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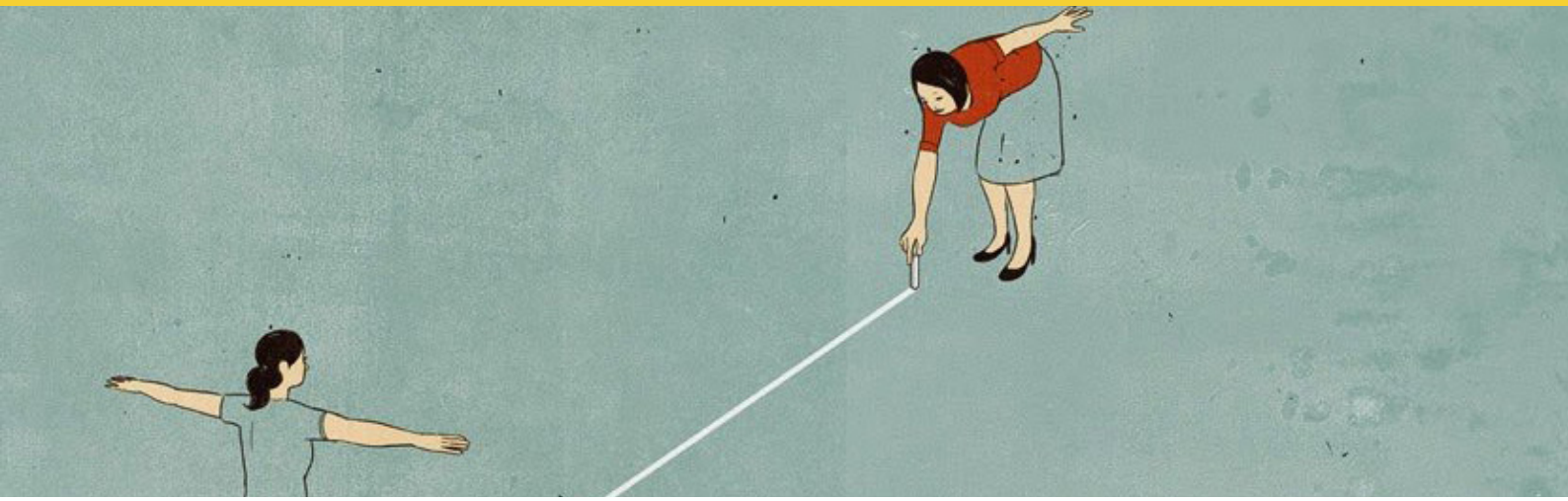

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Abstract
In 2015 and 2016, the former East Germany has seen more anti-refugee manifestations than elsewhere. Public and academic discussions have focused on different potential explanations. Racism and right wing extremism have been identified as main factors for the fierce rejection of refugees in East Germany. Being categorized this way, many East Germans however felt stigmatized and arguments have been formulated to legitimize the anti-refugee sentiment. Most prominent, interviewees have defended themselves by claiming that they are not generally refusing refugees but only in their neighborhood. The main research question therefore is in how far these statements can be regarded as expressions of so-called NIMBY protests (Not In My Backyard) which are well known in urban studies. This paper presented research reconstructing in detail what precisely happened in those cities protesting the arrival of refugees. Based on four local case studies undertaken by qualitative research and including a larger survey, it will argue that many assumptions on the reasons for the anti-asylum protests cannot be explained sufficiently by pointing at the virulent racism and xenophobia only. Instead, the undertaken research points at a more profound change in society where the understanding of neighborhood as a space of integration for all citizens is at stake. In this sense, the refusal of refugees does not only point at the remaining significance of racism, but also shows that the anti-asylum attitude mimicries NIMBY protests while the meaning of the neighborhood is eroded.

Keywords
Refugees, NIMBYs, East Germany, anti-asylum protests

Introduction

When refugees especially from Syria arrived in large numbers in 2015 and 2016, a complex political and moral controversy about migration developed in Germany (Schwarz, 2016). In the first weeks of arrival, these refugees were granted a prima facie status, which implied asylum without temporary limit and without individual prove of political persecution. Public debates were strongly emphasizing not to repeat the mistake of the guest workers policies in the 1960ties (Hess & Green 2016), but to accept the Syrians as new citizens as soon as possible. However, this open window of migration closed in 2016 (Crage, 2016), when protests against refugees and the support for the anti-asylum party Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany/AFD) have overshadowed the welcoming culture from the year previous. As a reaction on these protests, national politics have sent out signs to discourage refugees to come to Germany (Schönwälder, 2016). Most prominent examples for this political shift are laws postponing the right for family reunification by two years and checking the legal status of accepted asylum seekers again after three years.

Resistance against a liberal attitude towards foreigners grew stronger. Attacks on refugees and general xenophobia and racism have increased dramatically (Strauß 2017). German society has become polarized with regard to the subject. Locally, the situation has found expression in many protests in favor or against the acceptance of refugees. These protests mostly occurred when a location was planned by the authorities to be transformed into a building reserved only to host refugees. These so- called “accommodation of community” (Gemeinschaftsunterkunft) can have different sizes and host smaller or larger numbers of refugees (Hinger, Schäfer & Pott 2016). Some of them are fenced and appear more to be a sort of camp (Kreichauf 2017, Schäfer 2015). As the housing market has become increasingly tense, most refugees stay here for a long period of time, sometimes many years (Baier & Siegert 2018).

While it is apparent that many protests are embedded into the political movement of the right-wing extremists, new forms of protest movements arrived which are expressing anti-migrant sentiments (Daphi et al. 2017). In particular, the PEGIDA movement has found support with slogans against refugees and migrants (Rucht 2015, 2017).

Besides these organized and politically instrumentalized forms of protests, individual or little organized forms of protests against refugees have been less observed. As Daphi (2016) has been working out, classical factors as group size or the social status of the protesters – strongly effecting social movements otherwise – are not sufficiently explaining the emergence of these protests. Often, these forms of protests are limited to single actions, Facebook communities or rather marginal activities which are limited in the scope of their place and time. Although research undertaken has found persons motivated by right wing extremism, many of them have rejected any sympathy with these movements. To some extent, understanding for the need of refugees has been expressed, but they argument was expressed that they do not accept them here, in their own neighborhood. This way, the protesters are formulating a classical perspective of NIMBY protest. Extensive research has been undertaken meanwhile on the anti-migrant groups from different points of research (Benček & Strasheim 2016), but protests on the neighborhood level outside the social movements like PEGIDA and without affiliation to right-wing extremism – at least in the beginning -, has so far found little attention in research on anti-asylum protest.

The research presented in this paper will look at those anti-asylum activities in East-Germany that are hindering refugees to become neighbors. By looking at four case studies, insights will be given in how far these protests against refugees can be understood as NIMBY protests where the allegedly concern about the neighborhood is a central motive. Classifying these protests as NIMBYism implies for the explanation of this phenomena that more weight is given to theoretical approaches, which are emphasizing the micro-sociological level of interaction and the spatial dimension of it. In contrast, competing explanations are theoretically framing these anti-asylum protests into the context of either the rise of movements like PEGIDA or the infiltrating of right wing extremism into daily life.

Explanations for Anti-Asylum protests

Different explanations in public and intellectual discourses on how to understand anti-asylum in neighborhood protests can be categorized into three different approaches. Firstly, many scholars see these protests as an expression of a transformed right wing extremism. Right-wing extremism is based on a genuinely exclusive attitude towards strangers, which is characterized by collectivist ideas of ethnic homogeneity, which rejects a coexistence of people according to universal equality (Grumke 2014, 28-35). However, racism and xenophobia as a justification for anti-asylum protests can also occur without a further right-wing attachment or possibly as a syndrome of hostility or the rejection of other social groups (Küpper & Möller 2014). The refusal of refugees can be a camouflage of racism and neo-facism, but in many cases it points to a more comprehensive transformation of xenophobia. The trend towards a more radicalized and violent way of protest has to do with the change in right-wing extremism, whose core is still an anti-democracy ideology of inequality, but which today also appears as a separate and isolated world on its own (Glaser & Pfeiffer 2014), where newly imagined and territorialized communities are set up. The aim of these xenophobic worlds of experience is to offer identity, a sense of a strong community and emotional security based on a dual logic of inside and outside, we and them. This emotional reconstruction of community is largely connected to the virtual world of the new social media. At the same time, the virtual community also needs a kind of engagement that must be implemented by creating a self-defined and dominated space (Grau & Heitmeyer, 2013). Virtual communitization is used to socialize norms and codes that have a value for re-recognition in real life, where these communities want to set up spaces according to their own, nationalistic rules. The ideal are self-proclaimed “National Liberated Zones” or “ethnic settlements”, but generally the command of the street and the public spaces is a first step to establish rule. The control of these spaces is carried out by means of symbolic control or with immense and demonstrable violence.

A second discourse on anti-asylum protest sees them as a reaction on the growing social inequalities and increasing disorientation of people which goes together with political alienation. The rhetoric of the AFD (Häusler 2016) and PEGIDA can be especially interpreted this way. It is however apparent that this understanding of the anti-asylum protests is partly selective, as it leaves racist elements often unnoticed. The interpretation of these movements have thereby become a kind of projection where larger assumptions on the transformation of society and politics are regarded as being confirmed (Heim 2017). Assumptions on the motives of the protesters are often viewed through the lens of these protests as a kind of social

movement and outcry from stigmatized and disfavored citizens. This is especially true for the discourse on the protests in Dresden where observers believe that these East Germans express a longer lasting failing of politics to take care of their needs. Empirical research however has shown that this kind of rather schematic explanations do not hold ground (Rehberg, Kunz & Schlinzig 2016). Furthermore, other research has shown that many of the arguments brought forward to legitimize the refusal of refugees are wider spread in the middle of society (Decker, Kiess & Brähler 2016). Often theoretical explanations are assuming a high level of fear that motivates people to reject foreigners and that is linked to a more fundamental feeling of not being part of society anymore and to a diffuse anxiety. Symptoms of this omnipresent but rather clandestine fear, prominently and publically argued for by sociologist Heinz Bude (2014), can however be questioned profoundly. In all surveys even after the terrorist attack at the Christmas market in Berlin, the vast majority of Germans has less fear for terrorism than other concerning matters (RUV 2020).

A third discourse that could enlighten the reasons for anti-asylum protests take the above quoted discussions serious where opponents of refugees are making the classical NIMBY argument their own. If rejections are formulated without explicitly racist reasons, they are usually coined as concern for one's own children, their neighborhood or the city. This is reflected in initiatives or Facebook pages that call themselves "We Love Gera" or "Worried Parents". Research on NIMBY protest however does not give a coherent picture about the origins of these sentiments and actions. As Michael Dear (1992) observed, such protests are motivated by a variety of fears like the loss of good neighborly relations. NIMBYism is therefore not a form of protest but as Patrick Devine-Wright (2009) describes it, they express of a location defense, which is the result of identification with a particular locale. However, as Maarten Wolsink (1994) found in his research on NIMBYism against wind farms in the Netherlands, the declaration of defense might only be used to camouflage private interests. According to his study, the declaration of protecting the character of one's own surrounding or neighborhood and the narrative of emotional identification with space is only produced to legitimatize actions against unwished changes. Wolsink thereby criticizes authors like Dear who do not question the reality of the threats which the NIMBY protests are claiming to act against. In his view, NIMBY research is taking over the perspective of the protesters and are therefore repeating and reconfirming their legitimizing narratives which Wolsink regards as NIMBY myths.

Anti-asylum protests in East-Germany

According to the Interior Ministry of Germany (Der Tagesspiegel 2018), there were a total of 627 attacks on refugees and 77 attacks on their accommodations in the first half of 2018 with 688 of the attacks identified as being right-wing motivated. 120 people were injured and the police identified 459 suspects. In addition, there were 39 politically motivated attacks against aid organizations or volunteers working for refugees. These numbers show a decline compared to the situation in 2016, but they were nevertheless on a high level and with the terrorist attack in Halle and the assassination of the conservative and pro-refugee politician Walter Lübcke in Kassel in 2019, the fierce and violent rejection of refugees remains a significant factor in German society.

Anti-asylum protests in different violent and non-violent forms have had the

most support in East Germany. However, the situation differs in many places and it is not adequate to consider the refusal of refugees as being supported by all East Germans. Rather, a parallel and contradictory development of a welcoming culture and the xenophobia mirrors this double attitude towards refugees (Adam 2015). This is mostly contextualized as a long term effect of socialism. Staying in the German Democratic Republic was a profound decision during the Cold War period and leaving the socialist state was seen as betrayal. Thereby, closed communities with a high level of control and trust developed over decades. In this perspective, any personal relationship started with becoming a good neighbor subjecting to the local community. Cultural isolation and an emphatic place attachment are therefore assumed to play a major role to explain local resistance against the refugees. The concept of the neighbor therefore is taken as a social figure to express the expectations of homogeneity and consensus which are seen as major requirements of living together. Concepts of sameness however are also part of ideologies prominently uttered in discourses against the welcome culture (Funk, 2016). Long lasting references to Nazi ideologies and nationalist chauvinism can be found as well, as the right extremist organizations and actors are trying to make use of it.

This might be also true for the German situation, but in an even more profound way as the myth of NIMBY presumes a certain concept of neighborhood, which is linked to the politics of integration. In the German concept of neighbors, the person next door is neither a stranger nor a friend. In this regard, the German concept of neighborhood needs to be understood as a form of socialization which leads to the formation of a milieu where people have similar understandings of how to behave to one and other (Reutlinger, Stiehler and Lingg , 2015) . Despite many historic attempts to exploit neighborhoods, they are no communities in the (international) sense that they necessarily share the same world view, religion, political orientation or social status. In contrast, they have functioned sociologically as a place where to learn how to deal with differences. They were thus seen as a social keystone for a long term process of acculturation for newcomers, as well. Recent studies, especially with regard to the integration of the Turkish population (Aybek, 2015, Kaya 2012, Østergaard-Nielsen 2003) however questions the general idea that this acculturalization has been achieved by neighborhood integration and that it transformed these newcomers into neighbors on the long run. Doubts about the potentials for integration of the refugees in this way are present in academic and public debates (Nieswand 2013). Refugees are more limited in their choices for social and cultural interaction as being often traumatized and constrained by their uncertain legal status. In comparison to guest workers (Herbert 1990) and migrants, refugees are less able to enrich their capacities, choices and coping strategies with resources form transnational ties and communities (Koser 2002 Al-Ali 2001, Melhuus, 2009).

International literature on the nature of contemporary migration flow supports a critical review of the German concept of neighborliness as a mean to overcome its timeliness and to bind people to a social setting with a fixed role model based on clear rules and duties. As the literature of transnational migration spaces suggests, spatial integration over time is less working as an assimilation process. Rather, transnational arrangements are coming in conflict with established social hierarchies and procedures of social integration aiming at long-term perspectives (cp. Barglowski, 2016; Köngeter and Smith, 2015; Steiner, Mason and Hayes, 2014). In this sense, the revival

of the discourse on the neighbor in Germany after the refugee influx in 2015 rises question of its political and ideological use preventing foreigners the right to stay in general. The terminology of the neighbor has been used as a counter argument to avoid the hosting of refugees and thereby as a kind of NIMBY protest. At the same time, pro-refugee activists and volunteers have used the image to enable practical support and organize themselves due to spatial nearness to an asylum center. Ten percent of all Germans helped refugees because they could meet them on site, in their reachable space (Jacobsen, 2017).

East Germany has been comparably little receiving refugees but as the former socialist states have not been coping with cultural diversity so far, the arrival of asylum seekers caused stress and profound challenges as well. There are structural and social factors that play an important role for these difficulties. After German Reunification, the East Germany society underwent a transformation of its political and economic basis, which led to the decline of major parts of the existing industrial economy and an erosion of political and social institutions. Consequently, the population shrank significantly with some cities loosing up to half of their citizenry. Dramatically collapsing birth rates and migration to the West made the emergence of shrinking cities becoming the major paradigm for urban planning and politics in general. Support from the federal state took long to counterbalances these profound changes and did not question the principle of continuing decrease of inhabitants.

While the presence of people of culturally diverse backgrounds has become the norm in West German cities (Schönwälder et al. 2016), cultural and ethnic diversity remains an exception in East Germany. Not used to see foreigners in public life since the rise of the Berlin Wall, only the university cities offered small pockets of a culturally diverse urbaneness. Outside the urban bubbles of Weimar, Jena or Leipzig, the danger for foreigners to become a victim of racism is significantly higher. A yearly survey ("Thüringenmonitor") shows that large parts of the population refuses foreigners and has sympathy for non-democratic positions (Reiser 2019). Despite the demographic problems of East Germany, the idea of receiving migrants has never taken into account politically and publically. This all changed in 2014, when in Thuringia a new political coalition proposed that they are in favor of a welcoming culture (Werner 2018). Governed by conservatives since 1990, this new red-red-green government first took this term up to make a difference to their predecessors in a rather rhetoric way. By then, the first refugees arrived but it became only in summer 2015 that this rhetoric was proved of its relevance.

The project 'Welcoming cities'

In 2014, the research project 'Welcoming cities' (Eckardt, Steigemann & Werner 2015) have been set up at the Bauhaus-Universität Weimar based on the engagement of 60 German and Arabic students who wanted to support the process of acceptance of refugees by promoting opportunities for local integration. Six case studies in cooperation with local stakeholders were realized in three phases of research: exploration of the local situation by SWOT analysis with expert interviews from the chosen cities. In a second step, we interviewed refugees and many students shared time at refugee homes for a longer period in a form of participatory observation. In a last stage, we wanted to initiate local discussions about our findings so we could overcome the gap between the perception of the refugees and those of the locals. We noticed very soon that there are conflicting views about

the situation potentially creating more problematic situations of conflicts between locals and refugees.
As the results of the project on 'welcoming cities' was overshadowed by a turn towards a negative attitude regarding asylum seekers (Jäckle & König, 2017), the follow-up project on 'unloved neighbors' (Eckardt 2019a, 2019b) investigated all different forms of asylum protest in the state of Thuringia. After a six month explorative phase, a selection of four cases was made. In the chosen communities different aspects which speak to the above outlined discourses on NIMBYism seemed to be relevant. The methodology of this project is based on a case study approach (Yin 2018, Ridder et al. 2016, Woodside 2010, Gomm 2009) which uses quantitative and qualitative research methods alike. In the different phases of the project, different research strategies and methods are used, creating a broad corpus of documents including Facebook-analysis, newspaper reports, notes of participant observation, interview notes, official documents, meeting reports and others. The corpus is analysed by a variety of indicators linked to the three explanatory theories outlined above. Accordingly, statements in the documents were categorized whether they support a) NIMBY explanations, b) theories of fear or c) extremist or racist organization.

Case studies
Gerstungen: As a small city at the former east-west border of Germany, the place has redeveloped economically on the long run and is a rather quiet and convenient place at a major autobahn. In a former military barracks behind the railway lines, refugees have been hosted already in the 1990ties. Gerstungen made the news in 2016 when a house was burnt down which was signified to become an asylum center. Moreover, a privately organized, so called civil guard patrolled at night to save the citizens from assumed robbery and crime. Demonstrations against more refugees have since been held in front of the local supermarket. In our interview with the head of the militia, attempts to hide the links to Nazi groups in Thuringia were made, but were not to be overseen. The mayor downplayed the problem and did not mention the volunteers who organize meetings with the refugees.
Analysis: While the entanglement of the protests into right wing extremism is most obvious, the case of Gerstungen supports to a large extent theories of fear, also. A most illustrative case was the slogan at a local carnival which was read as a sign of sympathy for burning asylum centers (see photo below). In an interview with the responsible family, fierce rejection of any link to violence and to right-wing extremism has been expressed. Instead, the slogan was seen as mocking the expectations of refugees for better housing. In clear terms, the fear of losing welfare to foreigners came to the foreground. Arguments of NIMBYism were rather vague, few and phrased in a particular form. Citizens stated that it would be acceptable that refugees stay in their center, which is situated close to the motorway but that they should not come to the city center, especially not to the local pubs or supermarket. Reasons for this claim were either not given or obscure ("To avoid disturbances", " to protect our local life").

Figure 1 | "Our hut burnt, give as asylum! But not in a container – can we have a castel?" Carneval slogan at the local celebration. Photo by Bündnis gegen Rechts Werratal, http://www.buendnisgegenrechts-werratal.de/page/4/ Accessed on 10 januari 2020

Blankenberg: In this village close to the Bavarian border, no citizens of a non-German background are living here. The village life is shaped by a feeling of closeness and mutual support. However, many young people leave Blankenberg for education and jobs elsewhere. Due to this demographic decline, the local school needed to close and now puts a financial burden on the city. The local mayor suggested therefore to host time wise refugees, so Blankenberg can profit from some funding for maintenance, as well. After proposing his idea, fierce resistance grew within the community. The mayor – in office for three decades and just overwhelmingly re-elected – initiated a local referendum in which 71 percent rejected the timely hosting of 24 refugees.

Analysis: In all interviews, the argument of Blankenberg not being the right place to host refugees was brought forward. Reasons for this refusal are remaining unclear. Especially the local church leader, who had been working intensively to convince his parish to help, reported a total lack of empathy with the refugees from his congregation. He had been using the Christmas Mass to introduce a young Syrian mother who had given birth in a close village two days previous. When he asked for some support like winter clothes, nobody responded. In an interview with youth, a young girl said, "It is normal not to want foreigners in your place". References to right wing extremism, however, were not made. Interferences by extremist groups were not found either.

Heiligenstadt: Situated in the north of Thuringia, the city is the regional center of a traditionally Catholic and conservative area (Eichsfeld). Refugees have been hosted over different locations there, mostly in a social housing complex at the edge of town. Problems or conflicts with neighbors are not reported (Wolf 2018). Since the arrival of refugees in 2015, local citizens have begun a rather obscure ritual in the North Thuringian city that attracted our attention. Every Sunday, a group of citizens puts "tomb lights for Germany" in front of them on a central place in the city and remain silent for prayer. Participants would not explain their background ideas and were not open for questions. In the context of this region, this group runs parallel to other more explicit anti-refugee groups who have also motivated leftist activists from Göttingen to counter-act their activities. As chosen home region of the AFD-leader in the Thuringian parliament, Bernd Höcke, the Eichsfeld is certainly a hot spot for all kind of open and clandestine activities from the far right.
Analysis: The origins of the protest actions are not to be found in neighborhood protest. Although the city is rather small, the refugees are not a visible group in the city in general. Some of the activists have been identified as having links to right wing extremists. It would be wrong however to simply categorize these activities as organized by the far right. Interviews with local citizens support the interpretation that a more general fear of foreigners is motivating those who were not regarded as extremists. Support for the fear theory arrives from further with the case of a group of "concerned parents". With a Facebook call for signatures, this group wanted to prevent refugees joining the school of their children. As the school authorities had abolished the plan already before the protest, the group had abolished itself shortly after. When holding a meeting in the school, the parents did not allow extremists to enter. In a group interview, the parents asked with tears why their children have to sit next to refugees. It seems apparent that these fears are motivated both by racist stereotypes as well as by the fear of social decline.
Gera: As an old uranium mining town, the city lost its significance for the economy after the closure of the highly toxic mine. Unemployment, social decline and a bad reputation have had severe consequences on the city which was the second largest in Thuringia during GDR times but lost one of three inhabitants since 1990 (Eckardt 2011). Many buildings have been empty since then and the establishment of an asylum center in the old miner's hospital seemed to be a logical conclusion for the regional government. In the beginning, local officials welcomed this idea, but when manifestation by a group named "We love Gera" was able to gather 1,000 inhabitants, the mayor in charge changed his position radically and cancelled a public discussion of an artist project with refugees undertaken by students of the Bauhaus-University Weimar (Eckardt and Sidzimovska, 2017). Despite the success of these protests, refugees have been hosted in the old hospital. Civil society organized in many ways to support the refugees. Two citizen's groups were set up when the first refugees arrived in 2014. One has a Christian, but very liberal background and the other is mostly a one woman show. Both initiatives barely speak to each other, leaving the refugees helpless in the middle. In interviews with workers from aid organizations and refugees however, a picture of wide-spread hostility has been painted. Aggressive accidents in daily life are reported and critical statements about the attitude of the local police and administration are made. Again and again, the initiative "We love Gera" was successfully organizing hundreds of protesters who can be identified as not being right wing (Steigemann and Werner 2018). However, the team behind these protests partly has a long history of involvement in Nazi groups. The AFD has furthermore found a large support in the last elections and became the party with the most seats

in the city parliament.
Analysis: Protests against refugees have been highly organized and steered by the far right. They have found little political resistance and much support in the local citizenry. Specific reasons for the Gera situation are often mentioned in interviews. Feeling abandoned from the rest of Germany, the hosting of refugees is viewed as another burden and disrespect to the community. Statements have been made that asylum centers should be set up "where the rich live" and in "The west where they love foreigners". NIMBYism here works with a very large understanding of what my backyard is. Certainly, it is not based on personal experiences of direct confrontation with refugees in one's own quarter and daily life. This is even more true, as the old hospital is spatially isolated.

Conclusion

While research so far has seen these protests in the light of right wing extremism, other theoretical explanations have been offered in sociological discourse and public debates. In this paper, three potential interpretations were guiding the analysis of four cities in East Germany. Evidence was looked for to understand these protests as being either 1) mainly a product of right wing extremism, 2) the expression of a societal disorientation and fear or 3) comparable to NIMBY protests. The case studies presented show that protests against asylum centers in East Germany are providing evidence for the acceptance of all three theoretical explanations.
Statements motivated by fear – even in an abstract manner –, as Bude (2014) and others argue for, have been found, but they do not seem to be as relevant as presumed. Rather the continuity of long lasting stereotypes, racism and right wing extremism, especially in its organized form, need to be taken more into account. The undertaken research supports previous research on right wing extremism in Thuringia (Best et al. 2019, Salheiser 2018) stating the long lasting effects of organized racism.
Nevertheless, there is also reason to understand these protests as a kind of NIMBY protest. Xenophobic stereotypes are seemingly activated when refugees are coming close. Also, some interviews have been conducted with people who would deny refugees as neighbors but generally do not understand their situation. Most of those interviewed however expressed instead a mélange of reasons for their protests including racist stereotypes and open xenophobia.
While it is therefore overreaching to categorize the phenomena of anti-asylum protests as only NIMBY-protests, it cannot be ignored that there is commonality with other NIMBY protest which are mainly characterized by the defense in the "backyard" (Devine-Wright 2009). Also, the cases studies emphasize that, as Dear (1992) underlines, these protests give voice to people feeling excluding from public discourses. Compared to other international studies, using the NIMBY theory to explain these protests, the East German cases neither completely support the relevance of NIMBY as in the Swedish cases (Wikström 2008), nor can they be seen as providing evidence for denying their relevance (as in Hubbard, 2005). In this regard, the cases are presenting enough evidence that NIMBYism cannot be simply seen as a myth as Wolsink (1994) argued.
The relevance of NIMBY research however comes only to the surface if the weakness of its spatial dimension is addressed. It remains to be critically acknowledged that the "backyard" of one's person is not a fixed territory. If the "backyard" is understood only as to narrow a physical nearby space

of an individual, then it did not play a decisive role in the cases analyzed here. Most asylum centers were not planned in front of the houses of those people protesting. The backyard was a rather vague concept in the view of the protesters and often it contained the whole city, the region of Thuringia, East Germany or even Europe. For the further research on NIMBYs and anti-asylum protests, the analysis of the mental production of "my" space in this appears to be crucial.

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