Imagined moral communities

Negotiating everyday exclusion and diversity in Leiden

S1010794

Tommie Lambregts

Supervisor: Dr. E. de Maaker

MSc Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology: Policy in Practice

Leiden University Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences

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1. There goes the neighbourhood

1.1 From 'going native' to 'being native'

During the winter months, the youth workers at *Sport- en Jongerenwerk Leiden* [Sport and Youth Work Leiden] organise a weekly indoor football activity for the local adolescents, at the multi-purpose building in Leiden-Noord known as *Het Gebouw*. On one particular evening (11 January 2019), I turned up at *Het Gebouw* only to find out that due to a lack of qualified youth workers being available to lead the activity, it had been cancelled. A number of *Sport- en Jongerenwerk* interns and volunteers stayed behind at *Het Gebouw* to let anyone who had not received the message know the bad news. Among them was Alex, who was a 32-year-old Dutch intern at *Sport- en Jongerenwerk*. He began talking to the group about his hair, saying he had bought special shampoo from a Turkish shop. Nous, a 16-year-old from Leiden with Moroccan parents, joked about how Alex had betrayed the Moroccans by buying his hair products at a Turkish shop. Alex he said he did not have Moroccan hair like them, to which Youcef (21) said, "Me neither, I'm Algerian." Alex then went on to remark that with my arrival at *Het Gebouw* there was a Dutch majority in the room. Moments later, he corrected himself when a young man named Mehdi (19) entered, with Alex referring to him as Moroccan. Mehdi replied indignantly, claiming he was Dutch, that he was born in the Netherlands and had a Dutch passport. Alex then offered everyone tea, but I was the only one who accepted. Alex joked that the reason only us two were drinking tea was that the others probably wanted 'special' tea with 50 cubes of sugar in it. I had really only accepted the tea out of politeness. Later on, Alex saw Nous on his phone and found out he was messaging with a Dutch girl. Nous smiled and said, "They're the most beautiful." Youcef muttered something about integration, while Alex was explaining that he himself had a Moroccan girlfriend. Nous was surprised and said to Youcef, "Wow, this *tata* has a Moroccan girlfriend!" As Mehdi complained about everyone thinking in boxes and categories, Alex told Nous that he took offence to the word *tata*, which he considered a derogatory term for 'white people'.

A few games of ping-pong later, Youcef and Alex decided they should head into the surrounding neighbourhoods to check up on kids that might be hanging around. We split into groups, with Alex, Nous and I heading into the Slaaghwijk neighbourhood. Alex told Nous to show me the places where people mostly hang out in the neighbourhood, because Nous lived in the Slaaghwijk. We cycled to the football cage, the central meeting point for most adolescents in the area. Nous explained that footballs would regularly fly over the cage and into the ditch behind it, but that the municipality never did anything about it. He also said that neighbours would complain that they were throwing things into the water in an attempt to get the ball out. As part of his work

for *Sport- en Jongerenwerk*, Nous organised football matches twice a week at the football cage. While those matches were primarily for the younger children in the neighbourhood, there would supposedly always be older boys by the parking lot next to the cage, hanging out in their cars, smoking, watching. After our conversation about the football cage, we cycled back to *Het Gebouw*. On the way there, Nous complained about Leiden, claiming it was a boring city. Alex disagreed, saying Nous would have a different opinion in a few years, as an adult. Pondering his future, Nous remarked, "If I'm 18 and I'm still working for *Jongerenwerk*, then I'll be on the right path." Alex asked, "What's the wrong path? Drugs and criminality?" Nous nodded, and vowed to stay on the right path.

As I left Alex and Nous behind at *Het Gebouw* and started cycling home, I began processing the evening. I wondered whether some of the topics that were discussed would have come up at all if Alex had not been there. After all, Alex had begun making distinctions between nationalities and cultural customs. In fact, after spending most of the conversation categorising everyone, he was offended by Nous calling him a *tata*. *Tata* is the name used by some migrant groups in the Netherlands to refer to 'white' Dutch people. Essentially, Alex was fine categorising everyone else based on different characteristics but was offended when he himself was then categorised and felt excluded based on something he considered an offensive point of emphasis: his skin colour. Yet the same exclusionary process occurred when Mehdi walked in the room and Alex referred to him as Moroccan. Mehdi considered himself Dutch, referring to legal prerequisites of Dutch citizenship (born in the Netherlands, Dutch passport). Perhaps Alex was unaware of those facts, but he still made an assumption about Mehdi that he did not make about me (coincidentally, also a *tata*), for example. The implication of Alex' thinking is that there are conditions to 'being Dutch' that go beyond being born in the Netherlands or having a Dutch passport – those who drink their tea a certain way or have a certain type of hair are not initially considered Dutch by Alex. On my way home, I also pondered the football cage and the atmosphere that surrounded it. With Nous having regular interactions with irritated neighbours and supposedly shady characters in the area of the football cage, I began wondering about the normative moral distinction between the 'right' and 'wrong' paths. If Nous was still a youth worker at age 18 but also still threw rubbish in the ditch trying to get his football back – would he be on the right path? If Nous was no longer a youth worker at age 18 but parked his car next to the football cage, occasionally smoking a cigarette while doing so – would he be on the wrong path? To me, the issues in this paragraph highlighted the importance of discerning how adolescents from migrant backgrounds position themselves with regard to 'being Dutch', as well as how they develop their moral reasoning while growing up.

1.2 The culturalist turn

Over the last several decades, issues of migration, integration and belonging have come to the forefront of public and academic debate in the Netherlands. Political scientist and author Paul Scheffer's essay entitled *Het multiculturele drama* ['The Multicultural Tragedy'] – published in *NRC Handelsblad* in January 2000 – set the tone for the integration discourse in the Netherlands in the twenty-first century (Entzinger 2006: 128). In it, Scheffer argued that the problems caused by the supposedly continuous flow of "Third World" migrants into the Netherlands in the second half of the twentieth century had been completely ignored by lackadaisical political elites, resulting in an "ethnic underclass" that had failed to integrate into Dutch society (Scheffer 2000). Scheffer claimed that the Netherlands had become ethnically and culturally divided, in no small part due to decades of *gedogen* [English: toleration, although not a literal translation, TL] with regard to the cultural and religious backgrounds of the migrants, and the fact that the Dutch seemed uninterested in their national borders, culture and history. By 2015, Scheffer warned, twelve percent of the country would be an *allochtoon* [English: born outside of the Netherlands, or at least one parent that was, TL] and in the four big cities that number would be around fifty percent. It was a clash of cultures, Scheffer said, and the fear of minorities was palpable on the streets of Amsterdam. It would be unwise and inaccurate to attribute the beginning of culturalist discourse in the Netherlands to Paul Scheffer, although I would argue his role was significant. As a prominent member of the social-democratic *Partij van de Arbeid* [the Dutch Labour Party], his essay legitimised the concerns and opinions of political parties and figures of the far-right in the Netherlands that had been ostracised for making similar arguments in previous decades. Scheffer's sentiments in *Het multiculturele drama* were illustrative of the 'platform' on which far-right political parties such as *Lijst Pim Fortuyn*, *Partij voor de Vrijheid* and *Forum voor Democratie* have since achieved significant mainstream electoral success.

The Slaaghwijk neighbourhood in the Dutch city of Leiden can be easily depicted as a multicultural ghetto, filled with poorly integrated migrants and systemic poverty. It is important, however, to question the accuracy of such a depiction and the conceptual assumptions on which it relies. Paul Scheffer's argumentation of the Netherlands' failed multicultural society of the late twentieth century relies on three premises. Firstly, the refusal of politicians and policy makers to acknowledge the potential social upheaval arising from their over-tolerant integration policies; secondly, the disconcerting religious and cultural values of *allochtonen* that were insufficiently addressed because of those policies; thirdly, the unfeasibility of integration into a society that does not value its own cultural heritage, identity or language. In almost two decades since Scheffer's essay, everything and nothing has changed. Within three years, a committee was installed by

Parliament to investigate the cause of the supposedly failed integration of immigrants in the Netherlands (Entzinger 2006: 135-136). Shortly after, a stricter integration policy was implemented by the Dutch government, placing the responsibility of integrating on the newcomers (ibid: 131). The new integration polices involved making the entire naturalisation process significantly more expensive and complicated, as well as mandatory integration courses that had to be paid for by migrants themselves (ibid). The integration courses were mandatory in order to qualify for the integration exam, which would test the participant's knowledge of the Dutch language and culture. Failure of the integration exam results in a monetary penalty and, theoretically speaking, repatriation. With regard to the apparent apathy of Dutch society to its own national identity, a recent poll by the *EenVandaag* Opinion Panel found that two thirds of its participants felt that the Dutch identity was under threat (Klapwijk 2019). The televised debates leading up to the Dutch general election in 2017 were dominated by the subject of Dutch identity, and again in the lead up to the municipal elections in 2018 (Abels 2017; Hulstein 2018). What we can conclude from this is that Paul Scheffer's opinions on the state of Dutch integration and multiculturalism have become mainstream among the majority of the 'native' Dutch, but also that the Dutch identity is perceived to be at risk in 2019 despite the implementation of strict integration policies in 2003.

While municipalities are responsible for facilitating and assisting in the integration process, integration policy itself is decided at the national level. This means that the culturalist discourse on integration that features so prominently in Paul Scheffer's essay and in subsequent national debates is inevitably present in Leiden to some degree – Leiden has to implement national integration policy. The question is whether Scheffer's analysis actually resonates in Leiden, and whether decades of supposedly failing integration policies have yielded the same results in the city as elsewhere in the country. In fact, Scheffer's blame-shifting directed at migrants regarding their inability or unwillingness to adapt to their new environment actually triggers the reverse question: How do migrants form and experience their relationships with their socio-cultural surroundings? This is an urgent question as it takes the experiences of the people concerned as the point of departure, rather than an analysis of their conformance to externally imposed integration criteria, as has so often been the case in research on integration and multiculturalism. The backdrop of my research in Leiden is then the perceived incompatibility between *allochtonen* and 'Dutch natives' by people like Paul Scheffer and national policy makers, as well as their portrayal of those two categories as separate and self-evident.

As part of the MSc Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology at Leiden University, I was presented with a number of questions and themes with regard to the Slaaghwijk neighbourhood in Leiden by my supervisor, Dr. Erik de Maaker, and by representatives of the

municipality. The internship took place within the broader context of intensified collaboration between Leiden University and the municipality, with the goal of contributing to the municipality's 'evidence-based policy'. The Slaaghwijk was described to me by municipal representatives as a neighbourhood with a significant number of social issues, facing challenges with regard to crime, unemployment and debt. The municipality was particularly interested in gaining new insights regarding how to deal with the Slaaghwijk's most 'problematic' group – adolescent males. Particularly, how the municipality should present itself to them, what the 'turning points' where in the lives of adolescent males in the Slaaghwijk, and the role of culture and religion in the social issues facing the neighbourhood. They found the older adolescents and young adults difficult to reach, and were keen to hear what advice they might have for the municipality.
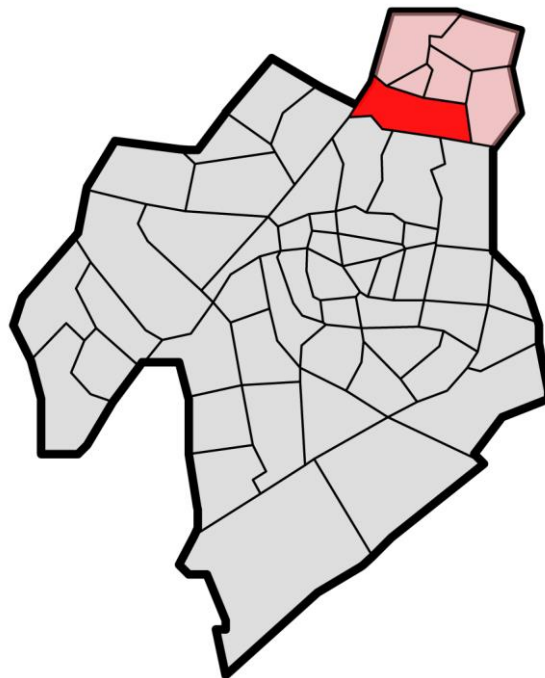
Fig.1   Map of Leiden showing municipal and neighbourhood boundaries. The Slaaghwijk is highlighted, as is the district (Merenwijk) in which it is situated.

In his essay in 2000, Paul Scheffer warned of the segregation within the Dutch education system and the isolation of neighbourhoods, which could result in 'spontaneous apartheid'. In the Slaaghwijk, we can see some evidence of the segregation to which Scheffer was referring. Over several decades, the Slaaghwijk has become an 'arrival neighbourhood' – meaning a neighbourhood in which migrants settle initially after their arrival in the Netherlands (Van der Zande & Manders 2015: 16-17). The local primary school *Bredeschool Merenwijk* is often referred to as a 'black school' due to over half the pupils having a non-Western migrant background, and its pupils tend to progress to lower levels of Dutch secondary education relative to the rest of Leiden (ibid: 10). The explanation given for this is that schoolchildren from the Slaaghwijk tend to have a lower Dutch

language proficiency, which itself is caused by them primarily speaking their native language at home (ibid). According to statistics provided by community organisation Libertas Leiden, approximately forty-five percent of the population of the Slaaghwijk is of a non-Western background, relative to fifteen percent on average in the rest of the city (ibid: 23). In fact, if we also take the group of Western migrants into account then it becomes clear that there is technically a Dutch 'minority' in the Slaaghwijk. With no real majority group in the Slaaghwijk, diversity is the new norm. This raises all kinds of interesting questions with regard to integration, the most important one being: With no visible native majority in the Slaaghwijk, what are we expecting the migrants to integrate 'into'? The social condition of the Slaaghwijk is then best described as 'super-diverse' – the migrants that settle in the Slaaghwijk come from an ever widening range of ethnic, socio-economic and educational backgrounds, differing legal statuses and ages, and arriving there through increasingly diversified channels of migration. Super-diversity is then to be understood as the 'diversification of diversity', a new way of looking at and interpreting migration patterns and the multiplication of social categories that arise from them (Wessendorf 2014: 2).

Part of my problem with the notion (and application) of integration in the Netherlands is its unclear definition in both public policy and political discourse. The constant moving of the goalposts by lawmakers over the last half-century with regard to Dutch citizenship has led to the exclusion and 'othering' of entire groups of people in the Netherlands, often based on cultural, or even racial, assumptions (Bonjour & Duyvendak 2018). When can someone be considered 'Dutch' and by extension, what does being 'Dutch' even mean? The difficulties in answering those questions become even clearer when dealing with second-generation migrants, who despite being born and raised in the Netherlands still feel like second-rate citizens (Dagevos & Huijnk 2016: 25). Among adolescents belonging to the second-generation of migrants, their feeling of exclusion from what they perceive to be 'Dutch society' is exacerbated by their perception of constantly being associated with supposed membership of an ethnic or religious group that does not belong in Netherlands (ibid). Therefore, I would like to take the perspective of adolescent migrants on their 'exclusion' as the point of departure – how do they position themselves in relation to the world around them? What role (if any) does their migrant background play in their everyday lives? Much of the ethnographic research done on adolescents from migrant backgrounds in the Netherlands has focussed on whether or not there is a relationship between ethnicity and crime (Van Gemert 1998; De Jong 2007; Bovenkerk 2014; Werdmölder 2015). The conclusions often vary from a strong ethnic or cultural relationship with crime, to none at all. They often establish notions of moral codes or street logics as a way of clarifying behaviours, though I would argue that they do little to engage with morality itself. Put simply, they attempt to explain the behaviour of individuals

and groups as relative to the moral codes that exist within the social contexts from which they are said to originate. Yet they do not delve further into what being a 'moral person' means to those individuals, or how to interpret the moral aspects of their actions. Regarding those social contexts, in an increasing number of neighbourhoods in the largest Dutch cities, over half the population is of a non-Western migrant background. I have argued that this means there is no local native majority into which the migrants can be expected to integrate. In those neighbourhoods, diversity and difference become the norm, which I claim is best studied through the lens of super-diversity. These matters led me to the following research question: **How do adolescents with a migrant background negotiate exclusion, morality and diversity?** In order to answer that question, I decided to break it down into smaller and more specific domains. This resulted in the following sub-questions:

- *How do adolescents from the Slaaghwijk position themselves in relation to what they perceive as 'Dutch society'?*

This sub-question will explore 'otherness' as a shared characteristic of my research group, the degree and manner in which they experience exclusion, and their perceptions of their place in relation to a supposed native majority.

- *What are the moral dispositions of adolescents from the Slaaghwijk?*

With this sub-question, I will explore the moral worlds of adolescents in the Slaaghwijk. Particularly, the development of their own virtues, their relationship with morality, and the 'ethical moments' in which my research population exhibits conscious moral decision-making.

- *What is the role of diversity in the everyday lives of adolescents from the Slaaghwijk?*

This sub-question deals with diversity across and within the various categorisations of people in the Slaaghwijk. Drawing from super-diversity, this sub-question will re-evaluate the meaning of diversity in the Slaaghwijk and discuss the insights provided by an intersectional approach.

1.2   Method

In this section I will discuss my various methodological approaches, how I positioned myself in relation to my respondents, and the ethical considerations with regard to this thesis and my findings. In terms of method, I will talk about what went well, what went not so well, and how I tried to overcome the difficulties. I will then go on to discuss my struggles in defining myself with regard to my research population, followed by how I dealt with various potential conflicts of interest surrounding my research internship. To round out the section, I will discuss various ethical considerations with regard to my fieldwork and the choices made in this thesis.

Before embarking on my fieldwork, I was challenged with seeking out key informants, making contact with people in the Slaaghwijk and ensuring I had something to do in the three months that I was there. I benefitted greatly from the fact that a fellow anthropology student had just finished her own fieldwork in the Slaaghwijk, and with the encouragement of our shared supervisor Erik de Maaker, I was able to learn a lot about the neighbourhood from her. Being able to ask questions, acquire phone numbers through her and hear about her experiences in the Slaaghwijk provided me with many advantages. Though there is a risk of bias – after all, my perception of the Slaaghwijk and my contacts in the Slaaghwijk were through someone else's network – I consider it a good trade-off considering the access it created for me. Particularly getting the phone number of one of the youth practitioners at *Sport- en Jongerenwerk* (Sport and Youth Work) and the personal phone number of the local neighbourhood policeman proved to be essential contacts for me in the field. I would have wanted to achieve a broader perspective that included that of the 'native Dutch' in the Slaaghwijk. However, given the narrow timeframe there had to be some degree of focus and prioritising.

Fig.2   The football cage in the Slaaghwijk, viewed from the south

What was unique about my method was the fact that I had the opportunity and the ability to play football with my respondents. In this case there were two primary locations: outside in the local football cage and inside in the sports hall. For the purpose of accuracy, I will refer to the instances that I played at the football cage as 'football', and the games in the sports hall as 'futsal'. This due to the difference in the balls and rules being used. Being able to participate in an activity with them was only one aspect of my research – through the game of football I was in the position to compete alongside and against my respondents. Whether through the co-dependence of being on the same team, or as part of the opposition, it allowed me to build a relationship and earn their respect. An

important aspect of this is obviously skill, as the simple fact that you are participating does not necessarily imply that you have any actual ability. Thankfully, more than two decades of football practice meant I was not only able to keep up with them, but that I could also be an important factor on the teams that I was part of. I will not deny that I had a clear strength advantage, considering I was at least ten years older than most of them, but I feel that advantage was largely negated by how quick and agile they were compared to me. While playing football with my respondents had its obvious benefits for the establishment of rapport and trust, it was more complicated in terms of yielding actual data. I found that during actual games it was next to impossible to have any meaningful kind of conversation on actual substance. When it was not my turn and I sat with the other boys on the sideline, it was very difficult to start conversations related to my research without seeming intrusive or overly inquisitive. As a result, I mostly had to eavesdrop conversations and hope that they would be discussing something of substance. I had originally planned to have football as my main research method, but felt that after a few weeks in the field that I had only collected very superficial data. Though at the time it was a source of panic for me, I later realised football was only one piece of the puzzle, it was not the answer to everything. If I were to gather meaningful data then I needed to start using football to create new situations and interactions for myself.

I found that my 'richest' data primarily came from conversations and observations away from the football court, and from the six semi-structured interviews that I conducted. One of the best moments in terms of conversations came on an evening where there was no football being played at all. I had turned up to *Het Gebouw* on a Friday evening, like I did every Friday evening, only to find that the futsal activity organised by *Sport- en Jongerenwerk* had been cancelled without me knowing about it. Instead, all the youth workers and a handful of adolescents were at a charity dinner in the cafeteria of *Het Gebouw*. I was invited to join them at their table and ended up having numerous useful conversations and making various insightful observations. I was the beneficiary of circumstance, but it allowed me to make connections with some of the respondents I ended up interviewing. Another major advantage of building a relationship with both the adolescents and the youth workers is that they can help immensely in the search for other respondents. In one case, I was able to get an interview with someone who had been in prison but had since turned his life around, primarily due to the relationship I had built up with one of the youth workers. Another respondent who had been quite suspicious of my presence at first ended up agreeing to an interview because of our conversation at the charity dinner. Instances such as the charity dinner are difficult to predict and require a bit of luck. As a researcher, you can only do your best to put yourself in

the position to get lucky. In terms of the willingness of a respondent to help you find other respondents, that requires some form of relationship and social skills.

1.3   Positioning myself

Football was an important part of putting me in the position to have meaningful conversations with my respondents. However, for many respondents I was difficult to place – many were not sure whether I was an intern at *Sport- en Jongerenwerk*, a municipal representative or just an interested local student. Part of why my respondents were unsure of my role is because I had made the decision to distance myself from organisations or institutions that might have been detrimental for our relationship. I had understood from various neighbourhood actors that presenting myself as a municipal representative or initially entering the neighbourhood with a local police officer could potentially ruin any opportunity of an open and trusting relationship with my research population. As a result, I made sure that I had very little contact with police officers in the neighbourhood itself and insisted I had very little contact with the municipality, which was true. Nevertheless, there was a moment where I was confronted with how fragile my position was. Around halfway through my research I was joined in the field by my supervisor Erik de Maaker, who I then showed around the neighbourhood. As we approached the football cage, we were immediately surrounded by the local youth that then began bombarding us with requests for improvements to the cage. I assume they thought Erik looked like someone who might work for the municipality and they were finally able to make sense of who I was – I must have been Erik's assistant. After six weeks of trying to break down the barrier between me and my research subjects, there it was again. By introducing Erik into the situation I was no longer a local student trying to hang out with them, I became a face of the municipality. There were similar situations during the indoor football activities organised by *Sport- en Jongerenwerk*. Every now and then, the youth workers that were in charge would leave the sports hall and the children would look to me for answers. On one occasion, I was the referee for one of the games, only to experience how irritated everyone gets with referees. From that moment on, I decided that was not the relationship I wanted with my research subjects, and I told them to sort it out amongst themselves.

Jan Dirk de Jong, a criminologist affiliated with Erasmus University Rotterdam and Hogeschool Leiden who had done ethnographic research on juvenile delinquency among Moroccan adolescent males in Amsterdam, advised me not to assume that I had any idea what it was like for these boys to grow up in the Slaaghwijk, and that I should present myself to them as completely uninformed. Despite having a mother who had migrated to the Netherlands from Scotland, I was aware that I should not project my own 'migrant experiences' onto my research population. In the early days of my fieldwork, I struggled with my 'informal talks' and felt that I

had to steer the conversations towards my analytical concepts or certain thematic questions. Jan Dirk stressed the importance of letting my research subjects explain everything to me, rather than me approaching them with concepts in the back of my mind. This meant having to 'forget' a lot of my preliminary research, and letting go of some topics and concepts for a while. It was an aspect of my fieldwork that I found extremely challenging in the beginning, for multiple reasons. There had been numerous researchers in the Slaaghwijk before me that had explored very practical questions, and it was my feeling that many of my respondents had similar expectations for my research. This made it difficult to answer the question, "What exactly are you researching?" as I felt that my explanation would either be too complicated and create distance between us, or be too vague causing them not to take me seriously. My eventual solution was telling them I was collecting stories and experiences of people growing up in the Slaaghwijk, though I was never entirely satisfied with that as it made me seem like a journalist. Another difficulty that I associated with the practical expectation of me as a researcher is that I felt my respondents were expecting me to ask them specific questions rather than simply hang out with them. There was also a danger in asking too many consecutive questions, as I wanted to avoid giving my subjects the feeling that I was interrogating them.

Another challenging aspect to the whole process was the matter of my independence as a researcher. On paper this project was a research internship; it was a collaboration between the municipality and Leiden University. There were also formal aspects to the arrangement that could be expected of an internship. For example, I had an interview with municipal officials upon which they based their decision whether or not to give me the internship, and the expectation was that I provided them with a set of recommendations and answers to questions that they had about the neighbourhood. From that perspective, it felt rather like working on behalf of the municipality. There was also the element of my supervisor being the person behind the collaboration between the university and the municipality. From his perspective, he wanted my internship to be a success so that the partnership between the two parties could continue. However, my supervisor also emphasised the importance of independent research and made sure I could operate autonomously. Somewhere in all of the potential conflicts of interest there was a challenge, a test of my own integrity and independence. In the end though, there was also the realisation that the municipality wants a better perspective on the Slaaghwijk, and that they were looking to improve their policies. The municipal government is not a monolith, and the municipal officials I spoke to were not afraid of constructive criticism. They also left me to my own devices during my fieldwork, which reinforced my feeling of independence. At the time of writing, I have not yet shared my definitive

research findings with them, though I gave a presentation of my preliminary findings on March 27th, 2019 to a municipal official who seemed impressed with the results.

1.4   Ethical considerations

There will always be ethical dilemmas and concerns that arise from working with a small research population where most of the subjects know each other. I invested time to build up a relationship with my subjects so that they would feel comfortable telling me things, but the result of that should never be that they regret it or that it comes back to haunt them. In the build-up to my fieldwork I was offered the possibility of attending meetings between the police, municipal officials and community outreach partners where they would discuss specific people and cases. For my own independence and for my relationship with my respondents, I decided not to attend.

On March 27th 2019, when I presented my preliminary findings to visiting students from Belgium, a municipal official and some Leiden police officers, I was confronted with the issue of anonymity. At that moment, I made two decisions: the first being that any stories or quotes I used were to be general and illustrative to the point that it could have been anyone; the second being that if I needed more specific examples then I would alter certain details to protect and anonymise my respondents. In fact, the method that made the best impression on the students and police was a short story I wrote on growing up in the Slaaghwijk, written from a second person perspective, in which I combined various stories from multiple respondents to form the life trajectory of one single person. For a long time I worried that my thesis would have to be under embargo and that I would write an executive summary with recommendations. When I realised I could add a level of anonymisation that could still protect my respondents without losing the essence of the data, I felt that I had a solution to my problem. Just as changing someone's name to protect their identity does not invalidate their experiences, I felt that merging and splitting certain respondents or altering specific and potentially damaging personal details was an ethically correct decision that still allowed me to tell their stories. In some cases, certain stories are so specific to certain people that there is simply no way of concealing or rewriting them. Anyone who knew the subject or knew the story would be able to figure it out. There are examples where I know more about a certain situation than the police may know, and I do not intend to put my subjects in the position that they are affected by something that I have written down in my thesis. There are also older subjects who at one point were in contact with law enforcement but have since turned their lives around – they shared that information with me under an assumption of confidentiality. That information getting out could harm their professional and private lives. What I also think is important, is that I feel I can tell my story without those details that could be harmful for those specific people. The way in which I have deconstructed and reconfigured the lives of my research subjects is in a way that I am

convinced is not harmful to them. I do not want anything to be potentially traced back to my respondents and I feel a strong responsibility towards them. Most of all, I want to share their perspectives and have their stories heard.

1.5   Thesis structure

The rest of this thesis will be structured as follows: In the following chapter, I will establish an analytical framework for the rest of this thesis. The concepts I will explore are exclusion, morality, and super-diversity. Following that will be three ethnographic chapters containing my research findings and analysis, with each chapter answering one of the sub-questions. The first ethnographic chapter will explore various processes of exclusion in the Slaaghwijk, and how my research population negotiates and positions themselves within those processes. The second ethnographic chapter will delve into the moral worlds of my research population, and establish their relationship with morality. The third ethnographic chapter will deal with the meaning of diversity in the everyday lives of my research population, and establish new perspectives on the problems they encounter. I will finish this thesis with a conclusion, in which I tie in all the preceding themes and analyses in order to answer the main research question.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Exclusion

Much has been said in the introduction about Paul Scheffer's 'Multicultural Tragedy' and how it pertains to a wider discourse on immigration in the Netherlands, particularly the exclusion of non-Western migrants. This section will discuss various aspects of exclusion, with regard to the social, institutional and spatial dimensions of the concept. I will establish a framework through which we can analyse how adolescents from the Slaaghwijk are able to negotiate their inclusion or exclusion in relation their perceptions of a 'Dutch society'. I will also discuss the historical context of the integration debate in the Netherlands and how changing attitudes and policies have shifted public perceptions on the degree to which migrants have 'integrated'. I will finish this section with an aspect of exclusion that I find particularly relevant within the context of neighbourhoods or urban localities such as the Slaaghwijk, namely, segregation. I will look at more than the spatial aspect of segregation, by including the implications of high concentrations of vulnerable populations.

2.1.1 The culturalisation of citizenship

My research explores the manner in which adolescents from the Slaaghwijk negotiate exclusion in relation to what they perceive to be 'Dutch society'. The culturalisation of citizenship provides a discursive frame through which this negotiation can be analysed (Mepschen 2016: 23). The concept can be seen as the result of what Steven Vertovec considers a conflation of 'nation' and 'culture' by European nationalists, which has created a culturalist discourse pertaining to what it means to be the member of a national community (2011: 245). Particularly with regard to potential 'new' members of nations – immigrants – culturalist discourse is evident in integration policies and the perceived prerequisites of citizenship by native majorities and political parties. For example, I discussed in the introduction how a wave of strict integration policies were enacted in the Netherlands at the turn of the millennium, where immigrants had to sit mandatory Dutch culture and history tests before they could qualify for Dutch citizenship (Van Reekum 2016: 36-37). This obviously raises the question: What does it mean to be 'Dutch'? The search for an answer to this question has at least two distinct results – the essentialisation of culture, and the reification of cultural difference (Vertovec 2011: 241-243). This means that any understanding of 'Dutch' culture will be increasingly essentialised and reduced to core characteristics that can be generalised (ibid). By demarcating Dutch culture and creating distinct cultural categories, it actually complicates integration by suggesting cultural incompatibility between certain groups (i.e. secular Dutch liberals versus immigrants coming from Islamic theocracies). If two groups are seen as culturally

homogenous and fundamentally incompatible, a successful combination of those groups seems at the very least improbable.

More importantly, what does this mean for second- and third-generation migrants who were born in the Netherlands? Do they 'belong' despite any perceived cultural differences? Or are they still not considered full members of the country in which they were born? Following the immigration wave of workers from Northern Africa and Turkey in the aftermath of the Second World War, countries such as Belgium and the Netherlands began making formal distinctions between native and non-native citizens (Ceuppens & Geschiere 2005: 397-398). Until November 2016, the Dutch Central Bureau for Statistics made an official distinction in their analyses between native citizens, known as *autochtonen*, and non-natives, known as *allochtonen*, whereby anyone with one or more parents born outside the Netherlands was considered to be an *allochtoon*. This is a clear example of how exclusion and 'otherness' can become normalised in public policy, and how it can enter public and political discourse as self-evident (Balkenhol et al. 2016: 97-98). Alongside this formal distinction is the notion that immigrants (even second- or third-generation) are not recognised by native majorities as 'full' citizens even if they are 'legal' ones (Tonkens & Duyvendak 2016: 1-2). The culturalist discourse that is present in the notion of 'full citizenship' is evidenced by the idea that immigrants need to be recognised as citizens on a symbolic and emotional level by native majorities, before they really 'belong' (ibid). In the case of adolescents in the Slaaghwijk, their acceptance as full 'Dutch' citizens is to some extent beyond their control. However, as I am interested in issue of Dutch citizenship from their perspective, it is an equally important question as to where they place themselves in all of this, and under which circumstances they feel Dutch or not. How important or inherent are certain values and cultural norms to their perception of their own 'Dutch-ness'? The next section will discuss the process of 'integration', and what the various applications and understandings of the concept are.

2.1.2   Integration

As discussed in previous sections, Paul Scheffer's 'Multicultural Tragedy' was an influential exposé on the supposedly failed state of integration in the Netherlands circa 2000. The European migrant crisis that began in 2015 did little to dampen the anti-immigrant sentiments in the Netherlands and seemed to reaffirm the public's focus on the integration of non-Western migrants and their children (Putters 2016: 6). The Slaaghwijk, as the eventual destination of nearly 300 refugees stemming from the crisis, is a focal point of various organisations aiming to support and 'integrate' the newcomers into their new country (Schuurman 2017). However, what does it mean to be 'integrated' and how has the Dutch understanding of 'integration' changed over the years? How are the changing conceptions of 'integration' in the Netherlands reflected in attitudes of Leidenaars towards

migrants in the Slaaghwijk? Most importantly, how do migrants in the Slaaghwijk experience these supposed changes?

First, it is important to backtrack slightly and discuss the differences between Dutch integration policies in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In response to Scheffer's essay, sociologist Han Entzinger wrote that the framing of integration and multiculturalism in the Netherlands as 'failed' experiments was primarily down to the moving goal posts in the immigration debate (2006: 137). He argued that it was the repeated changes in Dutch integration policy that kept establishing different standards of 'integration' that lead to the idea that "integration had failed" (ibid). Entzinger gave the example of how 'guest workers' [gastarbeiders] that came to the Netherlands in the decades after the Second World War were not encouraged to integrate at all, as they were expected to stay in the Netherlands only temporarily (ibid: 124). When many guest workers ended up staying, migrant communities became part of the Dutch system of "pillarisation" [verzuiling], in which various communities, each with their own institutions based along religious or ideological lines, lived alongside each other (ibid). For example, Catholics, Protestants, socialists and liberals all had their own schools, newspapers, television and radio broadcasting organisations, and so on.

From the 1960s onwards, several decades of "depillarisation" [ontzuiling] and secularisation in the Netherlands culminated in a government in the 1990s that focussed on the institutional integration of immigrants – policies were enacted to improve the employment, education and housing of migrants (ibid: 126). Following the build-up to the 2002 parliamentary elections in which the far-right populist Pim Fortuyn had gained a significant following (only to be assassinated shortly before the election for his criticisms of Islam and multiculturalism) the public and political discourse on integration took a new turn. From 2003, the focus of Dutch integration policies moved from institutional participation to cultural assimilation, with the latter understood as the degree to which migrants adopt and identify with the cultural values of the native majority (ibid: 136). This raises the question of how these changing standards of integration have affected the everyday lives of those in the Slaaghwijk – how do second- and third-generation migrants interpret the cultural aspects of integration? In spite of the idea that integration had supposedly failed, research by the Central Bureau for Statistics found that from an institutional perspective, there have been structural improvements in education, criminal statistics and female labour participation among migrants in the Netherlands over the last ten years (Dagevos & Huijnk 2016). However, if migrants never fully embrace or identify with 'Dutch' cultural values, can they ever be truly 'integrated'? In the following section I will discuss 'segregation' as another form of exclusion.

2.1.3 Segregation

The Slaaghwijk is a neighbourhood in Leiden within the city district known as the Merenwijk. The Merenwijk was built in the 1970s and 1980s and was envisioned as a place with affordable housing for working-class Leidenaars (Van der Zande & Manders 2015: 4). The Slaaghwijk was actually the first part of the Merenwijk to be built, and consisted primarily of apartment buildings. The rest of the Merenwijk was filled with semi-detached housing aimed at the middle class. This physical difference in terms of the residential pattern is still visible today and is one of the reasons why policy makers discuss the Slaaghwijk separately to the Merenwijk. Another reason why the Slaaghwijk is singled out is due to the demographic differences in comparison to the surrounding neighbourhoods. Despite wanting to attract working-class Leidenaars to the Slaaghwijk, many found the apartments too expensive, leaving many of the buildings unoccupied and poorly maintained. The result was that the municipality began housing various vulnerable groups in the Slaaghwijk that they wanted out of the city centre, such as welfare recipients, psychiatric patients and from the 1980s onwards, large numbers of refugees (ibid). Where in the rest of the Merenwijk there is still a significant Dutch native majority, approximately half of the Slaaghwijk is made up of migrants with a non-Western background (ibid: 23). What is the effect of having such a high concentration of vulnerable groups in a poorly maintained area? How do demographic and residential patterns produce or reinforce exclusion?

Fig.3   Apartment buildings in the Slaaghwijk

The situation in the Slaaghwijk is reminiscent of the *banlieues* in Paris, with similar processes of exclusion at work. In Paris, urban planning and housing policies from the 1960s created housing estates at the periphery of the city centre that since the 1980s has seen the concentration of vulnerable groups, with little economic or social mobility (Wacquant 2007: 138). These

'neighbourhoods of relegation', as Wacquant calls them, are characterised by stigmatisation and prejudice by outsiders (Wacquant 1999: 1644). This results in residents experiencing life in the *banlieues* as a form of 'socioeconomic exile' from the rest of the city, in some cases resulting in them 'distancing' themselves from their neighbourhood (ibid). This 'distancing' is characterised by residents not identifying with their neighbourhood or with other residents within it, which is problematic for social cohesion and maintenance of the neighbourhood. Urban residential patterns in the Netherlands have seen the spatial concentration of public housing and vulnerable populations since the twentieth century, though they have tended to follow ethnic lines rather than socioeconomic ones (Van Kempen & Van Weesep 1998: 1813). This means that the 'neighbourhoods of relegation' in the Netherlands feature a high concentration of ethnic minorities that have not used their neighbourhoods as a 'stepping stone' to private home ownership, or perhaps they have not been able to. This raises the questions: To what extent is the Slaaghwijk stigmatised as an undesirable neighbourhood? To what degree do residents of the Slaaghwijk experience exclusion through segregation? In the next section I will discuss how matters of integration and exclusion are better served through the analytical lens of 'super-diversity', and how I will apply this in my thesis.

2.2   Super-diversity

'Super-diversity' is a concept that is especially useful when attempting to analyse the demographic situation in the Slaaghwijk. The concept was introduced by Steven Vertovec in 2007, and since then has become a contentious topic of academic debate. Writing in 2007, Vertovec introduced the notion of 'super-diversity' to describe changing migration patterns in relation to the United Kingdom, claiming it was "intended to underline a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything the country has previously experienced." (Vertovec 2007: 1024). In the meantime, 'super-diversity' has also gained currency outside academia, featuring prominently in the arenas of policy and public service (Meissner & Vertovec 2015: 541). As a result, it has become increasingly important to develop the theoretical basis for the concept 'super-diversity' and to establish the scope of the concept. In this section, I will introduce the need for super-diversity as a reconfiguration of the approach to integration. I will relate super-diversity to the concept of the 'mainstream' and how native majorities are increasingly absent from urban localities. Furthermore, I will discuss the contributions of an intersectional approach to the analytical lens of super-diversity.

2.2.1   Super-diversity: An introduction

Through the multidimensional lens of super-diversity, Vertovec attempts to challenge traditional notions of multiculturalism by including the "worldwide diversification of migration channels, differentiations of legal statuses, diverging patterns of gender and age, and variance in migrants'

human capital" (Meissner & Vertovec 2015: 541). Susanne Wessendorf characterises super-diversity as "an exceptional demographic situation characterized by the multiplication of social categories within specific localities" (2014: 2). In a sense, it describes the 'diversification of diversity' – the phrase coined by David Hollinger to discuss a more dynamic representation of cultural identity in American society. In 1995, Hollinger wrote that mixed-race Americans were essentially excluded from debates on cultural heritage because of their hybrid identity (1995: 101-103). He claimed that United States could no longer be viewed as a container of internally homogenous ethnic groups, each with their own isolated origin story of migration (ibid). Be that as it may, how does this apply to the Slaaghwijk? What is so 'exceptional' and 'diverse' about the demographic situation there? Super-diversity is often misconstrued as meaning 'more ethnic groups', something Vertovec disputes by discussing three ways that we can look at the concept. The first being descriptive, in that it illustrates the changing demographics that arise from global migration flows, but also in how it details the diversification of those flows – the increased variance in the backgrounds of the migrants, the changing channels of migration, and variations in terms of the migrants' human capital (Meissner & Vertovec 2015: 542). In the Slaaghwijk this is evident in the different types of migrants that arrive in the neighbourhood and the different ways in which they arrive. The migrants that settled in the neighbourhood in the second half of the twentieth century were primarily 'guest workers' recruited from Turkey and Morocco with minimal education or financial means, or they would be migrants from former Dutch colonies such as Surinam and the Dutch Antilles. This aspect of the migration demographic has changed, with many of the migrants now coming from politically hostile regions such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran or Somalia (Huijnk 2016: 32). Their migration is not necessarily due to a lack of financial capital, as many migrants are seeking political asylum rather than work. The second aspect is methodological, with super-diversity affording the reconfiguration of the social scientific approach towards the study of migration, which Vertovec claims has been under an 'ethno-focal lens' (ibid). Super-diversity allows for the identification of a greater number of variables through which to understand the dimensions of migration, and the dynamics of the inclusion or exclusion of groups (Vertovec 2007: 1025). Sofya Aptekar, on the other hand, warns against a methodological approach that dismisses current approaches as outdated for being based on supposedly traditional categories, arguing that proponents of super-diversity would be better served embracing studies of structural inequality and oppression rather than disregarding them altogether (2019: 66). The third aspect of super-diversity is policy-oriented – Vertovec claims that it provides policymakers with new avenues to discuss demographic changes and implement less 'ethno-focal' policies (Meissner & Vertovec 2015: 542). Super-diversity would allow for new perspectives on old issues, and different points of emphasis

for policymakers. For the Slaaghwijk, the last two aspects mean letting go of comparisons between ethnic groups, instead focussing on other variables such as education, gender, and age.

2.2.2 Super-diversity and the mainstream

Many European cities have become what is known as majority-minority cities, where the "old" native majority has been overtaken in numbers by the cumulative minority group (Crul 2016: 57). In such cases, integrating or assimilating into a native majority group proves to be rather complicated, considering the fact that they are no longer a 'majority', at least in terms of sheer numbers. In Leiden, the situation is slightly different. While there is still a large autochthonous majority in the city itself, the Slaaghwijk is unique in the sense that it is the only neighbourhood in Leiden where the 'Dutch natives' are in the minority. Therefore, despite the numerical disadvantage of the old native majority in the Slaaghwijk, it may be more useful to speak in terms of the 'mainstream' rather than the 'majority'. Old native majorities still tend to be strongly represented in educational, legal, political and economic institutions, and in that sense they are able to set the conditions for integration and assimilation of the minority group (Alba & Duyvendak 2019: 110). The mainstream is defined by ways of feeling, doing and thinking that have become institutional and hegemonic, which is an example of what is known as 'institutional power asymmetry' (ibid: 111). So long as the mainstream controls administrative, political and economic institutions, it can be incredibly influential in shaping societal norms, but ultimately also in rejecting certain values and practices. A good example in the Netherlands is the previously discussed 'culturalisation of citizenship', where integration as defined by policy makers and populist political parties is increasingly dependent on the extent to which migrant minorities embrace and identify with the values and norms as set out by the native majority (ibid: 112-114).

In the case of majority-minority neighbourhoods such as the Slaaghwijk, however, the required adjustment of migrant minorities to their immediate surroundings is different. If a mainstream majority is not present or visible within a locality, the adjustments are still made to factors in their local surroundings – their neighbours, teachers and shopkeepers for example. However, if diversity becomes the norm within those localities, the entire concept of integration is turned on its head. The lens of super-diversity then reveals this notion of 'diversity as normalcy' (Meissner & Vertovec 2015: 550). Conceptualised by Susanne Wessendorf as 'commonplace diversity', Wessendorf's research in Hackney revealed that its residents were indifferent yet aware of diversity, but also fully accepting of it (2014: 165). The residents of Hackney felt accepted precisely because everyone was different, with no fear of being rejected by the mainstream (ibid: 166). With regard to exclusion and urban diversity, Wessendorf writes that "living in a super-diverse context facilitates a sense of belonging because on the one hand, you do not stand out, and on the

other, you are likely to find people of your own group, however this 'group' may be defined" (ibid: 166-167). However, does this mean that the pressure from the mainstream to integrate ceases to exist in majority-minority neighbourhoods such as the Slaaghwijk? Is it something that is present in everyday experiences or does the pressure to integrate retreat to the borders of the neighbourhood?

2.2.3 Super-diversity within ethnic groups – lessons from intersectionality

Maurice Crul (2016) argues that super-diversity alone is not enough to build an alternative theoretical framework for theories of integration and assimilation, and draws upon the concept of intersectionality. Intersectionality is a framework of analysis within feminist theory, which analyses the interlocking social structures that (re)produce oppression (Crenshaw 1989, Collins 1990). An intersectional approach looks at how ethnicity, gender, age, education and other categories are interrelated and stratified. Intersectionality attempts to demonstrate how social inequalities do not exist by virtue of categories such as gender or ethnicity in isolation, by looking at the relations between those categories in particular institutional contexts. It is this aspect of intersectionality that Crul incorporates into super-diversity.

In his research on intergenerational social mobility patterns, Crul found that the differences within ethnic groups were larger than between ethnic groups (2016: 61). Crul discusses how in Amsterdam, the group of second-generation migrants from Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds that are in tertiary education is larger than the group that leaves school without a diploma, despite the large majority of their parents being uneducated labour migrants with limited opportunities for upward social mobility (ibid). This trend was almost identical for both Turkish and Moroccan second-generation migrants. What was also evident was the polarisation within second-generation migrants in terms of school success, which Crul found was largely related to two factors: age and adjustment of the school structures. The younger group of second-generation migrants received much more assistance and scrutiny from their parents than the older group, and over time the schools had adjusted to the demands of teaching immigrant children (ibid: 61-62). Crul also found that attitudes towards gender roles changed significantly among the higher educated group of the second-generation. Second-generation migrants of similar education levels tended to marry each other, meaning that in the case of the higher educated group the mother would also participate in the labour market. On the other end of the spectrum, lower educated second-generation migrants tended to have very traditional gender role interpretations and very little female participation in the labour market. This meant that by the time the third-generation migrants come, the intergenerational disparity in terms of social and economic mobility becomes very evident.

These examples are why Crul claims we are better served at moving away from the 'ethno-focus', and incorporating elements of intersectionality into super-diversity. In doing so, we are far more able to see the overlapping and interlocking domains that affect integration and assimilation. This raises the question: to what extent are the lessons from intersectionality applicable to the Slaaghwijk? Are the differences within ethnic groups more pronounced than between them? Can social mobility in the Slaaghwijk be analysed through the relationship between categories such as age, education and gender, such as in Amsterdam? The Slaaghwijk is often called an 'escalator neighbourhood' [roltrapwijk] in the sense that there is a high in- and outflux of people living in the neighbourhood, which has been suggested to be evidence of social mobility in the neighbourhood (Van der Zande & Manders 2015: 5). But social mobility for whom? Are some groups in the Slaaghwijk better-equipped to leave the neighbourhood than others? In the next section I will establish a theoretical framework for an anthropology of morality, and how it pertains to my research.

2.3 Morality

As will become clear in later chapters of this thesis, it is important to theorise and construct an analytical framework for morality. In order to understand the moral lives of adolescents in the Slaaghwijk, it is crucial to establish what is understood by morality and ethics from an anthropological perspective. With the municipality of Leiden's interest in the turning points of adolescents from the Slaaghwijk that contributed to them ending up on the 'right' or 'wrong' path there is an overt normative moral judgement, therein lies the challenge for me to provide them with an insight into the moral dispositions of those adolescents. An anthropology of morality – or 'moral anthropology' – is not to be confused with the manner in which anthropologists interact with their research subjects, otherwise known as the ethics of anthropological fieldwork. Instead, moral anthropology is the field of study that analyses the moral worlds of our research subjects (Zigon 2008: 3). As an analytic concept within the discipline of anthropology, 'morality' is relatively underdeveloped since the days of Durkheim, Weber and Mauss, and prone to misapplication. There is a recent growing body of work on the topic, resulting in theoretical frameworks that are becoming ever more explicit (Fassin 2012; Kleinman 2006; Laidlaw 2002; Robbins 2007; Throop 2010; Zigon 2007, 2008, 2009). This section aims to present the various analytical and interpretive frameworks of the concept 'morality'. In order to do so, I will discuss the philosophical roots of moral anthropology and the turn towards an anthropology of morality. I will then proceed to discuss the obstacle of 'moral relativism' and the relationship between 'law' and 'morality'. This section will end with a discussion on the relevance and application of morality as an analytical concept in my fieldwork.

2.3.1   Conflation of the moral, social and cultural

If we want to look at the hegemonic values, rules and norms established by the 'mainstream' in the Slaaghwijk and how people in the neighbourhood interpret and negotiate those rules and values, we find ourselves in the realm of morality. Within the field of philosophy, ethics and morality have been topics of inquiry for thousands of years. However, rarely do these philosophical explorations of morality go beyond abstract conceptualisations and toward more 'lived' and local moralities. Relative to philosophy, anthropology is a rather young discipline, meaning it has a lot of work to do in developing its understanding of analytical concepts such as morality. There have historically been two approaches to a social scientific theory of morality – the first deriving from Émile Durkheim and the second from Michel Foucault (Fassin 2012: 7). The Durkheimian approach is considered a response to the philosophical works of Immanuel Kant, with the former being somewhat of a sociological critique of the latter (Zigon 2008: 32). Durkheim disagrees with the universality of Kant's approach to morality, meaning Durkheim does not see morality as a set of universal imperatives and obligations that apply to all rational beings in the same way (Zigon 2007: 132). Instead, Durkheim argues that morality originates from society, and differs depending on the structures of those societies (ibid). For Durkheim, individuals are obliged to conform to the moral rules that are present within their society, rather than to universal moral laws such as with Kant. By replacing universal moral rules with collective social rules, Durkheim's theory conflates morality with society, thereby obfuscating morality as a field of sociological and anthropological study (ibid.). The implication of the Durkheimian approach for anthropologists is that 'morality' joins terms like 'culture' and 'ideology' that attempt to explain the rules and belief systems of a perceived collective, yet they do little to analyse how such rules are negotiated, by whom they are formulated, and how they change over time (Laidlaw 2002: 312-313). This interpretation of morality would dictate that the moral codes of individuals in the Slaaghwijk arise from the social rules of the neighbourhood, those rules of course being established in relation to and negotiation with the social rules in Leiden, and by extension, the Netherlands.

The second approach, better known as the Foucauldian (or Neo-Aristotelian) approach, makes a distinction between morality and ethics. For Foucault, 'morals' refer to sets of rules, norms and values, whereas 'ethics' refer to the relationships people form between aspects of the self and a particular norm (Mahmood 2003: 846). This approach is also sometimes referred to as dispositional or virtue ethics, as it relates to the habits and tendencies an individual develops over time (Zigon 2007: 133). Mahmood defines the Foucauldian interpretation of ethics as "those practices, techniques, and discourses through which a subject transforms herself in order to achieve a particular state of being, happiness, or truth." (2005: 28). In other words, the emphasis lies not

on adhering to moral codes and regulations, but on the local and particular set of practices through which the subject develops itself. Virtue ethics is not so much about what is morally right, but how moral codes are lived and enacted (Mahmood 2003: 846). Put less ambiguously, over the course of a lifetime a person can develop a disposition to ethical decision-making and learn to live 'the good life' (Zigon 2008: 24). If we take the Slaaghwijk, the virtues associated with 'the good life' will differ from person to person within the Slaaghwijk, but their conceptions of 'the good life' will still arise from a negotiation with their shared social context, namely, the people in their neighbourhood. A drawback of this approach is that it leaves no room for comparison between social contexts, as a person's ethical practices arise from the social context in which they occur (Zigon 2007: 133).

2.3.2   Moral relativism

There is a tension within moral anthropology regarding how to acknowledge the cultural and historical diversity of moral systems, without considering them all perfectly acceptable and understandable (Fiske & Mason 1990: 131). The same danger lies in the Slaaghwijk, where it would be simple to say that the inhabitants of the Slaaghwijk have a 'different' set of norms and values to the rest of Leiden. Moral relativists assume that despite there being no universal morality, particular societies do have their own dominant morality (Zigon 2008: 12). This is reminiscent of the Durkheimian approach, in which each bounded society comes with its own collective social rules. In philosopher John Cook's critique of moral relativism, he writes that anthropologists tend to project their own conception of morality onto their research subjects, often revealing more about the moral positions of the researcher than of the research subject (1999: 93). An example he gives is of Eskimo's leaving their elderly in the cold to die, which a moral relativist would argue indicates that involuntary euthanasia is morally permissible for Eskimo's. This is a projection error, argues Cook, adding, "[W]hat the relativist is obliged to show is that the same action that one culture condemns is condoned by another culture" (ibid: 102). It is not that murder of the elderly is morally acceptable in Eskimo culture – it is a fundamentally different act to how it is interpreted. For the Eskimo's it was 'an act of kindness', mercifully relieving the elderly from their struggle with old age (ibid). Another key element of Cook's critique is that if we accept that the moral judgements of individuals are conditioned by the cultural patterns of their society, then the individual is relegated to only following externally imposed rules (ibid: 139). This completely removes any freedom of choice and the personal capacity for moral judgement. It is in this aspect that Cook argues moral relativists are not radical enough (ibid: 125). If it is true that an individual's morality is shaped by the rules and principles of their surroundings and they are unable to reflect on their own moral disposition, then there is little room to engage with morality. Zigon gives the example of a Nazi soldier who claims to have only been following orders – the atrocities in the Second World War

are not met with moral relativism and understanding, but with moral outrage and disgust (2008: 17). How, then, should we view the morality of adolescent boys in the Slaaghwijk? With their apparent lack of respect for authority figures and their willingness to engage in illegal activities to serve materialistic purposes, they are frequently met with disapproval and moral outrage by the police, schools and municipal government. If we are not to interpret their morality as an alternative set of rules, how then should we view them? Zigon argues that we would be better served looking at the process of how individuals acquire moral attitudes and dispositions over time – their ways of being in relation to their social experiences (ibid).

2.3.3   Law & Zigon's 'moral breakdown'

For the purpose of this thesis it is important to discuss the relationship between law and morality. With many of the issues in the Slaaghwijk stemming from juvenile delinquency, and significant funding going into the prevention and understanding of the relationship between adolescents and crime in the neighbourhood, it is important to understand the forces at work. If we consider laws to be the subjective rules through which states govern the behaviour of their population, then we must question the moral basis of those laws. For after all, those individuals who break the law are labelled 'criminals' by society, as much a moral judgement as it is a legal one (Schneider & Schneider 2008: 352). If laws are the codified moral rules and norms of society, in the Durkheimian sense, then it is difficult to get around the idea that breaking a law is amoral. In practice, however, there can be practices that are considered unlawful yet morally permissible, but also practices that are legal yet morally unacceptable (Pardo 2004: 6). For example, in Italo Pardo's monograph on the moral conditions in Napoli in the 1980s found that many unemployed Neapolitans engaged in work activities that were strictly speaking illegal (1996: 20). However, from a moral standpoint they were permissible and to some degree even accepted by local authorities, in some cases even likened to entrepreneurship and cleverness (ibid: 27). In that sense, it is important to distinguish between right and wrong, and legal and illegal. Pardo's example highlights the grey area of illegal yet moral activity that is so important in the debate on the normativity of law. This is why it is also important to reconsider what delinquent behaviour such as drug dealing in the Slaaghwijk is an expression of. Is it youthful rebellion? Or social entrepreneurship?

Jarrett Zigon argues that we must limit an anthropology of morality to moments he refers to as 'moral breakdowns'. Just as adolescents in the Slaaghwijk are not constantly thinking of new ways to break the law, the morality of an individual should not be portrayed as a constantly active and reflective state in which one makes consciously ethical decisions with clarity (Zigon 2007: 133). Most of the time, an individual is of an unreflective moral habitus, referred to by Zigon as "everydayness" and "being-in-the-world" (ibid: 135). It is during moral breakdowns, when an

individual is drawn out of their unreflective everydayness and confronted with ethical dilemmas, that one makes conscious ethical decisions (ibid: 140). The moral breakdown requires an action by the individual, to figure something out, work on themselves or make a decision that results in a return to their unreflective everydayness (ibid). The ethical moment requires creativity on the part of the individual, and it is from the constantly changing contexts and effects of those moments that a person's moral disposition develops over time (Zigon 2009: 262). There is a freedom in the embodied moral disposition that comes out during the moral breakdown that the Durkheimian (and by extension, relativist) approach effectively denies. As I understand him, Zigon argues that an anthropology of morality should be limited to those ethical moments in which the individual is consciously making a distinction between what they believe to be the 'right' or 'wrong' choice, or reflecting on such choices. Even in those moments, Zigon argues that there are not only two ethical avenues, or mutually exclusive decisions to be made. Within the context of the ethical moment, there is a range of possible ethical decisions and moralities available to the individual (ibid: 263). This interpretation of morality and ethics allows us analyse the moral dispositions of adolescents in the Slaaghwijk over time, how they have developed and how their decisions have come about. Rather than falling back on a universal moral judgement with regard to their decision-making, we can engage with those moments of 'moral breakdowns' in which the adolescents in the Slaaghwijk explored various ethical avenues. In the next chapter, I will discuss my ethnographic data in relation to exclusion, and I will attempt to answer the sub-question: *How do adolescents from the Slaaghwijk position themselves in relation to what they perceive as 'Dutch society'?*

3. One of us

I arrived at *Het Gebouw*, only to find out that the futsal activity had been called off. Instead, the workers, talents and interns at *Sport- en Jongerenwerk* were in the cafeteria, enjoying a benefit meal in support of a charity to end human trafficking. I sat next to Nordin (32) and we made some small talk. Nordin was born and raised in the Slaaghwijk, but his parents had originally moved there from Morocco. He had recently relocated to Leiden South-West, but remained active as a youth worker for *Sport- en Jongerenwerk* in the Slaaghwijk. Eventually I overheard Fuad (19), who was sitting diagonally from me, talk with a girl who turned out to also be a Cultural Anthropologist. I interrupted their conversation swiftly and introduced myself. As I explained what I was doing in the Slaaghwijk, Fuad also became interested. Fuad lived in the Slaaghwijk, after having moved there in 2006. He had arrived in the Netherlands from Iraq two years earlier, seeking asylum with his family. I asked Fuad what his impression was of the municipality, what he had noticed in terms of municipal initiatives. "Nothing," he told me. Municipal officials stayed out of the neighbourhood, he knew little about the municipality aside from the curfew at the football cage. Nordin and Fuad then began discussing how it was a missed opportunity by the municipality to not ask an insider to do research in the Slaaghwijk. He thought it was the wrong decision to always get outsider's perspectives in the neighbourhood. He said there would always be a level of distrust towards outsiders. Nordin told him that the way I was approaching it was good, playing football with them and getting to know them first. Fuad then asked me what I could see in the neighbourhood that he couldn't see. I told him, for example, that when he talks about himself as separate from his Dutch friends, he implied that he was outside of that group. Fuad said that he was just a social guy and blends in all kinds of different groups. Fuad did say that when he went out in Noordwijk he would sometimes be rejected at the door by the bouncer, and that he was convinced it was because they would only let in a maximum number of *allochtonen*. He also said that the whole 'Dutch culture' thing was a bit silly, because through hundreds of years of Dutch history there have been millions of migrants coming and going in the Netherlands. However, Fuad claimed to be sympathetic to strict integration policies, claiming he had seen an Instagram post where someone had said, "Imagine you let in half a country worth of migrants and then they start telling you how to live!" Fuad said he found it quite a compelling argument.

As more people left, Yassine (22) came to sit with us. Yassine was born in the Netherlands to Moroccan parents, having moved to the Slaaghwijk with his family in his infancy. After a short conversation where Fuad and Yassine were talking about whether or not they recognised two girls from a previous night out, Yassine joked about how he wondered whether the service to their table had been extra slow because they were the only 'coloured' table. At some point Yassine finally received his fish burger, and as soon as he finished eating it he decided to leave. Around that time Richard, a 29-year-old social worker, joined us after an evening of helping in the kitchen. He asked if I wanted a beer and I accepted, Fuad on the other hand, did not drink alcohol and declined. Fuad then got into a

conversation with Richard about the feeling Fuad had that a few people at a table elsewhere in the hall had been pointing at their table and talking about them. Both he and Richard wondered whether that feeling might have been triggered by the conversation Fuad and I just had. Richard said he felt awful for Fuad that he had to be confronted with that kind of self-awareness of his not belonging. Richard started talking about his criticism of 'feeling Dutch' and how intangible it was. Fuad said he did consider himself Dutch, but that he also still felt like an Iraqi outsider living here. I told them how I was officially an *allochtoon*, despite the fact that no one has ever called me that to my face. Richard joked about how someone once asked if he was German because he had a bit of a 'street' accent. Eventually we were the only ones left in the hall and they turned the music up loud trying to get us to leave. We took the hint, shook hands and went our separate ways.

– Fieldwork diary, 1 February 2019.

In the excerpt above, Fuad talks about his experiences in which he was made to feel like an outsider, such as when he was rejected by the bouncer in Noordwijk and when he felt watched at the table in *Het Gebouw*. On the other hand, he also discusses how I am an outsider to him and his friends from the Slaaghwijk. Interestingly, Fuad considered himself both Dutch and Iraqi, claiming to blend in with different kinds groups despite his experiences of exclusion. There was also a moment where Richard offered me a beer and I accepted, yet Fuad did not. At the time, I felt that I had only reaffirmed my position to him as a Dutch, non-Muslim, beer-drinking outsider, despite the 'progress' I had made that evening. In this chapter, I will discuss how adolescents experience and negotiate exclusion, and how they position themselves in relation to what they perceive to be 'Dutch society'.

3.1   Who belongs, and who does not?

My conversation on February 1st with Fuad is an important insight into how the boundaries of belonging are constructed and negotiated by adolescents in the Slaaghwijk. Many of my respondents described life in the Slaaghwijk in dichotomous terms – black or white schools, the right or wrong path, Dutch or foreign. 'Difference' was a key part of their life experience, and it was reflected in their perceptions of how they related to each other. However, it struck me that there was much more of a grey area than they were putting into words. Fuad had fled Iraq with his family in 2004, and his perspective was that of a first-generation migrant. Fuad had not been born in the Netherlands, meaning that to some degree he had always been 'aware' of the fact that he came from somewhere else. He had also never returned to Iraq since then, meaning he had never been able to make a comparison about how he felt when back in his country of birth. Fuad considered himself 'Dutch' in the legal sense of citizenship, but felt Iraqi in the emotional and cultural sense.

This affective dimension of citizenship was more complicated among second- and third generation migrants who were born in the Netherlands. For example, Nous (16) was born in the Netherlands, but his family had moved from Morocco only a few years before he was born. Every few years, when his father had saved enough money, they would travel back to Morocco in the summer. Despite being born in Leiden, Nous felt a special bond with Morocco and Laayoune in particular, the city where his parents were born. According to Nous, the majority of the Moroccan families in Leiden hailed from Laayoune. As a result, when they were together in the Netherlands they felt as if society saw them as Moroccans, but they felt as if the opposite was true when they were in Laayoune. In Laayoune, the locals expected them to bring gifts because they saw them as wealthy tourists due to living in the Netherlands, yet the reality was that Nous' father was unemployed and saved for the trips to Morocco with money he received in welfare from the Dutch government. Nous recalled a visit to a local market in Morocco, claiming it was a moment that he felt Dutch. Where in the Netherlands he was used to everyone waiting their turn, in Morocco it seemed to him that everyone was vying for the attention of the vendor, regardless of whose turn it was. This was a sentiment shared by a number of respondents – the idea that they did not really fit in anywhere. They had in fact formed a hybrid identity, finding themselves between two cultures. It was this hybrid identification that those with a migrant background in the Slaaghwijk seemed to share – 'otherness' seemed to be a unifying characteristic.

> "I don't feel Dutch and I don't feel Moroccan. I'm a foreigner here and I'm a foreigner there. A while back I was in Morocco walking alongside the road, waiting for a taxi. Someone threw a can at my head and shouted, 'Go back to your country.' They have these underlying thoughts of, 'They're from the Netherlands, they have a good life.' They don't know how hard I have to work for my money." – Yassine

This unifying 'otherness' is further solidified by the lack of a visible native majority in the Slaaghwijk. Here we can see a clear link to super-diversity, in that 'diversity' or 'otherness' has become commonplace in the Slaaghwijk. The 'commonplace diversity' in the Slaaghwijk allows newcomers to temporarily lose the 'migrant' label, because the majority is a 'migrant' or a 'foreigner'. 'Otherness' is the norm in the Slaaghwijk, though that is not to say it is a non-factor. The adolescents are still aware of the differences between them, and still make remarks about each other's migrant backgrounds, such as referring to people from Somalia 'Soma' or using Moroccan as a modifier for something good (e.g. calling themselves 'Moroccan Messi' during a game of football). Fuad's first experiences in the Netherlands were in a village with a significant Dutch native majority called Rijnsburg, where he and his family had been placed in an asylum centre. In Rijnsburg, they were 'the migrants' and were singled out on the basis of their ethnicity. After moving to the Slaaghwijk,

however, they were singled out because they were 'new'. Once his family overcame the novelty factor, they were accepted into the neighbourhood. The point is that these 'differences' are not unusual or a source of conflict in the Slaaghwijk, instead being used playfully or positively. Both Fuad and Nous saw Leiden as their home, and felt a strong bond with the city despite perhaps having less of a connection with the Netherlands as a whole. Nous told me he had Dutch friends that he knew from school, but that he never saw Dutch boys playing football in the Slaaghwijk. For Nous, the notable absence of Dutch children in his neighbourhood felt like a rejection. This shows that there is a presence of a Dutch native majority in the Slaaghwijk, even if it is not a visible one. While there is an element of belonging that originates from shared otherness and diversity, there is also a sense of isolation from the 'Dutch society' that is perceived to exist beyond the borders of the Slaaghwijk.

3.2   Precarious placemaking in the Slaaghwijk

Fig.4   The football cage in the Slaaghwijk, viewed from the east

The football cage in the north of the neighbourhood is the hub of adolescent activity in the Slaaghwijk and a meeting point for multiple generations of Slaaghwijkers. A steel cage with built-in goals and artificial grass, it attracts adolescents from the Slaaghwijk and beyond that are looking to play football on a slightly more forgiving surface than brick or asphalt. Despite the presence of another football cage only 200 meters to the south, when you say "the cage" ["het Kooitje"] there is never any confusion as to which football cage you are referring. The football cage is more than just a place to play football, though, with most of the people standing around the cage watching, talking or walking around. It lies *en route* to the shopping centre *De Kopermolen*, to the north of the football cage, meaning that parents and siblings frequently pass by the cage and stop for a chat. This makes the football cage an important factor in the social cohesion in the neighbourhood, and

is a significant part of the neighbourhood identity. It also means that in the summer, when the children in the neighbourhood are free from school, there is activity at the football cage from early in the morning until late at night. This has led to frequent complaints by nearby residents regarding the noise levels and the rubbish that such activity brings, resulting in a 10 P.M. summer curfew for the football cage imposed by the mayor of Leiden.

For years there was also a youth centre that was a popular hang-out location for the local teenagers and young adults. However, before the youth centre was opened, teenagers in the Slaaghwijk grew up hanging around the four benches that surrounded the old basketball court, where the football cage stands today. Nordin, who grew up in the Slaaghwijk in the late 1990s and early 2000s, described it as a "ghetto court", saying, 'There were lots of holes in the ground, there were no nets and how shall I say this... It hadn't been kept nice.' Around 2005, the boys were approached by a youth worker about the prospect of a youth centre in the Slaaghwijk. Nordin described the process as follows:

> "One day, a woman approached us and asked, "Do you guys want a hangout?" We were like, "This is our hangout," you know? "I mean a sheltered hangout," she said, "for when it rains." "When it rains, we find shelter by that building over there," we replied, "then we just hang out there." "No!" She said, "I mean inside! You can watch television, use the computer," this and that. We said, "Okay, why not?" We didn't take her seriously of course. She said, "Next week Wednesday, meet me at the clubhouse and we can discuss it in a meeting." So, the following Wednesday, we were playing football again (laughs). She was furious! She came to the basketball court- we're all foreigners, you know? And this Dutch woman says, "You had an appointment with me and you stood me up!" We were like, "Oh, you were serious? Okay, okay. Boys, everyone to the clubhouse and see what she has to say!" She says, "We can arrange some things for you." And actually, we're men, you know, so when we hear 'PlayStation' we're like, "Let's talk!" (laughs). She says, "We can arrange a PlayStation, internet so you don't have to go somewhere that costs money, table football," this and that. It was still all hypothetical and we doubted whether it would really happen. Until one day we got a room in the clubhouse, a room upstairs that we could rent from them. Then came the PlayStation, the computers, table tennis – we painted the walls and hung up nice shelves. It really became our spot. We thought to ourselves, a Dutch person, you know, normally they were the ones who talk negatively about us so why would they suddenly make an effort for us? But she did." – Nordin

After a while, the boys moved from that room to a full-fledged youth centre around the corner, which was called 'Chillhouse'. It was much larger, and became the most popular place to hang out for adolescents in the Slaaghwijk. However, as time went on, Chillhouse proved to be problematic

for the youth workers. In the beginning, the idea was to provide a safe and controlled space for the local youth to hang out and have them in a place where the youth workers could keep an eye on them. What Chillhouse eventually became was a place where drugs were openly dealt and consumed, and a significant amount of the visitors were unemployed adults who were becoming slightly too old to be hanging around all day playing video games. Somewhere around 2017, the decision was made to enforce some rules and codes of conduct at Chillhouse, as the youth workers felt that they were facilitating questionable activities and behaviour. This was met with anger by a group of young adult males who frequented Chillhouse, leading the youth workers to declare visitors over the age of eighteen unwelcome. Following the dispute, Chillhouse closed down; the building was renovated and reorganised, and the Centre for Youth and Family moved in as shared tenants. Renamed 'The Future' ['De Toekomst'], the youth centre is now significantly smaller, is only opened twice a week and caters almost exclusively to children from the ages of ten to thirteen.

Fig.5   The entrance to 'De Toekomst'

Both the football cage and the youth centre were considered by the Slaaghwijkers to be a form of recognition of community placemaking in the neighbourhood, only for those places to be limited or taken away due to supposed bad behaviour. There are also very few benches in the Slaaghwijk so as not to encourage new hang-out spots. All of these efforts by the municipality to disperse the adolescents has not only excluded them from their own neighbourhood, but also made it increasingly difficult to keep an eye on the group they consider the most problematic in terms of crime and behaviour. At the start of my research, I was under the impression that there was no place for adolescents over the age of thirteen to really hang out. However, I had picked up that a number of boys from the neighbourhood were members of L.V. Roodenburg, a football club just outside the Slaaghwijk. Historically, Roodenburg had been relatively successful in the 1960s and

70s and had a strong base of proud, working-class Leidenaars. Following the construction of the Merenwijk in the 1970s, more and more footballers from migrant backgrounds joined the club, many of whom lived in the Slaaghwijk. When I visited the club, I noticed a clear divide between the two groups, as the teams consisted of either 'autochthons' or 'allochthons', with very little overlap between the two. From the matches I visited it also seemed as if the youth teams consisted almost exclusively of children from migrant backgrounds, and next to no 'Dutch' children. The explanation given to me by adults and children alike was that Roodenburg's bad name had resulted in many people leaving the club and joining other local clubs, or not joining the club in the first place. This had contributed to Roodenburg's current financial malaise, causing the club to be heavily subsidised by the municipality. Bilal (14) laughed at me when I asked him if Roodenburg was a good club, but told me, "At Roodenburg we don't play for the win, we play for fun [gezelligheid]." Despite the polarisation within the club, the migrant adolescents felt at home at Roodenburg.

3.3 The 'unliveable' neighbourhood

Much like the outside perception of Roodenburg since people with a migrant background began joining the club, the Slaaghwijk is frequently stigmatised as a backward or 'unliveable' place. For my own research, liveability (or its apparent absence) felt like another concept in a growing list of terms that negatively framed the Slaaghwijk. Whether it was framing the Slaaghwijk as a 'problematic area', a 'disadvantaged neighbourhood' or implying it is 'unliveable' by some metrics – all of these terms have negative connotations. Yet my respondents would generally steer clear of calling the Slaaghwijk problematic in and of itself, instead referring to it as a neighbourhood that faced certain problems much like any other neighbourhood. However, there are still certain aspects of the Slaaghwijk that require deeper analysis, such as the sustained problems with littering and public maintenance in the neighbourhood. The municipality puts this down to the Slaaghwijk's history as a 'temporary home' for vulnerable populations and the lack of private home ownership in the neighbourhood (Van der Zande & Manders 2015: 4). Mehdi (43, father of two teenagers in the Slaaghwijk) on the other hand, believed that it was the result of the negativity that surrounded the neighbourhood. While the lack of private home ownership is certainly a plausible explanation for why residents consider maintenance to be the responsibility of the municipality, I believe Mehdi's explanation speaks to an element of 'distancing', where residents disassociate themselves with the neighbourhood and do not believe it is their problem.
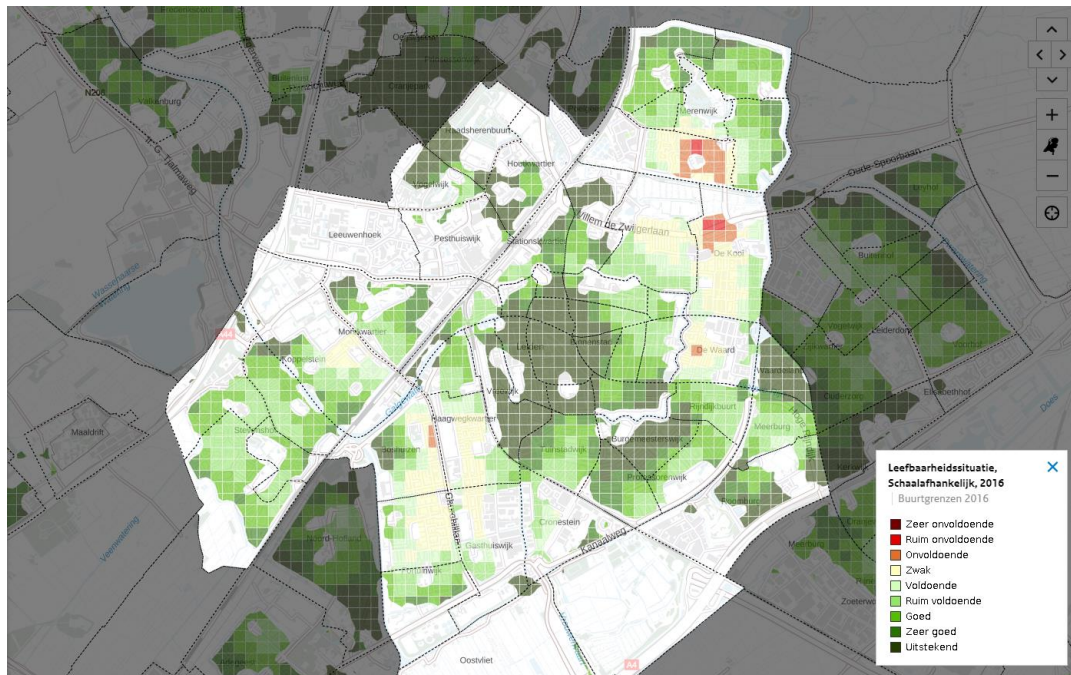
Fig.6   Map of Leiden from *Leefbaarometer.nl*, showing the liveability scores of the city's neighbourhoods. The scores are colour-coded, ranging from dark green (excellent) to dark red (very insufficient).

My research in the Slaaghwijk took place within a broader context of urban policy renewal in the neighbourhood. As a result of the Slaaghwijk scoring poorly on the *Leefbaarometer* there was cause for the municipality to collaborate with various institutions such as Leiden University to assist them in their attempt to improve the liveability of the Slaaghwijk. The *Leefbaarometer* assesses a neighbourhood's 'liveability', defined by the Dutch government as "the extent to which the living conditions of a neighbourhood meet the requirements of its residents" [de mate waarin de leefomgeving aansluit bij de voorwaarden en behoeften die er door de mens aan worden gesteld] (Leefbaarometer.nl 2019). This liveability index is based on 'objective' criteria – a combination of over 100 variables sorted into the categories 'Housing', 'Residents', 'Services', 'Safety' and 'Physical Environment'. Alongside these objective criteria, the opinions and preferences of the residents also influences the liveability score of a neighbourhood. In practice this often means that if a neighbourhood a combination of high percentage of ethnic minorities, low-income households or public housing, the liveability score of a neighbourhood tends to go down (Uitermark 2011). Some of the main parties that were consulted in establishing the liveability index were Dutch housing corporations, meaning that the combination of the government and housing corporations tends to place an emphasis on the rentability of the housing and governability of the residents, rather than the needs of those residents (Uitermark 2005: 157).
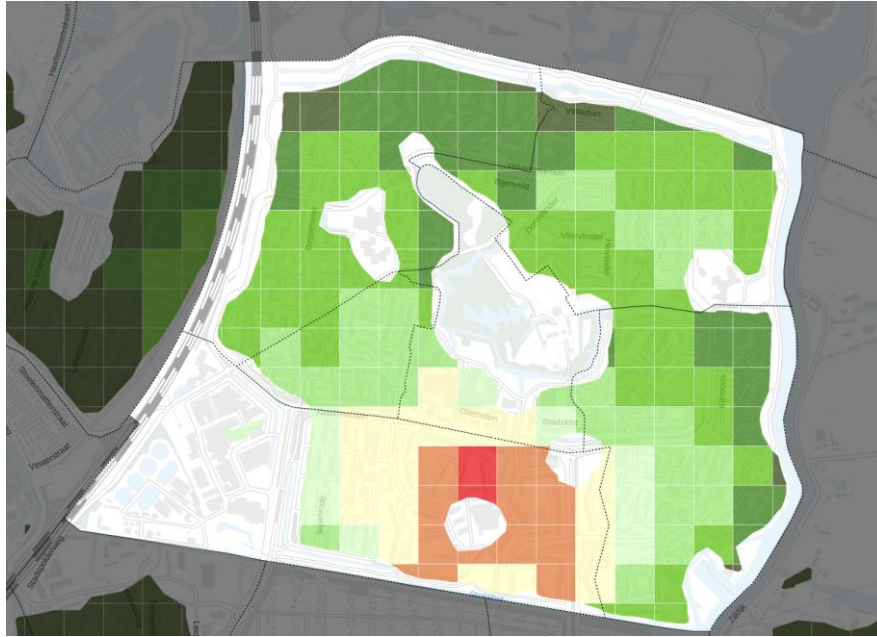
In numerous conversations with government officials, the Slaaghwijk's negative scores on the
Leefbaarometer were used to illustrate the 'state of the neighbourhood' and to justify their policy
strategies. In that sense, my research questions were to some degree motivated by the concerns
voiced by the municipality. Early on, I felt discomfort at the idea of a liveability index being able
to accurately represent the issues in the Slaaghwijk, let alone diagnose or solve those issues. This is
because there is a moral and normative aspect to the notion of liveability – it envisions an ideal
state of affairs and tests a neighbourhood's capacity to meet those norms (Uitermark 2005: 158).
In the Slaaghwijk, steps to make the neighbourhood 'liveable' can be seen in the efforts to attract
starters and students to the neighbourhood by converting a number of the flats into student
housing and privatising blocks of flats that were previously public housing. Discussions regarding
the renovation of the area surrounding the local shopping centre *De Kopermolen* have shown the
ambition to build new apartments in order to attract a wealthier demographic to that part of the
city. In effect, one of the tactics employed by the municipality and housing corporations in 'solving'
the problem of liveability in the Slaaghwijk is gentrification. This attempt to change the
demographic composition of the Slaaghwijk and the surrounding area fits within the narrative shift
regarding public housing in the Netherlands since the 1990s. A possible explanation for this shift
could be the market oriented urban policies of the 1980s, with the added effect that public housing
became associated with unfavourable and disorderly living conditions (Mepschen 2016: 72-73).
Amsterdam's 'restructuring' policies from the late 1990s onwards were predicated on replacing
public housing projects with private housing in lower-income neighbourhoods, referred to by some

academics as 'state-sponsored gentrification' (Uitermark & Bosker 2014: 222). The details of plans to redevelop *De Kopermolen* and the surrounding area, as well as other parts of the Slaaghwijk are reminiscent of the urban policies in Amsterdam.

Another label present in the Slaaghwijk is the idea that the *Bredeschool Merenwijk*, the primary school located in the neighbourhood, is a 'black school'. The term 'black school' is used in the Netherlands by government officials, academics and other members of the public to refer to schools where a majority of the pupils has a migrant background (Kosar-Altinyelken et al. 2017). Besides the need to question such a distinction, there is also a need to analyse the implications of it. Several parents I spoke to strongly disagreed with the negative perceptions of the *Bredeschool*, claiming that the school provided a good education, with enough examples of children later going on to attend university. They felt that the negative connotations of the label 'black school' stigmatised both the school and the pupils, causing talented teachers and parents with young children to avoid sending their children to the *Bredeschool*. Fuad attended the *Bredeschool* in his childhood and attributed the declining number of pupils at the school to the stigma surrounding it. An additional explanation given by Fuad was that Slaaghwijk residents who had attended the school in their own childhood might choose to send their own children to a less 'problematic' school, known for a higher level of education. It is with the example of the declining enrolment and diminishing interest from teachers to work at *Bredeschool* that we can see the effects of stigmatisation and a discourse of negativity in the Slaaghwijk. Also in Fuad's experiences from when he moved to secondary education outside of the Slaaghwijk, in which he noticed his lack of knowledge in certain subjects in comparison to his 'autochthon' peers, and his poorer command of the Dutch language. In this new school setting, Fuad noticed the prejudices that existed about his neighbourhood:

> "Sometimes when people would ask 'Where do you live?' and I would say 'the Merenwijk' – they would have a negative image. 'Don't many allochthons live there?' They would ask, or they would say there were loads of drugs there. I would reply saying it's not that bad. (…) Back in the day when it was 3 October, and people from all parts of Leiden would come to the city centre, people from the Merenwijk were famous for always arguing with people from the *Mors* or from *Zuid-West*, et cetera. That's how people got the idea that people from the Merenwijk were always fighting or whatever. You kind of had a stand-off between rival groups, which you also had for a while in the North Quarter, meaning *De Kooi*, and the Merenwijk. Even though the Merenwijk is part of the North Quarter, *De Kooi* was considered to represent the North Quarter and the Merenwijk was separate from that. That's why people have a certain perception of the Slaaghwijk, which to some degree is correct, don't get me wrong."

3.4 Conclusion

Second- and third-generation non-Western migrant adolescents from the Slaaghwijk do not feel at home in the Netherlands, nor in their country of origin. As a result, they do not feel like 'full' citizens of either country, feeling most at home in their own neighbourhood with other migrants who have similar life experiences of rejection. Not being part of a perceived native majority has become a shared factor of belonging, as well as contributing to the 'normalcy of diversity' in the Slaaghwijk. There is no visible native majority in the neighbourhood, resulting in a majority-minority neighbourhood where diversity is the norm. The adolescents strongly associate with certain places in the Slaaghwijk such as the football cage, which forms a part of their community identity. They also identify with their local football club Roodenburg, except the fact that the 'autochthonous' Leidenaars at Roodenburg all disassociate themselves from them or leave the club, causing financial difficulties. A similar process of stigmatisation and segregation can be seen at the local primary school, where declining enrolment and the struggle to find willing teachers has impacted the quality of education at the school. Added to this stigmatisation, a lacking sense of ownership has resulted in the poor treatment of public spaces in the Slaaghwijk. Considered by the municipality to be a detrimental factor in the 'liveability' of the Slaaghwijk, I would argue that liveability itself is a flawed concept. In practice it seems to primarily result in gentrification rather than solving the cause of social problems. There are also strong prejudices against the Slaaghwijk from outside, furthering its exclusion and isolation from the surrounding neighbourhoods. In the following chapter, I will discuss the moral lives of adolescents in the Slaaghwijk, and how they consciously and unconsciously engage in ethical behaviour in attempt to answer the sub-question: *What are the moral dispositions of adolescents from the Slaaghwijk?*

4. Marginal morality

> "Public disorder is a matter of perspective. If I think back then I remember that there was a curfew at the football cage from 10 PM so maybe in the eyes of the law we were disorderly, but we didn't think so. We were just playing football – football is harmless." – Yassine

The above quote reflects Yassine's interpretation of disorderly conduct and how a game of football can hardly be considered harmful. While the moral laws of the world around him may consider him disorderly or deviant, he ascribes to different a different set of values. This chapter will explore various moral worlds of adolescents that grew up in the Slaaghwijk, the developments in their ethical practices, and their relationships with the moral norms around them. I will also discuss my own experiences in navigating the rules in the Slaaghwijk.

4.1 Snitches get stitches

The first rule I encountered during my research was the 'no snitching' policy, of which Yassine was a firm believer. The first time I met Yassine was at the weekly futsal activity at *Het Gebouw*, in late January 2019. He was quite an imposing figure, and he seemed to know everyone in the sports hall. It turned out that up until recently he had been a 'talent', meaning he had been one of the local adolescents that is recruited by *Sport- en Jongerenwerk* to assist the youth workers and act as a role-model for the rest. Despite no longer being a part of the organisation, he would still turn up to the futsal activity every now and then to check up on everyone and to have a chat with the youth workers. On this particular evening, there was an instance where Yassine had kicked a ball away, and the referee wanted to know who had done it. At that moment, one of the 'Dutch' interns at *Sport- en Jongerenwerk* indicated that Yassine was the culprit, to which Yassine said, "You see, it's always the *Hollanders* who snitch!" This particular statement stuck with me, as I recalled an earlier conversation with the local police officer in which he bemoaned the fact that so few "allochthons" shared information with him or helped his colleagues in solving cases. In a general sense, 'snitching' means telling on someone, or giving information about them to a third party. From his experience, 'Dutch' boys were much more forthcoming and cooperative when they questioned at the police station, whereas 'allochthons' always made use of their right to remain silent. A few weeks after the futsal activity, I spoke to Yassine about whether he genuinely believed that Dutch people were more prone to snitching. He insisted that he had been joking, and that he did not mean anything by it. Yassine's view was that 'snitching' was part of a global street culture, primarily of marginalised urban areas, and the peoples and cultures that you tend to encounter in those areas in the Netherlands right now have Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds.

"In the Slaaghwijk it's a matter of continuous denial, until the very end, and not naming names. Not only in the Slaaghwijk though, I think it's like that in every so-called disadvantaged area." – Yassine

It struck me that Yassine's 'no snitching' policy bore a resemblance to *omertà* – the code of silence employed by members of Italian and American mafia communities. Similarly to Yassine's intepretation, *omertà* means more than simply not sharing information with the police or other authority figures; it places importance on minding your own business and avoiding involvement in other people's disputes (Schneider & Schneider 2008: 365). *Omertà* has its roots in Sicily around the end of the nineteenth century, where the prevailing sentiment at the time was that the law offered no protection, not even to honest people (Blok 1974: 51). The relevance of the *omertà* comparison to Yassine's view is not just a similar interpretation of a moral code, but also the existence of a personal framework for moral reasoning, rationality and 'managing existence' (see: Pardo 1996). Not snitching can be seen as the manifestation of some of Yassine's personal virtues – honour and respectability. For Yassine, telling on someone or sharing information with the police would greatly impact someone's reputation as an honourable and trustworthy individual. It is simply 'not done'. For Yassine, working with the police is not the 'right' thing to do, as it greatly impacts his own respectability and social standing. Another aspect of Yassine's 'no snitching' policy is non-interference. He viewed it as unethical to get involved in other people's business, and would rather keep to himself. This means that if there is a dispute that Yassine has knowledge of, he feels the 'right' thing to do is to let those people in the dispute solve it among themselves.

There were other adolescents with similar moral dispositions to Yassine who ended up in rather complicated ethical conundrums. During my fieldwork in the Slaaghwijk, there was an incident where a wall had been tagged with graffiti and the police got involved. With the help of camera footage, they were able to figure out who had been in the area of the wall around the time it was tagged. However, the footage did not provide any recognisable suspects except for Adil (15), who could be seen interacting with the group suspected of tagging the wall immediately after the incident was thought to have taken place. Upon being questioned by the police, Adil denied all involvement and denied knowing the group of suspects, leaving the police empty-handed. Adil insisted that even if he had known them, he would not have told the police. It meant that Adil stood to lose quite a lot, at least in terms of a fine or a potential criminal record, if the police could prove his involvement. The police had questioned him on multiple occasions about the other suspects but Adil would always insist he had no knowledge of them or the incident. For Adil, whatever may or may not have happened was between him and the others, he did not see it as his responsibility to help the police prove anything, even if it would have proved his own innocence.

4.2   Stand your ground

There were a number of shared virtues that became visible to me in my time in the Slaaghwijk – skill and cleverness. Though I was older and stronger than my research subjects, futsal is a non-contact sport. This meant that any strength-advantage is nullified; it also meant I had to gain the respect of my research subjects through my ability to play football, which was not always easy. When we played futsal, the rules were that we played three versus three; you had to cross a certain part of the floor before you were allowed to shoot, and the first team to score two goals was the winner and allowed to stay on the floor. From a technical standpoint, they were all far better than I had ever been, and they were a lot more agile as well. This meant that I got the ball played through my legs a lot[1], which is pretty much the most embarrassing thing that can happen to you in whichever variation of football you happen to be playing. My solution for this was simple: forget all the tricks and score goals. What almost all of the boys had in common was that they would try to dribble past the entire team, they would rarely pass to a teammate and they would always try to do too much with the ball. While I may not have been the most aesthetically pleasing footballer to look at, I held my own and scored a lot. This meant that I won a lot, and when we had to form teams, it meant that many of the younger boys wanted to be on my team. I felt that despite not being as quick-footed as them, I had won their respect.

> "After that it was our turn to stay on for a longer period of time, winning several games in a row. One of the games I had the ball played through my legs [panna]; right after that my team won the ball back, played it through the air to me on the left side, I controlled it with my right foot, spun around and finished calmly with my left, winning the game. Asad said I should hold my finger up to my mouth and shush the crowd, I was happy to oblige."
> – From my diary, 7 January 2019.

On the other end of the footballing spectrum, there was Karim (16). Karim was also older and bigger than most of the boys, but he had a lot of difficulty on the ball. This would result in him fouling a lot, vehemently denying he had done so, and getting into heated arguments. It also meant that boys would noticeably try to avoid being on the same team as him, or publicly berate him if he was on the ball. I quickly found out that Karim was being bullied by some of the boys, and there had been an incident at his work. Karim was a delivery boy for a fast-food chain, which meant that he would have to cycle a lot from location to location. One night, some of the local boys got together and placed an inordinate amount of orders at Karim's fast-food chain with the goal of making Karim cycle back and forth all night. Karim ended up being embarrassed at his work and

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[1] Known as a 'panna' in street football.

having to explain the actions of his friends to his boss. The sentiment among some of the youth workers was that Karim was asking for it to some degree due to his own attitude and behaviour, being known as a compulsive liar and exaggerator. One incident involving Karim that I witnessed personally was during a futsal activity at the sports hall on the Valkenpad, where one of the younger boys suddenly turned up with his older brother. Earlier that week, Karim had supposedly threatened to call his cousin to beat up Liban (12), telling him he shouldn't turn up to the futsal activities anymore. When Monday came, Liban wasn't there. After an hour the doorbell went, and Liban walked in with a man who I estimate was in his thirties. Although the man was calm, the atmosphere was tense. He came asking for Karim, and told him that Liban had a big brother who was looking out for him, warning him about telling Liban not to come to futsal. Karim denied all wrongdoing and claimed it made no sense that he would threaten to call his cousin to beat up someone he was capable of handling himself. After a few back-and-forth's, Liban's brother left, and Karim was visibly shaken up. This showed me that while it was important to be able to stand your ground, it was equally as important to have a 'big brother' to call upon when you were threatened.

> "Back in the day, the influence of a youth worker within groups of friends – there was none. It was street culture; it was lion behaviour. You would jostle and outdo each other, and eventually a leader would emerge." – From an interview with Peter, a youth worker in Leiden-Noord.

Fig.8   A playground in the Slaaghwijk

When I began my fieldwork, I was told by Bilal that my research was pointless, and that I would not be able to find anyone to talk to on the streets of the Slaaghwijk. Not only did he say was there nothing to do outside, everyone would be inside playing *Fortnite* or *FIFA*, talking to each other

through group chat. Thankfully Bilal was exaggerating, as much of the gaming happened at night and they would still play football outside in the late afternoon. There was an instance during futsal where a group of boys were discussing the video game *Fortnite Battle Royale*. In the game, characters have outfits called 'skins'. Rare skins are considered a status symbol and can be acquired through virtual currency. Virtual currency can be earned through skilful play, or by simply investing 'real world' currency. As a result, those with rare skins are revered and those with basic skins are shunned. *Fortnite* is an example of a virtual environment that many of the adolescents from the Slaaghwijk use as a space of encounter. They would often sit in their rooms, connect to their friends online and communicate with each other in a large chat room via a microphone and headset. Another such game is *FIFA*, which contains a game mode called *Ultimate Team* where gamers can buy players for their team with virtual currency, and was similarly used to denote status. I would frequently overhear boys discussing online matches they had played against each other the night before or in recent weeks and the bottom-line was always the same – if you were not skilful, you were not respected.

4.3   With friends like these…

Nordin described to me his own moral world and that of his friends when they were growing up in the Slaaghwijk. For them, there was a morality that was not based on formal rules and laws, but based on shared values within the group. They were deviant in the eyes of the law, but they were not amoral. If they were hanging out near a house or apartment where small children were trying to sleep, they would move somewhere else. They did not condone stealing from the elderly, but breaking in and stealing from rich people was fine in their book. They saw stealing from the rich as wealth redistribution, permitted in the spirit of Robin Hood. The normalisation of burglary among Nordin's friends would eventually become problematic, with a majority of them relying more and more on theft for their income. Nordin believed that money was their primary motivator, and that many of his friends felt they could no longer return to a 'normal' job making five euros an hour. His friends held the position that if your parents paid everything for you, you were weak. You had to pay your own way, regardless of how you did it. Status within the group was attained through the manner in which the group could benefit from someone within the group having money. Your position in the hierarchy was determined through your contribution to the group. For Nordin and his friends, activities like stealing and drug dealing were just another way to make ends meet. They were considered a form of entrepreneurship – there was no moral judgement about entrepreneurial spirit.

It was clear that loyalty was important to Nordin, and it would manifest itself in other ways than sharing among friends. He would act as somewhat of an older brother to his group of friends,

and whenever they encountered trouble at school or in the neighbourhood, Nordin would have their backs. If one of his friends was physically threatened by someone, Nordin would turn up and 'teach them a lesson'. On one occasion, it turned out that two boys in the Slaaghwijk were in an argument and both of them threatened to call their brother to beat the other one up. As it turned out, both boys were unknowingly threatening each other with Nordin, much to his own amusement. Eventually, Nordin's 'big brother' act culminated in a fight involving quite a large group of people, some of them using knuckle-dusters and other dangerous items. Following that incident, Nordin decided to turn over a new leaf. Reflecting on his past behaviour, he said "My problem was that I stood up for people too often. I never really asked for the story, I took action. So once it got out of hand I decided: I'm going to stop standing up for other people." It was in that moment of 'moral breakdown' that Nordin became conscious of what he was doing and the effect it was having. In this ethical moment, Nordin decided that violence in the name of loyalty was 'wrong'.

Richard (29) was born in *De Kooi*, a working class neighbourhood in Leiden-Noord, but moved to the Slaaghwijk with his family when he was seven. This meant moving from a primarily autochthon neighbourhood, to one with a migrant majority. Richard's parents had heard negative stories about the *Bredeschool*, and kept him at his primary school in *De Kooi.*. For Richard, this was a non-issue, though it meant he had two groups of friends – friends he made at school, and friends he made in the Slaaghwijk (and by extension, at his football club L.V. Roodenburg). As Richard grew older and his group of friends became more Slaaghwijk-centric, he noticed how the group and their interests changed:

> "When I was eleven I broke my leg in a football match. I was at home for three months. When I came back all of a sudden everyone smoked. We would always play at the football cage but all of a sudden everyone needed a smoke break. That was shocking to me, I was like, 'Smoke break? Let's play football!' Due to peer pressure you join them on their smoke break, but thankfully I never started smoking. I'm convinced that breaking my leg stopped me from ever starting smoking. But those are the kinds of changes you see over time. The group composition changes, someone joins the group and suddenly people are smoking. A few months later and people are smoking weed. A year later guys are mugging people on the street, stealing purses."

As time passed, Richard's group of friends became well-known in the area for causing trouble. They would frequently be stalked by police officers and due to his association with the group, Richard would often have discussions at school with teachers. At age 16, after not getting the grades to get into his school of choice, Richard began to feel as if he had to make some changes. He felt as if his group of friends had been pushing him one way and he had to make the choice whether

or not to follow. Richard considered himself lucky that he had multiple groups of friends and the ability to choose whether or not to start avoiding people that he considered to be a negative influence on him. Richard told the story of his friend Mohammed, who had been drawn into criminal activities by a friend and ended up having to perform community service as punishment. "He had to work on a farm and do a bunch of things he didn't feel like doing." Richard said, "But he felt so embarrassed about it that he pretended to me that he had a part-time job he went to every morning. I never wanted to end up like that." The ability to resist peers that were negative influence was not something everyone possessed, and Richard saw the majority of his old friends come into contact with the police in later years. Richard, on the other hand, made the conscious decision to attend a school in a different city, and join a different football club, in order to create new networks of positivity for himself. Taking himself out of his surroundings and meeting new people allowed him to gain new insights and start a positive trajectory.

> "I started thinking about my future and what I wanted for myself. Did I want to work in advertising, have a boring desk job or do something I really liked? I like philosophising, so I began thinking about what I thought was good and bad, where my limits were. I think that process needs to be stimulated more among adolescents." – Richard

An important take-away from Richard's story was that he is an example of someone who was able to make his own ethical decisions that differed from the accepted morality that arose from the social context of his peer group. He was not reliant on one group of friends, being grounded in a variety of social contexts opened his eyes to different ways of doing things.

4.4   Conclusion

This chapter discusses the moral worlds of adolescents in the Slaaghwijk and the ways in which they manage their existence. Yassine's 'no snitching' policy is an important example of the pitfalls of moral relativism. It is easy to fall into Cook's 'projection error' and to misjudge what we are really looking at with the 'no snitching' policy. The police officer I spoke to judged it on the basis of what he assumed to be cultural differences – honesty is a virtue in 'Dutch culture', it must not be in 'allochthon culture'. However, this is still judging the 'no snitching' policy by the supposed moral standards of 'Dutch society'. How Yassine interpreted it, was that 'not snitching' was about honour, reputation and non-intervention. Through Nordin's story, I have shown how the social context of peer groups can influence the behaviours of their members, and how the implementation of those moral codes can dictate group hierarchies and the normalisation of deviant behaviour. The *omertà* comparison is useful in that it portrays the ways in which groups can develop a moral code as a way of protecting themselves from a system they perceive as unjust, and

through which they can rationalise criminal activity. In the end, Nordin had an ethical moment where his experiences reshaped his moral disposition. Richard's story is exemplary of someone who despite having peers that influenced him negatively, managed to act independently of the rules within his social context. We also see some of the holes in the Durkheimian approach to morality, as Richard developed his own set of ethics in relation to multiple social contexts. The following chapter will deal with diversity in the Slaaghwijk, it will attempt to provide a more intersectional approach to some of the problems in the neighbourhood and discuss the need for more diverse approaches to social work, by attempting to answer the sub-question: *What is the role of diversity in the everyday lives of adolescents from the Slaaghwijk?*

5. **Trajectories or turning points?**

"Imagine you're an eighteen-year-old male, living in the Slaaghwijk. Your parents were born in Morocco and moved to the Netherlands with your brother, who is four years older than you. You, on the other hand, were born in the Netherlands. You moved to the Slaaghwijk with your family, aged five. You went to school, but really you found it quite boring. You weren't stupid, but you much preferred being outside, playing football with your friends down by the football cage. At first, your brother and his friends were the ones who always played there, but later they would move to the sideline and started hanging out by the benches. Sometimes they sat there smoking, or getting high, but if you happened to be near them when someone lit up a joint your brother would send you away – you had to stick to playing football. As you got older, seeing your brother and his friends hanging around by the benches became more and more of a rarity. Then suddenly, it was your friends who owned the benches overseeing the football cage. It became your spot. You also had friends that could roll a joint, and who were able to buy weed. You were impressed by their maturity. You joined in, getting high with them more often than not – it was fun getting high together. Sometimes you would hang out until it was so early in the morning that you overslept and missed school, or completely forgot to do your homework. It's not like it mattered though; your parents barely spoke a word of Dutch, didn't go to parents' evenings and barely communicated with your school, meaning you could fool them easily. At one point, a number of your friends didn't see the point in going to school anymore and quit altogether. If you were being honest, you didn't see the point anymore either, and your friends gave you the courage to quit as well. Soon thereafter you realised that the alternative was actual work, but there was no way you felt like getting up early in the morning and working hard for minimum wage. But seen as you hadn't finished your education, it's not like you had much choice. One day, you were walking in the Slaaghwijk and saw an old friend of your brother's sitting in his car. He called you over and took you for a drive. He had heard about you quitting school, despite being in higher education. You justified your decision to him by saying you would rather work than go to school. He asked if you were still looking for work, because he had something for you. Considering that he always had the freshest sneakers and a nice car, you thought he probably had a well-paying job. He asked if you could deliver a few packages for him to some clients. By now you were on to him, and you were in doubt. But when he told you how much you could earn just by moving a package from A to B, you were convinced. Suddenly, you became the guy with loads of confidence and the freshest sneakers in the neighbourhood. While your friends were bored out of their minds delivering fast-food every night, you were working for only a few hours a week for much better pay. But one day you got stopped in the neighbourhood by the police and they searched you. They found a lot of hard drugs on you, more than was permitted. They took you to the police station and interrogated you for hours. But your lips were sealed, you weren't a snitch. Four months, that's how long you were inside. When they let you out you had a criminal

record, no education, no money and your parents said you weren't welcome at home for the time being. At that moment you asked yourself: where did it all go wrong?"

The short story above is the projected life trajectory of an adolescent in the Slaaghwijk, written by me for a presentation on 27 March 2019. The presentation was in front of a number of police officers at the police station in Leiden-Noord, a representative from the municipality, some teachers from the Hogeschool Leiden and a group of visiting students from the Hogeschool VIVES in Kortrijk, Belgium. I had been invited to tell the visiting students about my research and provide some stories about what I had encountered in the field. The story was a part of my presentation in which I wanted to make the point that referring to people's lives in terms of 'turning points' was perhaps inaccurate. Instead, it may be more useful to discuss the various contexts and trajectories that are more akin to a 'slippery slope'. Similar to what I tried to do with my short story, this chapter will attempt to analyse various 'problems' with adolescents in the Slaaghwijk from new perspectives. Using the concepts super-diversity and intersectionality, I will attempt to move away from ethno-focal explanations and comparisons.

5.1 Police – friend or foe?

The Central Agency for Statistics, the governmental institution responsible for gathering statistical information in the Netherlands, writes that non-Western migrants are 'overrepresented' in crime statistics (Huijnk & Kessels 2016: 146). This is the case even when adjusting for their socio-economic circumstances, meaning that there must be some other explanation for how this is possible. Migrants of Moroccan descent in particular are far ahead of the pack in comparison to the other migrant groups in the age category 16 to 25, leading some to believe there must be cultural explanations for why one particular ethnicity is so 'overrepresented' (ibid). This has led to heated public debates on the 'failed' integration of Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands, and is a frequently cited statistical fact by Dutch far-right politicians such as Geert Wilders to defend his position that the government needs to be tougher on criminals of Moroccan descent (NOS.nl 2014). Further research has shown that in other European countries with a significant population of Moroccan migrants – such as Germany, France and Belgium – this 'statistical fact' seems to be absent (Bovenkerk 2014: 7). Moroccan migrants in other countries are not significantly more 'criminal' than other migrant groups, or any more 'overrepresented'. There is also the regional argument, that perhaps more Moroccans from poor and rural regions made the trip to the Netherlands compared other countries (ibid). Yet there are no significant socioeconomic or regional differences between the groups that came to the Netherlands, Belgium or Germany – France excluded, where migrants tended to come from slightly different areas of Morocco (ibid: 81). Based on the revelation that migrants of Moroccan descent in other European countries are

not any more 'overrepresented' in criminal statistics than any other migrant group, nor are there any significant differences between the regional or socioeconomic origins of the migrant groups, it seems as though the explanations for this 'statistical fact' needs to be found in the Netherlands. What is it about the combination of Moroccan migrants and the Netherlands that seems to be resulting in criminal adolescent behaviour? Are migrants of Moroccan descent treated differently in the Netherlands than in other countries?

Before starting my research, I reflected on my own youth in suburban Voorschoten, a town bordering Leiden to the south-west. I could only remember a single moment that I ever saw a police officer in my neighbourhood; I must have been around seven and I saw police officers searching through several bushes in my street, after I asked them what they were looking for I was told to mind my own business. Other than that, I have no memories of any encounters with the police. It's not like we didn't get up to no good, though. As a child, my best friend and I threw stones at passing buses, we would build forts with people's old bulky waste, we would ring people's doorbells and run away, start fires, and kick a ball against a neighbour's fence for hours every day. Things would break, neighbours would get angry, and life would go on. Thinking back, I cannot imagine how I would have felt doing those things if there was a daily police presence in my neighbourhood. Regardless of whether or not it is justified, a police officer cycles through the Slaaghwijk at least once a day, there is an area in the neighbourhood that no one is allowed to be in after a certain time, and there are security camera's hanging in various places. The experience of constantly being observed, searched and chased had taken its toll on a number of my respondents, resulting in weariness, frustration and apathy towards the police.

> "Most of all I hated the police. They are supposed to be your friend and your protector, but they're not. Trust me. I don't know how they are where you grew up, but not in the Slaaghwijk, that's for sure." – Nordin

The explanation given by the local neighbourhood policeman for the mistrust towards him and his colleagues was that it was a matter of upbringing – each generation of male migrants was suspicious of the police because they had been raised that way by their suspicious fathers, uncles and brothers. The policeman hinted towards a cultural explanation, as he had not had that problem with autochthon Dutch kids. My respondents tended to put their strained relationship with the police down to a series of incidents in their childhood and adolescence that negatively impacted their trust towards them. Nordin for example, who at a young age witnessed the arrest of his father after he himself had called the police to report the fact that he had been assaulted. Nordin recanted, "There you are, just a kid. The police arrives and you think, 'Oh good, the police are here!' You know? But they arrested my father, and after a number of incidents with my older brothers – I didn't trust

them anymore." As Nordin got older and started heading into the city centre in the evening, he and his friends would almost always get stopped by the police and questioned. On one such occasion, Nordin reacted with irritation and eventually became aggressive, resulting in him spending the night in prison. "What am I supposed to do?" Nordin asked, "Testify against two policemen?"

Yassine had similar frustrations about constantly being stopped and searched by the police, causing him to grow tired of them. On one occasion he was driving home from the gym with a friend, when they were stopped by the police. "'I can smell weed.' One of the policemen said, 'Step out of the car, we're going to search your vehicle.' So we had to stand there, in the middle of the road in our own neighbourhood, and wait for them while they searched our car. Well let me spoil the ending – they found nothing. A neighbour saw us standing there and asked us, "Have they got nothing to do again? It never ends." So I can understand why people in the Slaaghwijk have an aversion to the police, because of all the unnecessary searches and questioning." Yassine was very positive about the local neighbourhood policeman, but emphasised, "I've encountered numerous policemen that were really laid back. But then there's always two that ruin it for the rest of them. It's kind of the same as with migrants, there might only be two bad eggs, but everyone gets tarred with the same brush."

In November 2018, the police in Leiden-Noord launched *Politiekids* (English: Police kids), an initiative aimed at building a relationship with the primary school children in the Slaaghwijk, aged 10-12. Every few weeks, the police go to the *Bredeschool* to discuss a number of themes to do with safety and liveability (Politie.nl 2018). While the long-term impact of the initiative is still unknown, it can be seen as an attempt by the police to normalise their relationship with residents of the Slaaghwijk. There was even an instance where a mobile phone was stolen from the school and the *Politiekids* actually managed to track down the person who had done it and retrieve the phone. Considering that the initiative came from a number of neighbourhood policemen and officers who were already on good terms with most of the neighbourhood, it remains to be seen if it will have its intended effect. Most of the frustrations felt by adolescents in the Slaaghwijk are a result of 'outsider' policemen coming into the neighbourhood with no prior knowledge of some of the inhabitants, or from negative encounters with policemen in other parts of the city.

5.2   Like father, like son

Research done on child rearing in families with a Moroccan background based in the Netherlands has provided insights into the role of primary socialisation and adolescent behaviour within such families (see: Pels 1998). Important distinguishing factors are differences in composition between first and second-generation migrant status, the division of household tasks, the active presence of

a father, and gender stratification. In 'traditional' Moroccan families, child rearing is primarily the responsibility of the mother, with the father only intervening as a disciplinarian from time to time (Pels 1998: 26-27). The traditional role division accounts for the mother having responsibility for the children at home, with the father being responsible for the children outside. In practice, the father is often absent or has limited involvement with the children, putting most of the responsibility on the mother (ibid: 27). Child and adolescent peer groups are strongly gendered, with girls primarily forming friendships with other girls, and boys with boys. Another trend is girls primarily staying indoors, thereby under the watchful eye of the mother, whereas boys can be more frequently found outside (ibid: 180). With fatherly supervision largely absent outside, boys are largely free to do as they please. Informal support in the form of a larger communal network of social control within the neighbourhood is more commonplace in Morocco, and its relative absence among Moroccan families in the Netherlands places a high burden on mothers (ibid: 148-149). These 'traditional' gender divisions are most strongly represented among first generation migrants, although they are still prevalent in later generations (ibid: 28). Mothers across all generations seem disproportionately burdened with child rearing responsibilities, with fathers generally operating in the background.

From my fieldwork experiences with migrant families in the Slaaghwijk, where the migrant population happens to be predominantly of Moroccan descent, the situation is similar to the picture painted by Trees Pels. Adolescent males are overrepresented in the public sphere, at the youth centre, and at youth work activities. The social control that is present, often originates from an older brother or youth worker. Respondents frequently cited the importance of role models for boys in the neighbourhood, combined with the interests of the boys themselves. Problems loom for those with the 'wrong' interests and the absence of a social safety net or positive role models. Yassine's father was a heavy marijuana user, and his older brothers were frequently physically violent. The result is that he is fiercely anti-drugs, yet often found himself in violent encounters throughout his adolescent years. While his agency is evident in his aversion to drugs, the prevalence of physical violence in his formative years had a normalising effect on him. Fuad, on the other hand, benefitted from a strong safety net and social control, with his older brothers keeping an eye on him outside the house. Aside from having no interest in drugs or alcohol, Fuad noted that he would have no way of getting away with drug or alcohol use due to the strictness of his brothers and father. Although Fuad's family, it may be worth mentioning, came to the Netherlands from Iraq, where parental role division and social control may differ from Morocco. Nordin, a second-generation migrant of Moroccan descent, weighed in on the matter of parental involvement with regard to education:

> "The only thing they would ask is, "How is it going at school?" Every now and then they would ask, "Don't you have homework?" or "Go study if you have exams." But it wasn't very extensive, they weren't exactly involved. That's probably because they didn't get educated here and I couldn't exactly ask them, "Hey, could you help me with this mathematics assignment?" I think that will be different among kids who grew up here when they eventually have kids of their own." – Nordin

The nature of my research meant that I was primarily focussed on adolescent boys – that was essentially what the municipality was interested in and that was the result of my method. By focussing on futsal as a shared activity and hanging around the football cage, I was going to primarily encountering adolescent males. I had not expected, however, to encounter almost no adolescent girls at all. It was around halfway through my research that I began realising almost all the policy measures are aimed at crime prevention for boys, indoor activities for boys, outdoor activities for boys. I saw almost no girls in the neighbourhood (relative to the amount of boys), no girls at the futsal activities and only rarely would I see girls at the youth centre. Sparing some demographic anomaly, there had to be approximately the same amount of girls in the Slaaghwijk as there were boys. It made sense to me that those girls undoubtedly faced their own dilemma's and problems, yet they were barely visible.

> "I'm very concerned about the girls. They have the same thoughts and desires as the boys, but have to go about them in an entirely different way. The boys can do what they want. (…) The girls live in two worlds: how they are expected to be at home and how they see themselves, and it's a worryingly large gap." – A youth worker

Youth workers were particularly worried about the emotional issues stemming from the sexual repression and social control of Moroccan girls. Citing the importance of a father figure, the personal discussions at home seem to primarily follow gender lines. Youth workers observed how after years of containing themselves, many Moroccan girls become completely uncontrollable at the hint of freedom and adulthood, creating some chaotic and problematic situations for themselves. Such issues facing female adolescents in the Slaaghwijk are underexposed, due to the high visibility of adolescent males in the public sphere.

5.3   Slaaghwijk's Got Talent

In the Netherlands since the 1980s, 'at risk' youth have increasingly been considered a threat to society by policy makers, leading to a surge of 'prevention' programmes aimed at pre-emptive intervention, based on risk factors (Kooijmans 2016: 16). The focus here is the risk of victimhood and the potential for damage, rather than dealing with victimhood or damage as an end result (ibid). The goal seems to be to prevent the potential harm that 'at risk' youth can do to society, rather

than the harm society might be doing to 'at risk' youth. The discursive implication is that 'at risk' youth are placed outside of 'society' – an outside force with the potential to damage it, rather than 'society' harming itself from within. The current state of youth work in the Netherlands can be viewed through the prism of prevention policy, and following the decentralisation of the Dutch welfare state since the 1990s, social work has increasingly become the responsibility of municipalities and local support networks (ibid: 16-17). This decentralisation and the ensuing budget cuts has resulted in social professionals having to get increasingly creative with their time and money, leading to two things: the intensification of cooperation between various stakeholders in the field of youth and security; positive stimulation of informal networks of social control, such as parents, neighbours or young role models from within the community (ibid: 17-19).

The 'talent' system used by *Sport- en Jongerenwerk* is a good example of positive stimulation and social control through informal responsibility. It approaches children from the perspective of utilising their talents and fulfilling their potential, rather than focussing on their problems and struggles. It also creates a system of role models within the community, responsible peers for other children to look up to and aspire to be like. It allows children to envisage a positive trajectory – from talent to social professional. In fact, a number of the youth workers in Leiden-Noord had started as talents and then went on to become professional youth practitioners. The desired outcome of this approach is essentially empowerment for 'at risk' youth, and for them to have a healthy alternative to a life of crime. The main pitfall of the talent approach lies in its meritocratic reasoning, which is that everyone has some underlying individual talent and the potential to succeed, it just needs to be stimulated. The danger is that such an approach clearly does not address any broader social and economic problems that can hold individuals back regardless of their best efforts. It is difficult to consider such an approach empowering if there is very little social or economic mobility that we can associate with it. The result is an unfair burden on the individual, giving them the feeling that had they only utilised their talents better, they would be accepted as positive, contributing members of 'society'. It also implies that those lacking or with unrecognised talents are doomed to fall by the wayside, victims of their own talentless existence.

What I ended up witnessing during my three months with the talents and youth workers at *Sport- en Jongerenwerk*, was that the success of their approach was strongly dependent on the individual, both in terms of who was in charge of the group, and the individuals within the group. Older, more experienced youth practitioners had the authority and respect that was necessary to lead the activities. The talents, on the other hand, essentially came from 'within the group', and struggled to assert themselves. Sometimes talents would even undermine or turn on each other, causing a full scale mutiny and a tense atmosphere at the futsal activities. It would take the presence

of one of the older professionals to normalise the situation and calm everyone down. The same logic could be applied to other aspects of professional social work. Youth worker Peter gave the example of Mounir, who started as a talent, trained to be a social professional and now has a role at Libertas as a youth worker. Peter explained, "As someone who grew up in the neighbourhood, but also as an imam in training, someone like Mounir can be an important link between youth and authority. Mounir's role as a potential connector, affording social professionals access to the local mosque, could serve as a blueprint for policy better suited to neighbourhoods such as the Slaaghwijk." Peter emphasised the importance of having practicing Muslims who are pedagogues and doctors, who are able to speak from a position of authority that is respected within the neighbourhood. "If you look at the *Jeugd- en gezinsteams* [youth and family teams] in the neighbourhood," Peter said, "They're not representative of the Slaaghwijk. They're probably very kind people, but they're mostly Dutch women between the ages of 25 and 40, who simply don't speak the same language or understand the culture of these people. I think that's problematic, there's a need for better representation. But then we have to train new professionals."

One aspect of the relationship between youth worker and the adolescents, was that the youth workers expected the adolescents to show initiative. If they needed help, the door was open and the youth workers were there for them. If they showed no initiative, the youth workers were not going to invest endless amounts of energy in them. While understandable, the result is that the most marginalised and vulnerable adolescents are often out of reach for social professionals. The most antisocial adolescents who exhibited the worst behaviour either were not welcome at the futsal activities, or chose to stay away from them. This means further separation and isolation of that group of adolescents from their peers, and from professionals that could be in the position to help them. The focus on adolescents who are 'worth' the time and effort is a logical result of people and money being in short supply, but it also raises important questions regarding whose responsibility those adolescents are and how best to approach them. With such an emphasis on policies of prevention, there should also be a plan for those adolescents that have made some mistakes but have essentially been given up on.

5.4   Conclusion

This chapter began by establishing the premise that we might be better served looking at the experiences of Moroccan migrants when dealing with the police in the Netherlands rather than look at specific cultural explanations for their 'overrepresentation' in crime statistics. Adolescents in the Slaaghwijk felt like they were overpoliced, and that they were stopped and searched in their neighbourhood disproportionately. This is obviously subjective (i.e. disproportionate to what standard?) and the police may feel as if it is completely justified, but the fact remains that the

manner and frequency in which it happens creates bad blood. Worth mentioning is that adolescents in the Slaaghwijk primarily feel mistreated by 'outsider' police officers, who either come in to the Slaaghwijk with no prior knowledge of the residents or police officers they encounter in the city centre. There is a relationship between gender and crime, if only because public spaces are dominated by adolescent boys. This is a reflection of traditional gender roles in migrant households, but there is evidence that there are changing opinions on gender from the second-generation onwards. Adolescents in the Slaaghwijk are almost by default labelled 'at risk'. They are not considered 'at risk' to themselves though, rather they are considered a potential threat to society. The shift in social policy towards prevention, positivity and decentralised responsibility is intended to be empowering but ultimately there is often little economic or social mobility for the adolescents. It also seems that prevention policies have difficulty reaching the most vulnerable and 'problematic' adolescents, leading to further isolation and exclusion. There is also a need for more diversity within social work organisations – social workers need to be more of a reflection of the neighbourhoods they work in. In the next chapter I will formulate a conclusion in an attempt to provide a concise answer to the main research question.

6. Conclusion

> "You have quite a lot of rights here. You have freedoms. But I don't think it will last. I'm sure there are Dutch people who respect us the way we are, but there are enough Dutch people that don't respect us at all and would rather have us gone. (…) I don't trust the government but that could be because I'm a little distrustful in general. But I won't ever feel at home here, unfortunately. I used to back in high school but that was just ignorance. I knew nothing. As you get older, though, you start seeing that it's not all sunshine and rainbows." – Nordin

In this thesis I have developed new perspectives on the Dutch integration debate and questioned the validity of certain categorical assumptions that are used in public policy. I did so by attempting to answer the question: **How do adolescents with a migrant background negotiate exclusion, morality and diversity?** I have focused on how my respondents made sense of themselves and the world around them, rather than accepting the frames present in public and political discourse. Through the reflexivity and engagement of my subjects with the concepts in my research question, I believe I have been able to generate new insights into the experiences of adolescents growing up in super-diverse urban localities. I believe this research has depicted the complexity of some issues in the Dutch integration debate, and the need for more bottom-up and everyday perspectives. I also have the hope that these insights will contribute to policy decisions that are more embedded in the social realities of the people they affect.

6.1 Integration, citizenship, and exclusion

With political figures and policy makers in the Netherlands conflating nation and culture to an increasing degree, the answer to what it means to be a Dutch citizen has gone through a process of culturalisation (Tonkens & Duyvendak 2016: 3). What this means is that the dominant native majority that defines the requirements for Dutch citizenship has become focussed on aspects that they consider a part of Dutch culture, such as shared values, traditions and symbolism, emphasising the importance of an emotional attachment to culture (ibid). The effect is that newcomers and those people whose families settled in the Netherlands decades previously are deemed culturally incompatible and not acknowledged as 'full' citizens by the Dutch native mainstream. Second- and third-generation migrants are excluded and 'othered' in public discourse through their formal categorisation as *allochtoon*, or the new category 'non-Western migrant', despite being born in the Netherlands. What second- and third-generation migrants share is the sense of not 'belonging' in the Netherlands nor in their 'country of origin'. In the Slaaghwijk, on the other hand, they encounter other migrants who share those experiences of travelling back to their parents' country of birth and neither feeling nor being treated by the native majority as if they belong there. They

are caught somewhere in the middle of these two cultures and for many it has resulted in a hybrid cultural identification – they can feel 'legally' Dutch and 'culturally' Moroccan, but also just as easily the other way around dependent on the context. This hybrid identity is in part a consequence of the moving goalposts in terms of what it means to be integrated. The increasing harshness of public and political opinions regarding integration has begun to frame certain groups of migrants 'unassimilable' based on ethnic or religious grounds. Particularly the essentialisation of culture in the Dutch integration process and the emphasis on cultural difference in public discourse raises the issue of whether 'integration' is even achievable under the circumstances. Adolescents in the Slaaghwijk are very aware of this discourse, meaning that despite the relative absence of the native majority in their neighbourhood, the 'mainstream' is still present in the Slaaghwijk to some degree. If we consider the residential patterns in Leiden then there is an added exclusionary dimension; we see that the Slaaghwijk is effectively segregated from the city and stigmatised by the surrounding neighbourhoods. When migrant residents begin 'distancing' themselves from their neighbourhood due to the stigma that they live in a 'backward place', they do not really feel at home anywhere.

6.2   Do the right thing

Just as the nation must not be conflated with culture, anthropologists that study morality must be wary not to conflate the moral with the social. When we assume that morality originates from society and that morality is a collective norm, we lose the ability to engage with the concept of morality itself. This is because by doing so we envisage different self-contained societies that have their own set of rules and norms that are all perfectly rational within the social contexts from which they arise. To say that adolescents in the Slaaghwijk have different variations or standards of the moral laws that exist outside it is an example of Cook's 'projection error'. Adolescents in the Slaaghwijk have developed their own moral dispositions with regard to what is 'right' and 'wrong', and have in general done so separately from the 'moral laws' that exist in society. The resistance to sharing information with the police is not a matter of dishonesty that is somehow morally acceptable to adolescents in the Slaaghwijk – it is being wrongly interpreted. Honour and the reputation that is associated with being honourable are very important to those adolescents, as well as the notion that you should not get involved in someone else's business. In the same way, drug dealing is an example of entrepreneurship and 'managing existence' (Pardo: 1996). An act that is legal is also not by definition moral, nor is something illegal necessarily amoral. Without engaging in moral relativism we must still be able to tell the difference between what is perhaps appropriate or acceptable in a given situation without immediately viewing it as a moral act. There is a moral habitus in the Slaaghwijk, which is a development of Marcel Mauss' concept referred to by Jarrett Zigon as "(the) unreflective and unreflexive dispositions of everyday social life attained over a

lifetime of what he called socially performed techniques" (2009: 260). Adolescents in the Slaaghwijk are not constantly and consciously engaging in ethical decision-making, or continuously aware of their moral positioning. Morality is a process, a development over time where the cumulation of experiences results in an everyday moral disposition. This is why Jarrett Zigon prefers to refer to moments of 'moral breakdown', moments where subjects are drawn from their unreflective positions into a conscious ethical decision. This happens in the Slaaghwijk when adolescents experience how their choices no longer seem to be yielding their desired results, and changes need to be made.

6.3   Diversity and its discontents

'Super-diversity' is a new concept that challenges traditional understandings of mass-immigration patterns, in an attempt to depict more accurately the increased heterogeneity of contemporary urban localities (Vertovec 2007). Super-diversity functions as a descriptive lens through which the multiplication of social categories in urban settings can be understood (Wessendorf 2014: 1). By moving away from an ethno-focus, super-diversity allows us to look at the intersectional connections between categories, such as gender and education, or education and generation. In the Slaaghwijk, for example, there seems to be a relationship between gender and crime due to the disproportionate presence of boys in the public sphere. This is often reflective of families with more 'traditional' views on gender. Interestingly, these views on gender and the role of parents tend to become more progressive from the second-generation onwards, although this too also seems to be dependent on the level of education of the parents (Crul 2016). As such, girls from more 'traditional' families tend to be more protected and their problems less visible. Much like with Susanne Wessendorf's research in Hackney, there is no visible 'native' majority in the Slaaghwijk for migrants or those with migrant backgrounds to 'integrate into'. This has meant that within the context of everyday local encounters that take place in the public spaces in the Slaaghwijk, there is limited confrontation with 'integration'. People go about their business in a neighbourhood where diversity is the norm, rather than continuously feeling like the odd one out. This is not to say people in the Slaaghwijk are not aware of the absence of the native majority, and the stigma that exists about their neighbourhood. The absence of the native majority is in part experienced as a rejection, with the native majority seemingly avoiding their schools, playgrounds and sports teams, furthering segregation. The search for an ethnic or cultural explanation of certain statistical facts has caused other social factors to be overlooked, something super-diversity allows us to reverse. The 'over-representation of Moroccans' in crime statistics, for example, seems to discount the vast differences within the group itself. Differences that Maurice Crul (2016) argues are larger within migrant ethnic groups than between them. The danger of an ethno-focus in integration policies is that the

generalisations they produce become the basis of policy. The experience of adolescents in the Slaaghwijk that they are being overpoliced is a direct result of those generalisations, leading them to feel jaded and apathetic to the police.

6.4   Towards a super-diverse understanding of citizenship

What if the same lens that is applied to the migrant would be applied to the native, would the same cultural assumptions with regard to citizenship hold? Would the diversity within the groups be larger than between them? While the Central Agency for Statistics has done away with the formal categories *autochtoon/allochtoon* and replaced them with 'Person with a Dutch background' and 'Western/Non-Western migrant', it has not removed the implicit 'othering' that lies at the heart of such a dichotomous distinction. I would argue that a comprehensive study of Dutch citizenship should include its meaning at various intersections of society – what does Dutch citizenship mean to a young, well-educated female in an urban setting or what does it mean to a nearly retired labourer from a rural area? The debates in the public sphere on how to deal with potentially harmful aspects of Dutch cultural traditions such as the 'Black Pete' character have exposed deep divisions and violent disagreements with regard to certain values and traditions among Dutch citizens (Balkenhol & Van den Hemel 2019). By expanding beyond an ethno-cultural focus with regard to citizenship, we might be able to see the multi-layered experience of Dutch citizenship across the millions of people that hold Dutch nationality. A super-diverse approach to citizenship would acknowledge the fluidity of culture and the subjectivity of the Dutch experience. Herein lies the descriptive potential of super-diversity, by applying it to multiple domains in order to gain new insights on previously accepted or self-explanatory assumptions.

7. Executive summary (Dutch/Nederlands)

Gedurende drie maanden heb ik onderzoek gedaan onder jongeren met een migratieachtergrond uit de Slaaghwijk, met als onderzoeksvraag: **Hoe ervaren jongeren uit de wijk processen van uitsluiting, hoe motiveren ze de keuzes die ze in hun leven maken en hoe beleven ze diversiteit?** Door met ze te voetballen kreeg ik toegang tot de groep en werd ik meegenomen in de leefwerelden van de jongeren. Uit mijn onderzoek blijkt dat het loont om de zogeheten 'sociale problematiek' in de wijk vanuit meerdere invalshoeken te analyseren, waarbij het belangrijk is om de jongeren zelf aan het woord te laten, en goed naar ze te luisteren. Zodoende heb ik mijn uitkomsten en aanbevelingen gebaseerd op de persoonlijke ervaringen van jongeren, jongerenwerkers, en in de Slaaghwijk opgegroeide volwassenen.

Drie sub-vragen:
- Hoe positioneren jongeren uit de Slaaghwijk zich ten opzichte van wat zij als de 'Nederlandse samenleving' ervaren? (uitsluiting)
- Wat typeert de moraliteit van jongeren uit de Slaaghwijk? (moraliteit)
- Welke rol speelt diversiteit in het dagelijks leven van jongeren uit de Slaaghwijk? (diversiteit)

Het Sociaal Veld:
- Jongeren met een migratieachtergrond
- Maatschappelijke hulporganisaties
- Politie (zowel wijkagenten als 'gewone' agenten)
- Bewoners

1. **Sub-vraag uitsluiting**
   - Jongeren voelen zich sterk verbonden met de Slaaghwijk en de Merenwijk in het algemeen. De voetbalkooi speelt een belangrijke rol qua identificatie met de wijk, doordat het functioneert als sociale ontmoetingsplek voor mensen van binnen en buiten de wijk.
   - Met 'de wereld' buiten de wijk is de binding een stuk minder – men voelt zich zowel in Nederland als land van herkomst 'buitenlander'.
   - Binnen de wijk is 'de Nederlander' weinig zichtbaar, en zijn 'minderheden' gevoelsmatig in de meerderheid. Daardoor is diversiteit in de wijk de nieuwe norm.
   - 'Integreren' in een wijk waar diversiteit de norm is kan een complexe opgave zijn. Want waar moet je je aan aanpassen?

- De labels 'zwarte school', 'probleemwijk', 'achterstandswijk', '(on)leefbaarheid' werken stigmatiserend en zorgen voor de verdere segregatie van de Slaaghwijk, doordat bijvoorbeeld leerlingen, leraren of gehele families wegblijven.

2. **Sub-vraag moraliteit**
   - Jongeren uit de wijk ontwikkelen hun eigen opvattingen van 'goed' of 'fout', die losstaan van de sociale wetten van binnen de wijk of daarbuiten. Die opvattingen zijn zeer persoonlijk en ontwikkelen zich voortdurend op basis van ervaringen en momenten waarop er bewust keuzes gemaakt dienen te worden. Een immorele daad is niet per definitie illegaal, evenmin als een legale daad per definitie moreel is – in die context kan drugshandel ook als sociaal ondernemerschap worden geïnterpreteerd.
   - Men moet oppassen voor het projecteren van bepaalde opvattingen op jongeren in de wijk – het is niet zo dat als een jongere niet met politie wil praten dat 'eerlijkheid' of 'behulpzaamheid' niet belangrijk is voor ze. Ze zijn zowel eerlijk als behulpzaam naar elkaar toe – men heeft juist geen vertrouwen in de 'eerlijkheid' van de politie.

   - Jongeren in de wijk vinden een aantal deugden zeer belangrijk, waaronder: handigheid, loyaliteit, eer, behendigheid, ondernemendheid.

3. **Sub-vraag diversiteit**
   - De zoektocht naar culturele verklaringen voor criminaliteit zorgt ervoor dat men soms minder goed stilstaat bij de manier waarop de politie zich opstelt naar jongeren in de wijk.
   - Over het algemeen is het vertrouwen er wel in de wijkagent, maar is de relatie met vrijwel alle andere agenten slecht. Dit heeft te maken met de band die men opbouwt met de wijkagent en dus ook met de rol van een wijkagent in het algemeen. Elkaar kennen op persoonlijk niveau, praatjes maken, is heel belangrijk voor wederzijds begrip. Ook het feit dat de wijkagent voornamelijk een signalerende rol heeft en geen boetes uitdeelt scheelt enorm voor het onderlinge vertrouwen. Een wijkagent heeft zich over het algemeen beter verdiept in de wijkbewoners en kan vaak beter inschatten hoe men zou moeten optreden.
   - Onderdeel van de slechte relatie met de politie is dat jongeren in hun ogen disproportioneel vaak staande worden gehouden en aangesproken in de wijk.
   - In families met een traditionelere taakverdeling binnen het gezin zijn de jongens vaak vrij om buiten hun gang te gaan, terwijl er bij meisjes veel meer sociale controle is.
   - Echter, er is eerder sprake van diversiteit tussen generaties dan tussen etnische groepen. Vaak zijn de genderverhoudingen vanaf de tweede- en derde generatie migranten wat progressiever, mits er sprake is van sociale en economische mobiliteit. Deze

oververtegenwoordiging van jongens in de openbare ruimte kan een verklaring zijn voor bepaalde criminaliteitscijfers.

- Er is behoefte aan diversiteit binnen de maatschappelijke organisaties in de Slaaghwijk en onder de maatschappelijk werkers. Maatschappelijk werkers zouden meer een weerspiegeling van de wijk moeten waarin er ruimte ontstaat voor rolmodellen uit de wijk zelf.

Conclusie:

- Verbondenheid en uitsluiting zijn complexe processen. Aan de ene kant voelen jongeren met een migratieachtergrond zich nergens thuis, maar onder elkaar in de Slaaghwijk schijnbaar wel. Het stigmatiseren van de wijk kan er echter toe leiden dat men zich ook van de wijk gaat distantiëren. Dat kan er voor zorgen dat men zich nergens meer thuis voelt.

- Het is niet zo dat er per se andere morele wetten gelden in de Slaaghwijk dan erbuiten; men moet beter leren herkennen waar bepaalde gedragingen een uiting van zijn. Niet willen verklikken heeft meer met eer, aanzien en niet willen bemoeien te maken dan een gebrek aan behulpzaamheid.

- De nadruk op culturele verklaringen voor problemen kan ertoe leiden dat andere sociale aspecten totaal over het hoofd worden gezien, zoals verschillen tussen generaties of hoe de politie zich opstelt.

- Er is behoefte aan rolmodellen uit de wijk die op invloedrijke maatschappelijke posities komen.

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