a humorous way. Wilmink does not officially belong to the Dutch neo-romanticists, but Wilmink does measure up to the characteristics of a neo-romanticist, as posed in Van Boven and Kemperink (2006).

There also is a festival for Willem Wilmink in June, 2009. This is also an extra trigger for the work of Wilmink, his work is boosted, so to speak. Wilmink keeps specific parts of the history of Enschede alive with his work, and the Willem Wilmink Festival leads to a revival of that work (see also Box 5.1).

#### **Willem Wilmink Festival**

As mentioned in this paragraph (5.3.2), the Willem Wilmink Festival took place in June of 2009. This festival consists of theater, lectures, music performances and such. All performances are based on Willem Wilmink’s work. The organization of the festival (4-7 June) also arranged a festival café, café MacBerlijn, in which the theme of the café is Willem Wilmink. This café is the setting for ‘table talks’ as held in popular television talk shows. These table talks last for about one hour.

The researcher and writer of this report was one of the guests in one of those table talks, on the fifth of June. Other guests were the famous Dutch poets Driek van Wissen and Jean Pierre Rawie. Just over thirty people were present at the café.

Laurens Ten Den, the host of the table talk, asked both poets to talk about their own work in relation to the work of Willem Wilmink. After a while, Ten Den asked the poets about the influence of their work on the meaning and images of places. Then, the writer of this report was asked to join in, after about thirty minutes, and give a short five minute lecture about this research. The remaining twenty five minutes were a discussion between Van Wissen, Rawie and the writer of this report. Work of Wilmink was sometimes recited for the sake of the argument. English translations of poets from this report were also recited, because work of Wilmink was not translated and recited into English in public before. The role of dialect in poetry was also discussed, and as an example the writer of this report and Ten Den performed a Dutch-Twents version of Wilmink’s poem ‘Textielstad’(see also 5.3.2).

The guests agreed on the fact that poets are powerful people when it comes to images of places. As Jean Pierre Rawie put it: “A poem or sonnet can lead to a mythical atmosphere around places or people.” The writer of this report could not agree more...

*Box 5.1: Willem Wilmink Festival, June 5 2009*

### 5.3.3 Conclusions

The example of Bosch and Jagt show that human agents play a decisive role in the reproduction of the past. The past of the Krim and Sebastopol was given a boost by their research.

Wilmink is an important human agent in culture, art and literature. His work reproduces the Krim and Sebastopol for a selective group.

These conclusions are also applicable to the researcher. This research once again shines a light on the Krim and Sebastopol, because a selective group of people in society is interested in it. This research contributes to the reproduction of the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol.

## 5.4 Actors: interests in and consequences of reproducing the myths

Although some consequences of the reproduction of the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol are made clear in the previous paragraphs, it is good to discuss these consequences in more detail.

### 5.4.1 The man on the street vs. the officials

The stories that are told by the interviewees and the stories heard during observations are mainly stories that are told by 'the common man'. It are not official political standpoints or academic statements based on research. The characteristic of a myth that it is not necessarily true or false, but it is always someone's truth, is very important here. Myths are intellectual constructions, and indeed, they are neither truth or false. Short (1991) already mentioned that it is more important to ask the question 'who's truth is it?' In the case of the resonance of the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol it is so that the stories told by the interviewees are very true to them. If a person says that family X is criminal, that family is in fact criminal to the image of that person. On the street, the politically correct attitude that 'not everyone should be treated as a lump' based on their surname is not predominant. There are different visions in different parts of the society of Enschede on how to deal with the past of the Krim and Sebastopol.

In contrast with the politically not necessarily correct opinion of the 'man on the streets', is the opinion of people who professionally have affiliation with the Krim and Sebastopol. These people try to be non-judgmental about the Krim, Sebastopol and the people who are linked to these disappeared neighborhoods. But still, by stressing that 'those people are just as anyone else', the municipal officials still point out that 'those people' are seen as different.

People who professionally have affiliation with the Krim and Sebastopol seem to carry out some kind of official municipal standpoint. Whether they responded from a personal or a official viewpoint depended on the types of questions they were asked. This goes for both the head of the city archive as well as the head of the neighborhood council of Velve-Lindenhof. Their personal opinion might more or less correspond with the opinion of 'the man on the street', and is for that reason also judgmental. When the officials explicated the official standpoint on the Krim, Sebastopol and the people linked to it, they try to be non-judgmental. During the interviews it also seemed as if sometimes the interviewees caught themselves being just as any other person.

*"Well, there are certain family names in the neighborhood that are regarded less by a lot of people. And yes, some of these families have a kind of past, if you know what I mean. But it's wrong to judge these people based on what other family members did recently or in the past." (Head of neighborhood council Velve-Lindenhof, age 71, April 2009)*

At first the interviewee states that there are families with negative images, but immediately after that he wants to stress that it is wrong to judge people based on such prejudices. The head of the city archive of Enschede was also eager to stress that:

*“... there is nothing wrong with those people (people of families from the Krim and Sebastopol, also named by Head of neighborhood council Velve-Lindenhof, KS). Some of them have a more lively past, but we shouldn't judge people based on that. They are just people like you and me, they just live their lives somewhat different.” (City archivist of Enschede, age 50's, March 2009)*

Without judging people like the head of the neighborhood council and the city archivist, it has to be mentioned that they want to stress that certain families are ‘definitely not all bad’. It says a lot about what they think the image of those families is within the city. Based on their statement, it seems that the image of those families is quite negative.

#### 5.4.2 ‘Good’ vs. ‘Bad’

Telling stories about people that are good or bad comes from the need of people to have some kind of certainty about what is ‘good’ or what is ‘bad’ (see also 2.2). Or, in the case of the descendants of Krim- and Sebastopol families, who is ‘good’ and who is ‘bad’? It seems that in the case of Enschede, the Krim and Sebastopol are at the base of establishing what is ‘good’ and what is ‘bad’. The Krim and Sebastopol were the first slums in Enschede. In times of rapid urbanization the first anti-urban myths arose in a lot of societies in the industrializing world (Short, 1991). The myths of the Krim and Sebastopol are such anti-urban myths, representing the vice cities were known for in certain parts of society.

Once the myths about the Krim and Sebastopol were established, they kept coming back. The people who lived in the Krim and Sebastopol were given a negative label. Even their descendants later on suffered from this stigmatization by mainstream society of Enschede. Most of all, the caravan dwellers that were present in the city from early on in history still carry this negative label with them. So, the interest of the ‘common man’ is to get clear who is good and who is bad. Again, this ‘good’ and ‘bad’ is part of creating an identity (see also 2.2). Both for mainstream society of Enschede and for the people who are being stigmatized, the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol play a role in creating an identity. The identity of the stigmatized is also based on the stories that are told about them. Whether they are true or not, they are a part of their identity.

#### 5.4.3 Using the Krim and Sebastopol

The interests of human agents like Bosch and Jagt and Wilmink are different. They used a part of the past of Enschede for their profession. The book of Bosch and Jagt kind of romanticized the life in the Krim and Sebastopol, by letting people who lived there tell nostalgic stories.

The same goes for Willem Wilmink, who as a poet and song writer also stressed specific aspects of the life in the days of the Krim and Sebastopol. People of the Krim and Sebastopol are turned into victims of a greater system. The reader should feel sorry for the people who lived in Krim and Sebastopol, seems to be the message Bosch and Jagt and Wilmink are sending.

So, the artistic use of the Krim and Sebastopol contributes to a specific, nostalgic view on the past of the Krim and Sebastopol.

## Chapter 6: Conclusions and recommendations

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The Krim and Sebastopol are physically long gone, but it seems as if within the society of Enschede these neighborhoods are still present. Why is that, why do people still communicate about aspects of the past, such as the Krim and Sebastopol?

### 6.1 The Krim and Sebastopol in contemporary Enschede

#### *Reproduction*

The main reason why the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol are still being reproduced in contemporary Enschede is because the *families*, with a specific way of life, that once lived in those neighborhoods are still present within the city. Mainstream culture still labels these families as 'bad', because people still seem to have the need to differentiate people, based on their way of living. In the case of Enschede, the difference is based on people who are settlers (mainstream) and people who are travelers (caravan dwellers). Many people that were interviewed or observed for this research, point to certain families because of their reputation. These reputations of being a traveler and dealing with waste of other people, and therefore being filthy themselves, were first found in the Krim and Sebastopol. The Krim and Sebastopol were the first places in Enschede where settlers interacted with travelers. The Krim and Sebastopol were also the first slums or ghettos known in the context of Enschede. Society was shifting from rural/agriculture to urban/industrial, and the Krim and Sebastopol were the first negative urban outcomes of this shift.

Moreover, these families spoken about above, tend to cluster. Bosch and Jagt (1985) already indicated that new Krim-like neighborhoods rose because of the failing replacement policies of the municipality of Enschede. These policies did not provide instruments to avoid the clustering of families that were known for negative image.

This has led to a re-concentration of people with Krim- and Sebastopol backgrounds at the trailer park(s), and at neighborhoods neighboring that trailer park, such as Velve-Lindenhof. The trailer park and Velve-Lindenhof are *places* that contribute to the reproduction the myths about the travelers way of life and social ills. This was also the case with the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol. These places at the east of Enschede show an historical parallel with the Krim and Sebastopol, based both on spatial and social features. More abstract *spaces* of reproduction of these myths are for example the work floor and places for leisure, such as the football pitch and discos.

So, the reproduction is mainly based on people and families, but it also has a strong link to certain places.

#### *Discourses*

However, within Enschede there are different parts of society in which people communicate differently about the Krim and Sebastopol and their legacy. Based on these parts of society, different discourses can be discerned.

Quite a few quotes are shown in Chapter Five of people who communicate opinions and visions on the Krim, Sebastopol and their legacy from their personal perspective. In academic literature this discourse is often referred to as *lay discourse*, because the people communicating within this discourse are seen as people who are not trained in the topic (Jones, 1995). These people just explicate their personal opinion or look at society. Another description of this discourse might be 'Discourse of the common man', or 'Discourse of the man on the street'.

A different way of looking and communicating about the Krim and Sebastopol is found within the *professional discourse*. In this discourse, people communicate a somewhat politically correct way of thinking about topics regarding social ills, such as Krim and Sebastopol, the travelers way of life and social ills. People within this discourse want to stress that they are non-judgmental about 'those people'. 'All are equal' is the message.

The final way of looking at the Krim and Sebastopol is communicated within the *culture and art discourse*. People that are interested in art and historical work about communicate about Krim and Sebastopol in a romanticizing and nostalgic way. People like Bosch and Jagt and Wilmink are important human agents within this discourse.

All in all there seems to be some kind of consensus on how the Krim and Sebastopol should be seen by people. Based on the past, the Krim and Sebastopol are given negative labels by people from mainstream society of Enschede, and anti-urban myths are told about the Krim and Sebastopol.

However, nowadays it seems that the knowledge of that past is fading away, and aspects of those anti-urban myths are disarranged.

## **6.2 Myths: the Krim and Sebastopol, or travelers, caravan dwellers, and social ills?**

It is not the case that solely family names that were prevalent in the Krim and Sebastopol are being stigmatized. New family names are added to this group of names that are given negative labels by mainstream society. Again, these new names are often linked to the trailer park at the east of Enschede.

The question is whether with the reproduction of a certain way of life, people specifically reproduce the Krim and Sebastopol, or do they reproduce the wider myths about travelers and caravan dwellers? It might be that during the existence and shortly after the demolition of the Krim and Sebastopol myths about travelers and caravan dwellers were added to the anti-urban myths of these deprived urban neighborhoods. For a time, the past of the Krim and Sebastopol lived in the memory of a lot of people in Enschede, and travelers and caravan dwellers were part of that past.

However, the historical parallel between the Krim and Sebastopol and the east of Enschede in contemporary society of Enschede shows that the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol are not solely unique for them. The aspects people reproduce of these places are based on the same way of life, and the same social ills: the travelers way of life, combined with a deprived urban neighborhood. The fact that the Krim and Sebastopol were the first real slums of Enschede seems to be the explanation for why they were well known for a long time. The older generation still recalls this past. This older generation sometimes used the label of the Krim and Sebastopol for bad things in general within the city. Younger people of more recent generations give their own meaning to anti-urban myths by pointing to the same way of life and social ills. This is now found at the east of Enschede, at the trailer park and in Velve-Lindenhof.

So, the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol are part of a wider set of myths which are anti-urban, and are about urban problem areas. At the same time, the myths of travelers and caravan dwellers are present in the Krim and Sebastopol. The same is the case in the east of Enschede in contemporary society.

Myths like the myths about the Krim and Sebastopol remain, only they are now about different, new

places. The fact is that a lot of people and families who the reproduction is about, also have a past in the Krim and Sebastopol. The link between the Krim, Sebastopol and the current myths is found in this.

### **6.3 The Krim, Sebastopol, and caravan dwellers in the future**

The myths of the Krim and Sebastopol are still relatively recent. Some people who lived there are still alive, but very old. In twenty years or so, this generation is lost. The only stories that are told about the Krim and Sebastopol then are the stories the next generation heard from the older generation. This research already indicates that the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol are used as a symbol of social ills in general within the city of Enschede. The myths are no longer told by the direct sources: the people who lived during the existence of the Krim and Sebastopol. The stories will start to dilute even more than they already are.

So, one of the questions asked at the start of this report remains: Are the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol still found within the city of Enschede? Will people in different parts of society keep looking at the past of the Krim and Sebastopol in different ways? For now, it can be said that the myths are still there, although sometimes diluted, altered, and used for broader aspects of society than just the Krim and Sebastopol.

It is expected that in twenty years or so, this dilution and alteration has progressed. It seems a fair statement to ask the same questions as posed in this report twenty years from now. If the families which are spoken about in contemporary society are still there, and if these families maintain their way of life, it might be that the Krim and Sebastopol indirectly lives on in new myths about other places. Or, as discussed above, that the Krim and Sebastopol live on the wider general myths about travelers.

It can also be expected that the small group of historically interested people remains, who will refer to these myths as if they are about the Krim and Sebastopol, while in fact they might as well be about a way of life and social ills in general.

Most people might not be aware of that past, but the myths of the Krim and Sebastopol live on. The myths live on in new places within the city. Myths that were once told about the Krim and Sebastopol are now more or less in the same form applicable to new places, such as the trailer park at the Sleutelweg, and Velve-Lindenhof.

As long as the distinction between 'good' and 'bad' will exist, the legacy of this past will still be found within the city of Enschede.

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### Interviews

Chairman of neighborhood council Velve-Lindenhof, male, age 71, lives in Velve-Lindenhof  
20-04-09

Chairman of play ground association in Velve-Lindenhof, male, age 40's, lives in Velve-Lindenhof, descendant of a Krim-family  
25-04-09

City archivist of municipality of Enschede, male, age 56

Employee of city archive of Enschede, female, age 60's, born and raised in Enschede  
03-04-09

Former journalist of newspaper Twentsche Courant Tubantia, male, age 64, born and raised in Enschede  
22-04-09

Initiator of Willem Wilmink Festival, male, age 58, born and raised in Enschede, writer of the book 'Willem Wilmink, dichter bij de Hemelpoort'

Secretary of Willem Wilmink Festival, female, lives in Enschede  
13-03-09

Descendant of a Krim-family, often mentioned by mainstream society of Enschede a 'bad' family,  
female, age 50, lives in Denekamp  
03-04-09

#### Participatory Observations

Work as a bouncer on disco nights at a disco in Lattrop, on Fridays from November 2008 until  
February 2009

#### Other

Table talk with Driek Van Wissen, Jean Pierre Rawie and Koen Salemink at café MacBerlijn, Enschede,  
for the Willem Wilmink Festival, 05-06-09. Host: Laurens Ten Den