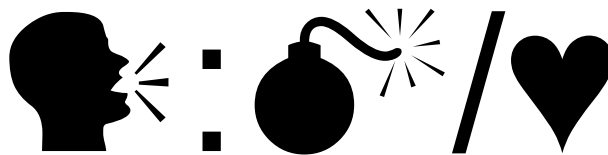


Hip-hop: war or love

What is the additional value of using the Creative intervention 'music' in Conflict management, for Social workers who deal with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in the adolescence age, in Veenendaal?



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Summary

This research combines three topics: Conflict (management), Moroccan-Dutch youngsters with disturbing behaviour and Hip-hop music as Creative intervention.

We explain what each topic means and where we focus on. In the topic 'conflict', we focus on *inter-personal conflicts* and *inter-group conflicts*. As target group we aim at 'Moroccan-Dutch youngsters' in the adolescence age who often are in youth groups. They are experienced as disturbing for their environment. As third topic, we look into the method 'Creative interventions'. Because this is a big topic, we will only focus on Hip-hop music.

The main goal is to give an insight in a possible method of Conflict management. We believe that the method Creative interventions, is not valued as much in practice as we learned it to be in theory. We are convinced that this method is usable for Conflict management. The outcome of this research can also be used with other groups of youth (at risk), or in other countries.

This final thesis is a qualitative research, focused on meso-level and using diverse number of sources. We did research in two ways: a literature (and short media study) as one research method and interviews with professionals in practice as the other research method. Our sources were reliable and if needed we used multiple sources to strengthen a statement.

We gathered literature and searched through the media, to find relevant information. We did this in the first two months, when our research started. In the process we added more books, to focus on specific topics. We did not continue to use the media, to narrow down the practice situations, but we could not avoid reading about Moroccan-Dutch youngsters every now and then. Most books, articles, documentaries, movies, interviews and documents were fully read and/or watched, after that we selected the usable parts and translated it to English.

This research will explain what causes conflicts with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in The Netherlands and how to manage these conflicts by using a valuable method. We will take you on a journey to the Moroccan culture and double identity of the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. This helps you to understand them, their behaviour and attitude. We will zoom in on the disturbing behaviour and possible causes of this behaviour, which the Dutch society experience, by Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. Then Creative interventions will be further explained, especially the intervention 'music'. We will show you the additional value of using 'music', as a method of Creative intervention, in Conflict management. This research is mainly on meso-level (the Social worker), but we will also look from time to time at micro-level and macro-level. Because Moroccan-Dutch youngsters themselves may not ask our help (micro-level), but it is still our job to look at society and at the problems it is dealing with (macro-level). During this research, by every step we were more convinced that the Creative intervention 'music' can be used as Conflict management method for Moroccan-Dutch youngsters who show disturbing behaviour. We want to pass on the collected information and knowledge to other Social workers, professionals and interested people.

Working with youth at risk; if Social workers stop believing in their future and possibilities, then who will look after them and stand up for their rights?! We strongly recommend civilians *and* professionals to make contact with the youngsters and youth groups. Find out who they are, what their interests are. Communicate with them. Moroccan-Dutch youngsters are not as bad as everyone thinks they are. When you already have contact with a youth group this is very useful in times of conflict. Than you have the connection which makes it much easier to solve the conflict. Often it even does not have to become a conflict.

We also recommend some literature and movies for more specific information about some of the topics. With this literature, professionals and civilians will find tools to approach the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters.

Preface

About the title

Hip-hop is part of our problem (disturbance of Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in a neighbourhood) and of the solution (using the Creative intervention 'music'). Curious? Read on...

Let us introduce ourselves

We are Ineke and Janneke, final year students Social Work at the Christian University Ede. To conclude our education we did a research within The Netherlands.

Why do we write this final thesis?

We started our research with the idea to combine 3 topics; Conflict management, a specific target group and the method 'Creative interventions'. We also wanted to aim at a problem or dilemma that is of international value.

While looking for interesting topics for our research, we found the book *Battle zonder knokken* (Battle without a fight, Maike Kooijmans, 2009) which describes the successful elements in 'talent projects', in particular for 'youngsters at risk'. This made us enthusiastic about the combination of Creative interventions and youngsters at risk. A specific group of youngsters who face problems in The Netherlands are Moroccan-Dutch youngsters.

'And yet, we hardly know in which way interventions of youth workers are effective and it is not scientifically known why the existing methods really work.' (Kooijmans, 2009, p. 85) As Social worker you work with methods and we are especially interested and trained in the method 'Creative interventions'. We wanted to see if Creative interventions could be used in Conflict management with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters.

What can the reader expect?

In your hands lay the results of our research. Reading this document will give you more insight in the situation of Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in The Netherlands. It concludes with recommendations for Social workers who (study to) work with these youngsters.

People we want to thank

We would like to thank Kees Jaquet for his input, suggestions and enthusiasm! Our supervisor Jochum Muurling to help us narrow down this huge subject, to give us feedback and being our critical eye. Also the people who were willing to be interviewed, thank you. Finally, both our families and friends who inspired us by the discussions, suggestions, movies and encouragement.

Ineke van der Heijden & Janneke Jaquet

Introduction

Definition of the problem

Moroccan-Dutch youngsters come in conflicts with inhabitants of Veenendaal, because of disturbing behaviour and suspicion of criminal behaviour. Civilians want professionals to take care of this problem.

Target city: Veenendaal and target group: Moroccan-Dutch youngsters

Our employer is very much interested in Conflict management in The Netherlands and we chose a specific target city and target group to connect theory to practice.

The city of Veenendaal is used for a realistic example for a city with conflicts. The major cities Amsterdam and Rotterdam have their own policies; they are dealing with more similar problems because of the number of inhabitants. Veenendaal is interesting, because it is much smaller, has a 'Christian image', but also seems to have conflicts with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters.

The target group we are focusing on, are Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in the (middle) adolescence age (14-18 years). We have selected these particular youngsters, because they caught our eye in the news(papers). We choose this specific age group, because the teenage years are challenging for the youngsters and their environment (Wit, Slot, Aken, 2007).

Relevance

The Dutch society is changing towards other (non-Western) cultures; this is more visible since the terroristic attack on 11 September 2001. For many people in The Netherlands this was still a 'far away' problem. But the conflict with other cultures has come very close since the brutal murder on a film producer by a Moroccan-Dutch man in the streets of Amsterdam in 2004. People are more scared and easily offended when it comes to the Islam and 'foreign' youngsters. The conflict between Moroccan-Dutch youngsters and the society became bigger. Around the time we started our research Moroccan-Dutch youngsters were mentioned by the media, because of series of criminal incidents in Veenendaal. But also in other cities conflicts with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters often appear. This all makes the opinion of the Dutch society about Moroccan-Dutch people, and especially youngsters, more and more negative. We try to be objective in this research and look at the conflicts from both positions.

The goals

We experience that the method Creative interventions is not valued as much in practice as we learned them to be in theory. Because we think this method can be of additional value in Conflict management, we will do this research. We will enlarge our knowledge about, and consolidate our theoretical fundament under, Creative interventions.

Moroccan-Dutch youngsters themselves may not ask our help (micro-level), but it is still our job to look at society and at the problems it is dealing with (macro-level). Our goal is to see if the Creative intervention 'music' can be used in Conflict management with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters and to pass on the collected information and knowledge to other Social workers (meso-level).

By this final thesis, we will develop multiple segments from the education-profile of Social workers; *methodical approach of the problem, supporting the client, corresponding on the used methods, working together, professionalising and doing research.*

Main question

What is the additional value of using the Creative intervention 'music' in Conflict management, for Social workers who deal with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in the adolescence age, in Veenendaal?

Sub questions

1. What causes conflicts between inhabitants of The Netherlands and Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in the adolescence age?
 - 1.1 What is a conflict and why does it arise?
 - 1.2 What is the influence of the double cultural background on conflicts with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters?
 - 1.3 What is the influence of the Moroccan raising on the identity development of Moroccan-Dutch youngsters?

2. What is attitude of the civilians and what is the approach of the professionals towards Moroccan-Dutch youngsters, when they show disturbing behaviour?

2.1 How do civilians and society react towards Moroccan-Dutch youngsters?

2.2 Which behaviour of the youngsters leads to conflict?

2.3 What can we learn from the approach of professionals in Veenendaal?

3. How can the Creative intervention 'music' be used as Conflict management in conflicts with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters?

3.1 What are Creative interventions and 'music' as one in particular?

3.2 What is Conflict management and how can this method be used in combination with Creative interventions?

3.3 How do these methods work in practice?

Explanation of the chapters

Every chapter starts an introduction, including a research (sub)question.

In chapter 1 we will introduce the theory of conflict. The Dutch and Moroccan culture will be compared by using the 5 dimensions of Hofstede (2009) and the influence of these differences on the lives of the youngsters is explained. The characteristics of the raising and teenage years of the youngsters are explained in the light of conflict.

In chapter 2 we will aim at the environment of the youngsters, the Dutch society. Different views (from civilians and professionals) on the youngsters will be shown and the specifics of the disturbing behaviour, which is one of the causes of conflict.

Chapter 3 will focus on 'music' as Creative intervention to manage the conflict. First we will explain what Creative interventions are. Secondly Conflict management will be determined. Finally we make the combination and take the music style Hip-hop to manage conflicts with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters.

Chapter 4 will conclude the research and show the final results. It gives recommendations to (student) Social workers.

To whom we have written this

Our research is interesting for students Social Work and Social workers in their daily practice. We have done this research on meso-level and give recommendation for a method that could help Social workers in their interaction with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. It can also be interesting for civilians and other professionals who come in contact with these youngsters.

Research methods

We did a qualitative research, focused on meso-level, using diverse number of sources. We did a literature (and short media) study, as one research method and interviews with professionals in practice as the other research method. We checked if our sources were reliable and if needed we used multiple sources to strengthen a statement.

We gathered literature and searched through the media, to find relevant information. We did this in the first two months, when our research started. In the process we added more books, to focus on specific topics. We did not continue to use the media, to narrow down the practice situations, but we could not avoid reading about Moroccan-Dutch youngsters now and then. Most books, articles, documentaries, movies, interviews and documents were fully read/watched, after that we selected the usable parts and translated it to English.

Literature - We fully read the following type of books, selected usable parts and translated them.

We used books about/by:

- Dutch writers with a Moroccan background, who tell about their position between the Dutch society/culture and the Moroccan culture. They criticise both parties and they can also give an insight from both backgrounds and the influence of the double culture on their lives.

- Dutch researchers, who describe the historical and present situation in The Netherlands, concerning the group of Moroccan-Dutch people and Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in particular. Subjects as raising, crime, politics and double identity are much described. They gave us an insight into the research that has already been done and about conflicts with Moroccan-Dutch people in the last years.

From the following type of books, we read the relevant chapters and translated them.

Theory about Morocco, adolescence, street culture, conflict, Conflict management, Creative interventions, music and Hip-hop. With this information we could create the bigger picture around our problem and see the problem from different angles.

Media - Besides literature, we used newspapers, documentaries and movies to have a broader view and more various information sources. In our opinion information from literature is very fundamental, but media can help making it more visual. It helped us in our way of processing.

We used newspaper articles from the first month of our research (17th-22nd of March), about Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in conflict in Veenendaal. From respectable newspapers *De Gelderlander* (a local newspaper) and the *Volkskrant* (a national newspaper), they gave us an insight in how society looks at the moment and at our target group and the present problem. The magazine *Elsevier* (opinion magazine, May edition) provided us with an important article about Moroccan-Dutch men in The Netherlands.

The following movies and documentaries helped us in our orientation phase.

We used documentaries from the major Dutch television news items (EenVandaag, Nova), to see which images and recordings were used. Documentaries try to put a news item into a broader perspective, by giving more information about similar problems or situations and refer to other researches or by interviewing people who were involved. We followed the headlines in the first months of our research and watched relevant documentaries. From a series called; *Rauw en Puur* (raw and pure, Roethof, 2009), we watched all episodes to get a broader view on youngsters at risk in the Dutch society.

We used two Dutch movies, *Shouf shouf habibi!* (2004) and *Het Schnitzelparadijs* (the Schnitzel paradise, screen version of the book, 2006) about Moroccan-Dutch youngsters living in The Netherlands (comedies). These movies gave us a more visual picture about the dilemmas the youngsters could experience.

Although these movies are made for entertainment and are not true life stories, they can still give an insight into both cultures and the collision between those two cultures. These two movies are best known at present day, we did not find any other movies in this genre.

We also watched several American movies about music, talent (development) and Hip-hop. These movies, some based on true stories, gave us an insight in how music, dance or other talents can motivate youngsters to have a purpose in life and how they can get out of the problems or negative influence (poverty, racism, criminal friends) they face. We used the movie *Save The Last Dance 2* (2007). This movie gave us an clear idea of what Hip-hop is. We watched this movie several times and

wrote down quotes we thought we could use best to explain what Hip-hop is, next to documents and books.

Practice - Orientation and focused interviews with professionals in the working field:

We were interested in the opinion from professionals about the facts we had to read in literature and newspapers. To see if theories would be workable and manageable in practice and if reports by the media about Veenendaal and Moroccan-Dutch youngsters were recognised. Also to hear about their personal experiences with these youngsters and working with Conflict management and Creative interventions.

Orientation interviews

We interviewed three teachers from our university, about conflict (management) and Creative interventions. They all have their own specific point of view and knowledge; Creative intervention arts, Creative intervention linguistics and methodology, aggression and Conflict management. We approach them by e-mail and shortly explained the topics of our research. We did not ask them exactly the same questions, because after every interview we learned new things and decided to change our focus a little bit. We asked approval to record the conversations with a voice recorder, so that we could check if our notes were complete.

- Teacher Creative intervention (arts), Christian University Ede. Face-to-face interview by Ineke. 31st of March 2010.
- Teacher Creative intervention (linguistics), Christian University Ede. Face-to-face interview by Janneke and Ineke. 16th of April 2010.
- Teacher methodology, aggression and Conflict management, Christian University Ede. Face-to-face interview by Janneke and Ineke. 19th of April 2010.

Focused interviews

In this stage we knew more about our topics and could ask more focused questions. We used the structure from our research (sub-) questions. We also approached these participants by e-mail and gave a short explanation of the reason why we wanted to interview them for our research. The first interview with the youth workers has been recorded, the second interview with the cultural youth worker has not been recorded, because of technical problems. We would like to send the collected notes to the participants to verify if the results are correctly interpreted. The interviews are added in the appendices (in Dutch).

These participants work at the *Jongerencentrum Escape* (Youth Centre Escape), a cultural youth centre in the middle of Veenendaal. The youth centre is a part of *Welzijn Veenendaal* (welfare Veenendaal), the municipally organisation for welfare. We did not choose the other youth centre The Mall, because our employer wanted a 'religious free' research and The Mall is a part of Youth For Christ.

- Youth workers, Youth Centre Escape, Veenendaal. Face-to-face interview with two youth workers by Janneke and Ineke. 29th of April 2010.
- Cultural youth worker, Youth Centre Escape, Veenendaal. Face-to-face interview by Janneke and Ineke. 12th of May 2010.

After we had these focused interviews with the youth workers and the cultural youth worker, we decided to call the police in Veenendaal as well. Several participants talked about the role of the police or about co-operating with the police. That is why we also wanted to know about conflicts in Veenendaal from a police (wo)man. We approached to police by telephone and for the neighbourhood officer present, the most convenient way was to do the interview by phone. We asked specific about information we still needed and which we did not received in the other interviews.

- Police (neighbourhood) officer, Veenendaal. Telephone interview by Janneke. 31st of May 2010.

Approach target city/group

Next to literature and media, interviews with the target group would have been supplementary. We have not done interviews with the youngsters ourselves, because we are aiming mostly at meso-level, for the benefit of more knowledge and methods for Social workers. We also see a barrier between the youngsters and ourselves, because we are fully Dutch, young and female. We do not have experience with talking to groups of youngsters with a different cultural background, like the documentary makers have from the documentaries we saw. Because of this lack of experience, we probably would not have

received the information we would like to have from our target group. It would take a lot of time and input to earn their confidence. Simply because we do not belong to the same culture as they do and because of the difference in cultural values. We choose not to invest our time in this; we choose to talk to the youth workers, who know these youngsters for a longer period of time.

We also did not interview the (non professional) inhabitants of Veenendaal, because we did not find the time to do this. By the interviews with the youth workers, we could get an idea of the opinion of the civilians and newspapers also gave an insight into the opinion of (some) civilians.

Carrying out the research

We started to make our three topics into one research query. This was a long process, because we had to narrow down the different subjects to a specific research query. First we needed to know more about the subjects, to find out what was relevant and interesting for us. Every two weeks, we looked at the query and checked if we were still satisfied by it. If not we made alterations. To make our sub questions, we divided the three subjects again, to see what we really wanted to research about them. All the sub questions together became the answer on the main/research query.

The research took part in the months March – October 2010, by 2 students Social Work from the Christian University in Ede. The interviews were held in Ede on the University, and in Veenendaal at Youth Centre Escape. We carried out the following steps; describing the steps makes it possible for other people to follow our path of research.

1. Orientation on the 3 topics

Conflict management, as a subject of interest from our employer; *Moroccan-Dutch youngsters*, as specific target group who come in conflict with Social workers and the Dutch society; *Creative interventions*, because of our specialism in our education and large interest and skills in this subject. 😊 First we brainstormed about the connection between the topics and how to connect theory and practice. Because we are university students (HBO level in The Netherlands) we are trained to look at both theory and practice. When you connect these two parts, you can see or prove if theory (or method) is workable in practice and how practice can be supported by theoretical knowledge. The sources we use in our brainstorm phase are: newspapers, documentaries, books, the orientating interviews and movies. We deliberately choose different sources and different opinions, to compare them and try to find more objective information, instead of one persons view.

2. Developing the main question and sub questions

See; *Measuring instruments*. We also changed the words we use (for example Moroccan youngsters into Moroccan-Dutch youngsters) to be more objective and to prevent insulting, discriminating or stigmatising any person or group too much.

3. Work plan for the sub questions

For every sub question we made a list of possible literature, sources, movies and professionals, so that we could start gathering information. See; *literature, media and practice*. Also see appendix A (Dutch).

In the process we did not use all the sources we thought of in the beginning, because some of the subjects were too broad for our research and sometimes we found more relevant and up-to-date information.

4. Existing theories, researches and professionals (long step)

A lot of books and documentaries are already made about Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in The Netherlands. Multiple professionals also have an opinion about the problem and how to solve it. We did not fully want to examine everything we didn't know, but also use the information which was already researched. This would save us time and unnecessary double work. Of course we only took sources which were reliable and of quality.

After knowing more about our topics and the connection between them, we wanted to know if this was recognised or experienced in practice. At that point we had arranged interviews with youth workers and a cultural youth worker in Veenendaal.

5. Connection theory and practice (long step)

We compared the information from these interviews with the information we already gathered and saw

the bigger picture. Now we could make a connection between different paragraphs and on different levels. (The youngsters; micro level, the Social workers; meso level and the society; macro level). In the end, we did not test our method with youngsters. But we think our research is based enough on literature and theory that this method could be used in an organisation. Writing it all down was not the easy part. Everything we read or found was interesting and we needed the 'objective' mind from our supervisor to stay focused on our main subject.

6. *Work in progress*

We wrote down our decisions and working steps. This was a good point to stop and look at the results so far. We saw that the last part of our results could be shorter, because we also had to narrow down the first part. This led to a more compact and qualitative document.

7. *Time for conclusions* (very long step)

After writing everything down and making connections between the different sub questions, it was time to make conclusions. Here we see that there are a lot of things which would be subject for a research of their own.

Chapter 1
Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in conflicts!



What causes conflicts between inhabitants of The Netherlands and Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in the adolescence age?

Paragraph 1.1

Conflict; the ins and outs

What is a conflict and why does it arise? To begin our research about conflicts with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters, we first have to determine what conflict is and why it arises. Secondly, we look at the specific situation in The Netherlands and at the different levels of conflict in which youngsters are involved. Finally we explain the difference between emotional and instrumental aggression in conflicts with youngsters.

What is a conflict?

Every day people get into conflicts. Conflicts within themselves, between individuals and between groups. These conflicts can be a tension, shouting at each other or using violence. But in the first place; why does the conflict appear? Huguenin (2004, p. 25) explains it in a general way: 'A conflict is a tension, which exist when striving, goals, values, ideas, interests and such of two (or more) people or groups cross or exclude each other.'

The Collins dictionary (2003) gives the following explanations on the word conflict:

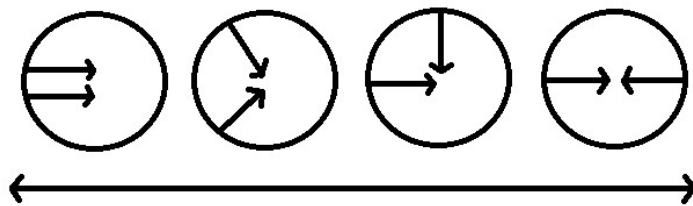
1. a struggle or clash between opposing forces; battle
2. a state of opposition between ideas, interests, etc.; disagreement or controversy
3. a clash, as between two appointments made for the same time
4. (Psychology) *Psychol* opposition between two simultaneous but incompatible wishes or drives, sometimes leading to a state of emotional tension and thought to be responsible for neuroses

Explanation 2 and 4 give the definition we use; conflicts in words and (violent) actions. Explanation 4 shows that there is an emotional tension in the conflict and that is it within the individual.

Conflicts in The Netherlands

Living in The Netherlands, in a small country with, relatively speaking, a lot of inhabitants, we get in contact with each other all day. People with different ages, men and women, with different religions, different cultural backgrounds and from different countries live together as one society. Conflict is everywhere. Every relationship has conflict. It exists inside us. It exists around us. It is natural and inevitable part of all human social relationships (Sandole & Staroste, 1987). Because every person has their own ideas and beliefs, collision is unavoidable.

'When the goals, values, ideas etc, are more opposite, the conflicts become stronger. The following image shows the increase of the conflicts' (Huguenin, 2004, p. 26):



Goals/values
are the same:
No conflict

Goals/values
exclude each other:
Strong conflict

When cultural differences are small, like between Germans and the Dutch, they can laugh at the differences. But oppositional values cannot be 'laughed away', they seem to exclude. When people meet each other (for example on the streets or in discussion) these differences can lead to conflicts. Within a conflict, two kinds of aggression are shown; emotional and instrumental aggression. These different kinds of aggression need a different approach, as we will explain in § 3.2.

Conflict levels in which Moroccan-Dutch youngsters are involved

There are different levels in which conflicts can occur. These are the following levels:
Intra-psychic conflict → conflicts within the individual, like frustration, identity crisis or role conflict;

Inter-personal conflict → conflicts between two individuals;
Inter-group conflict → conflicts between groups;
Inter-organizational conflict → conflicts between organizations;
Society conflict → conflicts between large groups in society (strike or war)
(Huguenin, 2004, p. 26)

The Moroccan-Dutch youngsters experience *intra-psychic conflict*, because they live in between two different cultures and have to find their own identity within these two worlds. (See § 1.2 and 1.3)
An *inter-personal conflict* can arise when a youngster is acting disturbing for his environment and a police officer or neighbour talks to youngster about it. Because of the differences in how the behaviour was meant or experienced a conflict can arise.
A very serious conflict can be when a group of youngsters are rebellious and a group of policemen are trying to calm them down/arrest some of them. This is an *inter-group conflict*. This happened in a neighbourhood in the city of Utrecht after a boy from that group was injured when the police was arresting him (after he refused to co-operate). Or when members of a neighbourhood committee are in discussion with parents of Dutch Moroccan youngsters and they cannot agree about what has to be done, what is the best approach and who is to blame.

Conclusion

Conflicts are everywhere, but when goals, values, ideas etc, are more opposite, the conflicts become stronger. The conflict can arise on different levels; we will look at the *intra-psychic conflict*, when it comes to youngsters in their adolescence. We will focus on *inter-personal conflicts* and *inter-group conflicts*; this is probably the case between some Moroccan-Dutch youngsters and Dutch civilians. The reasons why the youngsters see things so differently from the mainstream Dutch civilians, is partly because of their double cultural background. We will take a closer look at this in the following paragraph.

Paragraph 1.2

Are you Dutch or are you Moroccan?

What is the influence of the double cultural background on conflicts with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters?
Moroccan-Dutch youngsters have one or two parents with a Moroccan cultural background. But they live in the Dutch culture. What was the reason that Moroccan people came to The Netherlands? And what was their reason to stay in a country so very different from their own? We compare the two cultures by the model of Hofstede (2009) and find the differences and similarities.

From Morocco to The Netherlands

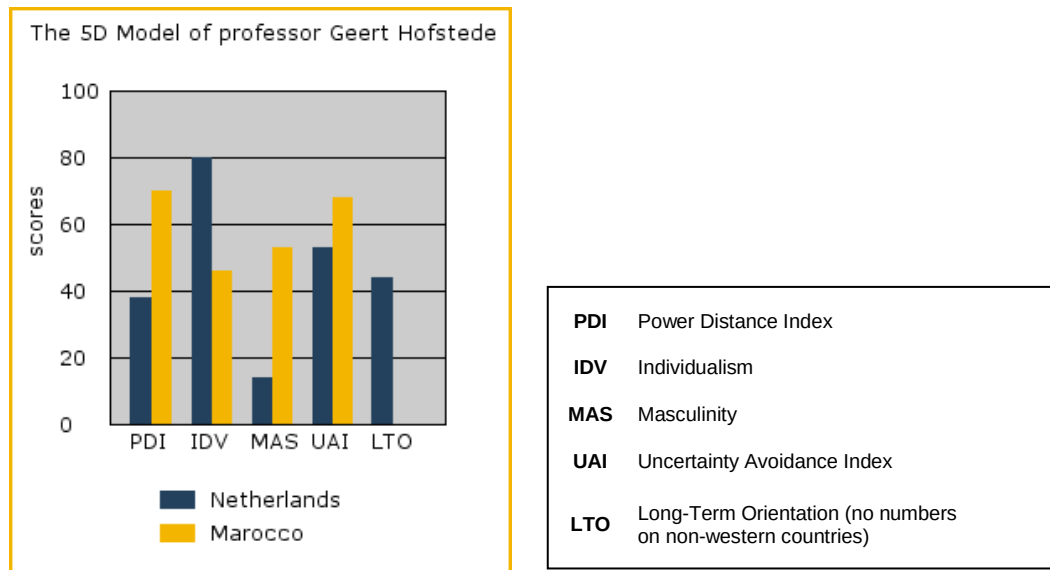
Girls like it here, you know, the moon and all that kind of crap. The stars, 'oh so romantic'. 'I could just live here' (girls say). Get out of here! Beautiful?! You couldn't last a day here. It's only sand and stones, nothing more. There is no shit, nothing! Why else do you think half of Morocco is in The Netherlands. Because there is so much to do in Morocco and you can earn lots of money here? Not a chance... (Quote from the movie *Shouf shouf habibi!*, 2004)

In the sixties, groups of Moroccan men came to work in The Netherlands as guest labourers. They were mainly unemployed men, not educated and sought their posterity in this opportunity. Coming from the Berber area; the Rif mountains, they had a history of being discriminated and being looked down on (Werdmölder, 2005). After several years of working, the biggest part of the first group of Moroccans went back to Morocco. Most of the Moroccans of the second group, the guest labourers who came after 1973, stayed in The Netherlands. They choose to live in the same neighbourhood or city as their relatives or people from the same village or tribe in Morocco. The youngsters from our research are second or third generation Moroccans. Three-quarter of the 349.000 Moroccans in The Netherlands are of Berber origin. Berbers are known as obstinate and freedom-loving (Duk, *Elsevier*, 2010).

2010; forty years after the arrival of the first guest labourers, the distrust between the native Dutch and the Moroccan-Dutch is large (Werdmölder, 2005). The youngsters are born in these families and they mostly started their lives in an environment where Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch are not best friends. These roots could be of influence on the behaviour of their children. Let's take a closer look at the differences between the Moroccan and Dutch culture.

The Moroccan and Dutch culture

Hofstede (2009), creating 5 dimensions of culture, helps us to look at the main aspects. In the following diagram, you see our two cultures compared, (<http://www.geert-hofstede.com>):



Almost every cultural dimension differs between the two countries. Looking at every dimension we see what the consequences could be for Moroccan-Dutch youngsters:

Power Distance Index

Power Distance is the degree to which people accept large differences between the most and least powerful members of society in terms of privileges, wealth and well-being (Claes & Gerritsen, 2007). Morocco is a constitutional monarchy and the king has presidential power. The king does not only have the worldly power, he is also the 'Commander of the Faithful'. In a religious point of view the king is also seen as the leader of the people (Werdmölder, 2005). The Netherlands is a democracy, ruled by the queen and a parliament. They do not accept large differences between the most and the least powerful members of society and want to have a vote and give their opinion on most subjects. Moroccan-Dutch youngsters are given the freedom, as every Dutch inhabitant (when you become 18), to vote on the political party or person whom they think expresses their opinion the best. But their parents never had that freedom and experience of the value of their vote/voice. The difference in Power Distance can be seen towards the government, but also within organisations, juridical system, the school system and families.

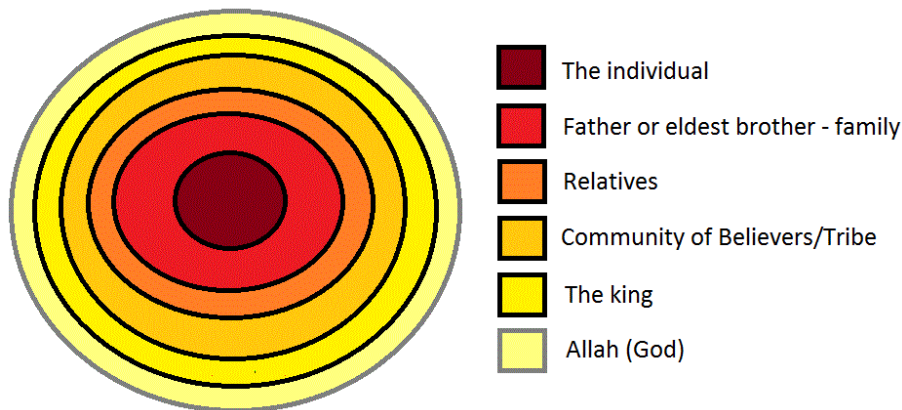
Individualism versus Collectivism

Morocco and The Netherlands are quite different in this dimension. Morocco has a 'low' score in individualism and is therefore to be called more collectivistic. In cultures that are highly collectivistic, people are expected to serve the groups to which they belong (their (extended) families, business relations and community of believers) (Claes & Gerritsen, 2007). The words honour and shame are importance in this culture, because they are group and family values.

The culture of The Netherlands is clearly more individualistic. This means that the people are expected to be self-reliant and independent, and to focus primarily on caring for themselves and their immediate families.

Looking at the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters, they could face difficulties by the different expectations from their family (and other groups in which they belong) and the Dutch school system (which stimulates independence). Some youngsters say they live in two 'worlds'; the expectations at home and expectations outside (Benkaddour, 2010).

The following image shows to whom a Moroccan-Dutch youngster is responsible to according to the Moroccan culture:



When a youngster is a Muslim and Allah (God) is important in his life, than in the end, he will also be responsible to Allah. Even for Moroccan-Dutch youngsters who do not practice their belief, Allah can still be someone or something to keep in remembrance.

Masculinity versus femininity

A masculine culture appreciates values like; being assertive and earning money (so-called men-values) and a feminine culture appreciates; relationships between people, helping each other and the quality of life (so-called women-values). In the diagram of Hofstede, in this dimension is far out the biggest difference. The values in the comparable cultures are different and also the role (and the importance) of men and women (Claes & Gerritsen, 2007).

The Moroccan culture in The Netherlands is a typical 'macho' culture. Moroccan-Dutch strongly appreciate the masculine values. Women are expected to be tender, caring and modest (not meaning that they are necessarily oppressed). Men are expected to act tough, be focused on material success and be hard (Benkaddour, 2010).

In the raising of children cultural values are passed on, that is why will also want to look at the way of raising the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters had. The combination of the masculine and feminine aspects can lead to conflict, for example when Moroccan-Dutch youngsters do not take policewomen or female teachers serious. The feminine aspects and care provided by the Dutch state are positive for the mostly low economical position in which Moroccan-Dutch families live, but is also seen as soft and 'easy'. Especially the approach of the police is experienced to soft by Moroccan-Dutch youngsters, when they compare it to the penalties they receive in Morocco.

Uncertainty Avoidance Index

In comparison to the other cultural dimensions, the diagram does not show a remarkable difference on the point of Uncertainty Avoidance. Both countries have an average score, which means there is a balance in fear or curiosity for uncertainty (Claes & Gerritsen, 2007). But within families life there is a difference. There are a lot of taboos about relationships, sex and drugs in the average of the Moroccan-Dutch families. For the Dutch, these taboos only exist in families with a strong religious background. For Moroccan parents it is sometimes hard to understand how easily and without shame Dutch families share information about subjects which are a taboo in their own family and culture.

Long-Term Orientation

The Moroccan culture is short-term focused. The focus of the Dutch culture is in between long-term thinking and short-term thinking (Claes & Gerritsen, 2007). Some Moroccan-Dutch youngsters like easy work and fast results. Dutch call this 'impatience', because most of the Dutch acknowledge that it takes hard work and practice to achieve something in life. This gives friction in schools and sometimes results in drop-outs. Because of short-term thinking and low education, youngsters get attracted to crime and drugs dealing. These illegal actions give quick results and big money.

Conclusion

The Moroccan and Dutch culture differ on several dimensions and youngsters are caught in the middle of this. The differences between the cultural background of their parents and their future in The Netherlands causes friction and conflicts with their environment.

Some of the biggest issues are; different expectations from their family and environment of how they should behave, their loyalty to their family and other Moroccans facing their lives in The Netherlands, the different views on the role of men and women by both cultures and the dangerous temptations such as crime because of short-term focus (and other causes). Parents transfer these values to their children in their raising and when the youngsters come into the adolescence age, these (sometimes) opposite values of the Moroccan and Dutch culture give them rather a challenge.

Paragraph 1.3 **Testing the limits**

What is the influence of the Moroccan raising on the identity development of Moroccan-Dutch youngsters? Raising and identity development during the adolescence age are a part of standards and values of a culture and influence a person from early childhood until adulthood. We will take a look at the Moroccan-Dutch raising and in particular at the father-son relationship. The Moroccan culture is masculine and therefore the role of men (fathers, sons and brothers) is important. How does this relationship develop and where do conflicts arise in this process?

Close connected to raising, is the identity development of youngsters. Who shows them how to become healthy adults? Why do youngsters come into conflicts in their adolescence? And why is the phenomenon 'street culture' interesting for Moroccan-Dutch youngsters?

Moroccan-Dutch raising

'Culture, personality and raising cannot be seen separately, they are connected. The family is the most direct learning environment and has a big influence on the behaviour and the development of up growing children' (Werdmölder, 2005, p. 121,122). Families moving from the Moroccan culture, into the Dutch culture, will hold fast to their own standards and values. But they also face the expectations and (social) rules of The Netherlands. Youngsters are caught in the middle of this and can experience confusion. We try to understand the background and behaviour of the youngsters and see why conflicts between civilians/professionals and Moroccan-Dutch youngsters exist.

Father-son relationship and conflict

In comparison to Dutch families, Moroccan parents think authority and respect are more important. Moroccan fathers are strict, they are the head of the family and he has the last word. This doesn't mean that the father cannot also be warm and loving (Hammoudi, 1997). 'The father has to be an example for his son, so that the son learns to be responsible and grows up to be a good Muslim. 'For that reason a traditional father will not show his sensible, vulnerable side. That would make a man weak, a 'sissy' (Werdmölder, 2005, p. 123).

In The Netherlands, in a conflict situation, it is a virtue to admit that you were wrong and then try to better your life or construct a solution. Dutch people like to hear a confession, for example in schools or when a neighbour or the police caught someone red-handed. But when a Moroccan-Dutch youngster follows in his fathers' footsteps and shows that he is strong, and will not admit his fault, a conflict can arise. In a conflict or crime, a Moroccan-Dutch boy will often deny his fault, to save the family honour. Dutch people (including professionals) have difficulty understanding and respecting this difference.

Here follows an example about this way of thinking/raising:

Son, do you smoke?

A traditional Moroccan father has seen that his son smokes. He has smelled it for a couple of weeks and has seen a package of Marlboro cigarettes felt out of his son's pocket. The son knows his father is aware that he smokes.

The Moroccan father asks: 'Son, do you smoke?'

A good traditional Moroccan son will say in such a situation 'No father', while timid looking the other way. This is for both a confession and it is clear the son has respect for his father. The question 'son, do you smoke?' means 'do you respect me?'

It would be impudent to revolt against the father by saying; yes father, I smoke' (Kaldenbach, 2004, p. 129).

In this situation, a Dutch father would like to hear a confession from his son and will scold him or negotiate about it. The son (Dutch situation) shows respect by admitting his fault and the father would distrust him when he would not confess.

Adolescence/Identity development and conflict

There you are. In The Netherlands. A youngster with one or two Moroccan parents. And if you are born in The Netherlands, then you are Dutch. Or not? Are you a Moroccan? Or a Muslim? Or something else? Or don't you know exactly? (Benkaddour, 2010, p. 17).

The 'adolescence' is a transition period in which a youngster will develop his identity. It is a period between childhood and adulthood, mostly from the age of around 10 until 22 years old. For Moroccan-Dutch youngsters it is extra hard to come in this transition period, because of the double culture they live in. As we saw in § 1.2, the standards and values of these two cultures can be each others opposites. They face an *intra-psychic conflict*, a conflict within themselves.

A good example of this struggle is made visible in the movie *Het Schnitzelparadijs* (The Schnitzel paradise, 2006). The main character in the movie is a young man born in The Netherlands, but with a Moroccan background. He experiences the dilemma of a double identity. On the one hand, this boy doesn't want to disappoint his father, because his father has high expectations of him because he is a brilliant student. On the other, the main character does not want to be stuck in the 'Dutch chance' of a lousy job in a restaurant for the rest of his life. Now he is a teenager, he is struggling to find out what he wants. He doesn't really know, but he just wants to enjoy life and make his own decisions.

Conflicts and risk behaviour often appear in the adolescence. It is a time in which the youngster will learn the consequences from the decisions he makes. According to De Wit et al. (2007) there often is a relation between youth criminality and a certain age. The statistics show a peak in the adolescence-age, in which a need of experiment and testing the limits is large. The highest peak is around the age of 17, 18. They will experiment with different kinds of behaviour first, because they have no knowledge of possible consequences yet. 'A Moroccan man grows up with his father or grandfather as example. (...) The Moroccan community in The Netherlands is no unity. The Moroccan man has no clear references to develop his identity and self-assurance' (Duk, *Elsevier*, 2010, p. 25). As we said earlier, the most important role model for the youngster is the father, but these fathers also face difficulties by their immigration and for them The Netherlands is also a different environment to raise their sons. Moroccan-Dutch youngsters often see this way of dealing with a conflict; when two children are in a fight and one is screaming, it is not uncommon that the father would use a slipper to punish the child (Eddaoudi, 1998). When a youngster does not have a clear example to deal with conflicts, he can take friends or other people as role model. This can have a positive or negative effect, this will depend on with what kind of people/friends the youngster will come in contact with.

Starting point of disturbing behaviour

We see a difference in the consequences of youngsters born in second or third generation families and how well they are integrated in the Dutch society. Second generation children come from bigger families and their parents do not always speak the Dutch language well. Third generation children can have one or two Moroccan parent(s) and come from smaller families. The extent of the family is related to their prosperity. Their income can be higher, by longer education and more integration in the Dutch society.

The financial situation of the parents, the neighbourhood where they live and the extension of the family will influence the possibilities the youngsters have (Werdmölder, 2005). It seems that the less possibilities the youngsters experience, the more 'trouble' they cause. When they cannot reach the success others around them have, they will find an(other) way to feel respected (Wilderdink & Heerikhuizen, 2007).

The attraction to the street (culture)

Moroccan-Dutch youngsters often hang around in the streets. In Morocco it is custom that people live outdoors together with family and neighbours. This creates social control and the adults help to raise the children by showing the customary standards and values. In The Netherlands, people are more individualised and stay in their homes. The climate also does not appeal to go outside. So because the Dutch are not used to live and hang on the streets, they often experience it as disturbing when youngsters hang around. But what are the youngsters exactly doing when they hang-around?

When Moroccan-Dutch youngsters meet on the streets, they socialise, share the latest news. It is their way to spend their leisure time. Sometimes they will play soccer or other games, talk, shout or sing. Youth worker Escape, Veenendaal:

Look, when youngsters meet each other on the street, the people surrounding them think they are doing nothing, that they are lazy, that they are criminals, that they are aggressive. But

when you really interest yourselves in the street culture, you see that they are doing something. They are not all lazy, criminal and do nothing. Sometimes they actually do nothing, but that's part of the culture. But for them, being together on the street corner, it is very important. It is the highlight of the day for some youngsters (Youth workers Escape, personal communication, April, 29th, 2010).

The street culture is a youth culture you find, as its name says; on the streets. Youngsters identify themselves with life on the streets and this forms a bond. What often results in a whole group with youngsters; a youth group. More about youth groups in § 2.2, when we look at disturbance of youngsters to their environment.

The main characteristics of the street culture are; masculinity, little structure, earning (a lot of) money in short(est) amount of time, against formal rules, dynamics, give in on passions/needs (hedonism), use of violence and aggression, acting immediately (instead of thinking first), street language, rap music (El Hadioui, 2010).

(Moroccan-Dutch, ed.) Boys often grow up in a street culture. On the streets they earn respect by having a big mouth, a macho-attitude, guts and provoking behaviour. They demand respect from their direct surroundings and they want to be treated like a normal person, without prejudice and without the negative stigma. In this environment, respect is not based on what you deserve, but it is based on an attitude like 'here am I', 'accept me like I am' and 'look what I have the guts for'. This way of asking respect will produce fear, but it is not based on appreciation or admiration. That is why the youngsters usually do not get the respects they are asking for (Werdmölder, 2005, p. 103).

For Moroccan-Dutch youngsters, who feel like no one understands them and while searching for their identity, the street culture is very attractive. The youngster belongs to a group who has the same needs as he has. The rules and expectations are clear and the peer pressure high. The street culture gives them an identity in which honour and respect is very important. These characteristics are familiar to the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters because these are also important in the Moroccan culture. Most of the youngsters who are hanging around on street often dropped out of school. They have nothing to do, some have a part-time job. Being on the streets to socialize can change into loitering and vandalism. As we will see further in this research, for Dutch neighbours this is experienced as disturbing behaviour. A conflict is born.

Conclusion

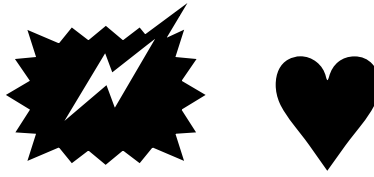
The cultural difference between the Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch makes clear that the way of showing respect and thinking about honesty is seen differently. A Moroccan-Dutch boy will have his father as example as shown earlier, but when the father is not present or involved in the family, physically or emotionally, the son does not have this role model. But even if he had the 'perfect' Moroccan example, there would still be a difference in the expectations from the Dutch society. It seems that it can never be perfect for the youngsters, because they live in two worlds.

In the challenging period of the adolescence, Moroccan-Dutch youngsters need clear role models to learn the consequences of their actions and behaviour which leads to conflicts. The home situation and the Dutch society differ enough to give confusion to the youngsters. Sometimes less opportunities are experienced by the youngsters, which leads to alternative behaviour.

From the Dutch perspective, adaptation from the Dutch ways is desirable, to have a future with opportunities in The Netherlands. From the Moroccan perspective, maintaining the standards and values of the culture and respect for the group (family and community) is important and desirable, to be(come) a good Moroccan (this causes *intra-psychic conflicts*). Is there no way in between those perspectives? Yes there is, but that takes time. Information and conversation between the two cultures is needed. In the meantime, the society faces conflicts, which have to be managed.

Youngsters also make their own (street) culture. A place where respect can be earned by showing macho behaviour and testing the limits of the existing rules and boundaries. This is the outside, the visible behaviour that is seen by the civilians. And not much appreciated...

Chapter 2 War and Love



What is attitude of the civilians and what is the approach of the professionals towards Moroccan-Dutch youngsters, when they show disturbing behaviour?

Paragraph 2.1

Pride and prejudice

How do civilians and society react towards Moroccan-Dutch youngsters? When we tell people about our research, we experience that everybody has an (in general negative) opinion about the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. Everybody has their stories (from newspapers, friends or family) about 'those Moroccans' who were disturbing or were connected to criminal activities.

We first will focus on the fact that Moroccan-Dutch youngsters often are treated like outcast. They are often suspects of crimes, but are this facts or fiction? Secondly we will look into the position of the civilians. We often see and hear the emotions, especially fear, from the civilians. After this we will look to the attitude of the civilians towards Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. Finally, we will zoom out to macro-level to observe the changing society.

Moroccan-Dutch youngsters are (treated like) outcast

'A father to his son: you have ruined it for all Moroccans. Dutch people used to be nice. Nowadays they hate us' (Duk, *Elsevier*, 2010, p. 24).

'Moroccan boys feel, probably valid, more than other boys to be treated like outcast by the mainstream culture. That is why they react most severe on signs of superiority and disrespect' (Kaldenbach, 2004, p. 99). They hang out with friends from their own background. They claim to be discriminated if civilians points out their disturbing behaviour. They say they are discriminated or unfair treated when it comes to job interviews or at school. Moroccan-Dutch youngsters are outcast, but are they victims or offenders?

It seems to be an interaction between different facts and events. On the one hand, Dutch people have negative experiences with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters because of disturbing behaviour and the situation in the past years that Moroccans were often suspected of -or involved in- crimes and they were frequently reported about by the media. The youngsters are described as; 'anonymous boys of the streets, with their fur collars and baseball caps, boys who can grow out to be serious criminals, terrorise whole neighbourhoods and become a true 'plague' to the police and Social Work' (Duk, *Elsevier*, 2010, p. 25-27). On the other, Moroccan-Dutch youngsters see and experience the negative ideas that people have about them and they start acting like that negative image. They act how their environment expects them to be. This is called victimized behaviour and we will explain more about this in the next paragraph (§2.2).

Moroccan-Dutch youngsters are often suspects

In the media, Moroccans and especially Moroccan boys, are often reported as suspects of criminal activities. When the suspect of a robbery is described as a foreign man with black (curly) hair and a slightly brown skin, people generally use the word Moroccan.

When you compare Moroccan-Dutch youngsters to other groups in The Netherlands, are they doing 'bad'? After Antilleans (-Dutch), Moroccan-Dutch are most often registered as suspects. In the age group 12 to 17 years, their share is the highest of all non-Western groups. But differently than Antilleans, their crime numbers dropped quickly after the age of 20.

A chart by the KLPD (Royal National Police Department) and IPOL (Institution Police education and training) shows the numbers (Duk, *Elsevier*, 2010, p. 26).

Suspects of crimes:

Group from	Percentage of total population (> 12 years)	Percentage of under aged (12 - 17 years)
Turkey	3.9	5.0
Morocco	6.4	9.7
Surinam	5.3	6.6
Antilles	7.9	9.1
The Netherlands	1.3	2.1
Total population	1.6	2.9

Emotions and fear from civilians

The civilians express emotions as fear and anger when they are faced with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. There is a lot of prejudice on both sides (in paragraph 2.2 we will explain this). In the media; newspapers and on Internet, people call loud for concrete measures and solutions because the unsafe feeling of the civilians increases. The solution and outcome of this feeling is translated into

more Police present on the streets, higher punishments for serial offenders, a general identification obligation, deportation of illegal criminals, obligation to report potential terrorists and the removal of hatred spreading imams out of The Netherlands (Werdmölder 2005). Visible police officers on the streets and a strict policy give people a feeling of safety. As we have seen in the recent national elections (June 2010), civilians will vote on parties who have this issue high on their political agenda.

'You can spend money only once. There are different ways which lead to Rome, but the fastest way is more police officers. (...) There are a lot of researches which say that you shouldn't do this. You have to invest in youngsters. That is a much more sustainable solution than punishing them harder. It will work for a while, but when you hit on one place, the trouble will start at another place. This is also a bit of keeping up appearance, for general civilians (promising more police officers). But in some situations you have to do both. We don't say; "you don't need the police", that is rubbish of course' (Youth workers Escape, personal communication, April, 29th, 2010).

Social workers have to stand up for the rights of the client. This can also mean letting your voice be heard on policy level. Who better than Social workers can explain the significance of investments in youth at risk? But it is hard to put this opinion against the fear of violence.

Civilians' attitude against Moroccan-Dutch youngsters

Civilians easily share the general opinion which is given by the media and experiences by other people. But that does not mean that this opinion applies to every Moroccan-Dutch youngster. Most people do not want to take the trouble to investigate these opinions, prejudice or so called 'facts' (newspapers).

There is hardly any communication between the civilians and the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. This only makes the prejudice, emotions and (cultural or generation) gap bigger. The neighbourhood police officer explained that recently she and a colleague walked on the streets and by coincidence some Moroccan youngsters were walking in front of them. They didn't do anything disturbing; they just walked from point A to point B. On the other side of the road walked an elderly lady with her dog. She crossed the street and said to the police officers; "it is a disgrace, those youngsters; you cannot walk on the streets safely!" But those youngsters didn't do anything wrong. Very often the police is alarmed: 'The group of youngsters is back!', when the youngsters are just standing together talking in front of a house (E. Driesman, personal communication, May, 31st, 2010).

Another professional from Veenendaal also told us about how the neighbourhood reacts towards Moroccan-Dutch youngsters.

'There is no communication; it is often not straight out. The youngsters see in the newspaper, hear from the police or neighbourhood officer, that they are causing disturbance. The police says; 'someone made a reported disturbance'. Than youngsters reply; 'which disturbance, why didn't this person come to us to tell this?' There is always a mediator, it is never direct' (Youth workers Escape, personal communication, April, 29th, 2010).

As you can see, there is not much communication between the youngsters and the civilians, which leads to incomprehension. Because they don't understand each other and if they don't communicate this incomprehension leads to *inter-personal* and *inter-group conflicts*.

Prejudice from both sides

Most Dutch think negatively about the youngsters, but the youngsters themselves also have an image of the Dutch. There is prejudice from both sides, which stimulates the conflict. By using publications, conversations and own observations, two editors created a list of the 10 most expressed prejudice, from Dutch about Moroccans and from Moroccans about the Dutch (Ahli & Huisman, 2008).

Dutch about Moroccans:

- They cannot handle feedback. They are never to blame, they are always being discriminated.
- Parents do not know where their children are. Those children will do whatever they like on the streets, because they are not allowed to do that at home.
- They like expensive things, but they rather steal them than work for it.
- They think all Dutch women are whores. They will sleep with their Dutch girlfriends, before they marry a virgin bride from Morocco.
- The women are not allowed to do anything. First they will be watched by fathers, brothers, uncles and cousins, later by their husbands.
- They are always late. If they come at all.

- They do not want to work for Dutch people, and definitely not for women. They just don't accept authorities.
- They think violence is normal, because they were all beaten when they were children.
- They think all Dutch people are not religious and will burn in hell. Religion is everything for them.
- They do not want to adapt. They have come to take over.

Moroccans about Dutch:

- They are avaricious ('cheap').
- They hate Moroccans. They feel superior to us with their so-called enlightenment.
- They pretend to be very businesslike, but in the meanwhile everybody is corrupt.
- They are being very rude to you and they call this freedom of speech/opinion.
- There are only focused on sex.
- They are boring. Their lives are fully planned, Wednesday meat-day and every year the same vacation.
- They are an inside group (they know each other). Whether it is in the disco or on the office, when you are Moroccan you are left out.
- They want you to deny yourself. And when you don't do this, you will get nowhere.
- Dutch parents allow their children to do everything; they just call their father 'Jan'.
- Dutch women live like men. When they finally want children, it's too late.

As always with prejudice, some arguments are based on true experience, others on own projection. Prejudice is caused by a lack of communication and creates a stereotype image, instead of an individual person. If two groups (civilians and youngsters) have a negative image about each other and they do not communicate about this, it is a mayor stimulant for conflict.

When you want to describe a group of persons, you have to give them some main characteristics. This does not mean that every person in this group is the same, but they have similarities.

One part of the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in The Netherlands is quite successful and another part is quite the opposite and is disturbing to their environment and/or commits criminal activities. Within the group of Moroccan-Dutch youngsters there are more extremes, when you compare them to for example Turkish-Dutch youngsters (inhabitants of The Netherlands who also came as guest labourers). Moroccan-Dutch seems to be more individualized.

Changing society

The Netherlands seems a very tolerant country, especially when you look to topics as drugs and the rights of homosexuals, but the tolerance towards other cultures than their own, is decreasing. In conflict situations as between Moroccan-Dutch youngsters and the Dutch society we can even speak of a lack of tolerance.

The conflict because of this 'lack', and of opposite values, also happens between the youth groups (often street culture) and the Dutch civilians (mainstream culture). Kaldenbach (2004) explains that one of the biggest differences between the civilians of the mainstream culture and the youngsters of the street culture is the view on authorities: 'the mainstream culture says: the authorities are there for you. But the street culture says: the authorities are out to get you.' They don't trust each other.

Distrust and prejudice is all around and because of the lack of communication, this prejudice is hardly corrected, what only increases the distrust. The call for tolerance is often heard, but is this tolerance based on respect for both sides? 'The more the codes for the exchanging communication are seen in the light of tolerance and mutual respect, the more irritation there is for the people who don't care about these codes' (Pels, 2003, p.13).

The Dutch society has changed in many ways throughout the years. Not only have the values changed, but also the population. Nowadays there is more aggression and intolerance between the Moroccan and Dutch culture. The processes of increasing aggression and the increasing attention for aggression are part of a main cultural changing process. Since the sixties an 'assertive lifestyle' developed in The Netherlands. Important to note is that the self-esteem from the individuals within this lifestyle increased. Because of this assertive style, simple mistakes can easily lead into irritation or conflicts. Especially with youth this line between assertively and aggression can be really thin (Brink, 2002).

Conclusion

Moroccan-Dutch youngsters often feel treated like outcast. They claim to be discriminated. There are two sides on this conflict. On one side the Dutch people experience the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters

as negative because of disturbing behaviour. They often feel uncomfortable and experience fear when they face the youngsters. On the other side, Moroccan-Dutch youngsters feel the negative opinions about them and start acting like it. From all groups in The Netherlands, Moroccan-Dutch youngsters have one of the highest scores in the suspects of crimes list from the Police.

There is also hardly any communication between the Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. This improves the prejudice, negative emotions and makes the gap between both sides bigger. *Inter-personal*- and *inter-group* conflicts arise. The tolerance towards each other fades; this is also seen on macro-level (society). This lack of tolerance and assertive lifestyle can lead from simple mistakes and miscommunication to irritation and conflicts.

Paragraph 2.2 **The challenge of behaviour**

Which behaviour of the youngsters leads to conflict? In the conflict, the behaviour of youngsters is often experienced as disturbing. What are the facts about this term 'disturbing behaviour'? First, we will give a definition of disturbing behaviour and its possible causes. Secondly, we will divide different kinds of behaviours and youth groups to their characteristics. Professionals as Police and Youth workers also use these divisions, to see which smaller or different groups appear in the larger groups.

Definition of disturbing behaviour

Disturbing behaviour is a way of behaving (response to a stimulus) that makes others feels uncomfortable (Collins Dictionary, 2003). It is important to note that the term and meaning of disturbing behaviour is subjective. Not all disturbing behaviour is punishable (Pels, 2003). But it still can be annoying for others and/or cause fear and anger. It is decreasing line: it often goes from social, to anti-social behaviour and from anti-social, to aggressive behaviour and criminal offences (with violence). Disturbing behaviour which is not mentioned within the criminal law, is sometimes hard to judge. Because the assessment in value of behaviour depends on the cultural aspects, context, a person's character, age and ethnic background. So depending on the above mentioned factors, behaviour can be assessed differently in a situation. Because what is experienced disturbing for a civilian, can possibly be normal behaviour for a youngster. From youth workers we learned that youngsters often do not realize that their behaviour is disturbing for others. They just do not see it that way. Those youngsters are often very annoyed when the Police shows up and sends them away without explaining the reason.

Characteristics of youth with disturbing behaviour

Youth with disturbing behaviour is still a very broad term. Therefore, it is necessary to further specify this target group on specific characteristics.

The following categories are often used by the (Dutch) Police and are made by criminologist Ferweda based on a judicial focus. In this way of classification, youth and youth groups are divided on their criminal offences on size and seriousness (Kooijmans, 2009). We will explain two categories, the 'first offenders' and the 'criminals'. There is a third category as well, 'serious criminals', but because they do not appear in youth groups, we will not further verify this group. Within one youth group there are often youngsters from several categories.

1) First Offenders:

Definition: youth until 18 years old who have never been before in contact with police and/or have had an official report.

Characteristics: truant behaviour, young, small offences, family problems, a mixed group.

2) Criminals:

Definition: youth until 18 years old who have at 2 official reports and do not include the other categories.

Characteristics: prospective serious criminals, frequent use of soft drugs and/or addiction to alcohol, no serious offences, susceptible for re-socialization, behaviour- and personality disorders, family problems, school drop-out, unemployment.

In a group with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters you find youngsters without a criminal record, youngsters who violated the law a few times and sometimes youngsters who committed a crime and got an official report.

Different youth groups

Professionals use the following divisions within youth groups, to prevent the (negative) image that all youngsters are the same. Seeing different behaviour or groups is also needed to use suitable approaches for particular behaviour/groups. The group can define an individual, but an individual can also define the group. The media treats all Moroccan-Dutch youngsters alike, professionals know the individuals.

We can divide youth groups on their characteristics next to their criminal offences and activities. A group can be defined as, people who are gathered together with the perception that they are one: they belong to each other. Together they have the power to interact with or against their surroundings (Remmerswaal, 2006). This is what often happens with (in) youth groups. They realize they are a group and interact as a group. In youth groups, youngsters can use their collective power in an extreme way (criminal activities) for their neighbourhood.

Kooijmans (2009) describes a problematic youth group as a group that contains a majority of youth (at least 3 youngsters). These youngsters show annoying, disturbing and/or criminal behaviour. The group consists of a mix of youth at risk out, containing first offenders and criminals.

The police categorize (in the Beke-Short list) these problematic youth groups into the following categories (again not further explaining the third group 'criminal youth group', because they are not part of our target group):

I. Annoying youth group:

Characteristics: loitering, loud, ignorance of environment, small skirmishes and destructions, sometimes members of the group commit small violence- and property offences, sensitive for authority, approachable for their behaviour.

II. Disturbing youth group:

Characteristics: make their presence felt, provocation attitudes, swearing and intimidating inhabitants, not approachable for their behaviour, occasional use violence, and slight sorts of criminality.

Causes of disturbing behaviour which leads to conflicts

It is also important to know what leads to disturbing behaviour. Because when you know what the cause from behaviour is, you have the key to the solution and/or conflict managing interventions. First we will describe the influence of peer- and culture pressure. Then we will explain that disturbing behaviour can also be caused by, or a symptom of, personality- or behaviour disorder.

Influence from peer pressure and culture pressure

An important cause of disturbing behaviour can be peer pressure. Most youngsters commit antisocial and criminal offenses as an urge to experiment, to test the boundaries, because it is 'cool' and to fit into the group (Pels, 2003, p.11). A group offers certain anonymity and decreases the individual responsibility. This makes peer pressure higher and more important. The definition of peer pressure is; a group of peers forces or influences a youngster to do something he would not do on his own. This pressure can cause youngsters to interpret society values broader and it can be used as a justification for their offences, through calling on the loyalty of and to the group members (Hakkert, Wijk and Ferweda, 1998). For the youngsters in the youth group it is very important to receive respect and distinction from their group members, peers and passer-byes by their actions. It gives them a feeling of having power, but also a way to fight the boredom. Some professionals call this phenomenon kick behaviour and explain that many forms of criminal and antisocial behaviour are caused by the strive for sensation and excitement.

Being a member of a youth group makes it easier to copy behaviour, attitudes and opinions. Peer pressure can also play a part in this; when a youth group member needs to meet the 'group's identity'. When a Moroccan-Dutch youngster gets approached for his disturbing behaviour, he will often deny. When they deny, they are trying to keep up the family and Moroccan honour. The youngsters also do not want to fail in front of their group. They will earn respect from the group by denying.

A Moroccan boy has very often little patience and feels very quickly offended and injured in his honour, which makes him act aggressively (Eddaoudi 1998, p. 86).

Discrimination and victimizing behaviour

Unfortunately there is discrimination in The Netherlands. For example, native Dutch people get jobs easier than Dutch people with a Moroccan background. A Moroccan-Dutch boy applies for a job in a restaurant, but he does not expect he will get the job because he is Moroccan. When he has the job interview, the conversation does not go well because he is not really focussed on the job. But he expects to be rejected. Trying to keep his honour and respect up, he says; 'I actually do not know if I

really want this job'. The manager, who was looking for more multi-cultural employees in his restaurant, thinks this boy is not motivated enough and indeed rejects the application and gives the job by coincidence to a native Dutch boy. The expectation from the Moroccan-Dutch boy came true, but he created it himself because of his own prejudice and attitude. This is called 'home-made discrimination' (Benkaddour, 2010).

Another popular attitude, similar to home-made discrimination, is victimizing behaviour. When approached to their disturbing behaviour, Moroccan-Dutch youngsters will often react with: 'you always say that to me because I'm a Moroccan!' This so-called victimizing behaviour can be appealing for youth. When everybody is against them, they don't have any chances. Then they can use 'being a victim' as cause of their failure. They are able to make others and/or other things responsible for their failure. They don't have to achieve anymore; no efforts at school or their job and so on. But victimizing behaviour is destructive for a healthy development. It kills initiative and it paralyses own strengths. The youngster can say: "You say that because you think I'm a stupid Moroccan right?!" If this type expression suits the professional, he can reply; "You're not a stupid Moroccan, you behave like a stupid teenager!" (Kaldenbach, 2009, p. 54).

Parents, Social workers and other professionals must be aware of underestimating and/or playing down discrimination. They need to warn the youngsters for the effect of (home-made-) discrimination and victimizing behaviour and motivate them to change the situation they are in. The Social worker can intervene in a creative way as using hip-hop music to support the youngster(s).

Similar behaviour in personality or behaviour disorders

Disturbing or offensive behaviour can also be the cause of a behaviour- or personality disorder. The DSM-IV TR and the AACAP show that there are several behaviour- and personality disorders which have a lot in common with disturbing behaviour. Frequently have some members of the annoying- or disturbing youth group a behaviour- and personality disorder. Or show characteristics which could be related to these disorders; ADHD, Low IQ (or Borderline Deficiency), ODD, CD or ASPD. For more specific information and characteristics of these disorders we recommend the DSM-IV TR and the AACAP (American Psychiatric Association, 2010 / American Academy of Child & Adolescence Psychiatry, 2008).

Within the Moroccan culture it is still a taboo to acknowledge that you have a disorder and often youngsters will not seek the proper professionalised help. A lot of Moroccan-Dutch youngsters do not know what to do and where to go with their problems so they keep them to themselves, what in the end can result in extreme behaviour (Eddaoudi, 1998).

The reactions and support of their environment are very important for their development, as; self-esteem, contact and relations with others, achievement in education. But also to accept the disorder the youngster has and to learn how to deal with it. It is understandable that a youngster who does not get the right support, to deal with his disorder from his environment, comes into a negative cycle and ends up into a disturbing and/or criminal youth group.

Conclusion

In conflicts, civilians often experience the behaviour of youngsters as disturbing. It is a way of behaving which makes others feel uncomfortable. Disturbing behaviour can be making loud noises or hanging around in groups, but can also contains the use of violence and criminal activities. You can divide youngsters in their behaviour as group, but also as individuals. In this research, we focus on annoying youth groups and disturbing youth groups. Moroccan-Dutch youngsters can just hangout in such a (partly mixed) group, but they can be first offenders or criminals as well.

Disturbing behaviour from Moroccan-Dutch youngsters can have several causes. Pressure from peers can result in more extreme behaviour, than when the youngster is alone. The group is an important factor to receive respect and distinction. Honour has a significant part in this. Disturbing behaviour can also be a consequence from a personality or behaviour disorder. Having a disorder is a taboo in the Moroccan culture. This can result in extreme behaviour from the youngster when he does not receive support and help from his environment. A group member with a disorder, who has a leader position, can stimulate other youngsters to follow his example in disturbing behaviour.

Next to the attitude of the civilians towards the youngsters and the verifying of the behaviour that is shown in the conflict, we want to know how professionals approach Moroccan-Dutch youngsters and what we can learn from them.

Paragraph 2.3 **(Re) action**

What can we learn from the approach of professionals in Veenendaal?

In this paragraph we will focus on the professionals. First we will look to three different professionals, who have to work between and within these two sides in Veenendaal; the Police, the Cultural youth worker and the youth workers. We will explain what their approach is and what we can learn from this. Finally, we look at the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters facing their successful members of their community. Can they be a positive role model for them and what are chances for our target group to become successful as well?

The Professionals

But there are more changes in the society than only the decrease of tolerance. Besides less tolerance for the behaviour of loitering youth, there is also a decrease in involvement and communication with the youth (Pels, 2003). The mainstream culture hardly knows what is going on with youngsters and youth groups. The other way around, the youngsters think that everyone within the mainstream culture is against them and negative about them. We recognise the tense atmosphere and less tolerance in our research city, Veenendaal. But what about the professionals who have to work between those two sides? What is their approach? We will look to three different professionals: the police, cultural youth worker and youth workers.

Police can be included (by a phone call or while surveying) in an *inter-group conflict* between the civilians and youth group. The police is mainly responsible for offence against the law, like; insults, destruction, (severe) disturbing by noise, pollution etc. When the police see that youngsters throw rubbish on the ground, use alcohol in public areas, they will be fined immediately. This can also cause an *inter-personal conflict* between a police officer who does his job (implementing the law by fining) and a youngster who receives the fine.

The police try to work together with other parties and sit together to decide what to do (multi-disciplines). In Veenendaal they bring street-coaches by bike, neighbourhood-construction workers, neighbourhood-fathers and the mosque into action. All these parties are informed and everybody tries, on their own way, to come in contact with the youngsters. The police is very actively in contact with the mosque. The officers urge the imam to speak to the youngsters and they also urge the parents to keep a better eye on their children and to raise them well.

The **Cultural youth worker** focuses on talent development and organizes all sorts of events and activities. Through social networks, internet, trends he finds out what the interests of the youngsters are. The cultural youth worker organizes events and activities which aim on the talents and capacities of the youngsters. More about talent development in §3.1.

Youth workers often intervene in *inter-group conflicts*. For example a conflict between inhabitants of a neighbourhood and a local youth group who hang around in that neighbourhood.

The youth worker aims on the contact and communication with the youngsters and the youth groups.

‘The fundament of our work is to get in touch (with the youngsters, ed.). If you don’t have connections you will not discover what youngsters they are. Within the connections there has to be continuity, real attention for the youngsters. We try to get to know; what is going on, what do they want, why do they hang around at that spot, why are they so loud, why do they do that. We try to know what his name and date of birth is and which school he goes. What does he do after school, does he really go to school. Then you have sometimes a not very detailed, but a view/profile from that youngster. The youngsters are actually individuals, but to understand the group, you need to understand the individuals’ (Youth workers Escape, personal communication, April, 29th, 2010).

When you have contact with the youngsters, exchange of communication is possible. This is a process, but very valuable. Especially in conflicts, because there is a fundament to fall back on; you have a connection and you can approach the youngsters and youth group.

‘But you have ... to approach such a group. You need to become familiar (to the youth group, ed.) and you do not become that by just sitting down here, you do that by going outside. Yes, then you make contact and introduce yourself and tell the youngsters who you are, what your job is and what you possibly can do for them. And indeed then you make a small talk with the

youngsters and when that is the first time, that of course will be enough' (Youth workers Escape, personal communication, April, 29th, 2010).

You have the connection with the youngsters because they know who you are and you know who they are. Real attention in this is so important, get to know what their interests are, are they going to school. Having a connection and knowing their interests can become very important in Conflict management. And it is possible for everyone, you don't have to be a youth worker to do this, if people from the neighbourhood have more personal contact with the youngsters there would be less conflicts and less police involvement. On a base of contact you can talk about and solve conflicts.

The successful Moroccan-Dutch as role model for the youngsters

From the second and third generation Moroccan-Dutch in The Netherlands, there is a group of successful 'élite' (Duk, *Elsevier*, 2010). Examples of these 'success-Moroccans' are; writers like Mohammed Benkazour, comedians like Najib Amhali, professional soccer players like Ibrahim Afellay and Khalid Boulahrouz, TV producers, politicians like Ahmed Aboutaleb, Ahmed Marcouch and rappers like Ali B. and Salah Edin.

These men became successful on the Dutch way; grab your chance, work hard and slowly reach the goal you want to achieve. Other Dutch civilians can see them as successful, because they have adapted their success to the Dutch way of having success.

A 'success-Moroccan' can be an example for the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters who come into conflicts. The 'success-Moroccan' is seen as a man who has followed an (high) education, has a job and looks respectable. He is well integrated in the Dutch society, although he also suffers under the bad reputation of Moroccan-Dutch who committed crime.

Most of these 'success-Moroccans' started in the same situation as other immigrant children; they also lived in big cities in multicultural neighbourhoods, they are from the same generation and sometimes also acted in a disturbing way for their surroundings. But the difference was that, at some moment, they saw a chance and took it. An example of this is Mohammed Benkazour a writer. He said he was lucky; he discovered literature when he was a boy, particularly Jules Verne. His interest in books motivated him to do something with his life. This boy became interested in something, which gave him a long-term goal in life. Literature, dance, sports or another interest in something in which you can prove yourself of worth, can be a chance to improve in life.

Music (singing, writing lyrics, playing an instrument) can also be seen as a chance to develop yourself and have a positive goal in life. For rapper Ali B. music was his chance to success. We learned from youth workers in Veenendaal that some youngsters fantasize about the possibility to become Affalay (professional soccer player). They think this is great, because it gives them fun while playing soccer and a dream to chase.

The influence of role models should not be underestimated. Youngsters can lift themselves higher because of 'good role models'. Idols, famous artists or successful popular peers, can be more inspiring and motivating than parents, teachers and youth workers. The Social worker is a professional in the guidance of the youngsters, but they are not always a role model. Social workers can cooperate with artists or musical professionals. Together they can achieve more; good care and an inspiration for youngsters to stay/get back on track. This is also the approach that is used in talent development (Kooijmans, 2009). In chapter 3 we will look how exactly the Creative intervention 'music' and Hip-hop in particular, can be used to stimulate youngsters in a positive way.

Conclusion

The (social and law) professionals as Police, Youth workers and Cultural youth workers, mediate between the two sides of the conflict. Or sometimes come into (*inter-personal*) conflicts themselves. We learned from the professionals that it is very important to come in contact and to connect with the youngsters, to communicate with them and to show real interest in them.

We discovered that positive role models, as famous rappers or soccer players can be a good example for Moroccan-Dutch youngsters who come in conflicts, to take chances to success in life. There are Moroccan-Dutch people, who grew up in the same circumstances, and turned out all right. Their lives and way of finding success in The Netherlands can be a good example for other Moroccan-Dutch youngsters who show disturbing behaviour and come in conflict with their environment. Artists and impressive professionals can also be a source of inspiration for youngsters. This fact can be used to motivate and stimulate youngsters.

Now it is time to see what we can do about the conflicts and how we can use the interests of the youngsters as (creative) intervention for Conflict management.

Chapter 3
Drop tha beat!



How can the Creative intervention 'music' be used as Conflict management in conflicts with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters?

Paragraph 3.1 **Turn up the volume!**

What are Creative interventions and 'music' as one in particular? Using Creative interventions is a well-known method in our education. The words used to name this method are originally Dutch, so we have tried to find an international definition for it. We will explain what Creative intervention is, how this method can be used and why it appeals to youngsters. We look at the element 'music' in particular, because we see a possibility to connect this Creative intervention, choosing one type/style of music, with the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters.

Definition and explanation of Creative interventions

The original Dutch term for Creative intervention is *Muzisch Agogische Methodiek* (MAM). Words used for this intervention are also; 'muse-like' and 'ludic or playful'. The word '*muzisch*' [muse] finds its origin in the Greek word *mousai*. In the Greek mythology, muses are patriot women of arts and original sciences. We use the word 'Creative' as an assemble for all activities which are derived from certain arts disciplines. We distinguish the following disciplines: theatre, dance, music, plastic art (also audio-visual arts) and linguistics (like prose and poetry) (Rosmalen, 1999). The word '*ludisch*' [ludic] is diverted from the Latin word *ludere*, which means to play. Activities which are meant to be ludic have a playful and/or sportive character.

The starting point of this method is that every person has a creative quality. People feel the need to express themselves in general (who they are) and to express their feelings. In this way they try to form their own existence, it creates self-fulfilment and self-determination (Behrend, 2008).

What special is about Creative interventions is that it can be used in a non-verbal way. Our Western society aims mostly at verbal communication and learning processes are focused on cognition. But people differ in their way of communicating verbally. Not everybody is capable to express something in words, especially when the message is emotionally or if it requires a certain level of consciousness or capability to reflect.

Working with Creative interventions

As Social worker it is important to know which possibilities interventions as linguistics, art, drama and music offer. Working in a creative way means a Social worker needs to *be willing to use* Creative interventions. A realisation process is needed, in which you see and feel that a Creative intervention will be (a part of) the solution (Behrend, 1996). When you, as Social worker, want to use a Creative intervention, than you will see the possibilities of this method.

The 'unique' non-verbal aspect of Creative interventions can be very useful when working with youngsters with a foreign background. Different cultures can come into conflicts, as in our case the Moroccan and Dutch culture. One of the reasons can be, because the way of verbal communication is different from one another. A Creative intervention can help in communication, when you talk different languages (national languages, a generation gap or by social differences) and you do not understand each other well verbally.

Something which interests the youngsters can be used to get in contact with them. The Social worker and the youngster do not have to understand each other precisely by words, when they connect by an activity or shared interest. Creative interventions give people other possibilities to express themselves and communicate with each other, share things and process experiences.

Another quality of this method is that it creates a concrete, visible, audible result; like a drawing, picture, an image, song, poem, etc. During this process there are a lot of interactions possible by which the imagination of the person is being expressed in another way then by language. Through images and other ways of expression, reflection is well possible. The threshold appears often low to talk about your experience or emotions through a creative product (Kooijmans, 2009). The process is more important than the final product or result.

The book of Behrend (2008, p. 39) about Creative interventions is a standard work for education about this method. She explains the following terms about the purpose of the method.

There are different ways to work with Creative interventions:

3 RCE (Receptive, Reproductive, Reflective, Creative and Expressive)

- *Receptive*: experiencing creative product and processors through sense perception (for example watching a movie or listening to music);

- *Reproductive*: reacting by imitating by perception, recognition and memory (for example playing a game according to the rules, building a dinosaur model according to the instructions);
- *Reflective*: give a reaction or judgements of value, test a personal situation by criteria, develop an attitude of emancipation, getting aware of something (for example discussing a movie or book, reflect about what appeals to you in a lyric);
- *Creative*: designing and appeal to your fantasy, create new ideas, associate and examine (for example making a three-dimensional image out of stone, make a drawing, write a poem);
- *Expressive*: appeal to emotional experiences, express yourself, show what moves you (for example writing a poem about the feelings you have about losing your grandma, make a drawing about your personal experience of your first day of internship).

The first way of working is most 'passive' and the last one most 'active', in the sense of expected involvement. The 3 RCE can be a goal for an activity, with different levels of involvement and intensity.

The elements used in Creative interventions

'Art- or Creative therapy' also uses the following elements as speciality of the profession (drama therapist, dance therapist etc.):

- *Theatre/drama*, expressing yourself in an assignment or play a part (express yourself in a character).
- *Dance*, move your body with or without music.
- *Music*, use instruments or existing recorded music, singing.
- *Plastic art*, drawing, painting, sculptures, using materials, also audio-visual arts.
- *Linguistics*, poetry, prose, stories, lyrics, all written texts or words.
- *Sports & games*, individual or group activities with a playful character.

Appeal to youngsters with Creative interventions

Using an element of this method has a certain appeal to a person. People can be attracted on the following ways, by a sensopathical, dimensional or thematically appeal (Behrend, 2008). For every target group, and especially for youngsters, because of their straightforwardness, the used element really has to appeal to them. Some youngsters think theatre or drawing is difficult or childish. It will take much effort to persuade them to join in the activity (this does not mean you cannot use it). Music is a more thematically appealing element, because they surround themselves in daily life with music and everything that is connected to music as artists, celebrities, lyrics and/or playing an instruments.

Flow

When you are concentrated on a creative activity, you can experience 'flow'. Flow is a concept created by Csikszentmihalyi (2005) who did research about human happiness. Every person has experienced flow in his life. It gives a feeling of being strong, alert, doing your work without trouble, have the feeling of being master of the situation and achieving everything within your reach. Time and surroundings can fade away, you don't think about your problems. The only thing that counts is your success experience.

Unfortunately for our target group, flow can also be experienced by criminal activities (Kooijmans, 2009). When Moroccan-Dutch youngsters have been in the crime scene, it is hard to experience the same way of flow or 'kick' in another activity. The Social worker has to stimulate the youngster to try and not give up. The youngster also has to be motivated himself, so he can experience this euphoria in a way which will be constructive, legal, safe, and accepted by the majority. To reach this positive flow a Creative intervention is a very useful tool for the Social worker.

Talent development

Another positive and similar approach is talent development. The Netherlands offers broad talent development for all youth. The *Wet Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning* (law social support) gives the local authorities the responsibility to arrange the talent development. Education, welfare organisations, unions, institutions for art and culture and parents cooperate to make this possible. *Escape*, the cultural youth centre in Veenendaal, is an example of this. Youngsters can participate in several workshops and activities or (help) organise one themselves. The cultural youth worker helps to arrange this.

It is possible that youngster find it difficult to follow the mainstream course together with other youngsters, they find it hard to be motivated. Youngsters who show disturbing behaviour might need

another approach. For this reason, some welfare organisations offer special talent coaching for youth at risk. This is an intervention that focuses more on the individual youngster, to give him more guidance (Kooijmans, 2009).

The Creative intervention 'music'

Now we have explained what Creative interventions are, it is important to find out which sort of interventions match Moroccan-Dutch youngsters' interests and needs. Many Creative interventions can be interesting for our target group, but we will aim at music. We will focus at Hip-hop as example of this method.

Music is allround! It appeals to almost everybody. It can be inspiring, make you happy, relaxed or create a party atmosphere, it can make you angry, sad or comfort you in difficult times. In one sentence: music helps you to express and share your feelings with others. That is why it is useful as Creative intervention in Conflict management.

Choice of music style; Hip-hop

'..Hip-hop is... it's a lifestyle, a language, a fashion. It's simple and complex. It's about recombining, combining everything that came before. Hip-hop is about finding a new voice. But what Hip-hop really is can be summed up in three simple words: I am here!' (Quote from the movie *Save The Last Dance 2*, 2007).

Hip-hop, making the society aware of their presence

Moroccan-Dutch youngsters listen to all sorts of music; Arab music as Shaabi, Middle Eastern music as Sharki and western pop music as Hip-hop and R&B (Gazzah, 2008). We will concentrate on Hip-hop. Hip-hop is a subculture that contains 3 main elements; music, graffiti and break dance. We will focus on the part of music. Hip-hop music can be split up in beat boxing and rap. Beat boxing is a way of making rhythmical percussion sounds by mouth, tongue, lips and voice. Rap is spoken rhythmical lyrics on a beat or melody.

Hip-hop has its roots in de Afro-American society in the USA. The Afro-Americans searched for a way to express their problems and the discrimination they had to face. That way became Hip-hop. This way of protest gives them (symbolically) power and prestige as well, it helps them to escape their own problematic environment. 'Music can be a symbol of identity. Symbols need not always be a marker of cohesion: they can also become markers of disruption and conflict' (Gazzah, 2008, p.71).

Nowadays Hip-hop is listened and performed all over the world and it has become a way of communication between different Hip-hop groups. It is a cultural exchange through rap in language, emotions, values, codes and experiences (El Hadioui, 2010).

Hip-hop is a way of making the society aware of their presence. This is one of the reasons why Hip-hop is so popular among Moroccan-Dutch youngsters.

Moroccan-Dutch youngsters and Hip-hop

Hip-hop is appealing to Moroccan-Dutch youngsters because they recognize themselves in the lyrics. Hip-hop allows them to be critical, on their environment, the society and the way they are (and/or feel) treated in the society. It is identification. 'This is who I am, in your face' (Trainin Blank, 2010). That is exactly what makes Hip-hop appealing to youth. It is something they can identify themselves with. The 'in-your-face'-attitude is the same sort of attitude we see in the street culture, which we mentioned before. Hip-hop is a way of resistance through music. Hip-hop made by Moroccan-Dutch artists, shows elements of such resistance against the Dutch society, the government, media and stereotyping. It is almost a sort of warfare. 'Lyrics of Dutch-Moroccan Hip-hop contain many messages expressing resistance against existing stereotypes on Dutch-Moroccans and Muslims, as well as against current power structures' (Gazzah, 2008, p. 203).

Examples of this visible resistance are stage names from Moroccan-Dutch Hip-hop artists as Salah Edin, Ali B. and Naffer. Stage names or appearance which refers to the way Moroccan-Dutch suspects of crime are mentioned by police and media. For Moroccan-Dutch youngsters Hip-hop is a way of fighting the stereotypes. But Hip-hop can also be a way out of the problems they have.

In chapter 2, successful Moroccan are mentioned. One of them who became successful in the music world, is rapper Ali B. Rapper Ali B. was hanging around with his friends on the streets and got interested in Hip-hop. First he copied and experimented with lyrics from existing rappers. He discovered he was quite good at it and practised a lot and wrote his own lyrics. Now he is one of the most popular rappers in The Netherlands and he often uses this attention to inspire other youngsters and to gives attention to charity organisations.

Hip-hop as Creative intervention in Social Work

Social workers are trained to use music as Creative intervention in different settings, situations and target groups. Using Creative interventions is similar to Creative therapy (including all forms of arts). Music therapy is a well known treatment in The Netherlands. But Hip-hop therapy, as specific music style therapy, is not much used. The only setting we found where it is sometimes used is in prison. Here it is used as so called rap-music-therapy. The main focus here is on the expression of this music (Hakvoort, 2008).

In the USA however, they are more familiar with Hip-hop therapy. This therapy aims on youth at risk and young adolescences. The most important part of this treatment is to engage and encourage youth to address their own issues by reflecting on the songs, lyrics and life of the rappers. By focussing on the life of someone else (on the rapper) youth often opens up and the process of working on their own conflicts can start. So rap is used as an intervention to put problems on the table. It helps the youngsters to express their emotions and to regulate the stress they have. This enlarges the self-esteem as well (Trainin Blank, 2010 / Hakvoort, 2008).

When a Social worker uses music as Creative intervention, and in this case Hip-hop in particular, the youngsters can be inspired (by the music they like) and helped (by using it to deal with conflicts) at the same time. Hip-hop music can take down the wall between the Social worker and the Moroccan-Dutch youngster. But it is important that the Creative intervention is not used to trick them in any way, the Social worker has to be really interested in the world (of conflicts and music) the youngsters live in.

Conclusion

Every person has a creative quality and that is why Creative interventions can be used for every target group. The different elements appeal to different kinds of people or personalities. Part of the method is non-verbal and aims at experience and discovering. The Social worker makes use of theatre/drama, dance, music, plastic arts, linguistics or sports & games. Flow can be experienced by the youngsters, when the conditions are created by the Social worker in an activity or workshop. When you experience this feeling of achieving, a balance between your own capacity and the challenge of the activity, you want to re-experience this. It is a positive stimulus to develop (new) talents.

Music is very useful as Creative intervention for Moroccan-Dutch youngsters because it matches their interests. Hip-hop is appealing to them because they can identify themselves with the songs. The Hip-hop songs and culture offers them a place to express their feelings and the youngsters recognize the conflicts the artists rap about. This is for Social workers a good moment to intervene and use these songs as tool to work on the conflicts from the youngsters. In the USA this so called Hip-hop therapy, is an often used method. One of the conditions is that the Social worker has to be convinced of the additional value of Hip-hop and how this could be used in conflicts for youngsters. Otherwise this Creative intervention will not be as successful as could be.

Paragraph 3.2 Intervention!

What is Conflict management and how can this method be used in combination with Creative interventions? Chapter 1 and 2 described what conflict is and why conflicts with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters arise. To manage or solve this conflict, a method and model can be used. First, we will explain more about Conflict management and the parties involved in the conflict. Suitable approaches for different kinds of aggression will be made clear. One of the models for managing a conflict is the 7-I-model; we will use this model as an example of Conflict management. The explanation and connection to Creative interventions will be made.

What is Conflict management?

There is a conflict! But what can you do about it? Which part can you play in the conflict and how can you change this situation? Let's start with what Conflict management actually is:

Conflict management is not completely getting rid of every conflict. It is regulating the negative side of a conflict, without erasing the possible positive effects of the conflict. The intention is, in other words, to change a destructive conflict into a constructive conflict.

It is important to minimise the negative effects of the conflicts, without completely dissolving the opposite contrasts. Conflict management does not always mean conflict solving (Huguenin, 2004, p. 31).

This is a realistic view on how to deal with the conflict, because the differences between people (striving, goals, values, ideas and interests) cannot be changed entirely. Besides that, conflicts are natural and an inevitable part of all human social relationships, as we quoted Sandole & Staroste before.

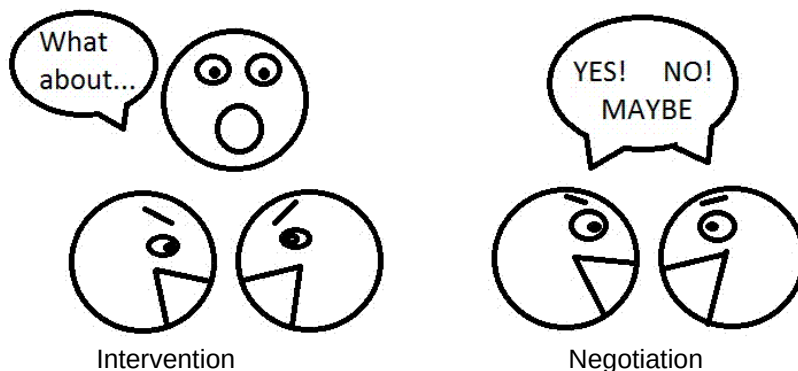
But there are a lot of conflicts or situations that does need managing or even solving. There are a lot of conflicts which nobody wants and are unnecessary or even very destructive for both parties and society. For the problems we have described so far, between Moroccan-Dutch youngsters and Dutch civilians, Conflict management is necessary.

The different parties/positions in the conflict

When you are in a conflict, there are two ways to be involved: as a relative outsider or as a party concerned in the conflict. The outsider can be obliged to get involved into the conflict of others. 'This person is no party in the conflict, but intervenes in the conflict and gets, one way or the other, between the two parties.' Sometimes because this person is a professional, who has the obligation to get involved, such as a policeman or a Social worker.

The party concerned *in* the conflict, can choose to negotiation to regulate in the situation. Negotiation can be an important matter when you're dealing with opposite positions or interests (Huguenin, 2004, p. 31).

The following image shows this clearly:



According to this theory in the following examples can be made;

Intervention → a Moroccan-Dutch youngster and a neighbour are in conflict about the volume of the music of the youngster. A Social worker can intervene or negotiate with both parties. Different methods can be used for this intervention.

Negotiation → a policeman or a neighbour negotiates with a group of Moroccan-Dutch youngsters, if they can choose a new place to hang around, because the neighbours are complaining. Both parties have different interests, but they can agree on an alternative.

The difficult part is, that most civilians are scared to even talk to youngsters who are hanging around in their neighbourhood. In return, the youngsters can feel offended and misunderstood, when civilians ignore them or immediately call the police. There is more in a conflict that has to be taken into consideration when you try to manage the problem.

The approach of aggression in conflicts

Opposite opinions, stubbornness or a situation that got out of hand, the youngsters or the other party, can show aggression in the conflict. A suiting approach is needed, when realising that different kinds of aggression dominate the conflict.

Emotional aggression is 'real'; the youngster is really feeling something that makes him angry. He is feeling rejected or discriminated. For example, when a youngster cannot get an internship when he is calling to an organisation and gives his (Moroccan) name.

In a conflict, when a youngster is showing emotional aggression, follow these principles;

- Rest* (listen to the youngster)
- Space* (give space to blow off steam)
- Respect* (show that you care)
- Which leads to ↴

Relation (we are both a party in this)

Taking care of (I'm sorry, let's do something about it)

This kind of aggression can be recognised by what the youngster is saying; 'Leave me alone! Say something! What are you standing there?!' (*R-schema*, Wingerden, 2001).

Instrumental aggression is 'fake', because a youngster can use it to win the conflict. By shouting or intimidating, the youngster tries to overrule you in the conflict. A Social worker or neighbour does not need to deal with this kind of aggression. In this we mean that if there is no real cause in the conflict or a reason to be aggressive, then they can step out of the conflict.

The fact is that most of the conflicts are not based on emotional aggression and that instrumental aggression is being used to win the conflict. The only solution is; stop!

When a youngster is showing instrumental aggression, follow these principles;

Set limits! Say:

→Can you please stop?

→I want you to stop.

→Stop now!!!

Which is followed by ↴

An action!

Win-win situation: Talking and let the conflict cool down (if you stop being aggressive, it will be a win-win situation for us, first calm down so that I can listen to you and you can tell your story)

Win-lose situation: Talking and walking away (first calm down, or else I'll go away and you will be alone/you do not have the opportunity to tell your story) (*Limit-schema*, Wingerden, 2001).

Method of Conflict management

In the book *Conflictmanagement* by Giebels & Euwema (2006), an analyse model called *the 7-I-model*, as example of a method of Conflict management, helps to manage the conflict effectively and to get a clear view about what is happening.

The 7-I-model is a method to learn how to look systematically to conflicts. It contains two approaches. The first approach is a structure approach, mostly about the situation. Which characteristics of the conflict, the parties and the context are important in this conflict? Furthermore there is the process approach, where is looked at the process of the conflict in time. The dynamic interaction of the parties is in the centre of interest. One of the most important questions is when, and through what, the conflict got out of hand and can be managed. (Giebels & Euwema, 2006, p. 23)

This model is one of the possible methods to analyse a conflict. It can be connected to Creative interventions, in the last step of the model. In a conflict where a fast reaction is needed, a full scan of the situation and parties is not possible, but in an ongoing conflict the model can be well used.

The 7-I-model for analysing a conflict contains 7 core questions:

1. Issues: what are the issues?
2. Individuals: who are the parties?
3. Interdependence: which relationship do the parties have?
4. Interaction: how do the parties behave and how do they react on each other?
5. Implication: what are the results of the interaction; escalation or solutions?
6. Institution: in which context does the conflict exist?
7. Interventions: which possible interventions are at present and are (not) being used? (Giebels & Euwema, 2006, p.23)

Using Creative interventions in a Conflict management model

Within the *7-I-model*, in the 7th step 'interventions', different approaches can be used. To manage the conflict of disturbing youngsters in a neighbourhood, an *inter-group conflict* on group level or *inter-personal conflict* on personal level, a Social worker can arrange a meeting between the different parties. A neighbourhood-activity can also be organised, to bring the different parties closer together. As we described in the beginning of Chapter 3, we see good possibilities to use Creative interventions in contact with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters.

So the 7th step could be a Hip-hop event for youngsters, with a professional or artist as coach and a Social worker to arrange the conditions and social care. It is important to adjust the activity to the level of the participants, or else you will not have the expected results. How exactly this can be a method of Conflict management, we describe fully in the next paragraph.

Conclusion

Conflict management is changing a destructive conflict into a constructive conflict. The differences between the parties will not completely dissolve, but most of the time this is not possible. The Social worker can be an outsider or party in the conflict and this will result in negotiation or intervention. The difference between emotional and instrumental aggression has to be distinguished to choose a suitable approach. When analysing a conflict, the *7-I-model* can be used. Step by step, the conflict will be looked at. At the 7th step Creative interventions can be used by the Social worker to deal with the situation.

Paragraph 3.3 **Mix 'n match**

How do these methods work in practice? Now that we have explained the usability of the Creative intervention music in Conflict management we will look at a practical example. Social workers in training and Social workers in daily practice who work with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters will probably recognise that it is hard to motivate these youngsters. The following paragraph is not an inch by inch guidebook for the method, but it gives you an insight into how the combination of our research elements/topics could be used.

The possibilities for using Hip-hop

As negotiator in an *inter-personal conflict* situation, the Social worker could use a (hip-hop) song as Creative intervention for both parties to express their feelings and to make clear to each other what their opinion is.

In an *inter-group conflict* situation as between a youth group and the inhabitants of a neighbourhood, the Social worker could organize mixed-music meetings in which both the youngsters and inhabitants attend. Many different ways of Creative interventions could be used here. For example both parties show what their ideal situation would be; like showing what they would like to hear. For youngsters this probably will be loud hip-hop music, but for the inhabitants that maybe will be quiet/classical music or music of the sixties. During the meetings, the youngsters and inhabitants can work towards a solution and can talk what is so appealing to their music. There are countless music interventions the Social worker can use.

Methodically based

To start with, Creative interventions work (partly) non-verbal. This makes communication between different ages are different cultures easier, because the (street) language used can be a border.

The **3 RCE** are different ways to work with creative intentions, as we explained in § 3.1. To motivate the youngsters, the Social worker can start with a *Receptive* activity/intervention. Listening to music will appeal to their senses. It can be the first step in making contact.

A *Reproductive* activity could be imitating a rapper and sing along with his lyrics. This asks for more involvement than a receptive activity.

When the group of youngsters who you are working with is up to it, you can offer a *Reflective* activity. There can be a discussion about the life of a 'good' role model putting against the life of a 'bad' role model. Or you can ask the group questions about the meaning of a lyric; it can make the youngsters aware of a certain subject or their own attitude.

A cultural youth centre offers creative or expressive activities. These activities will need enough skills and concentration to participate. For some youngsters in a disturbing youth group, the step to such a talent development activity is too big. That is why it is important to offer them an activity, which is within their reach. Nevertheless, of course if it still has to be a challenge for them and not be too easy.

Because when there will be at balance between the challenges in activity at their own qualities and possibilities, the youngster can experience flow. Most of the people around them not expect them to be able to do anything, their entitlement just wants them to be quiet and out of sight. However, these youngsters are also capable of expressing themselves with music or even creating lyrics or raps. It is very important to be aware of the concept flow, because this is one of the major motivating elements in

Creative interventions. Of course, the activity also has to appeal to the youngsters, but when it is too easy or too hard, they will not participate and not experience these feelings of success.

Conflict management (example)

7-I-model

The model can be filled in by conversations with both groups. The overall picture can be sketched from this information and/or observation. It will be subjective, because there are always (opposite) opinions involved and the observer has his/her interpretation.

1. Issues:
Conflict between a youth group and 5 civilians. They both want to make use of the benches and walking lane from the playground and front doors of the houses to the parking lot. The two parties sometimes ignore each other, and sometimes it comes to an argument.
2. Individuals:
A youth group → average of 7 youngsters
Civilians → 2 couples and one man, neighbours
3. Interdependence:
The group hangs around on the benches. The neighbours pass the group when they walk from their house to the parking lot. No real conversation arises; the two parties avoid each other most of the time. They do not know each other by name.
4. Interaction:
The youth group hangs around and makes comments to people passing-by. They listen to loud music. The civilians (especially the woman) experience fear as they have to pass the youth group. The neighbours are scared and upset, that the youth group hangs around on 'their' benches. One of the men has called the Police, because they do not dare to talk directly with the youngsters. The Police have warned the group to calm down or find another spot to hang out.
5. Implication: what are the results of the interaction; escalation or solutions?
After the youngsters found out who called the Police, the man's car has been scratched.
6. Institution:
In a public area, in a neighbourhood in Veenendaal.
7. Interventions:
The Social worker (Youth worker), who knows most of the youngsters can talk to the youngsters. There can be a meeting with the youth group and neighbours, arranged by the Social worker. In this meeting, communication about the different opinion in the conflict is the main goal. This is an approach, which appeals to the neighbours.
To make the youngsters aware of how their behaviour is experienced by others, a creative activity can be offered. See Intervention plan below.

Creative intervention plan (example)

The next model will clearly set out how a Creative intervention can be put down on paper (the italic words are filled in for a hip-hop intervention) (Behrend, 2004, p.111).

CHOICE FOR CREATIVE ELEMENT: <i>music</i>		
Element	<i>Hip-hop</i>	
Preparation	Preparation of the activity:	
	Starting point	<i>The level of the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters, determines the activity.</i>
	Goal	<i>To make the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters aware of the consequences of their behaviour.</i>
	Plans	<i>The Social worker creates a structure in which the activity takes place.</i>
	Evaluation	<i>In the end of the activity, the Social worker asks the youngsters how they experienced it.</i>

	Structure of the activity: Order of the parts	See program schedule below.
	Explanations of the game rules	- Everybody is free to express his or her own opinion. - We respect each other's opinion. (no laughing) - We all participate.
	Required materials	Stereo, speakers, large paperboard with marker, diverse Hip-hop music (mixed CD), printed songtexts.
	Number of participants	The concerning youth group and two Social (youth)workers
	Demands of the participants	Youngsters: attention, participation, few hours of their free time Social (youth) workers: knowledge of the situation of conflict. knowledge of the used music.
	Required time	(max.) 1 hour of participation of the youngsters.
	Suitable space	A neighbourhood centre/youth centre
Material bound details	Thematically appeal → the used element, music appeals because of the positive memory to their own music. It fits their environment and interest.	
	Structure → the Social worker explains the different parts of the activity and guards the time.	
	Safety → the game rules offer safety of the participants and takes place in a familiar youth centre.	
PROGRAM SCHEDULE		
Introduction	The youngsters get a drink and a snack and get some chat with each other and the Social workers. After a while, the Social workers aim the attention of the youth group on the activity. They explain the structure of the activity and the game rules. They enlarge the motivation and involvement of the youngsters by playing the favorite music of the youngsters on the background.	
Warming up	The Social workers start with turning on a cd with mixed Hip-hop songs. They start the conversation with a discussion about the songs and artists, to give space and time for the group to get 'in' the activity.	
Core part	All the participants get a copie of a certain songtext (chosen by the Social workers, because of the usable content). The song is played twice, while listening the participants read (part of) the songtext. The following questions can be (step-by-step) guide to reach the core of the activity (goal). - About who is the lyric? - What does he/she do? - What happens? After answering these questions group-wise, the Social worker compares the songtext with the conflict situation in the neighbourhood, by asking similiar questions as: - Who are involved in the conflict situation? - What does he/she do? - What happens?	
Closure	With help from the Social workers (by questions and conclusions), the youthgroup realise their role in the conflict.	
Evaluation	The Social workers ask questions on the end of the activity to see if the goal is achieved and how the activity was appreciated.	

Communication by music

A Social worker can arrange an activity like this, possible together with a professional artist. Because music is a possible method for communication, it could be used by everyone. Often youngsters/youth groups who are hanging around are listening to loud (Hip-hop) music. This could be the perfect opening for contact/communication between civilian and youngster. If a man or woman from the neighbourhood has the courage to approach a group they can ask; 'hey, I hear you'll are listening to music, I'm not really into this music, can you tell me what genre it is / who's the rapper? / what's it about? In the end of the conversation the neighbour could say; 'okay guys, is it okay to turn the volume down at/after 10 pm, because unfortunately I have to get up early tomorrow morning. Thanks guys, see you! When this connection is made, a new agreement can be made with respect from both sides. They are no strangers for each other anymore.

Conclusion

Social workers are trained to examine theory and find out how to apply this in practice. The methods for Creative interventions and Conflict management can be connected and used in a specific situation. Music can be used, not only because it is fun for youngsters, but also because of the other possible goals it can achieve. Using methods makes it possible for the Social worker work from a professional base and not only from your own feelings and ideas. When a method is successful, it can be explained to other professionals and used in other situations. A model or structure is useful for explaining a method.

But still the idea of using music in Conflict management and communication, can be successful because of the low threshold and the fact that music is listened to, sang and made all over the world.

Chapter 4

The end or the beginning

Conclusion

The conclusion of our research exist out of answering the sub questions and altogether the answer on the main question; *What is the additional value of using the Creative intervention 'music' in Conflict management, for Social workers who deal with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in the adolescence age, in Veenendaal?*

1. What causes conflicts between inhabitants of The Netherlands and Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in the adolescence age?

When looking at conflicts, there are always opposites in goals, values, opinions etc. The Moroccan-Dutch youngsters are between two cultures and face the differences in cultural values every day. They feel they have to live in two (or sometimes three) worlds and in each world they have to behave differently. This can create an *intra-psychic conflict* in the lives of the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters, especially when they are in the adolescence age. Because being a teenager is already a hard time, but when you are raised by values of one culture and live in another, you can get confused and have to deal with multiple expectations.

The adolescence is a period of experimenting with behaviour and consequences. They are testing the limits of their environment. When the youngsters have a good example, like a father who is really involved in their development, this limit testing is safer. To grow up to become a healthy adult, role models are of big influence.

But when the youngster does not have a good role model and support from his environment, it can be very appealing to create his own place, his own world or culture: this is often the street culture.

Youngsters hang out with their friends on a street corner and share the latest news, jokes and play games. Unfortunately this is also the place where *inter-personal* and even *inter-group conflicts* arise. Because being outside a lot, is common in the Moroccan culture, but most Dutch don't seem to understand this habit. Some of the biggest differences between the Moroccan and Dutch culture and their consequences for Moroccan-Dutch youngsters are; different expectations from their family and environment of how they should behave, their loyalty to their family and other Moroccans facing their lives in The Netherlands, the different views on the role of men and women by both cultures and the dangerous temptations such as crime because of short-term focus (and other causes).

All this does not mean that Moroccan-Dutch youngsters are not to blame in the conflicts, but their double cultural background and age, are all of influence on their behaviour. To face a problem and discoverer what the background, is the first step to do something about the problem. You have to become aware of the current situation to know what to change, to make it better. Both side of the conflict have to be seen, to know where to start. We have discovered what causes conflicts with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in their adolescence age. Let's take look at the answers of the next sub question, to find out the other party in the conflict.

2. What is the attitude of the civilians and what is the approach of the professionals towards Moroccan-Dutch youngsters when they show disturbing behaviour?

Civilians and Moroccan-Dutch youngsters have prejudice and distrust against each other. For the Dutch the word "Moroccan" is very often connected to negative emotions or situations. There is not much tolerance for Moroccan-Dutch people. But Moroccan-Dutch youngsters also have a negative expectation of the Dutch people, passing them by when they hang around on the street. There is a lack of communication which makes it almost impossible to decrease the prejudice and distrust against each other.

The behaviour the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters show is disturbing for their environment, because it gives an uncomfortable feeling as insecurity for civilians. In annoying and disturbing youth groups there are youngsters who have never committed offences against the law, first offenders and sometimes a few 'light' criminals. It is important to note that 'disturbing' behaviour is a personal term; what is experienced as disturbing for a civilian is often not seen as disturbing for the youngster. The causes of disturbing behaviour can be pressure from peers, a search for honour and respect (high values in the street culture), but sometimes also a personality or behaviour disorder. A group leader who wants (or by a disorder he doesn't know better) to test the limits against the Police or neighbours, can influence the whole group. But the other way around is also possible: one successful role model can motivate youngsters to chase their dream or make something of their lives.

The professionals of Veenendaal, who come in contact with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in their daily work, gave us an insight in their approach. The Police are there to maintain order and fine offenders against the law. But communication with other professionals is also desirable to really change a negative situation. The youth workers start with connecting with the youngsters. They build up friendships with individuals and talk to the youth groups. Their interest and contact with the youngsters is a good fundament to talk about conflicts and solutions. The cultural youth worker aims at talent development, which can also be connected to positive role models in the music industry.

The attitude of (most) civilians and approach professionals seem to be each other's opposites, when it comes to disturbing behaviour from Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. According to professionals, including us, it is very important to come in contact and to connect with the youngsters, to communicate with them and to show real interest in them. We can use the interests of the youngsters as (Creative) intervention for Conflict management. This approach of interest and communication is also possible for civilians, but they have to realise the benefit it will give in managing conflicts with these youngsters.

3. How can the Creative intervention 'music' be used as Conflict management in conflicts with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters?

Sometimes the opinion of civilians or professionals and Moroccan-Dutch youngsters can be worlds apart. This is definitely the case in conflicts. To bridge these differences we will use an element known to people all over the globe; music!

Just putting on a C.D. or radio doesn't do the trick. Social workers are skilled to use Creative interventions and one of the goals can be Conflict management. Creative interventions are partly non-verbal and aim at experience and discovering. Every person has a creative quality and that is why this method can be used for every target group. The Social worker makes use of theatre/drama, dance, music, plastic arts, linguistics or sports & games. By using one of these elements in an activity, flow can be experienced by the youngsters, when the conditions are created by the Social worker. When you experience this feeling of achieving, a balance between your own capacity and the challenge of the activity, you want to re-experience this. It is a positive stimulus to develop (new) talents.

An organised workshop or activity does not always appeal to youngsters from a (disturbing) youth group. Some youngsters have difficulties concentrating or adjusting to the wishes of a workshop leader. Still music can be used in communication with these youngsters, especially Hip-hop music, because the youngsters can identify themselves with the songs. The Hip-hop songs and culture offers them a place to express their feelings and the youngsters recognize the conflicts the artists rap about. For Social workers, this is a good moment to intervene and use these songs as tool to work on the conflicts from the youngsters.

The differences in opinion often cannot be fully erased, but this is not necessary to manage the conflict. By communication, understanding for each other situation can grow.

In the *7-I-model*, a model to analyse a conflict, there is room for the Creative intervention music. Hip-hop in particular appeals to Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. Social workers don't just mess around but work through a method. Working methodologically based on is important to maintain quality and repeatability. A method that works can be used by other Social workers and can be used in other situations. Therefore a Creative intervention plan can be made. The Social worker has to be convinced of the additional value of Hip-hop and how this could be used in conflicts with youngsters, so it gives the best possible results.

What is the additional value of using the Creative intervention 'music' in Conflict management, for Social workers who deal with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in the adolescence age, in Veenendaal?

The conflict between civilians and Moroccan-Dutch youngsters has multiple causes. Our possible solution connects to several of these causes:

The differences in the Moroccan and Dutch culture (such as values and raising) give confusion for the youngsters themselves and friction with their environment. It was our challenge to look past the differences between the parties and find something that all people share or could share. We think this can be music. Music can be part of the problem (too loud music by a youth group), but also a possibility to connect. The approach of Creative interventions is (partly) non-verbal and therefore suitable for everyone. In an activity, an element as music can lower the threshold. It invites to listen, experience, move (parts of) your body and share thoughts.

In our view and that of other researchers, most of the civilians have a negative image of Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. Report by the media and own experience (or of family or friends) can lead to

prejudice against the youngsters. The youngsters themselves often also have a wrong or partly true opinion of the civilians. The lack of communication between civilians and the youngsters feed these prejudice and negatively influence or create conflicts. We think that Creative interventions can be a good method for communication between different parties. Looking at the conflict from a different side or angle, the creative activity can lead to understanding or rethinking your current opinion. It is a positive approach, which looks at similarities between parties and to solutions.

We are convinced of using Hip-hop as Creative intervention for Conflict management, because of the connection with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. Using something of their world, their interest, to help communicate a message about the part the youngsters play in the conflict. Using music helps them expressing the feelings they have. All this arranged by a Social worker, who knows how to use Creative interventions and is interested in Moroccan-Dutch youngsters.

The additional value will be;

- getting the attention of the youngsters to participate in an activity,
- positive experiences for the youngsters as flow and discovering a talent,
- communication from civilians to the youngsters and visa versa, which may lead to understanding,
- managing conflicts by being aware of the opinion, feelings (frustrations, fear, insecurity, feelings of rejection) and expectations of the other party in the conflict.

If the Social workers would stop believing in the future and possibilities of youth at risk, then who will look after them and stand up for their rights?!

Recommendations for Social workers/other professionals/civilians

(N.B. all mentioned literature and movies are unfortunately only in Dutch available as far as we know)

After reading this thesis, read also Appendix F. Here you find parts of newspaper articles. Think about what your opinion is about Moroccan-Dutch youngsters and ask yourself the question; where is my opinion based on? When you meet these youngsters, it is important to know what your opinion is about them and to be aware of the prejudice you have towards them (which in most cases is no reality). Because that influences the way you approach them.

Be interested in the Moroccan-Dutch youngsters and find out what their interests (as hobbies, favourite music style, etc.) are.

Make contact and communicate with the youngsters and youth groups. They are not as bad as everyone thinks they are. When you already have contact with a youth group this is very useful in times of conflict. Then you have the connection which makes it much easier to solve the conflict. Often it even does not have to become a conflict.

Professionals in Veenendaal, but also in other cities; use Creative interventions!! As we have shown in this research, hip-hop music will be very appealing to Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. This knowledge can help you to connect with the youngsters and to solve conflicts. We really recommend you to read appendix E 'Hip-hop Social work'. Creative interventions are very useful as method, so make profound of this. Every Social worker should read '*Muzisch Agogische Methodiek. Een handleiding*', (Behrend, D. (2008, 5e herz. dr.). *Muzisch Agogische Methodiek. Een handleiding*. ISBN: 9046900754, Bussum: Coutinho.) to fully understand and make good use of this method.

Every civilian and/or professional who comes in contact with youth groups and street culture should read Hans Kaldenbach's book; '*Respect*'. (Kaldenbach, H. (2009). *Respect!* ISBN: 9044607065, Amsterdam: Prometheus). Unfortunately this book is only in Dutch available.

This book gives a clear image of street culture. It will help you to understand the street culture better and to learn tools how to handle and act towards these youth groups and youth culture. After reading this book you will know what (not) to do.

(Dutch) Professionals who are interested in this subject should really read the book 'Battle zonder knokken' (Kooijmans, M. (2009). *Battle zonder knokken, talentcoaching van risicjongeren*. ISBN: 908850041X Amsterdam: Uitgeverij SWP.). It shows the importance of talent coaching, this is really necessary for Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. They have to learn to develop and use their talents for their future. A (search for) talent can be the way out of the problems they face. A role model as a famous Moroccan-Dutch rapper, but also a talented group leader could be this role model. As professional it is important to recognize this and above mentioned book can help with that.

If you are interested in Moroccan-Dutch youngsters who struggle with the double cultures they live in, you might want to see the movies 'Het Schnitzelparadijs' and 'Shouf Shouf Habibi'. These movies show (in a humorous way) the life of a Moroccan-Dutch youngster from a different angle.

Discussion

Is an untested method useless?

Our biggest point of discussion is the fact that we did not put our method to the test with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in Veenendaal. We want to be open about this and not pretend that it would not be needed. Literature and our own experience with working with Creative interventions makes us determined that his method could work. It was a challenge to describe the results of this research, but it will be an equal challenge to use this method in practice.

What have I to do with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters and Veenendaal?

This research is narrowed down on Moroccan-Dutch youngsters and Veenendaal. Other specific target groups or other cities would also have been interesting, but we had to make choices and make the research manageable for our time and resources. We have tried to focus on the meso-level, for the benefit of Social workers. A broader look on society (conflicts on macro-level) or a deeper search in the lives of youngsters (conflicts on micro-level) would have also been possible.

When you work with other groups of youngsters at risk, you might recognise some of the characteristics and problems described in this research.

What if I don't like Hip-hop?

We used Hip-hop as an example of a music style and subculture for Creative interventions, but other music styles are also usable with youngsters at risk. You can also use an unusual style of music, to trigger or challenge a group of youngsters. We believe in the use of Creative interventions, but there are so many possibilities to use this method, we chose one to show how it works.

You spoke of the media, were you not influenced by it?

We could have focused more on the role of the media. When we started our research we thought we would not be influenced by it, because we had learned about the subjective opinions of journalists and the manipulation of numbers and figures. When you have no information on a subject and you hear different opinions about it, it is hard to know what is true and what is make-believe. We thought we had some knowledge about Moroccan-Dutch youngsters, but after reading theory and about this target group, we realised we were influenced by the media ourselves. While doing our research we learned how to look for more trustworthy information. It would be interesting if someone would research *the influence of the media* on image creating on Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. Are they as bad as everybody thinks? See also the articles in appendix F.

To be continued...

It would be interesting to know at which ages Moroccan-Dutch youngsters can best be helped. Are we already too late when we focus on youngsters, do we have to start with children and their future? How can a society best be changed, starting with; civilians, laws, policies, media, individuals, groups, certain groups of professionals, welfare system? Are we working/researching on the right place?

Literature

Books

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Appendix A: Interview Jongerenwerkers

Interview met: Said Amazyan en Fred Verhoef

Functie: Jongerenwerkers

Organisatie: Jongerencentrum Escape, onderdeel Welzijn Veenendaal

Datum: 29 april 2010

Geïnterviewd door: Ineke en Janneke

Interview manier: face-to-face

Soort interview: focus interview

Interview doel(en): We willen graag meer informatie over hoe conflicten met Marokkaans-Nederlandse jongeren in de praktijk zijn? Hoe zit het met jongeren in Veenendaal? Hoe is de hulpverlening?

Dikgedrukt wordt gezegd door Ineke en Janneke

Normale tekst wordt gezegd door jongerenwerkers

Wij zijn aan het afstuderen en we doen onderzoek naar overlastgevende jongeren in conflictsituaties en welke conflicthantering middelen er gebruikt worden. We willen vooral kijken of er muzische agogische methodiek wordt ingezet.

Zijn jullie bekend met de term Muzisch agogische methodiek? Spelenderwijs, creatief.

Oké, ja dat hebben we in onze opleiding wel gehad. Muzische vormen was een vak.

Ja, dat heb ik ook wel gehad in de opleiding, maar ik heb dat nog niet ingezet in mijn werk praktijk, toneel of theater. Maar wel sport.

Ja, soms schuiven ze die (sport) er wel onder het soms niet. Maar ik vind dat die er eigenlijk wel bijhoort.

We zijn vooral heel benieuwd naar de situatie hier in Veenendaal, omdat met name in het begin van het jaar Veenendaal nogal negatief in het nieuws kwam. Over de overlast gevende jongeren en dat er best wel dramatische dingen gebeurd zijn.

Wat speelt er nu en met wat voor jongeren komen jullie in aanraking in jullie werk? Zitten daar conflictsituaties bij? Om een beetje inzicht te krijgen in het jongerenwerk, zoals op de website te lezen was over jullie werk op straat. Daar ben ik niet heel erg bekend mee.

We proberen in ons onderzoek heel objectief te zijn en vooral positief te benaderen. Niet een probleem ontdekken en daar diep in graven, maar om als hulpverlener te kijken naar oplossingen. Niet zoals de politie dat doet of zoals de politiek het aanpakt. Maar voordat we dingen zouden kunnen verzinnen, willen we wel weten hoe de situatie is. We hebben veel boeken gelezen en documentaires gekeken, maar om met mensen in gesprek te gaan die echt in het werkveld staan, dat vinden we echt interessant. Dus vandaar dat we jullie hebben benaderd. Onze theorie, wat we tot nu toe in de boeken gelezen hebben, zien of dat ook daadwerkelijk in de praktijk aanwezig is. Om voor onszelf die koppeling te kunnen maken.

Jullie deden sociaal pedagogische hulpverlening?

Ja

Hbo niveau?

Ja

Nou zullen we maar met de 1e vraag van wal steken?

Met wat voor jongeren komen jullie in jullie werk in aanraking? Met wat voor achtergrond?

Even kijken, wat voor jongeren, jongeren in de leeftijd van 13 tot en met 20, 21 soms 22 jaar.

Hmm (instemming)

Allochtonen, autochtonen, verschillende wijken. De helft heeft ongeveer hun opleiding afgebroken, opleiding niet afgemaakt. Veel zijn van VMBO, ROC. MBO vaak niveau 2 niveau 3, uitzonderingen niveau 4. Vaak jongeren die ook gedragsproblemen hebben, in de zin van dat in een groep van 20 meestal eentje zit met ADHD. Iemand die heel druk is en als hij onderzocht zou worden, zou blijken dat hij ADHD heeft. Ook een paar hebben een heel beperkt IQ, van onder het minimum. Heel weinig hebben een zinvolle dagbesteding. Ze zitten wel op school, maar eigenlijk verschijnen ze nooit. Ze hebben een baantje via een uitzendbureau hier of daar, maar tijdelijk. Thuis speelt ook het één of ander, er is niet voldoende ondersteuning vanuit huis. Wil jij nog iets aanvullen Fred?

Ja, je hebt het eigenlijk gewoon over dat wij een doelgroep hebben die risico lopen op gebied van; wonen, werken, thuis, gezondheid komt er ook nog bij. Ja. Het zijn dus jongeren die het risico lopen om op die terreinen achterstand op te lopen. Achterstand omdat het jongeren zijn in de leeftijd van vroeg adolescent, tot 18, 19, 20 jaar. Iemand vanmiddag in het team zei dat het voor sommige jongeren wel eens te laat kan zijn. Geen schoolopleiding, geen werk. Jaha, ook niet een fijne thuissituatie, ja en toen?

Ja

En als je dan 19 ben, dan kan dat ik hier confronterend zijn. En dat eh, ja misschien kun je volgende vraag stellen. Ik denk dat dit wel even voldoende is voor vraag 1 of niet?

Nou ik heb wel een vraag; spreken de jongeren hier zelf over, of hoe kom je dit te weten? Want ik denk niet dat ze meteen zeggen...

Wij zoeken jongeren op, dat heb je op onze website kunnen lezen he. We zoeken ze op in de openbare ruimte, daarnaast bieden we activiteiten aan in de buurthuizen in de verschillende wijken, maar hier ook.

Dus er zijn nog meer locaties? Waar jullie mee samenwerken?

Ja, dat zijn buurthuizen. Daar komen wij de jongeren tegen, dat zijn de zogenaamde vindplaatsen. Daar leggen we contacten met jongeren. Daar bouwen wij een relatie op met de jongeren. Eerst gewoon met de groepen. Langzaam maar zeker gaat zo'n groep bestaan uit individuen. Zij leren jou kennen, maar jij leert hen natuurlijk ook kennen. Nou dan vervolgens kunnen we beoordelen in welke situatie de jongeren zich bevinden. Nou er zitten jongeren bij en daar gaat het gewoon fantastisch mee. Maar zitten ook jongeren bij, omdat wij natuurlijk de jongeren proberen te bereiken, waar wel wat mee aan de hand is. Nou en de ene keer kunnen wij mee en de andere keer sturen we gewoon door naar instanties die op desbetreffende terreinen natuurlijk meer van afweten dan wij. Dat kan jeugdzorg zijn, maar hoe dat kan ook Centrum Maliebaan zijn, verslavingszorg, of bij wijze van spreken Sociale Zaken zijn.

De basis eigenlijk van ons werk is contact leggen. Als je geen contacten hebt, dan kom je ook niet te weten wat voor jongeren het zijn. In de contacten moet continuïteit zijn, terechte aandacht voor de jongeren. We proberen eruit te krijgen; wat speelt er, wat willen ze, waarom hangen ze daar, waarom schreeuwen ze, waarom doen ze dat. We proberen er ook achter te komen wat is de naam, geboortedatum, welke school zit hij. Wat doet hij naast school, of heeft hij überhaupt school. Dan heb je ook soms een, niet heel uitgebreid, maar wel een beeld van die jongere. De jongeren is eigenlijk een individueel, maar soms om ook de groep als geheel te begrijpen, moeten de individuen begrijpen.

En hoe, dat is misschien een heel domme vraag, maar hoe leg je contact met de jongeren? Je ziet een groep staan en daar stap je gewoon op ze af? Hoe, stel hier op de hoek van de straat staat een groep en wat zouden jullie actie zeg maar zijn?

Nou dan stap je inderdaad op af.

Oké, en dan gewoon een praatje van...

Nou als het nodig is, kijk op het moment werkt Said al heel lang in Veenendaal en ik eigenlijk ook wel, en heel vaak hebben we aanknopingspunten, want een hele grote kans is dat als 10 jongeren aan de overkant van de straat staan, 2 of 3 al bij ons bekend zijn.

Oké

Omdat we hier natuurlijk al langer werken. Maar je moet ik hier, zo'n 5 jaar geleden ben ik hier begonnen, op zo'n groep afstappen. Je moet bekend worden en dat doe je niet door hier te blijven zitten, dat doe je door naar buiten te gaan. Ja, dan leg je contact en dan stel je je gewoon voor en dan vertel je de jongeren wie je bent, wat je doet en wat je eventueel voor hen kunt betekenen. En dan maak je inderdaad een praatje met de jongeren en als dat voor de 1e keer is, dan is dat natuurlijk effe genoeg. Snap je?

Ja

En dan hoeft je niet; ja, hoe is het wel bij jou thuis en...

Ja ja ja

Dat doe je niet. Dus dat bouw je, rustig ga je dat opbouwen.

Oké, hmm. En eh, hoe wordt er zeg maar dan op gereageerd als jullie zeggen, nou we kunnen dit en dit voor jullie doen. Staan de jongeren daar open voor, is men daar eerst wantrouwig voor? We hebben vrij veel gelezen over de straat cultuur versus de burgerlijke cultuur. Daar zijn flinke botsingen tussen. Dus als er een 'burger' zomaar afstapt op zo'n straat cultuur, dat het niet echt geaccepteerd wordt. Snapt u mijn vraag?

Ja, een beetje. Een beetje wel. Dat is natuurlijk zo. Kijk, als jongeren onder elkaar, elkaar ontmoeten op straat. Dan heeft de buitenwacht de indruk dat die jongeren daar een beetje staan te niksen, dat ze lui zijn, dat ze crimineel zijn, dat ze agressief zijn, dat ze aan het niksen doen zijn. Maar als je natuurlijk

verdiept in die straat cultuur, dan zijn ze wel degelijk bezig. Ze zijn daar heus niet allemaal lui, crimineel en aan het niks doen. Soms zijn ze ook aan het niks doen, maar dat hoort dan bij die cultuur. Maar voor hen is dat bij elkaar zijn op de hoek van de straat, is hartstikke belangrijk. Het hoogtepunt van de dag voor sommige jongeren. Die hebben de hele dag, hebben ze niks gedaan, of op school gezeten, nou dat hoop je dan maar. Maar dan is die avond om 7 uur verzamelen op de hoek van de straat, daar kijken ze naar uit! Weet je, dat zit in hun patroon, dan lopen ze naar die straat en dan zien ze de vrienden weer. Dan gaan ze weer babbelen over van alles en nog wat. Er worden nieuwtjes uitgewisseld. Er wordt dit er wordt dat. Daar gebeuren natuurlijk ook wel andere dingen, maar het beeld dat de buitenwacht daarvan heeft is heel anders dan hoe de jongeren dat zelf beleven. En wij zijn niet voor Jan joker jongerenwerkers, we kunnen ons wel verplaatsen in die activiteiten die zij daar aan het ondernemen zijn. We kunnen daar aansluiting bij zoeken.

Ja

Wij doen niet mee, maar we zoeken wel aansluiting bij hun leefwereld. Op het moment dat je dat doet, zonder je eigen positie te verloochenen, je bent een volwassene met je eigen professionaliteit, al probeer je natuurlijk wel daar aansluiting bij te vinden. Wij veroordelen dat niet.

Nee

Wij stappen daar gewoon op af, we hebben daar respect voor (voor het hangen op straat red.). Op het moment dat ze daar aankomen, is het niet van; en nou op sodemieteren! Wegwezen. Dat hebben wij niet, we gaan gewoon in gesprek. Ik denk dat ook een willekeurige burger als die op een normale manier op de jongeren afstapt en de 1e keer zegt; goedenavond jongens. En de 2e keer. De 4e keer; hoe gaat het jongens? Mooi weer vandaag, je maakt een praatje. Je herkent een paar gezichten, de jongeren herkennen jou. Voor hen ben je dan ook niet onbekend. En zij zijn voor jou niet onbekend. En al helemaal als je een paar namen kent, dan is het heel raar als ze jou wat gaan aandoen. Maar op het moment dat je aankomt van; nou wegwezen hier! Dan heb je gelijk oorlog. En voor ons is het ook een kwestie van; ga je wat ondernemen, want als er sprake van overlast is, iedereen let op hen. Ze willen natuurlijk hun eigen plek ook niet kwijt. Ze willen ook niet dat elk moment van de dag de politie langskomt, boetes uit te delen. Ze hebben last van de politie. Dan kunnen wij misschien een bijeenkomst organiseren met de wijkagent, dat ze met hun vragen bij hem terecht kunnen. Dan ontstaat er iets. Wat Fred ook aangaf, we hebben ook buurthuizen, waar ze iets voor zichzelf kunnen organiseren. We hebben ook wat te geven aan hen, maar we verwachten ook wat van hen terug. Zo gaat dat een beetje.

Hmm (instemmend)

En ben je dan een soort tussenpersoon, zodat de politie en de jongeren met elkaar in gesprek kunnen komen?

Ja, dat mag je zo noemen.

Als het nodig is wel. Soms met de wethouder erbij of burgemeester, of buurtbewoners erbij of politie erbij. Dan zijn wij eigenlijk wel degenen die dat organiseren. En niet de jongeren. Als de burgemeester uitnodigt dan zeggen zij; ja fuck you. Ja, behalve als hij wat te bieden heeft. En niet alleen maar met een wijzend vingertje van; niet meer doen.

En over dat overlast, wat een specifiek het gedrag waar ik aan denken of wat voor een...

Ja, overlast is subjectief natuurlijk. Voor de jongeren is het helemaal geen overlast. Anderen hebben er last van. Ze zeggen; wat doen we dan? We zitten hier te chillen en te praten en muziek te luisteren. We zitten hier een sigaretje met elkaar te roken. We zitten de hele dag op school, papa boos, mama boos, we kunnen hier met elkaar even een beetje luchten. Even ademhalen. Voor hen is het niet altijd overlast. Hoewel sommige jongens zeggen; ja, nu hebben we wel een beetje de grens bereikt. Maar de buitenwereld heeft er last van. Voor sommige mensen is het al daar 10 jongeren in een hoek staan is het al overlast. Al doen ze niks. Voor sommige mensen is als er 10 jongeren op een pleintje staan te voetballen al overlast. Ja en of dat nou een bepaalde grens is, of het overlast is, dat is niet makkelijk te definiëren. Maar in principe als de ander er last van heeft, dan is er sprake van overlast.

Ja

Ja, goed, we hebben net een groot gedeelte van het werk beschreven, he? Dat is onze daadwerkelijke interesse in jongeren, voor groepen jongeren, voor individuen en wat we daarvoor voor kunnen betekenen. Maar wij functioneren natuurlijk ook in een omgeving. We hadden het er net al even over, onze relatie met de politie, met de politiek, noem het allemaal maar op. We moeten onze ogen daarvoor natuurlijk ook niet sluiten. Er wordt steeds meer de nadruk gelegd door de maatschappij op veiligheid. Het is veiligheid voor en veiligheid achter in ons land zo langzamerhand. Daar hebben wij natuurlijk ook wel mee te maken. Als we het hebben over groepen jongeren in de openbare ruimte, en daar hebben we het over natuurlijk. Dan ondervinden wijkbewoners daar hinder en overlast van. Dan krijg je inderdaad het verschil tussen het trappen van een bal in een woonwijk,

en zeker met dit weer als de bewoners in de tuin zitten, dan is het overlast. Ja, ja, goed, dat is moeilijk schipperen natuurlijk. Dat is moeilijk te vertellen aan jongeren. Ja, je kan een bal niet zacht schoppen ofzo, weetje. Dat wordt allemaal een beetje moeilijk.

Nee, of niet praten tijdens het spel ofzo

Dus dat is dan moeilijk, maar je hebt natuurlijk ook overlast en dat gaat veel verder. Dan heb je het over het opzettelijk lastigvallen van allemaal voorbijgangers. Of het opzettelijk intimideren van winkeliers. Of, weetje, het opzettelijk maken van troep. Dan wordt het echt overlast. Dan wordt het wel een keer vervelend natuurlijk.

Ja

En dan moeten wel ingegrepen worden. En dan kan het zo zijn dat wij contacten met die groep hebben. En zoals Said net zei, als er 2 jongens inzitten met gedragsstoornissen, dan is dat wel te verklaren, dat gedrag. Snap je? Dan is het wel belangrijk om daar wat aan te doen. Anders dan alleen maar ingrijpen van de politie bijvoorbeeld. Want daarmee wordt het probleem namelijk niet opgelost.

Nee

Een boete uitschrijven van weer overlast, ja die jongere legt het op een stapel en dat schiet niet op. Of hij wordt achter slot en grendel gezet, maar daar wordt de maatschappij natuurlijk ook niet wijzer van. We kiezen ervoor dat die jongere een stapje wijzer wordt. Zodat die uiteindelijk ook mee kan doen in de maatschappij. Maar het is wel het krachtenveld waarin wij functioneren. Vanuit de politiek gezien wordt er toch heel snel gekozen voor die wijkbewoners. Overlast? Nou daar moet wat aan gedaan worden!

Ja, precies

Poeh, poeh poeh dat straattuig... of Wilders die heeft het over straatterroristen of hoe hij ze allemaal noemt. Goed dat is dus wel een beetje het speelveld waarin wij ons ook begeven. Dan heb je te maken met tegengestelde belangen. Belangen van die jongeren, tot zover, als zij natuurlijk over de streep gaan dan, nou ja dat kan natuurlijk niet. Maar aan de andere kant het belang van de politiek en de burgerij, of hoe je dat ook maar noemt.

Daarnaast zijn de jongeren zich er niet altijd bewust van dat ze overlast veroorzaken. Hij is er zich niet bewust van, ze hebben het hem nooit gezegd. Ik wil dat je rustig praat, ik wil dat je muziek rustig aan is. Als er een wijkagent langskomt, die zegt; en nou is het afgelopen, wegwezen! Maar eigenlijk hij zegt niet de reden. En die bewoners hetzelfde. Ik heb ooit eens met een bewoner naar zo'n groep gelopen; geef aan jouw situatie, je vrouw is ziek, vertel dat aan de jongeren. Je vraagt gewoon of zij optijd naar bed mag en wat rust. Vertelt het gewoon op een open en eerlijke manier. Zonder iemand aan te wijzen. Nou die jongeren stonden hem zo aan te kijken, liepen ze om 11 uur 's avonds gelijk weg.

Wauw

Hij heeft eigenlijk alleen zijn gevoelens verteld; ik heb er last van. Zo'n jongere had zoiets van; he shit, daar ben ik me niet eens bewust van. Maar daarvoor belde die steeds de politie, maar de problemen blijven. Grenzen aangeven is ook heel belangrijk. Als dat op een nette manier gebeurt.

Maar zo simpel kan het soms dus ook wezen.

Ja. Ja

Maar dan moeten de bewoners wel de vaardigheden hebben om dat te doen. En soms moeten ze ook de durf hebben. Nu heeft deze bewoner met Saïd meegelopen. En zo kon hij zijn verhaal veilig doen, in elk geval dat vond hij zelf. Maar eigenlijk zou het zo moeten zijn, het zijn toch volwassen kerels en volwassen vrouwen, die zouden dat toch eigenlijk wel moeten kunnen. Maar door de beeldvorming van zo'n groep, de beeldvorming van op de hoek van de straat; herrie bwa bwa, weet ik veel wat. Dan lopen mensen er met zo'n grote boog omheen. Terwijl als ze eigenlijk gewoon het lef hebben om te vertellen wat een probleem is. Bij deze meneer om te vertellen; ik heb een zieke vrouw of een ziek kind of ik moet elke ochtend om 4 uur eruit of weet ik veel wat. Willen jullie alstublieft 100 m of 200 m verderop gaan staan? Dan hadden wij niet eens geweten van het probleem misschien. Dan hadden we die jongeren wel gekend, maar dan hadden we gezegd van; he, jullie staan 200 m verderop, hoe kan dat nou? Nou dat komt omdat die meneer daar geweest is en die heeft ons netjes gevraagd... Nou top, dat gaat goed.

Dat gaat de goede kant op hiero. Maar dit is vaak niet de praktijk.

Nee, er is heel veel miscommunicatie of zelfs geen communicatie.

Nou er is geen communicatie, vaak is het via een omweg. De jongeren vernemen het uit de krant dat zij overlast veroorzaken of door de politie of wijkagent. Politie; ja, er is gebeld over overlast. Jongeren; welke overlast, waarom is die persoon dan niet bij ons gekomen? Er is altijd een tussenpersoon, het is nooit rechtstreeks. En soms is het voor de jongeren als de politie wordt gebeld, he jij belt de politie, dan gaan ze nog meer negatief gedrag laten zien, maar dan bewust. Er zijn er zelfs die dan hun auto

gaan zoeken, van degenen die heeft gebeld, krasje hier krasjes daar, lekke banden, of iedere keer als die persoon voorbij loopt gaan ze dingen tegen hem schreeuwen.

Dus dan maak je het alleen maar erger.

Dan wordt het een persoonlijk iets, dan is het bijna een persoonlijk probleem. Dat kost soms heel veel tijd om dat weer terug te draaien.

Heeft dat ook te maken met eer? Ik heb gelezen dat soms in die groepen eer en respect heel belangrijk is. Dus ik kan me dan indenken als jij daar staat nietsvermoedend en opeens heeft iemand niet het lef om het zelf tegen je te zeggen, maar stuurt meteen de politie op je dak. Dat is natuurlijk, dat doet wel wat met je.

Eer vind ik een beetje te vergezocht. Maar jongeren hebben wel het gevoel van; hij is een verklikker.

Ja

Die term gebruiken ze, maar eer? Nee...

Nee, dat is een te groot woord. Maar goed kijk, soms krijg je dat gedrag natuurlijk terug. Zoals je jongeren behandelt, dat krijg je zelf terug. Dat zegt Saïd eigenlijk. Als je hen met respect behandelt, dat zit er wel een beetje in, respect. Gewoon normaal doen hoor. Respect is natuurlijk een beetje straattaal. We moeten respect hebben voor een gup van 4,5; euh, je moet respect hebben! Allemaal gelul natuurlijk.

Ja ja, gewoon normaal doen.

Gewoon normaal doen, eerlijk zijn en als jongeren dat dus zien, dan zullen ze eerder geneigd zijn om normaler tegen jou te doen.

Misschien, Fred, is het wel handig om wat te vertellen over de termen, hinderlijk, overlastgevend en crimineel. Hinderlijk, dan zijn ze meestal gewoon aanspreekbaar. Overlastgevend, ook nog wel. En crimineel... ja dan kun je beter wel een blokje om lopen.

Die hebben we in Veenendaal, in Veenendaal hebben geen criminele groepen. We hebben wel overlastgevend groepen, met een beetje criminele elementen erin. Dat zijn jongeren die een beetje in de georganiseerde criminaliteit zitten, zullen we maar even zeggen. Maar over het algemeen hebben in Veenendaal te maken met hinderlijke en overlastgevend groepen. Dat zijn kwalificaties die door onderzoekers gegeven kunnen worden aan groepen, dat wordt overigens bepaald door de politie. Die kijken natuurlijk ook naar groepen jongeren. Op het moment dat daar alleen maar jongeren bijzitten die een beetje herrie maken, bijvoorbeeld met voetbal, is dat een hinderlijke groep. Maar een overlastgevend de groep, dat wordt alweer een groep die met opzet overlastgevend is bijvoorbeeld. Tenminste daar zit een "met opzet" element in. Maar dat is natuurlijk ook tijdverdrijf. Op een gegeven moment wordt de tijdverdrijf, als ik nou een beetje jouw auto een beetje bekras. Of flessen kapot gooi. Of jou uitscheld voor vuile vieze hoer en je reageert lekker, weet je wel. Of je loopt heel hard weg en zo. Maar dat is ook lollig natuurlijk he, dat jij een beetje bang bent en dan is het lollig om dat morgen weer te doen.

Ja

Dus dan doe ik dat met opzet, weetje, dan heb ik toch weer een beetje reactie en ben ik stoer tegenover anderen. Maar dat is natuurlijk wel overlastgevend gedrag.

En voor de jongeren, als iemand bijvoorbeeld die wil naar huis, maar die moet dan omlopen, dan ze ervaren dat als een afwijzing van hun bestaan. Die man heeft iets van; Nou ik voel me hier niet veilig, dus kies ik toch mijn veiligheid en ga ik om lopen. Maar voor de jongeren is dat; zie je nou, lafbek. Ja, maar ook hij wijst ons af, alsof hij ons niet ziet. Vaak als je er gewoon langs gaat; goedenavond, goedenavond. Maar mensen denken vaak 20 m omlopen in plaats van langs de jongeren gaan. Maar met; goedenavond, is er ook niks aan de hand. Dan krijg je gewoon goedenavond terug. Dat valt ons altijd weer op, dat buurtbewoners die het wel doen, die hebben er eigenlijk alleen maar voordeel van. Ik bedoel, ik kan mijn auto wel parkeren bij zo'n groep jongeren.

Dus juist wel contact maken.

Ja, als je eentje van hun kent; he pietje, he jantje, he mootje. Staat er een groep van 20, ga er maar van uit dat die 19 andere niks zullen doen.

Maar als die jongeren denken; niemand kent ons, dan kun je dat nog wel eens te horen krijgen. Maar als je er eentje kent, dan gebeurt er niks.

Wauw

Goedenavond Peter, goedenavond Mohammed, je kent hem. Die anderen denken; he, misschien kent hij ons allemaal wel.

(Lachen)

Precies

Het valt me wel op wat voor belangrijke rol jullie eigenlijk hebben. Dat je echt wel een beetje inzicht moet hebben in, hoe dat zit in die groepen. Want als je zo noemt, sommige van de

jongeren hebben misschien ADHD, dat zijn wel vaktermen. Als je gewoon een groepje jongeren ziet staan en je leert ze kennen en heb daar geen kennis van, dat lijkt me heel anders dan als je een bepaalde opleiding heb gedaan. Zo van; nou dat zou het wel eens kunnen zijn. Vinden jullie dat zelf ook zo?

Ja, nou goed, ons is het een beetje een tweede natuur geworden natuurlijk. En eh, eh, dat is onze toegevoegde waarde, zou je kunnen zeggen, bij het omgaan met grote groepen in de openbare ruimte. Dat we daar natuurlijk wel mee om kunnen gaan, wat onze professionele kennis en vaardigheden betreft. Als je die niet zou hebben, het afstappen op een groep jongeren wordt blijkbaar steeds moeilijker gevonden in deze samenleving. Maar goed dat is één. Maar op het moment dat je alleen maar contact legt en daar blijft het bij, snap je, ja dan is dat prima, maar dat is het dan.

Voor een buurtbewoner zou dat voldoende zijn, waarvoor een jongerenwerker...

Ja, dan mag je wel wat meer verwachten. Je moet wel dat meer in een context kunnen zetten. Dus of een context met de buurtbewoners of een context met de politiek of in een context met de politie. Maar eerst natuurlijk vanuit het individu, vanuit de jongeren. Ook vanuit de groep, maar ook vanuit het individu. Op het moment dat er iets met de jongeren is, met betrekking tot school, of...

Ja, en verder op een moment dat er contact is, want dat is het middel. Want dan zijn ze niet meer anoniem, je kent de naam en hun geboortedatum, dan ga je natuurlijk verder. Want het gaat erom, dat je later ook de grenzen gaat bepalen. Als jij ze kent en ze kennen jou dan kun je dat bespreekbaar maken.

Ja

Dan wordt het ook van jou aangenomen. Wat voor hen valt wat te behalen bij mij of bij hem (Fred). Misschien kunnen we iets voor hen doen. Dus dan is het; oké, jullie willen hier staan, maar dan zeggen we wel onder welke voorwaarden. Wat na 11 uur niet meer kan. Na 10 uur niet meer hard gepraat of harde muziek. Geen scooter, geen weet ik veel. Dat ze gewoon hun eigen rommel opruimen.

(Mobiele telefoon gaat af - Mag ik even bellen jongens?) **Jahoor**

Dat soort afspraken. Die kan je dan met ze maken.

En dat nemen ze dan ook aan, als je die relatie heb opgebouwd?

Op den duur wel, op den duur wel. Je bent een beetje een spiegel; kijk wat jullie hebben gedaan.

Jaa, ja.

Stel nou voor dat je daar woont... dan laat je ze voelen wat overlast is. Vaak zijn ze zich daar niet bewust van. Iemand met een IQ'tje van 70, nou of niveau 2, die begrijpt dat ook niet. Zoals ik praat dat mag toch, ja dat die andere willen slapen, dat is hun probleem. Je moet dit hem dus niet 1 keer vertellen, maar waarschijnlijk een paar keer.

Je maakt een afspraak met de politie, je zit samen met de wethouder, heel veel met de burgemeester erbij. Voor hen (jongeren) is dit ook erkenning. He, we zitten met de wethouder. We hadden hier een heel goede wethouder, die ook binnenkwam bij de activiteiten en dan een handje gaf en hij kende er een heleboel.

Oké

Maar op het moment dat er dan, incidenten gebeurden er altijd.

Ja, het is niet altijd leuk.

Als er een incident gebeurd is, dan kun je ook heel snel actie ondernemen. Partijen bij elkaar, dan kunnen we dat oplossen. Als je erover praat ben je eigenlijk al bezig met een oplossing. Als je de wijk de bewoners en de jongeren om de tafel hebt gekregen. Dan zeggen zij; nou die ik jullie nu zie, zijn jullie gewoon hartstikke, leuke, normale jongens, maar ik dacht ik jullie helemaal niks te doen hadden. Wat doen jullie? En dan luisteren ze naar de jongeren; de een zit op school, de ander heeft werk. De jongeren waren heel netjes, eentje zei; ik vind het heel erg vervelend dat je van ons last heb gehad. En die man, iemand van 55, die was manager of zo, was geraakt. Hij dacht dat was gewoon tuig en zo. Hij kent ze nu van namen, de volgende keer kan hij er gewoon langslopen en goedenavond zeggen.

Daarom zei ik overlast of je bedreigd voelen is subjectief. Het is van jezelf, niet echt een feit. Bedreigd worden, ze zijn heel gevaarlijk, ze hebben wapens, vaak is dat allemaal bullshit. Je wilt niet weten wat je hier leest.

Nee, want hoe komt dat dan allemaal in de krant?

Welke dan?

Ik zat inderdaad net ook te denken van, want we hadden het over die overlastgevende groep, maar jullie zeiden er zijn geen criminele groepen. Maar er is een paar maanden terug, met die steek...

Oh die tunnels.

Ja die tunnels.

Maar dat heeft absoluut niets te maken met een hang groep of overlastgevend jongeren. Dat waren gewoon individuen, 2 of 3, die dan bewust gaat beroven. Die dan gaan wachten ergens, bij een tunneltje, om dan actie te ondernemen, met het doel iets te scoren. Die heeft niks met een hanggroep.

Nee, Maar mensen gaat dat toch op een of andere manier aan elkaar linken.

Ja, maar die link is nooit gelegd, het zou misschien door een Marokkaanse jongen gedaan zijn, maar een paar dagen daarna had je een foto op OpsporingVerzocht.nl en toen bleek het gewoon een blanke man te zijn. Maar voor die mensen was het toen gelijk ook van 'He maar wacht even...' Ik heb zelf na dit incident met de burgemeester om de tafel gezeten; voor dat we iets naar buiten brengen, moeten we er wel zeker van zijn. Als je het goed hebt, dan heb je iets. Maar als je het fout hebt, dan schets je een heel verkeerd beeld.

En dat is gebeurt.

Ja. Dan zeggen die jongeren, 'maar wacht even nou beschuldig je ons.'

'Wij hebben niks gedaan'

Dit is een actie van een individu, of het nou 1 of 2 of 3. Een groep van 30 jongeren die in een wijk te lijf gaan met de politie, dat gebeurt hier niet, dat gebeurt zelden.

Dat is dus erg opgeblazen door de media.

Ja, kijkt dan is het toch het verkeerde moment, er was toen iets met een onderzoek landelijk.

Ja een lijst. (van de KLPD, red.)

Daar gaan mensen dan conclusies aan koppelen.

Ja, Veenendaal is niet veilig...**Veenendaal stond daar heel hoog in, maar...**

Dan heb je het over criminaliteit, dat wil niet zeggen dat die jongens ook criminele acties in Veenendaal ondernemen. Die lijst heeft het niet over een groep. Ik geloof ook niet dat ze met 20 tegelijk gaan inbreken.

Dat is veel te opvallend.

Dan heb je 99 % kans dat je gepakt wordt.

Ja, dat is heel dom.

Een slimme crimineel gaat niet met een groep op straat hangen. Dat vindt hij niet nodig, want er wordt hij misschien betrapt. Zijn doel is om 's nachts te scoren, die zie jij niet daar bij een groep. De jongeren in zo'n groep zijn heel gewone, simpele jongens, die het moeilijk hebben, op school of thuis. Ze vormen een groep.

Tuurlijk, altijd als je 10 of 15 mensen bij elkaar hebt, als een voorbijganger langs loopt, die zegt dan 'sjeetje mina, wat is dat nou '

Het beeld, het beeld klopt niet. Toen met dat tunneltje, toen hebben Fred en ik en 2 andere collega's de hele zaterdag een avond rondgelopen, omdat men dacht dat er iets zou gebeuren. Het is nog nooit zo rustig geweest.

Een vrije dag zo ongeveer.

Het was nog nooit zo rustig geweest.

Daar heb ik inderdaad een artikel over gelezen in de Gelderlander. Dat mensen zoiets hadden van; wat moet er dan gebeuren? Het was inderdaad nog nooit zo rustig geweest.

Er staat dan iets in de krant en mensen kunnen daarop reageren. Dit incident is gewoon vreselijk. Maar laten we wel wezen, de manier waarop dit gebeurt is beneden maat. Jongeren uit de groepen zeggen zelf ook; die daders moeten worden opgepakt enzovoort. De maat is gewoon bereikt. Daar is iedereen het ook over eens. Dit was gewoon asociaal en onmenselijk. Dus wat gebeurt er dan, mensen gaan op een stuk uit de krant reageren. En anderen reageerden daar weer op. Kindjes van 12, 13 jaar; ' Ja, vanavond gaan we met een groep knokken, bla bla bla '

Als je op dat soort berichten actie gaat ondernemen, dan moet je eerst goed onderzoeken, achterhalen van welk adres dat is gekomen, als je dat belangrijk vindt. Met het IP adres kun je binnen no time het adres achterhalen.

Het is wel interessant, hoe meer we hier zijn en met jou in gesprek zijn, hoe meer we eigenlijk die beelden uit de krant (verbeeld iets wat oplost in de lucht).

Collega's vroegen mij, wat is er allemaal aan de hand in Veenendaal? De werkelijkheid is anders.

Ja

Maar het is voor ons onderzoek heel goed om dit allemaal te horen. Onbewust, ja ik heb hier wel op de middelbare school gezeten, maar dan is het...

Welke?

Het Ichthus College. De strenge school van Veenendaal. Dat zeggen ze.

Laat ik een voorbeeld geven, het Rembrandt college. We krijgen van de gemeente bericht dat er overlast is, op een plek net vlakbij Rembrandt. Nou het is een keurige school, net als het Ichthus College. En dan krijgen bepaalde groepen de schuld dat ze daar rotzooi maken. Nou Fred en ik daar naartoe, het zo allemaal uitzoeken. Blijken het leerlingen van het Ichthus College te zijn. En wie krijgen er de schuld? Een hangjongerengroep.

Hmmm

Snap je?

Ja

Zo van, er moet iemand de zondebok zijn.

Ja

Het zijn vast niet die scholieren, want dat zijn zo'n nette kinderen...

Nou in overleg met de directeur kwamen we erachter dat het gewoon leerlingen van de eigen school zouden kunnen zijn.

Je denkt het mag niet of dit kan niet, maar het gebeurt gewoon wel.

Het beeld is soms anders dan de werkelijkheid.

Aan de andere kant, er gebeurt natuurlijk wel eens iets en daar moet je dan adequaat op reageren.

Maar dan kom je bij het repressie beleid, dan moet de politie boetes gaan uitdelen

In je taak als jongerenwerker, die geef je dan over aan de politie.

Als de grens is bereikt, dan weet de politie hoe te reageren, wat ze moeten ondernemen.

En dan is jullie taak daarin afgelopen?

Als de groep niet aanspreekbaar, niet begeleidbaar, ze willen niks van ons hebben, dan houdt het ook voor ons op.

We gaan niet naar 10 of 11 uur de straat op en zeggen 'wegwezen' Daar zit niemand op te wachten. Maar als wij een signaal krijgen dat een paar jongens die wij kennen, ergens in een groep overlast geven, dan gaan wij op een doordeweekse dag naar ze toe om het te bespreken. 'een hoop mensen letten op jou, het schijnt dat dit of dat ...' alleen maar de feiten naar hen toe benoemen. Maar als ze dronken zijn dan ga ik echt niet met hen in gesprek, dan zeg ik een goedenavond. En dan houdt het op.

Wow hebben al een heleboel vragen niet benoemd, maar jullie hebben er wel antwoord op gegeven.

Nou mooi. Zo Said heeft eerste 7 vragen beantwoordt, we kunnen door.

We hadden net over de tunnel incident, en dat dat niks met de hang jongeren te maken heeft. Het zijn individuen die iets willen scoren.

Ja, maar dat is goed voor ons om te horen.

Dat plaatst dus die context waarin wij werken. Die pedagogische doelstelling, die sneeuwt natuurlijk helemaal onder bij de veiligheids doelstelling. Het gaat natuurlijk alleen maar om de veiligheid, veiligheid, veiligheid en hoezo de jongeren die achterstanden hebben? Ze moeten gewoon naar school en werken en geen gezeik.

Is dat het beleid?

Nee, dat is natuurlijk niet het beleid, maar wel wat je her en der leest en wat je hoort. En wat wel van invloed is, wat van invloed gaat zijn op de praktijk. De VVD heeft natuurlijk niet voor Jan joker in zijn campagne gezegd; eerst veiligheid en dan gaan we over andere dingen praten. Je kunt het geld maar 1 keer uitgeven. Dan zijn er een heleboel verschillende wegen die naar Rome leiden, maar zij zeggen de snelste weg naar Rome is gewoon meer politie.

Ja of dat op de lange termijn...

Ja, er zijn een heleboel onderzoeken die zeggen dat moet je niet doen. Je moet investeren in jongeren. Dat is een veel duurzamer oplossing dan alleen de lange lat eroverheen. Dat werkt wel even, maar als je *hier* slaat, dan komt *daar* weer boven. Het is ook allemaal een beetje voor de gewone burger, meer politie. Maar sommige situaties moet je én én doen. We zeggen niet; de politie heb je niet nodig, dat is natuurlijk onzin.

En wat is dan nu het huidige beleid? Is het nu én én?

Ja, maar er is natuurlijk net een nieuw college gevormd, hoe dat uitpakt dat weten we natuurlijk nog niet. Maar nu is het nog én én.

Dus de politie, het jongerenwerk en het beleid van de gemeente heeft veel meer met elkaar te maken dan ik dacht. Interessant. Want stel dat nu, u had het net over de VVD en meer politie, is dat van invloed op jullie werk als er meer repressief beleid gevoerd gaat worden? Dat jullie aanpak dan ook anders moet gaan worden? Of staat dat er los van?

Alle beleid dat door gemeenten, eerst landelijk daarna in gemeentes, wordt voorgestaan dat heeft natuurlijk invloed. Ik zei net natuurlijk, geld kan maar 1 keer uitgeven worden. Op het moment dat

een gemeente of een overheid gaat inzetten op repressief beleid. Ja, dan heeft dat consequenties, dan wordt er gezegd komen 10 politieagenten bij Veenendaal en daar gaan 10 jongerenwerkers vanaf. Die verhouding jongerenwerkers is er niet eens in Veenendaal, maar je snapt wel. Ja, dat is natuurlijk zo. Dus dan heeft dat invloed. En niet alleen op ons, maar ook op de samenleving. Kijk hebben nu ook een samenleving waar steeds meer camera's komen. Waar je privacy vergelijkt met 10 jaar geleden, dan is het nu een heel ander onderwerp geworden ineens. De grenzen zijn ineens vervaagd. Maar mensen 20 jaar geleden niet aan moesten denken, een camera, nu lopen ze te roepen; hé, kunnen we daar geen camera krijgen? Nog niet eens in de gaten hebbend, dat ze daar zelf natuurlijk ook opgenomen worden. Ja, het hele Internet, dat mensen hun hele hebben en houden op het Internet zetten, zonder dat ze er bij stilstaan dat een heleboel mensen kennis van kunnen nemen.

(Hij pakt het opname apparaatje op)

Dit is natuurlijk ook een kwestie van vertrouwen. Als jullie hier onzorgvuldig mee omgaan... Maar nu zeggen wij geen verkeerde dingen, maar stel je voor. Dan kan dat natuurlijk heel negatief zijn.

Iets van technologie wat je kunt gebruiken maar ook misbruiken.

De minister-president van Engeland, die in gesprek heeft met een mevrouw en hij zit in zijn auto en dan vergeet die sukkel dat hij zijn microfoon moet uitzetten... (hij zei iets negatiefs over die vrouw, red.) Ja, ik bedoel, die wordt dus geen minister-president. Doordat technische... Weet je. Dat zijn allemaal van die voorbeelden, al is deze wel eigen schuld dikke bult. Dat zegt wel een heleboel over... hij heeft nota bene geen privacy meer in zijn eigen auto. Weliswaar heeft hij daarin toegestemd, maar zo wordt het ook op een andere manier gebruikt. Dus die normen vervagen, dus alles heeft invloed op elkaar.

Ja, ja absoluut.

Ik denk dat er nog wel een onderwerp hebben, wat heel boeiend voor ons onderzoek is.

Namelijk de creatieve manieren om contact te leggen. Ik vraag me af, jullie hebben het gehad over de activiteiten in de buurthuizen kunnen jullie daar wat meer over vertellen, wat jullie doen? Of dat iets van maken heeft met creatieve manieren...

Nou de activiteiten in de buurthuizen hebben natuurlijk in eerste instantie tot doel om jongeren een zinvolle vrijetijdsbesteding te geven. Een plek te geven waar ze elkaar kunnen ontmoeten in een veilige sfeer. Zeker ook in de wintermaanden en de herfstmaanden, in plaats van die hoek op de straat is er een plek in de buurthuizen. De buurthuizen zijn er niet alleen voor de volwassenen maar ook zeker voor de jongeren. Dat is voor ons ook een plek waar we de jongeren op een comfortabele manier kunnen ontmoeten. Je kunt zich voorstellen dat op de hoek van de straat, bij -10 en in de regen, vaak wat moeilijker praten is dan gewoon binnen aan tafel. Dus je kunt dan wat makkelijker met jongeren praten en in contact komen. Dus dat heeft gevolgen voor de andere acties die we dan ondernemen, werk, school en weet ik veel wat. Ja, en we proberen 4 keer per jaar wat educatieve activiteiten te organiseren. De ene keer ging het over school en de andere keer over verslaving.

Komen er dan evenveel jongeren als bij een ontspannende avond?

Nou vaak is dit voor speciale doelgroepen, dus niet voor allemaal. En vaak zijn het van die hangjongeren, die dus zogenaamd overlast veroorzaken, die naar die activiteiten komen. Het is een voorwaardelijk iets, oké dus jullie willen over een ruimte beschikken, maar we leggen wel wat voorwaarden vast. Voor de wijk is het ook een beetje, in plaats van dat de jongeren daar 7 avonden in de week ergens hangen, is het ook rustig; 'hé ik zie vandaag geen jongeren' Dan hebben ze niet elke dag; hé daar zijn ze weer. Het geeft voor mensen die daar wonen ook wat rust.

Maar als jij het hebt over creatieve vormen om jongeren bezig te houden. Dat gebeurt meer hier in het stedelijk jongerencentrum. Dit is een Cultuur- en Poppodium. Kijk en daar proberen we voor de jongeren, door de cultureel jongerenwerker die organiseert workshops. Afgelopen weekend heb ik begrepen was er een poëzie... poetry slam geweest.

Ja, we zagen een aanplakbiljet hangen.

Dus dan worden jongeren wel degelijk aangesproken op hun talent, met betrekking tot muziek, zoals rap, DJ, dans; streetdance, zelf met computers zaken muziek componeren. Er liggen hier relaties met de cultuur koepel, zodat er ook meer theater en toneel mogelijkheden zijn. Er worden wel allerlei relaties met de omgeving gelegd om jongeren de mogelijkheid te geven in deze prachtige accommodatie, die in het buurthuis niet zozeer hebt...

Ja, het ziet er hier heel mooi uit inderdaad.

Dit is om kennis te laten innemen, het liefst actief, met creatieve of kunst oefening, hoe je moet noemen wilt; cultuur. Dus die relatie proberen we wel te leggen. De eerlijkheid moet natuurlijk wel gebieden ons te zeggen, dat de risico jongeren waar wij mee omgaan, dat op het moment dat jij zegt; 'ja kom gezellig een workshop rap volgen'. Dat ligt wel dicht bij hun, maar niet bij de vaardigheden die

ze hebben. Je moet toch kunnen rijmen, kunnen schrijven. Je moet toch wel een beetje, toch wel een basis, een gevoel daarvoor hebben. Dat hebben de helft van jongens natuurlijk niet, op het moment dat je zegt; 'ja, er zijn hier computers, waarop je zelf muziek componeren en zelf maken en weet ik veel wat'. Nou voor mij is het al abracadabra, laat staan voor jongens. Weet je, die zijn blij als ze een e-mail kunnen sturen en op de MSN zitten of Hyves. En dan zeggen wij, oho en zijn geen digibeten meer. Maar er zijn best een aantal jongeren die kunnen dan wel op hyves zitten, maar als je hen vraagt om in Word een documentje op te maken en ga dat een beetje vormgeven, dan zeggen ze; ja waar heb je het over.

Dus er zijn best wel wat activiteiten, maar die zijn te hoog gegrepen?

Nou nee, kijk we zijn voor alle jongeren, maar je spreekt hier nou met 2 jongerenwerkers die zich wat meer richten op de risico jongeren en dan moet je je activiteiten aanpassen. Onze activiteiten richten zich voornamelijk op die terreinen waar ze risico's op lopen en dat is; werk, school, thuissituatie, vrijetijdsbesteding en noem maar op. En natuurlijk het zou prachtig zijn als er vanuit die groep jongeren, en dat gebeurt ook, dat we die kunnen toe leiden naar dat soort activiteiten. Dat we zeggen van; Joh, er zijn hier ook activiteiten of leg eens contact met die collega. Dat gebeurt ook wel. Maar een heleboel jongeren zijn bezig met andere dingen, die zijn meer bezig met centjes verdienen. En weet je...

Ja, dan is er een workshop rap wel leuk, maar daar kun je geen centjes mee verdienen.

Je moet dat wel allemaal weer in perspectief zien

Ja, die hebben andere behoefte daarin, ze zouden meer de basisbehoeften hebben geld verdienen en dan school.

Precies wij proberen ze aan te spreken op hun talenten, dus de jongeren die wij op straat tegenkomen proberen we aan te spreken op hun talenten. Meer in de zin van; jij hebt toch ook zelfvertrouwen? Jij hebt toch ook daaraan te werken? Om dat op te roepen, om daar aan te werken. Dat ze weer zin krijgen om naar school te gaan en met de borst vooruit lopen. En daarin hebben we wel succes geboekt. Maar dat is op een ander niveau dan de jongeren die hier komen naar het cultuur centrum. 'oh leuk LAN-party' lekkere 48 uur achter de computer zitten en spelletjes doen. De jongeren bij ons doen ook spelletjes, maar dan in de buurthuizen. Die kunnen zich vaak wel 20 min verliezen in het spelletje, maar daarna gaan ze weer lopen kloten natuurlijk.

Moeten ze weer wat anders gaan doen, ze kunnen niet zo lang concentreren. 10 min, 20 min concentreren en dan wat anders.

Dat verklaart natuurlijk ook de schoolresultaten. Het één grijpt in op het ander.

Nog meer vragen?

Ja, had jij nog een vraag Janneke? Ja, ik denk dat het meeste wel hebben gehad.

Nou we hadden eigenlijk nog, nou wat we ons afvroegen; hebben ze ook echt voorbeeldfiguren waarmee ze zich in te identificeren? Waarmee ze dus inderdaad, zoals u net zei, weer zin krijgen in school of iets willen bereiken. En wat voor figuren zijn dat dan? Dat klinkt misschien een beetje negatief, maar...

Ja, dat kan positief of negatief zijn. Vaak helaas bij risico jongeren, het netwerk bestaat vaak alleen uit het kleine groepje. Ze hebben geen groot netwerk. Vaak is hun netwerk heel beperkt. In het wereldje dat ze kennen, hebben ze weinig voorbeeldfiguren.

Identificatiefiguren ...

Ja precies.

En zoals een bekende rapper, zoals Ali B. spreekt hun dat dan nog aan? Of is dat al te ver weg?

Ja, die heeft het gemaakt, hij was wel een straat rapper. Er was een keer iets aan de hand en hij begrijpt natuurlijk dat cultuurtje en hij zei hij iets en toen was iedereen stil. De beveiliging was dat niet gelukt. Hij zei iets heel kort en iedereen was stil.

Maar zulke, zoals Ali B. die het toch gemaakt heeft, werkt dat wel dat ze daardoor gemotiveerd worden om naar school te gaan of zelf ook zoiets te bereiken? Of ...

Nou dat zijn vaak toch wel wat fantasieën, maar wij moedigen dat wel aan. Op het moment dat jongeren denken dat ze Affalay kunnen worden of Van Persie, dan vinden we dat fantastisch.

Ja, blijven voetballen.

Blijven voetballen, ga jij lekker je droom najagen. Helemaal niks mis mee. Verlies jezelf maar in, nou verliezen ik bedoel dat moment van realiteitszin dat komt natuurlijk uiteindelijk toch. Dat moet je niet verstoren natuurlijk. Dat is hartstikke positief. Dichterbij in een groep, hoop je dat er, kijk elke groep heeft wat leiders, ja op het moment dat het negatief is; 'ah joh, ik heb geen zin, wie gaat er naar school?!'. Je kent dat, al die verhalen kregen natuurlijk wel. Dat is dan een beetje het simpele niveau, zal ik maar zeggen. Dan heeft dat weer een negatieve invloed op de groep. We hebben dat natuurlijk ook met hoe jongeren aan geld komen, dat kan negatief zijn. Maar soms heb je ook wel degelijk

jongeren die op straat rondhangen, avond aan avond, maar die maken op een of andere manier toch hun opleiding af. Die kunnen ook wel eens een voorbeeld zijn. En dan toch op een positieve manier een draai te geven aan een individu, nog niet eens aan een groep vaak. Maar goed. Rolmodellen zoals Said zei, in de groep zijn niet dik gezaaid.

Neem misschien dat als ze meer succesvol zijn, doordat ze hun opleiding verder afmaken, zou dat niet meer afstand tot de groep creëren? Dat ze dan op een gegeven moment; 'oh maar die gaat boven onze pet.' 'braaf boontje' of weet ik het.

Ja, kijk als jongeren hun opleiding afmaken, die onderdeel hebben uitgemaakt van een vaste groep, en die slagen, ja die gaan verder.

Het 'hangen' zelf is niet het probleem, buiten het overlast dat ze misschien veroorzaken, als ze maar op school blijven en een opleiding afmaken en een diploma halen. Dan is er later niks aan de hand. Dat hangen, als je dat aan de leeftijd gaat verbinden, vanaf hun 13e, meeste heb op hun 18/19e genoeg gehangen, dan willen ze dat niet meer. Dat groepje met wie ze dan hecht waren is voor hen niet meer, het wordt een negatief iets, ze willen niet meer met ze omgaan. Als op school zijn gebleven en een diploma hebben gehaald, dan gaat hun leventje gewoon verder. Ze houden daar een vriendje of een vriendinnetje aan over en verder klaar is Kees. Maar als het wel fout is gegaan, geen diploma of school verlaten, ja dan kan het fout gaan.

Ja rolmodellen, kijk natuurlijk hè, soms zijn dat vaders en moeders, broers; die kunnen allemaal heel positieve invloed hebben, maar geen garantie tot succes. Er zijn ook vaak rijke papa's en mama's en hun kinderen, nou ja dan denk je bij jezelf van; wat een onbehoorlijk tuig zeg. Dat heb je hier ook in Veenendaal. Voorbeelden van hangjongeren wiens ouders grootverdieners zijn, maar die wel... heus niet alleen achterstandswijk jongeren.

Nee

Maar die blijven dan wel op school, want hun ouders kunnen heel snel signaleren of ze een bepaalde stoornis of gedragsproblematiek hebben. Ze kunnen dan heel snel ingrijpen. Die zoeken dan ook de juiste hulp.

Die weten hoe het werkt, het systeem.

En niet pas 5 en 10 jaar later, ja shit er is iets aan de hand met deze jongeman.

Ik geloof dat wij wel rond zijn.

Mooi!

Appendix B: Interview Medewerker Cultuur

Interview met: *Rafael Kuik*

Functie: *Medewerker Cultuur*

Organisatie: *Jongerencentrum Escape Veenendaal*

Datum: *12 mei 2010*

Geïnterviewd door: *Janneke Jaquet en Ineke van der Heijden*

Interview manier: *face-to-face*

Soort interview: *focus interview*

Interview doel: *We willen graag informatie krijgen over het aanbod en aanpak van talent coaching door middel van muzische interventies in Veenendaal, of hierin Marokkaans-Nederlandse jongeren bij betrokken zijn/worden en op welke wijze.*

NB: *het was helaas niet mogelijk dit interview op tape op te nemen, vandaar dat de stijl van dit interview verslag misschien anders dan gebruikelijk is.*

I&J: Wat is houdt je functie in?

Rafael is medewerker Cultuur. Dit houdt in dat hij samen met jongeren activiteiten op cultureel vlak organiseert, zoals workshops acteren voor de camera, breakdance, rap enz. Ook organiseert hij evenementen. Op de evenementen die hij organiseert probeert hij (jong) Veenendaals talent te krijgen, bijvoorbeeld DJ's. Het hoofddoel is gericht zijn op talentontwikkeling bij de jongeren. Het gaat er dus niet zozeer om de problemen van de jongeren op te (helpen) lossen, maar juist om hen talenten aan te leren en te ontwikkelen. De jongeren moeten namelijk wel gemotiveerd zijn om mee te doen aan de workshops en bijeenkomsten.

I&J: Op welke manier pak je dit aan?

De medewerker Cultuur kiest voor een zowel aanbod- als vraaggerichte aanpak. Voor hij iets aanbiedt doet hij door kleinschalig onderzoek te doen om te kijken of het aansluit bij de jongeren, zoals door het aangaan van gesprekken, onderzoek op internet zoals sociaal netwerksites als Hyves en door te kijken naar de huidige trends. Maar hij gaat ook om de tafel met House DJ's. Aan de hand hiervan biedt hij workshops en samenkomsten aan. De jongeren zelf komen ook met ideeën en vragen en samen met de medewerker Cultuur kunnen deze ideeën in praktijk worden uitgevoerd. Als de jongeren met een vraag komen (bijvoorbeeld rap workshop), helpt hij hen organiseren. Bijvoorbeeld op een verhuurwijze. Het belangrijkste aandachtspunt op de culturele activiteiten is talent ontwikkeling en het ontdekken van deze talenten.

I&J: Aan wat voor activiteiten moeten we dan denken?

Vooral muziek is een veel gebruikt 'medium'. Muziek stijlen zoals hiphop, house, dance, hardcore enz. Voornamelijk Hiphop doet het goed bij jongeren. Hiphop is een subcultuur en heeft veel raakvlakken en overlappings met de straatcultuur.

Hiphop bevat de volgende elementen: dans, rap, graffiti en beat. Bijna alle jongeren hebben wel iets met hiphop. Daarnaast is muziek zelf erg bindend en een element van/in bijna alle culturen. Het is daarom ook een middel om moeilijke doelgroepen te bereiken. Daarnaast komen deze jongeren dan ook in aanraking met andere jongeren en raken ze betrokken bij elkaars cultuur.

I&J: Wat is nu precies jullie doelgroep?

Er komen jongeren van veel verschillende culturele achtergronden naar de workshops en bijeenkomsten. Er is geen verschil in aanpak bij deze jongeren. Alle jongeren zijn welkom, maar door het wat exclusieve karakter van de workshops, komen overlastgevende jongeren over het algemeen niet naar het jongerencentrum. Omdat van hen verwacht wordt dat ze tijdens de workshops en bijeenkomsten actief deelnemen in plaats van rond hangen.

De jongeren die wel deelnemen aan de activiteiten en die hun talenten zodoende ontwikkelen, kunnen rolmodellen worden voor andere jongeren.

I&J: Is er ook iets specifiek voor Marokkaans-Nederlandse jongeren?

In Escape is op woensdag- en vrijdagavond een Marokkaanse inloopavond. Marokkaanse vakkrachten 'organiseren' dit; ze worden hiervoor betaald. De aanwezige doelgroep is meestal rond

de 16 (+) jaar. Tijdens deze inloopavonden draait het voornamelijk om het nieuwtjes uitwisselen, tafelvoetballen, samen zijn enz. De jongerenwerkers lopen meestal ook even binnen.

In Veenendaal is ook 'De Geut', dit is een Marokkaans centrum en wordt georganiseerd door 5 Marokkaanse vakkrachten. Rafael heeft hier een keer een informatieve avond georganiseerd. Dit ging over verslaving. Dit is nog een groot taboe in de Marokkaanse gemeenschap. Aldus Rafael is de Marokkaanse cultuur een cultuur van Schaamte en Trots.

I&J: Hoe gaat dat in zijn werk in een jongerencentrum?

Cultureel jeugdwerk is aan het veranderen. Jongerencentra werken nu vaak op een heel open manier; de jongeren kunnen komen wanneer ze maar willen en ook doen wat ze willen, er zijn maar weinig verplichtingen. Er is een nieuwe ontwikkeling in het jongerenwerk: buurthuizen en jongerencentra worden talentcentra. Hier leren ze meer verantwoordelijkheden en komen ze alleen binnen door het tonen van bepaalde vaardigheden: 'aanbellen', contact leggen, voorstellen enz. De nieuwe aanpak is dat de jongeren dus niet meer zomaar binnen kunnen lopen, maar eerst moeten aanbellen, dan worden ze binnen gelaten door een jongeren werker/vrijwilliger die met hen een praatje maakt, daarna kunnen ze lid worden. Dit lidmaatschap houdt in dat ze toegang hebben tot het talentcentrum en dat er van ze verwacht wordt dat ze (actief) deelnemen. De jongerenwerker vindt zo een balans tussen een open en gesloten aanpak. De jongerenwerker is niet de expert, maar begeleidt en coacht de jongere om zijn talenten te ontwikkelen.

De jongeren moeten gemotiveerd zijn om hier wat te doen/leren. Dus niet zomaar wat rondhangen of chillen. In het talent ontwikkelen moet je je toelagen op het stimuleren van jongeren en (echte) interesse in hen tonen.

Appendix C: Interview Politie

Interview met: *Esther Driesman,*

Functie: *Wijkagent Veenendaal Centrum*

Organisatie: *Politie Veenendaal*

Datum: *31 mei 2010*

Geïnterviewd door: *Janneke Jaquet*

Interview manier: *Telefonisch*

Soort interview: *orientation interview*

Interview doel: *We willen graag informatie krijgen over het aantal jeugdgroepen in Veenendaal, de conflicten en op welke wijze de Politie in Veenendaal hen benaderd.*

Janneke: Hoeveel jeugdgroepen zijn er in Veenendaal? En wat voor soort jeugdgroepen?

Wijkagent Veenendaal Centrum;

Twee keer per jaar wordt door de Politie, de Ferweda & Beke short list ingevuld. Aan de hand hiervan brengen ze de hinderlijke, overlastgevende en criminele jeugdgroepen in kaart.

In Veenendaal zijn ongeveer 5 of 6 officieel geregistreerde jeugdgroepen. Er is 1 criminele groep, de overige zijn hinderlijke/overlastgevende groepen. Er zijn veel meer hanggroepen, (maar deze groepen veroorzaken niet of nauwelijks hinderlijk en/of overlastgevend gedrag,) en worden niet officieel in kaart gebracht. De politie schat dat er rond de 30 hanggroepen in Veenendaal zijn.

J: Wat is de aanpak van jeugdgroepen door de Politie in Veenendaal?

Wijkagent Veenendaal Centrum;

Als er zich problemen voordoen met de jongeren (bijv. door meldingen) probeert de Politie eerst met de jongeren in gesprek te gaan. Hierin maken ze afspraken en vaak lossen de problemen dan heel snel op.

Mocht dit niet lukken dan doet de Politie melding bij de Gemeente/ Stichting Welzijn. Dan worden er jongerenwerkers ingeschakeld die in kaart brengen welke jongeren, wat voor type jongeren enz. in de groep zitten. Vervolgens gaan ze aan de slag met wat nu de behoefte is van deze jongeren. Bijvoorbeeld een hangplek, activiteiten enz.

J: Maar wat is nu precies uw aanpak?

Wijkagent Veenendaal Centrum;

Vaak als de politie ergens bij wordt gehaald slaan de jongeren meteen op de vlucht en rennen alle kanten op. De Politie krijgt ze niet te pakken dan. Wat de Politie ook probeert en hoe zij ze ook benaderen, de jongeren hebben er echt een neus voor en gaan er meteen vandoor. Wat het dus heel moeilijk maakt om boetes uit te delen aan de jongeren. De Politie is echt voornamelijk van het strafrechtelijke gedeelte zoals; belediging, vernieling, (ernstige) geluidsoverlast, vervuiling enz. Als de Politie ziet dat jongeren rotzooi op de grond gooien, alcohol gebruiken enz. krijgen ze meteen een boete.

De Politie probeert erg multidisciplinair samen te werken met diverse andere partijen en samen om de tafel te gaan. Zo worden er in Veenendaal straatcoaches op de fiets, BOA's, buurtvaders en de Moskee ingezet. Deze worden allemaal in kennis gesteld en proberen ieder op hun eigen manier met de jongeren in contact te komen. De Politie is ook erg actief in contact met de Moskee en dringt daarbij erg aan op het aanspreken de jongeren maar ook van de ouders om hun kinderen beter in de gaten te houden en op te voeden.

J: Van welk conflict is er sprake?

Wijkagent Veenendaal Centrum;

Een groot 'conflict' is het verschil in opvoeden tussen Marokko en Nederland. In Marokko worden de kinderen/jongeren thuis door de ouders opgevoed en buitenshuis door de Politie. Maar in Nederland werkt (en mag) het zo niet. De Politie mag hier veel minder dan in Marokko en de jongeren weten dat en nemen daar duidelijk een loopje mee. Want de Politie kan en mag hen niet hard aanpakken.

De Politie wordt wel veel geschoold en bijgeschoold in de benadering en aanpak van jongeren. Onder andere over de straatcultuur. Op deze manier probeert de Politie de taal van de jongeren te (blijven) spreken en hen op een passende wijze te benaderen.

De Politie probeert ook de buurt in te schakelen. Vaak door/met behulp van jongerenwerkers en opbouwwerkers. Deze organiseren activiteiten zoals buurtfeest enz. Met als doel de buurt meer samen te binden en elkaar te betrekken bij het oplossen van problemen. Vaak worden er ook onderlinge afspraken gemaakt met de buurt en de jongeren. Esther vertelt dat je vaak ziet na een buurtactiviteit dat de buurtbewoners de jongeren beter durven aanspreken bij overtreding van de afspraken.

Opbouwwerkers doen van alles! Vooral onderzoek in de wijken bijv. door middel van enquêtes om er achter te komen waarin problemen/behoefte zijn.

In Veenendaal, maar ook in algemene zin, is er erg weinig tolerantie. Vooral naar jongeren en naar Marokkanen toe. Vaak doen de jongeren helemaal niets en wordt toch door de buurt de Politie ingeschakeld zonder dat de buurt de jongeren eerst zelf hebben aangesproken.

J: Kunt u hiervan een voorbeeld geven?

Wijkagent Veenendaal Centrum;

Pas liep ik met mijn collega over straat en toevallig liepen voor ons 4 Marokkaanse jongeren. We achter volgden hen niet want ze deden helemaal niet bijzonders; ze liepen gewoon van A naar B. Aan de overkant liep een oud vrouwtje haar hondje uit te laten, ze stak de straat over en sprak ons aan; 'het is toch een schande die jongeren! Je kunt niet meer veilig over straat!'

Terwijl de jongeren helemaal niets deden! Ook wordt vaak de Politie in geschakeld als de jongeren gewoon even samen staan te kletsen voor een huis; 'de hanggroep staat er weer!' Terwijl de jongeren er gewoon staan te praten en er verder niets aan de hand is.

Appendix D: Hip-hop Social Work

Hip-Hop Social Work

Hip-Hop is a modern mainstream young urban American culture. I know there are a lot of ideas there, but Hip-Hop's impact is as broad as that description suggests. Like rock and roll, blues, and jazz, Hip-Hop is primarily a musical form. But unlike those forms of Black music, Hip-Hop is more expansive in the ways it manifests itself, [and] as a result its impact is wider.... Hip-Hop communicates aspiration and frustration, community and aggression, creativity and street reality, style and substance. It is not rigid, nor is it easy to sum up in a sentence or even a book. Simply put, when you are in a Hip-Hop environment, you know it. It has a feel that is tangible and cannot be mistaken for anything else. — Russell Simmons, in *Life and Def: Sex, Drugs, Money * GOD*

Rap music, hip-hop, and social work may seem like an unlikely combination. They may, in fact, seem contradictory, because of rap's themes of misogyny, violence, and racism—but some Social workers find hip-hop not only a possible but highly beneficial therapeutic tool in working with some of their high-risk clients. As hip-hop and youth culture have become increasingly pervasive, it's likely the combination will become even more common as practitioners seek ways to interact successfully with the youth with whom they work.

One Social worker who used hip-hop in her practice for a time is Lauren Collins. Hip Hop Heals is a group therapy program for at-risk youth and young adults, whose passion for rap encourages an acceptance of therapy and an understanding of its goals, according to Collins, who holds an MSW from Hunter College's Graduate School of Social Work. "Hip Hop Heals provides a comfortable forum for honest self-examination while helping participants find their way along the path to personal growth," she adds.

One reason Hip Hop Heals may have been successful is that Collins shared her clients' passion for hip-hop. Realizing many of them were influenced by the hip-hop culture and its values, she developed a curriculum structured around the sounds and messages of rap music. The curriculum was first implemented at Palladia-Starhill, a residential alternative to incarceration in the Bronx, NY.

Collins used the lyrics of hip-hop to separate out "what's true and what's false" about the reality. "I'd tell them that rappers have a lot of money but can't pay for their kids' education. We talked about the misogyny, drug references, and gang violence—what's smoke and what's mirrors. Only about one percent of rappers really have money, and kids can't eat diamonds or learn from a car," says Collins. Collins' clients were African American and Hispanic males, 18-25, all mandated to be in the group. When they saw her, she admits, they started laughing, wondering what she'd know about hip-hop. They didn't want to talk to her. She started playing a Tupac song, "calming and equalizing them. It started a discussion, and they opened up," Collins says.

Ironically, she found, not all of her clients were into hip-hop—some really didn't like it. But she helped them understand that the songs topically had relevance to what brought them to jail and found the hip-hop program "made a huge impact." It helped unite the group and foster camaraderie.

Collins also used identification technique. She'd play the "worst" of hip-hop lyrics, the most demeaning, then point out that if anyone said them to their mother or sister, they'd beat up that person. "Then why buy into it," she would say to them. "How will you learn if you buy into this? You can like the beat, but not about beating 'bitches and hos.'" She also tried to play some socially conscious songs and to tell them they'd have to make changes if they didn't want to end up in jail again.

Since a number of her young clients had kids, Collins would also emphasize that the lyrics of hip-hop weren't "valuable for the kids to emulate." She adds, "We tried to help them learn a different skills set and perspective, the reality of what is being sold in these songs. You need to listen with a critical ear." Although Collins completed her last cycle of Hip Hop Heals for inmates last July to begin work at the Lexington School for the Deaf in New York City, she feels there's still a market for such a program for use in prisons, rehabilitation, and after school. "There was great receptivity to it," she says.

Another practitioner of this therapy, who has registered the name "Hip-Hop Therapist™" and "Hip-Hop Therapy®," is Nakeysaey M. Tillie Allen in the Los Angeles area. She uses the culture and music to engage high-risk youth and to encourage them to address their own issues in therapy by reflecting on how the lyrics of the songs relate to their own experiences. But hip-hop therapy uses concepts from established forms of therapeutic approaches, such as music therapy, behavioral therapy, and narrative therapy, Allen points out, and can be used in individual or group settings. Allen sees hip-hop therapy as engaging participants, stimulating discussion, and promoting critical examination of life issues, struggles, and experiences. But while allowing practitioners to embrace

youth culture, she says, it simultaneously attempts to deconstruct negative attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors held by the youth and to replace them with healthy and positive goals and objectives. While opponents of hip-hop may find it monolithic as well as objectionable, Allen sees hip-hop therapy as “creative and diverse,” because of the many different types of music, from gangsta to pro-social rap.

As part of assessment, Allen adds, the practitioner can explore the clients’ level of interest in hip-hop and their favorite songs. Hip-hop can also be used as a group icebreaker. “Lyrics that embody the clients’ presenting life issues or struggles can be chosen,” she says. “They can also write their own rap songs, and discussion of hip-hop music with those who enjoy it breaks down resistance.” As for the negative aspects, the Social worker wrote in an article in the Fall 2005 issue of Praxis, “Asking youth to relate their own lives to the messages conveyed by hip-hop encourages them to become critical thinkers, a skill that may be carried out of the therapeutic setting and applied to multiple facets of their lives. Exploring the questionable lyrics as they possibly relate to a client’s real-life issues...could also prove vital in creating a therapeutic alliance.”

The clients Allen had been working with when she turned to hip-hop therapy had problems with anger management, alcohol and drugs, as well as family relationships. But beyond that, she found it was “difficult to get them engaged” in therapy.

A lover of hip-hop personally, Allen was sitting in graduate class one day during a discussion of Freud and Maslow when she found herself relating some of her passion for this music to traditional psychotherapy.

“I use hip-hop through the intake and assessment process to determine what people like and enjoy and to help me get to know and understand them,” Allen says. “Hip-hop has roots in music and art, but also has cognitive and narrative concepts. A lot of my clients are young adults and adolescents, and they identify with the hip-hop culture through their dress and attitudes—not everyone really cares about the music, but the culture has an impact on them. They’re up on the players in the culture—movies, books, language.”

Hip-hop is also a useful tool in discussing the issues that brought clients to therapy. Often, Allen points out, they say that they don’t have a problem, but it’s only their Mom or some other adult who thinks they do. “How can I engage them and get to the heart of the issue?” Allen asks. “I’m able to ask probing questions about their likes and interests and to create a profile through the assessment.”

The responses of her clients to hip-hop aren’t always what she expects, Allen says. Some young ladies don’t have problems with the vulgar, misogynistic language of some rap songs, whereas some young men do. The main point, though, is the opening that the music provides for what the therapist calls “ah-ha moments.” “Clients would say to me, ‘I didn’t want to talk, and you got me to talk by focusing on someone else.’ Once there’s that breakthrough, we can start doing the work.”

How do therapists deal with the negative moral aspects of hip-hop? Allen’s response is that for many people, rap and hip-hop are about “truth and reality”—and the language part is very important. “There are those who find it difficult to embrace the language,” she says, “but it’s really how people think and feel. People use that language in everyday life, including the ‘N’ word. The major part of it is working with people to help with their problems. The goal is to get at the presenting issue using aspects of music and culture. It’s not about hip-hop.”

Hip-hop also represents a “this is who I am, in your face” attitude, says Allen. But through hip-hop, she helps introduce more “pro-social stuff” for kids and teaches the art of assimilation to society. “Once I have them engaged, I tell them they can’t go into other environments and be in people’s faces, that they can’t get their point across that way. That’s the relational aspect of therapy.... You have to be real and honest and have a thick skin about it. You can’t teach a young person anything new if you’re not relating to him or her.”

Further, Allen says, hip-hop is a bridge between clients and teachers, therapists, anyone who works with youth. “Many therapists are scared of clients, and many of the young people know it. They’re not taking anything seriously or getting anything out of anything. They’re disconnected from the clients, and no real work is being done.... We’re already prejudging them, and they know that. We have to take some ownership of how we work with our clients. It’s not just knowledge but skills.”

For Allen, hip-hop is not theoretical. After sexual abuse by a family member, having a child at 16, and legal trouble, she managed to graduate high school and found a way to connect through music—songs like “Hey, Young World” by Slick Rick’s “The World Was Yours.” “I felt let down by adults, and I knew I had to be there for my child. I became rooted in education, volunteered as a parenting mentor and facilitator.”

The trauma of her own life helped Allen relate to her clients—what it’s like to be an adolescent parent on welfare. “Many young people are products of failed relationships, and they don’t know why,” she

says. “A lot are hurt and don’t care. If they can find someone to relate to, they’ll do it. They don’t want to be alone. They gravitate toward gangs, music, popular culture. They don’t understand it’s just to entertain you.” On the other hand, no matter what their parents have done, Allen finds that many kids want to “run back” to them and to relate.

Hip-hop culture and the therapy it has engendered are not unique to the United States. In Canada, Social worker Stephen Leafloor founded Blue Print For Life Consulting, offering creative consulting, project management, and training in the fields of social work and education. Leafloor has more than 25 years’ experience as a front-line Social worker in the areas of wilderness programs, street work with youth at risk, residential group homes, child protection, and community outreach. He has also been an active participant in the hip-hop culture since 1981.

Music has been described as “the universal language,” and that goes for hip-hop, as well. Leafloor has been doing a number of hip-hop therapy projects in remote Cree, Dene, and Inuit communities in Canada. And he continues hands-on involvement in hip-hop himself. Leafloor, who describes himself as one of the oldest Bboys (breakdancers) still getting down actively, has been nicknamed Buddha by his clients. He is also the founder of Canada’s oldest Bboy crew, known as “The Canadian Floor Masters.”

“My team does social work through hip-hop programs through the Canadian Arctic and first-nations communities,” says Leafloor, who completed his thesis on hip-hop and its importance as a social and community development tool. “This work has been described as the most important social outreach in the Arctic in 20 years.” But they have not worked exclusively with aboriginal youth. “We also work with youth from a 24-hour lockup and inner-city youth, including Sudanese refugee kids in Calgary, Alberta, and other locations,” he says. Leafloor also teaches cast members at Cirque Du Soleil and helps train their staff in the company’s social outreach program, Cirque Du Monde.

Leafloor and his team have been keynote speakers at national conferences on bullying, as well as a United Nations youth conference, among other such gatherings, and the subject of a number of documentaries have been done about their work.

The “cornerstone” to what he and his team do, Leafloor continues, is to re-educate young people on the real positive messages of hip-hop while encouraging them to “find their own voice through bringing their traditional culture into hip-hop, so that throat singing, an ancient Inuit tradition, might be mixed with Beat Box—drum beats made with one’s mouth in hip-hop.”

As part of the team’s projects, they encourage youth to create a large graffiti piece in each project—of a positive youth message the participants can come up with. The message is “full of their symbols and often done in their own language,” Leafloor adds.

Dr. Edward Tyson, a professor at Fordham University in New York, has been providing the research framework for what other Social workers are doing clinically. He has been studying the relationship between rap music and youth attitudes, perceptions and behaviors, as well as the therapeutic use of rap music.

Tyson’s interest in hip-hop was piqued in 1998, when he worked as a social work practitioner in a shelter in Miami for kids with problems of delinquency, running away, and homelessness. “Kids would sing rap lyrics, and I was interested in whether they realized the underlying message,” he says. “For example, there was a song in which the rapper sang about the death of a friend and seeing that person in the next life. I wondered whether the kids would understand the spiritual message, and to my surprise, they were right on point.”

Rap lyrics in particular opened a conversation with a young man whose mother was on drugs and whose grandmother, who had cared for him, had died. He never wanted to talk about the death and had been in the shelter for three months already. “I asked the boy if he felt the way about his grandmother that the song said, and he said, ‘Yes, stop asking me about it. I’m on with it.’ It took music to have the conversation. The lyrics gave the breakthrough to have the discussion. Before that, he just said he didn’t want to talk about it.”

Tyson’s academic research continues. He has gotten a grant to study scientifically the themes of violence and sexism in hip-hop and to see if people could agree on their perceptions. “If the responses are too individualized, it makes no sense to say the lyrics do this or that,” Tyson explains. “We try to make generalizations.”

Tyson is about to submit for publication a study of 350 African American and Latino youth in a Paterson, NJ, high school comparing the effect of rap they listen to with videos they watch. His team asked how many hours they watched or listened and then compared the data with the students’ school records—such as grades and number of suspensions, for example.

"There's indisputable evidence that video games and media imagery have an effect on kids' behavior," Tyson says. "But I wondered whether hearing violent, racist, or sexist themes has an effect. We found that the lyrics had no effect."

Not that Tyson is minimizing the negative aspects of hip-hop, especially the "highly commercialized and regimented" kind. "That's what gets promoted," he says. "But if you look at underground or unpublished rap or rap online, it's different. So many popular artists wrote and produced interesting songs about peace, unity, and nonviolence that aren't being played mainstream. There are good and bad rap lyrics. Tupac has a lot of bad stuff, but also has fabulous music he promoted. Most rappers are more complex and sing across the board of messages."

To Allen, Tyson is the originator of both the phrase and the concept "hip-hop therapy." "I give him homage," she says. "

One of Tyson's contributions is the RAP—Rap Music Attitude & Perception Scale—a 24-item measure of a person's thoughts and feelings about the effects and content of rap music. He designed it as a rapid assessment instrument for youth programs and practitioners using rap music and hip-hop culture in their work with young people, their families, and the community. The model draws from traditional social work principles, as well as established therapeutic models, Tyson says.

Knowing about hip-hop before you employ it as a therapeutic technique is critical, even if you can't necessarily relate to the backgrounds of clients who have grown up with drug dealers or bullets whizzing past their heads, Collins notes. "If I didn't know the stuff, I'd get torn down," she says. "The clients would see through you. You have to have the foundation—of the history, culture, and artists. You can't pretend to know if you don't." *Barbara Trainin Blank*

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Appendix E: Newspaper articles

(The following information is an English translated summary of the original articles)

Police report – published spring 2010

- Tilburg, W.A.C., van (13-01-2009). Analyse Marokkaanse daderpopulatie van gemeenten in Veenendaal. KLPD.

In 2007 the KLPD (Royal National Police Department) has made a list of all the cities with the numbers of Moroccan suspects. The cities high in the list are given more governmental support (money) to deal with these 'problems'. The list was made public in the beginning of 2010. Veenendaal is quite high in the list (8th place from the 181 cities who have Moroccan suspects) and this is surprising, because of Veenendaal only has 62,000 inhabitants and is a city with a 'Christians image'.

Newspaper articles - 17 march t/m 22 march, 2010

- Schellekens, D. (17-03-2010) 'Cijfers zijn niet keihard.' *De Gelderlander*. p. 21.

('These numbers are not hard')

The mayor of a Veenendaal, Ties Elzenga, is happy with the reports about Moroccan suspects. But he also criticises the 'hardness' of some numbers. He would wanted to have discussed about the used numbers, before the list was published. 'I don't want to detract from the value of the numbers and I think it is good that they have been made public. But some of the numbers aren't hard. I asked the KLPD about it and some points that were toned down. I cannot see if the Moroccan suspects from Veenendaal also carry out their activities within Veenendaal' - Ties Elzenga. The report is about suspects and not about convicted. 'The numbers do not surprise, but it gives you a fright when you see them.' - Ties Elzenga. (Schellekens, *De Gelderlander*, 17-03-2010, p. 21)

- Sequel to previous article → Schellekens, D. (17-03-2010) Naast de cijfers telt ook het veiligheidsgevoel. *De Gelderlander*. p. 24.

('Next to the numbers, the feeling of safety also counts')

The civilians do not care if their city has a high or low place in the list. They care about their own experiences of safety. Because civilians are scared of the (behaviour of) Moroccan-Dutch youngsters, they like to see the police on a regular base walking or driving through the neighbourhood.

The mayor of a Veenendaal thinks it was about time that money and attention was paid to the problems with Moroccan-Dutch youngsters. Some people doubted if the situation was serious enough for this attention. The local governments of several cities, who deal with problems caused by 'Moroccans', came together to discuss their approach. This summer annual report from the KLPD will be presented with the numbers from 2009.

- Schellekens, D. (18-03-2010) 'Ga niet alleen over straat' *De Gelderlander*. p. 1.

('Don't go out on the streets alone')

'It is too dangerous to go outside alone, in the nights' said the mayor of Veenendaal, after a man who was ill treated being left on the railway undressed. Elzenga used in a statement the words; 'shocking, horrible, cowardly and without conscience'. The police talks of a new kind of violence. 'Because of the combination of robbery and severe humiliation'- a spokesman of the police.

- Sequel to previous article → Schellekens, D. (18-03-2010) Marokkaanse bestuur pakt overlast jeugd aan. *De Gelderlander*. p. 10)

('Moroccan committee deals with problematic youth')

Veenendaal – By invitation from mayor Ties Elzenga, on Wednesday several institutions, together with the police, talked about the problems with Moroccan youngsters in Veenendaal. The mayor invited them to share their feelings and talk about what goes around in the Moroccan community. This was on account of a series of robberies last weekend.

The meeting took place, including youth workers from the foundation *Welzijn Veenendaal* (welfare Veenendaal), the president from the foundation *Marokkaanse Belangen Veenendaal* (Moroccan interest Veenendaal), a representative of Muslim/youngsters and an involved father. They all condemned the robberies.

During the meeting agreements have been made about the role of the Moroccan community in the following days. The imam will be summoned to give, this Friday, attention to the situation and youngsters will be talked to directly by the institutions who were present at the meeting. After this, the mayor also spoke to the president of the Mosque-committee.

According to Elzenga, the KLDP reports about the number of Moroccan suspects in the cities and the incidents last weekend, work negatively for the Moroccan community in Veenendaal. Elzenga; 'we do not want this. That is why it is good when the Moroccan community shows initiative to deal with the nuisance and criminal behaviour among youngsters.'

- Huisman, C. (20-03-2010) Veenendaal lijdt aan tunnelangst. *De Volkskrant*. p. 3.

('people of) Veenendaal suffer from tunnel-fear')

A 34-year-old Moroccan woman said that she also does not dare to cycle through the tunnel (where one of the incidents took place, ed.) 'Besides, we are very much ashamed, when we heard that the offenders have a Moroccan background,' she says. 'When this continues, none of our children will have a job. The police has to seriously take hold of these boys.'

- Winkel, A. (22-03-2010) 'Op fiets uitgaan mag niet van mam.' *De Gelderlander*. p. 4,5.

('I can't go out on my bike tonight, mum says')

Civilians are, a week later, not so much impressed by the warning from their mayor. 'What the mayor is doing now, doesn't make any sense. He has to deal with the cause, not the consequences.' - a girl from Veenendaal. The police was present with a large team of 20 (wo)men, to maintain the peace. Nothing really happened that weekend.