Syncing citizenship education in The Hague Southwest

A comparative study describing citizenship perceptions through
the lenses of civil society and street culture

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Abstract

Citizenship education is adopted in the Dutch school curriculum because it is important to inform youngsters about their status and position in society. This impacts how youngsters are perceived and treated by polities and how they perceive their value within society. Nonetheless, there remains a lack of understanding of whether this curriculum matches the citizenship perceptions of youngsters who experience macrostructural disadvantages and live in heterogeneous adverse neighbourhoods. This study counters this problem by describing the political, social, cultural, and moral citizenship perceptions of youngsters residing in The Hague Southwest and professionals representing *Stichting Vreedzaam* who educate and inform youngsters about their position in society. Sequentially, these descriptive citizenship perceptions between these two groups are juxtaposed through a comparative analysis. By doing this, the main research question of this study can be answered: *To what extent do the citizenship perceptions diverge or converge between youngsters and Stichting Vreedzaam in the region Southwest in The Hague?* Civil society and street culture are applied as lenses to gain insights into how these perceptions are shaped. After comparing the findings between the two related groups, it can be indicated that citizenship perceptions are largely converging despite being shaped in divergent manners. Exceptionally, political citizenship perceptions compared to the other citizenship dimensions are largely divergent due to a lack of trust youngsters experience and convey towards politics. This study recommends recovering youngsters' trust, engaging more in dialogue with them, and investing more in local integral collaboration so that more suitable and effective citizenship education can be provided for youngsters residing in heterogeneous adverse neighbourhoods such as The Hague Southwest.

Keywords: citizenship, perceptions, civil society, street culture, youngsters, trust

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Introduction

Informing young people about their status and position as citizens is important because it impacts how polities perceive and treat them and how they perceive their value within society (Smith et al., 2015). In Dutch law, primary and high schools educate their students about citizenship through mandatory "citizenship education" (Rijksoverheid, 2021) in which the behaviour of students is moulded as citizens (Staeheli, 2018). A problem is that it is unclear what exactly "citizenship education" means and how to practically translate this into the educational curriculum (Brodie, 2002; Joppke, 2007; Pawley, 2008). Hence, in August 2021, an amendment to this law was established to educate students on knowledge and respect for the Dutch rule of law with the main pillars: to respect freedoms, learn about the democratic constitution, and listen to each other (Rijksoverheid, 2021). Nevertheless, these pillars can be differently interpreted as they relate to citizens' self-interest, values, and social identification (Howe & Krosnick, 2017), thereby, societies become substantially ethnically and culturally diversified due to immigration and globalisation (Joppke, 2007; Sassen, 2002; Schinkel, 2010; Turner, 1999). How to respond to heterogeneous societies is a common concern in citizenship debates (Pawley, 2008).

Furthermore, a hardening of the so-called "street culture" observed by teachers and social workers in The Hague is threatening the safe learning environment (NOS, 2020). Differences between socio-economic backgrounds and unequal opportunities among the students are possible explanations for this hardening (Municipality of The Hague, 2022). These issues are present in the region Southwest of The Hague consisting of the neighbourhoods: Bouwlust, Moerwijk, Morgenstond, and Vrederust. In cooperation with the national government, the municipality of The Hague identified several problems in this region, such as poverty, polarisation, and feelings of unsafety (Rijksoverheid, 2019). To counter these problems a joint plan of action was constructed, the "Region Deal The Hague Southwest" (*Regio Deal Den Haag Zuidwest)*, with an emphasis on employability, education, social cohesion, and physical health. The municipality tackles these problems by focussing on, amongst others, youngsters with the help of local and external organizations and programs. Essential conditions need to be met for these programs to function: they should be established with the targeted citizens to ensure that these projects align with their needs and wishes, and enforce their feelings of having influence (Rijksoverheid, 2019). Trust in such programs is key to facilitating this cooperation within these project's networks (Bailer et al., 2009; Diamond, 1994; Malena & Heinrich; 2007; Putnam, 2000). Nevertheless, trust is significantly lacking in heterogeneous adverse neighbourhoods such as in The Hague Southwest which may explain

why youngsters do not engage in such programs (Anderson, 1990; Eagly & Chaicken, 2007). Instead, youngsters who cannot and/or do not want to engage, adopt alternative meaningful strategies that ensure social order and acquire self-worth and social status (Stewart & Simons, 2010; Vinken, 2011). This study's problem statement is how to provide suitable and effective citizenship education for youngsters in heterogenous adverse neighbourhoods with the above described complexities.

Stichting Vreedzaam (Foundation Peaceable) is such an organization implemented by the municipality of The Hague to tackle the local issues in this region by teaching civic competencies to youngsters (Stichting Vreedzaam n. d.). The question remains whether citizenship perceptions of professionals translating *Vreedzaam's* philosophy in their professions match the perceptions and lived experiences of the youngsters residing in the region Southwest. Particularly, this study attempts to understand how these perceptions are shaped by using the concepts of civil society and street culture as lenses. This study juxtaposes the citizenship perceptions of youngsters and professionals translating *Stichting Vreedzaam's* philosophy into their profession within The Hague Southwest. The following research question is formulated which will be answered through interviews:

To what extent do the citizenship perceptions diverge or converge between youngsters and Stichting Vreedzaam in the region Southwest The Hague?

Answering this question is societally relevant for several reasons. First, gaining insights into youngsters' citizenship perceptions is helpful to comprehend whether the curriculum of Dutch citizenship education matches the lived experiences and expectations of youngsters. Second, this study provides a descriptive overview of the youngsters' perceptions to get a grasp on their viewpoints so that *Stichting Vreedzaam* can effectively implement their programs whereby youngsters may be more willing to engage. Third, these insights are fruitful for *Stichting Vreedzaam* to understand how their programs play out in a deprived neighbourhood and anticipate this. Fourth, *Stichting Vreedzaam* can compare these findings to other neighbourhoods to measure the effectiveness of their programs. Lastly, these findings are relevant to provide policy recommendations for other government institutions that choose to use external agencies to improve neighbourhoods in disadvantaged and heterogeneous conditions.

This is also scientifically relevant as this research question fills several gaps in the literature. First, this study adds to the body of academic literature that goes beyond the conventional dimensions of citizenship (King & Waldron, 1988; Lister, 2005; Roche, 1987; Turner, 1999), which are civil, political, and social citizenship (Marshall, 1992). This study scrutinizes the moral, cultural, and political dimensions. Second, civil society and street culture are two concepts that are widely scrutinized (Anderson, 1990, 1999; Bailer et al., 2009; Diamond, 1994, Kaldenbach, 2011; Putnam, 2000; Woldring, 1998), however, they have not been scrutinized in a comparative embedded case study. This study provides insights into how the elements that construct these concepts shape individuals' citizenship perceptions. Relating these concepts is not yet done in former research. Lastly, perceptions are predominantly measured through quantitative research, nevertheless, not widely examined through qualitative research (Ho, 2017; McDonald, 2012). This study adds to this type of research by conducting semi-structured interviews.

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Chapter 1: Theoretical framework

This chapter lays out the relevant theories and concepts. First, four citizenship dimensions are discussed. Next, the elements of civil society and street culture are presented which are linked to the relevant and applicable citizenship dimensions (see appendix one). Hereafter, it is explained how the concept of perceptions is understood. The remaining part of the chapter is used for the expectations based on the theoretical framework.

1.1. Citizenship

Marshall is a prominent scholar within the citizenship debates who divided citizenship into three dimensions: civil, political, and social (Marshall, 1992) which is grounded on equality of status and a horizontal hierarchy (Powell, 2012). These dimensions are widely used as starting point in academic debates concerning citizenship (King & Waldron, 1988; Lister, 2005; Roche, 1987; Turner, 1999). This theoretical framework goes beyond the conventional Marshallian framework by discussing the following citizenship dimensions: political, social, cultural, and moral. Civil citizenship can be seen as the common dominator of these dimensions as composing the necessary freedoms and rights and hence will not be separately discussed (Beaman, 2015; Marshall, 1992). Citizenship dimensions and their regimes are concerned with the redefinitions and transformations of the current times at the individual, organizational, or societal level (Janoski & Gran, 2002; Jenson, 2001). The diversification of societies and the increase of claims based on "cultural" characteristics explain the emergence and inclusions of cultural citizenship in this study (Staeheli, 2018). Furthermore, moral citizenship is included because the debate of who is a "good" citizen is gradually more prominent (Björkland, 2016; Manning, 1997; Schervisch & Havens, 2002). Especially, as citizens gain more agency and have more tools (e.g. social media) the debate on the "good citizen" has many sides and must be taken into consideration. See appendix two for the operationalisation of citizenship.

1.1.1. Political citizenship

Fundamental in the assumption of political citizenship is that personal freedom is both the root of adequate government and the authority of that government over individuals (Miller, 2001). In Marshall's theory, political citizenship is the right to participate as a member of an apparatus engaged with political authority or as an elector of the members of such an apparatus (Marshall, 1992). Inherently, all citizenship rights are political as citizenship rights are legislated by governmental decision-making apparatuses which ultimately make "law" (Janoski & Gran,

2002). The eligibility to vote is the first important detector of political citizenship as this allows citizens to have an impact on these processes (Miller, 2001). For instance, elections are momentums in which collective belonging to the political communities are negotiated and bridge the gap between society and the state (Jaffe, 2015). The second detector of political citizenship is the capacity to participate in policy processes which can be distinguished into eight types of participation through Arnstein's (1969) "participation ladder". (1) Manipulation and (2) therapy share that the intention of the authority is not to empower participation, but to educate or cure participants. At (3) informing and (4) consultation, participants are heard by the authority, nevertheless, this does not evolve into definite change. (5) Placation, similarly rung, exhibits a high level of tokenism, since the have-nots are allowed to give recommendations, it is still the authority that rules. Upwards, citizens' influence increases. By reaching (6) partnerships, citizens can debate with authorities and maintain some actual influence over the decision-
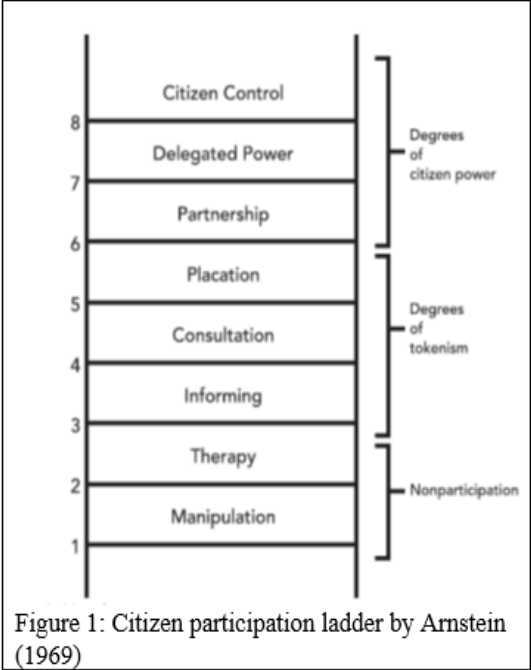
Figure 1: Citizen participation ladder by Arnstein (1969)

making process. Next, at rung (7) delegated power citizens realize dominant decision-making power, and at the top (8) citizens control, citizens are the authorities (Arnstein, 1969). The third important detector of political citizenship is the call to the representativeness of the government (Miller, 2001). This entails a set of juridical rights that allows citizens more access to the parliamentary process (Marshall, 1992; Turner, 1999).

1.1.2. Social citizenship

According to Marshall (1992), social citizenship refers to the right to protect and contends an individual's rights in terms of equality with others and under the process of law. Social citizenship rights are strongly related to the functioning of the welfare state to provide and contribute to a substantial sense of social solidarity. These rights are solely warranted for individuals within a state's territory (Björklund, 2016). In advanced capitalist societies, this social solidarity is established by the guarantee of social citizenship rights by engaging its citizens in collective projects based on state-based assurances of citizens' equality and social progress (Brodie, 2002). In the last century, social solidarity has been secured by expanding citizenship rights to social groups such as women and racial minorities and by guaranteeing

minimum economic security (Brodie, 2002). However, the invention of the "social" in social citizenship right can be understood as a strategy to govern the contradictions that liberal democracies have produced. These contradictions refer to the marginalization of social groups who initially are not included in the state discourses and its national projects (Brodie, 2002). Therefore, equality of access to state services (e.g. healthcare) is an important detector of social citizenship (Powell, 2002). Achieving equality of rights and access serves the goal to develop a common culture in which the divergences between social classes and other social groups are less sharp (Buckmaster & Thomas, 2009).

1.1.3. Cultural citizenship

Marshall can be criticized for his three-fold conception of citizenship based on the heterosexual white men in England, neglecting how citizenship is articulated by deviant social groups (Beaman, 2015; Joppke, 2017; Pakulski, 1997). Being equal before the law granted by political citizenship does not mean other citizenship dimensions are granted such as cultural citizenship. Thus, the expansion of cultural citizenship is based on the belief that to achieve full membership in a community, the cultural values, and practices within communities must be taken into consideration (Beaman, 2015; Miller, 2001; Pawley, 2008). Incorporating the differentiated society in terms of ethnicity and culture is a shared concern why citizenship academia should include cultural citizenship beyond the political, social, and civil (Pawley, 2008). Therefore, marginalized groups make two-folded claims as they advocate for full recognition of their cultural norms and values and a sense of belonging to be acknowledged as full members (Beaman, 2015; Miller, 2001; Pakulski, 1997; Pawley, 2008). In turn, cultural citizenship covers the preservation and development of cultural lineages in different manners (e.g. language) and the positive acknowledgment of dissimilar identities in and by mainstream societies and discourses (Miller, 2001). Moreover, cultural citizenship goes beyond the sole acceptance of diverse identities, it is about the right to be "different", to re-value stigmatized identities, to accept openly and legitimately marginalised lifestyles, and to cultivate them impediments (Pakulski, 1997). Fundamental to this shift is to take the normative dimension of culture not for granted and position individuals who are culturally different outside the cultural norms (Beaman, 2015).

1.1.4. Moral citizenship

The difference between moral citizenship compared to the other dimensions is that for moral citizenship equality is not grounded before or under the law (Schervisch & Havens, 2002). This

resolves a debate about when an individual is considered a "good" citizen and what an "ideal" citizen-state relationship should look like (Björklund, 2016). However, since these are subjective understandings, moral citizenship is strongly linked to the overall consensus of what is ought to be "good" and "ideal". Another frequently used argumentation is the idea of an "active" citizen which refers to a sufficient level of integration compared to those who are not (Schinkel, 2010; Turner, 1999). This implies moral citizenship is a normative concept beyond the law which in liberal paternalistic policies is subjected to the individuals' responsibility whereby moral citizenship becomes a "virtue" (Schinkel, 2010). Especially in ethnically diversified societies. Nevertheless, as an analytical concept, moral citizenship remains indifferent to how policies adapt to this dimension and is therefore not necessarily nation-based (Björkland, 2016; Sassen, 2002).

Moral citizenship rights consist of three elements. The first is the right to self-sufficiently assess who and when another individual is considered a "good" citizen as discussed above. This assessment happens in (in)formal arenas of everyday life and therefore breaks the artificial boundaries between the public and private (Manning, 1997; Schervish & Havens, 2002). The second element is the resistance of individual, organizational and professional influences that are morally harmful (Manning, 1997). This refers to a behaviour signified by the engagement of dialogue with others instead of avoidance. The third element is the right to self-recognition and self-identification (Björklund, 2016; Schervisch & Havens, 2002). It is about the agency an individual has over his/her/their citizenship status.

1.2. Civil society

Alexis de Tocqueville is one of the first recognized scholars who extensively discusses the phenomenon of civil society. The underlying idea of civil society is that free associations should exist as intervening institutions between citizens and the state wherein citizens can live in social freedom and equality (Woldring, 1998). Civil society is the place, often referred to as the "arena", where citizens can realize these social equalities outside the state, the market, and the family (Bailer, et al., 2009; Diamond, 1994; Malena & Heinrich, 2007). Paradoxically, due to the free rein of free associations, such associations may prevail over each which puts social equality at stake. Therefore, to prevent and control this, political interference is required which in many states is the modus operandi of democracy. Democracy renders governmental and administrative centralisations to secure social freedoms and equality (Foley & Edwards, 1996; Woldring, 1998). Thus, individuals in civil society require the protection of an institutionalized legal order to guard their independence and freedom of action whereby civil society limits state

power and legitimates state authority when that authority is grounded on the rule of law (Diamon, 1994). This theoretical framework discusses social equality, civic engagement, and social capital as elements of a "good" civil society as considered the most relevant for this particular study (Bailer et al., 2009; Diamond, 1994; Putnam, 2000; Woldring, 1998). It must be stressed that civil society persists in an ambiguous concept that is "*compared with pudding that is impossible to nail to the wall*" (Clayton, Oakley & Taylor, 2000; Kocka, 2004: 65). See appendix three for the operationalisation of civil society.

1.2.1. Social equality

According to Tocqueville, the principle of social equality is that citizens are equal before the law and have equal political rights to participate in social and political associations (Woldring, 1998). Social equality in civil society confines individuals to be social equals as opposed to social superiors and hierarchies (Fourie, 2012; Kolodny, 2014). This means equal treatment must be given regardless of an individual's distinctions deviant to the civil society's norms (e.g. gender, race, and class). Social equality can be indicated by the expression in which people stand in equal relation to each other (Fourie, 2012).

This element for a "good" civil society can be related to citizenship's political and social dimensions. Social equality within political citizenship is whether the set of political rights as understood by Marshall (1992) is equally expressed where citizens stand in equal relation to each other (Fourie, 2012). Article 1 prohibiting discrimination illustrates how and why this interrelation is grounded in the Dutch constitution. Second, social equality is strongly akin to the dimension of social citizenship as an individual's right in terms of equality with others and under the law must be protected (Marshall, 1992).

1.2.2. Civic engagement

Robert Putnam subscribes to the effectiveness of northern Italy's regional government to the thick "networks of civic engagement" fuelled by different civil associations (Foley & Edwards, 1996, 1998). Accordingly, civil associations are the vehicle for these networks of civic engagement in which trust and reciprocity are crucial components of productive cooperation (Putnam, 2000). If the networks of voluntary free associations facilitate and possess a high level of civic engagement, it can be expected that trust and reciprocity will flourish from these associations into civil society. In turn, civil society will be strengthened. Civic engagement is a process in which people take collective action to convey public concerns (Checkoway, 2009). During this process, people can participate through civic agencies functioning as a platform for

people to be involved in public issues. Civic engagement can be defined in terms of scope and form. This framework focusses on the scope aspect of civic engagement as this is the most relevant for this particular study. The scope entails the number, frequency, or duration of the free association in which civic engagement takes place. The first can be detected in the number of members of the free association, frequency by how often an individual engages, and duration by the amount of time an individual engages (Checkoway, 2009). Moreover, Alexander et al. (2012) in their research concluded that people who associate with an extensive scope are more likely to be civically engaged in more mechanisms compared to those who are active within a small number of groups.

This element, scope, relates the most to the political and cultural dimension of citizenship. Regarding the former, it is about to what extent a citizen is engaged in politics on different levels (e. g. nationally and/or locally). This may be whether citizens vote during elections or are informed about what is happening in the political landscape. In regards to cultural citizenship, scope refers to whether citizens are engaged with other citizens who have deviant cultural norms and values. For example, citizens have some type of relationship with other citizens or are motivated to understand those norms and values.

1.2.3. Social capital

Trust and reciprocity as components of social capital facilitate coordination and cooperation that is beneficial for citizens and free associations. Trust is the foundation of many personal associations, which sequentially are key indicators of human well-being and economic development (Newton, 2001; Morrone et al., 2009). In civil society, trust, can be described as the expectation within a community while other people and individuals act in predictable, honest, and cooperative ways (Fukuyama, 1995). Morrone's et al. (2009) inquiry distinguishes two forms of trust; interpersonal and institutional. The former has broadly been defined as a general expectation in which an individual relies on another individual's or group's word, promise, oral or written statement (Rotter, 1980). Institutional trust is about whether citizens trust or distrust political institutions and specific political leaders (Morrone et al., 2009). A high level of interpersonal trust is a condition for an adequate level of institutional trust. Moreover, members of free associations are more seemingly than non-members to participate in politics, spend time with neighbours, and convey trust (Putnam, 2000).

Trust relates to the political and social citizenship dimensions. Regarding political citizenship, interpersonal trust is whether politicians can be trusted in fulfilling the promises they make to citizens and institutional trust is about whether citizens in general express trust

towards political institutions. Within the social citizenship dimension, it is about whether citizens trust each other they are treated as equal by other citizens, despite being familiar or not.

The second element of social capital is reciprocity which is the conditional behaviour to return helpful and harmful acts in generosity, despite if this is costly for the receiver (Stance, 2009). This can further be distinguished into two forms; direct reciprocity entails a consequential interaction between two individuals, meaning, that if A helps B, then B will help A. The other form is indirect reciprocity which includes a third agent also in sequential interaction meaning if A helps B, then B helps C (Molm et al., 2007; Stanca, 2007). Important drivers determining reciprocity are the intention and type of motivation for an actor that is considered relevant for the perceived kindness of the act (Stanca, 2007). Networks in free associations offer opportunities in which reciprocity is learned and enforced.

Reciprocity fits predominantly in the moral citizenship dimension. It is about whether reciprocal behaviour is assessed as an important characteristic to be a "good" citizen. This means that when a citizen is provided with favour from another citizen, the assessment revolves around whether the receiver is ought to provide a returning act. In opposite direction, the receiver can assess themselves whether they ought to provide a favour in return or not. In turn, this self-assessment is about whether citizens are motivated to provide a returning act to be a "good" citizen.

1.3.   Street culture

The concept of street culture finds its origin in the United States by the American ethnographer Elijah Anderson. He used this term in analysing the poor, inner-city, black communities in which structural degradation created alienation and a strong oppositional culture – "street culture" – against the mainstream culture (Anderson, 1999; Kaldenbach, 2011). The macrostructural patterns of disadvantage, racial inequality, and deficient economic chances stimulate a street culture that is opportune for violence (Bernard, 1990). Street culture emerged as an adaptation strategy for acquiring status and self-worth in such macrostructural situations with adverse economic conditions (Stewart & Simons, 2010). This strategy refers to "*a code as a set of rules governing interpersonal public behaviour, particularly violence and aggression, aimed at distributing respect and ensuring order*" (Vinken, 2011: 5). Moreover, the criminal justice system is experienced as unfair with a double standard "*one for blacks and one for whites*" (Anderson, 1999: 66), leading to a significant distrust in state institutions. Thus, reciprocity and trustworthiness are deficiently experienced towards such institutions,

consequently, youngsters possess little social capital (Anderson, 1990, 1999; Kaldenbach, 2011; Putnam, 2000). Furthermore, this leads to a sentiment that youngsters are on their own which works backward on the experience of trust and reciprocity: a vicious cycle occurs (Anderson, 1999). Respect and street knowledge are key elements within the alternative strategies that construe street culture and therefore a more in-depth discussion will be presented. See appendix four for the operationalisation table of street culture.

1.3.1. Respect

Respect is a fundamental element within the street culture which is perceived as an external entity that is *"hard-won but easily lost"* (Anderson, 1994). Respect on the street is perceived as a valuable form of social capital, especially when other forms of capital have been denied or elusive (Anderson, 1999). Moreover, Anderson (1999) argues that respect as capital is not solely protective, but it generally structures the core of the individual's self-esteem, specifically when alternative possibilities of self-expression are limited or experienced as limited. Kaldenbach (2011) distinguished three different forms of respect.

First, respect as a form of "obedience" entails it is normal to obey adults, which means giving way to them. Obedience opposite is disobedience which together with authoritative relationships are fundamental elements of everyday life within family dynamics, academic institutions, the workplace, etc. (Pozzi et al., 2016). Traditionally (dis)obedience is understood as behaviour (see Milgram, 1963), however, the research of Pozzi et al. (2016) analysed how it can be considered as attitudes influenced by: affect (feelings toward (dis)obedience), behaviour (past events or experiences related to (dis)obedience), and cognition (beliefs related to (dis)obedience). Accordingly, if one of these three influences changes, the degree of (dis)obedience changes. Anderson (1999) argues the street functions as a moderating influence under which children potentially (re)consider and rearrange their attitudes, thus also in the case of (dis)obedience. This process in which children grow up and authoritative control gradually decreases is called the "social shuffle" that contests the socialization they have been taught at home (Anderson, 1999), in turn, influences the expression of (dis)obedience.

Second, respect in the form of desired equality means youngsters do not admit the upper hand of adults solely based on age or position (Kaldenbach, 2011). If youngsters experience being treated unequally, they are more likely to perform street culture (Kaldenbach, 2011). Explanations of these experiences are the adverse macrostructural conditions and the lack of trust in the (criminal) justice system. However, on the street level younger children process their understanding of the street code by analysing the dispute of older peers (Anderson, 1990).

The third form of respect is intimidation which is signified by the sentiment youngsters are the dominators in the street and want others to obey their demands (Kaldenbach, 2011). At this point, the codes of the street are internalized in the presentation of the self and respect symbolizes the streets' (social) capital (Anderson, 1994). Physical appearance and violence are two of the many elements constructing this presentation. The first is about having the right look, including clothes, jewellery, and grooming (Anderson, 1990, 1994). Using violence as a tool in the street codes is perceived as logical and justifiable in conflict situations (el Hadioui, 2011; Stewart and Simons, 2006). Violence is not solely an individual-level process in which someone adopts the street code, yet also an ecological one that is embedded in the broader social context (Anderson, 1994). For instance, the social meaning of fighting becomes refined when children come to appreciate the consequences of winning and losing (Anderson, 1990). The underlying idea of this form of respect is that respect can be "gained", and those who cannot command respect must actively campaign for it (Anderson, 1990). Given its value and its practical inferences, respect is fought for and held, which becomes critical for staying out of harm's way (Anderson, 1999). The main difference between the street and mainstream society is that respect as capital has other values and meanings. What matters is that it is capital nonetheless (Anderson, 1990).

The element of respect is applicable as a lens to the cultural and moral citizenship dimensions. Within the dimension of cultural citizenship, it is about whether citizens despite their cultural norms and values, should be treated with respect. Particularly, it is about whether these individuals can gain respect in the same manner as youngsters within the street culture. Within the dimension of moral citizenship, it is about the assessment of whether expressing or possessing respect is considered an important characteristic to be a "good" citizen.

1.3.2. Street Knowledge
Another dimension of street culture is street knowledge which is distinguished into two forms: "street etiquettes" and "street wisdom" (Anderson, 1990). The former is a rough set of rules that are formulated and appealed to in specific situations based on the superficial characteristics of others (Anderson, 1990). Important characteristics that are noticed are skin colour, gender, age, clothes, and behaviour which gives the observer a sense of whom to expect where and when, and anticipate if necessary (Anderson, 1999). The awareness of others and their distinctive features are not only applicable to those who identify with street culture, but also to other residents of the community. Especially when people observe each other's presence in the same public spaces in the neighbourhood or frequently pass each other by, a sense of "security"

occurs (Anderson, 1999). This sense of security is based on who they "know" as a buffer against danger (Anderson, 1999). Despite this sense of security, white people who use the streets carefully observe lower-income black people, and social contact is often solely desired with those of the same class (Anderson, 1999). Fear can make people react according to the street etiquette which, subsequently, maintains or even imposes the socio-spatial distance between people from different classes (Ursin, 2012). Anderson (1990) discusses seven elements that are strongly related to "street etiquette" and can be influenced by the feeling of fear (see Table one).

The first is "talking" whereby patterns of information exchange between residents reinforce images of the "other", especially linked to age, ethnicity, or race. The second is "passing behaviour'" which is about a set of mental calculations when passing a stranger, including for instance day or night-time, gender, or age. Third, "eye work" is an important element because many black people discern white people as rigid or hostile to them in public and therefore pay attention to the proportion of eye contact given (Anderson, 1990). Fourth, "money" in street etiquette

1.	Talking
2.	Passing behaviour
3.	Eye work
4.	Money
5.	Dogs
6.	Other safety rules and strategies
7.	Interiors of public spaces

Table 1: Elements of street etiquettes by Anderson (1990)

is expected to be discreet about it and not displayed in public. A potential fear of being robbed, principally in dangerous times, is considered to influence where the money is hidden and how much (Anderson, 1990; Ursin, 2012). The fifth element is "dogs" whether they are retained as protectors or as pets. In black communities, dogs are in general used as a tool of protection, whereas in middle-class white and black villages, dogs are perceived as pets as well (Anderson, 1990). As stated earlier, the intersectionality with class is an important factor in how dogs are perceived and how this relates to the feeling of fear. The sixth element entails "other safety rules and strategies" ranging from the choice of clothes to safety in the car. As of last, "interiors of public spaces" whereby the kind of establishment evokes assumptions. For instance, within a business establishment, it is easier to assume that others within this space, at least inside, are committed to a certain degree of civility (Anderson, 1990).

However, the limitation of street etiquettes is that they cannot legitimate threats or potential allies who can potentially moderate some of the risks (Ursin, 2012). Street wisdom is featured by the ability to move beyond ambiguous assessments of others in public, realize every public interaction is unique, and make calculated decisions (Anderson, 1990). The desire to have the

upper hand is a motivation for acquiring street wisdom for the reason it is widely shared this will ensure a safe passage. As discussed earlier, respect as capital can help to be the upper hand in these situations, even if the ability of street wisdom is limited. Those possessing street wisdom feel less frightened, use the streets more, and reduces the chance of becoming a target (Ursin, 2012). The assessment of public situations, interactions, and the feeling of security can be affected by crisis and the followed-up adaption of it (Anderson, 1990).

This element fits in the dimensions of cultural and moral citizenship. Within the dimension of cultural citizenship, it is about the awareness of citizens and their distinctive features to protect the right to be different beyond society's normative cultural dimension and the acceptance of legitimate acceptance of marginalized lifestyles (Beaman, 2015; Pakulski, 1997). Moral citizenship is about what skills and knowledge are required to be a "good" citizen. This is based, priorly, on the awareness of other citizens and their distinctiveness, so that an applicable set of rules can be appealed to.

1.4.   Perceptions

The construction of perceptions is not limited to concrete objects. Perceptions are also constructed on abstract objects, which in this study is "citizenship" (Eagly & Chaicken, 2007). These constructions are often multifaceted, subjective, and individualized (McDonald, 2012). It is a process by which individuals or a group interpret and structure these constructions to produce meaningful experiences of the world (Lindsay & Norman, 1977 in Pickens 2005). McDonald (2012) ascribes three essential attributes to the construction of perceptions. First, there must be a sensory awareness or cognition of the experience of the object. This is the stimulus to which an individual is exposed which in this study are questions about the different dimensions of citizenship. Second, personal experiences create a lens for interpreting and understanding a phenomenon. As perceptions are subjective and individualized, perceptions between individuals are unique (Ho, 2017). In this study, the lenses are the elements of civil society and street culture to scrutinize whether the elements of these concepts impact the constructed perceptions of citizenship. The third attribute is the understanding that can lead to a response (McDonald, 2012). During this process, memories and experiences have been incorporated that help to form a response. Responses are often expressed in actions, but this is not always the case. Perceptions also construct attitudes which not always lead to a particular action (Fazio, 1986). In short, perceptions in this study are defined as the awareness, interpretation, and comprehension of a stimulus (i.e. citizenship) which are conditions for the construction of a certain action (Ho, 2017).

1.5.   Expectations

Based on this theoretical framework, three expectations have been formulated. First, the political citizenship perceptions between youngsters and civil society-oriented associations are diverging as youngsters predominantly perceive distrust towards political institutions due to the macrostructural conditions they live and the experienced racial inequality towards the justice system (Anderson, 1990, 1999; Bernard, 1990; Kaldenbach, 2011; Stewart & Simons, 2010). Whereas civil society-oriented associations perceive political citizenship as meaningful because it protects the interrelated elements that make a "good" civil society (Alexander et al., 2012; Fourie, 2012; Fukuyama, 1995; Marshall, 1992; Stanca, 2009).

1. *Political citizenship perceptions between youngsters and civil society-oriented associations are largely diverging.*

Second, social equality as an element of civil society shapes the perceptions of social and cultural citizenship for both youngsters and civil society-oriented associations, nonetheless, in diverging manners. Youngsters are not treated equally due to macrostructural disadvantages which is why they adopt alternative strategies to gain status and self-worth (Anderson, 1990, 1999; Bernard, 1990; Kaldenbach, 2011; Stewart & Simons, 2010). Contrastingly, applicable to civil society-oriented associations, expressing citizens stand in equal relation to each other in a "good" civil society (Fourie, 2012) is strongly akin to how social and cultural citizenship is understood (Beaman, 2015; Marshall, 1992; Pakulski, 1997). Thus, social equality shapes the social and cultural citizenship perceptions for both cases, but in diverging manners.

2. *Social equality shapes both the social and cultural citizenship perceptions of youngsters and civil society-oriented associations, but in divergent manners.*

Lastly, respect significantly shapes moral citizenship perceptions of youngsters, because it is a valuable external entity (Kaldenbach, 2011). Respect is perceived as a crucial form of social capital to operate "good" and "appropriate" within the street culture to gain this (Anderson, 1999; Schervisch & Havens, 2002).

3. *Respect, as understood in street culture, shapes significantly the moral citizenship perceptions of youngsters.*

Chapter 2: Methods

In this chapter, the methodology and methods of this thesis are presented. First, the research questions are stated, followed by the research design. Thereafter, the operationalisation table on which the interview guides are based is laid out. Next, the case selection, sampling procedure, and data analysis are presented. Finally, the ethical considerations are discussed.

2.1.   Research question and sub questions

This study aims to answer the following research question: *To what extent do the citizenship perceptions diverge or converge between youngsters and Stichting Vreedzaam in the region Southwest in The Hague?*

Three sub questions were composed to formulate an answer:

1. What are youngsters' perceptions of citizenship?
2. What are the professionals' citizenship perceptions?
3. What are the differences and similarities between youngsters and the professionals' citizenship perceptions?

2.2.   Research design

A comparative embedded case study design was employed as this is applicable to examine empirical phenomena in its real-life context (Lewis & Noyes, 2013). Scrutinizing multiple cases is relevant when the study aims to analyse data both within each and across situations, and the similarities and differences between cases (Yin, 1981). Therefore, this design is suitable as it enables the researcher to compare two cases on the same concept of the study, which in this study are citizenship perceptions. This study had a descriptive approach and was based on qualitative research serving the three intentions of social research; exploration, description, and explanation (Babbie, 2021).

Moreover, an abductive approach was used since this study aims to ground a theoretical understanding of the contexts and people in the discourse, meanings, and perspectives from the worldview of the subjects (Bryman, 2016). Abduction aims to converge the strengths of the inductive and deductive approach by reasoning from concrete collected data (deduction), whereafter utilizing this data to complement, extend or even refute existing theories or assumptions (induction) (Halpin & Richard, 2010). The essential step in this process was to provide a social scientific account of the social world as seen and understood from the subject´s perspectives (Bryman, 2016). Analytic abduction enables the researcher to shift between the elaborated theoretical framework and the social phenomena observed through techniques

suitable for social research. To ensure the reliability of the study it is important to be transparent about the choices made and ask participants relevant questions so they are likely to know the answer (Babbie, 2021). Furthermore, the reliability was strengthened with insights into the interview questions of the researcher and the number of interviewees (see below and appendix).

2.3.   Operationalisation

Citizenship was the "stimulus" on which the participants were being questioned whereby civil society and street culture were used as lenses to understand how these perceptions may be shaped. An operationalisation table was created in which these concepts were linked to the citizenship dimensions which fundaments the interview guides, see appendix one.

2.4.   Case selection

The region Southwest in The Hague was selected as the case context based on the identified problem as established in the introduction: providing suitable and effective citizenship education in heterogeneous adverse neighbourhoods. This region is featured by a variety of social and economic problems, ranging from poverty, debt, health problems, long-term unemployment, deterioration, criminalisation, and (feelings of) unsafety (Rijksoverheid, 2019). Moreover, the number of registered crimes delict arose by 16,5% in 2019 compared to 2018 and an average of 41,7% has a relatively high risk of educational disadvantage compared to a 28,0% average in the remaining of The Hague (Zuidwestopznbest.nl, 2018; 2019). These statistics correlate with other issues in the city, namely the emergence of the so-called "street culture" which can take extreme violent forms, even lethal stabbing incidents (The municipality of The Hague, 2020a). These issues explain why citizenship education is not provided and understood as suitable and effective as desired and, therefore, this region was selected as this study's case context.

Two cases were selected within this region to examine a comparative analysis. This case selection was based on this study's objective: describing citizenship perceptions between two related cases. As citizenship is given meaningful interpretations, aware or unaware, at different layers of society a variety of cases may be selected (Beaman, 2015; Joppke, 2017; van Houdt & Schinkel, 2009). For this study, two selection criteria were applied to determine which cases: (1) a possible presence of street culture and (2) the possibility that civil society elements are reflected in citizenship perceptions. Youngsters in the region Southwest meet the first criterium as the deprived conditions in this region may contribute to the emergence of street culture (Anderson, 1999; Kaldenbach, 2011; Stewart & Simons, 2010). The second case was *Stichting*

Vreedzaam as they educate youngsters civic (society) competencies to participate in a democratic state (Stichting Vreedzaam, n. d.) and therefore meet the second selection criterium. Thus, the cases of this study are two related entities, on one hand, youngsters residing in this region, and on the other hand, professionals translating *Vreedzaam's* philosophy into their profession in this region. These two related cases can be found in the case context of The Hague Southwest within the academic and societal debate of providing more suitable and effective citizenship education in heterogeneous adverse neighbourhoods. More detailed background information about this region and *Stichting Vreedzaam* is provided in the next chapter.

2.5.   Sampling Strategy

Four complementary sampling strategies were applied in this study whereby purposive and criteria sampling were the two overarching sampling strategies. The first was a form of non-probability sampling to strategically sample those who were relevant for this particular study, and the latter was utilized because all subjects need to meet specific criteria (Babbie, 2012; Bryman, 2016). Thereby, a combination of snowball and opportunistic sampling was applied to sample youngsters. Snowball sampling is a technique that initially samples a small group of participants relevant to the study, whereafter these subjects have the potential to propose to the researcher to others (Barglowski, 2018; Bryman, 2016). Opportunistic sampling in this study was useful to take advantage of developing events during the research. Explorative on-site visits at community centres were opportunistic to inform the youngsters about this study and ask them to participate. These two sample strategies offered the study flexibility and anticipate youngsters who agreed to participate during the study (Bryman, 2016).

The youngster must meet two criteria. First, they must reside in the region Southwest consisting of the neighbourhoods: Bouwlust, Moerwijk, Morgenstond, or Vrederust. Second, they must be in the age range between 14 and 24 years old based on the following reasoning. Debating youngsters' status as a citizen is important because it influences how they are perceived and treated, how youth policies are established, and how they feel about themselves and their value in society (Smith et al., 2015). This development occurs between 10 and 15 years when youngsters change their interactions with friends and parents and make more use of public spaces outside the home (Sindal et al., 2016). Participating in the neighbourhood and community leads to various forms of exchange between others through which young citizens emerge whereby the relation to the different forms of citizenship develops (Janoski & Gran, 2002). However, simultaneously, this period is characterized by inner conflict and uncertainty which gradually stabilizes between the age of 14 and 16 years (Fagan and Tyler, 2005).

Therefore sampling is done from 14 years old so that more consistent data was retrieved. As youngsters transition into the later stage of adolescence, approximately between the 18 and 24 years, the impact of parents begins to decrease with attitudes mainly diverging from those of their parents (Vollebergh et al., 2001). Therefore, the maximum age in this study was set at 24 years. Thus, the criterium of age in this study was set from 14 until 24 years for the reason that youngsters start to create a stable awareness of their position in society and how they potentially interpret the different notions of citizenship. As there is no broad consensus on how to classify this chosen age range in academic literature, this study employs the term "youngsters".

Regarding the sampling procedure of *Stichting Vreedzaam*, purposive and criterion sampling was utilized. The participants representing *Stichting Vreedzaam* do not have to be employees of the foundation, but may hold different professions. Two criteria must be met. First, they must have had training in which the philosophy of *Stichting Vreedzaam* are being taught to assure they have significant knowledge of the foundation's philosophy. Second, they must practice their profession within the region Southwest in The Hague. These participants are referred to as "the professionals".

2.6. Data collection

First, desk research was conducted to understand the contextual dimension of the region Southwest in The Hague and understand how *Stichting Vreedzaam's* operates. Available policy documents of the national government, The Hague's municipality, and *Vreedzaam's* website were informative resources. Simultaneously, explorative observations and conversations were conducted. A conversation at the beginning of the study with Annemiek van Vliet, one of the two directors of *Stichting Vreedzaam,* was helpful to understand the motives and objectives of the foundation in the particular context of the region Southwest. Furthermore, explorative conversations with social workers at local community centres took place during on-site visits which helped with how to approach and inform youngsters. Furthermore, a kick-off meeting organized by "The Thesis Workplace The Hague" (*Scriptiewerkplaats Den Haag*) in Morgenstond was a valuable opportunity to gain insights into the region from a variety of people to discuss initial research ideas. These people were e.g. residents of the region, officials of the municipality, and social workers. Sequentially, explorative observations and conversations resulted in a field diary that guided the contextual chapter and interview questions.

Lastly, a total of twelve (N=12) interviews were conducted to develop understandings of the interviewees' perspectives (Atieno, 2019; Babbie, 2012). Eight interviews (N=8) were

conducted with youngsters and four interviews (N=4) with the professionals as no more new information was discovered in both cases (Bryman, 2016). These interviews took place either via the online platform zoom, on-site at local community centres, or at the participant's workplace. Semi-structured interviews were conducted because they are desirable for data collection as they gain insights from everyday life experiences, knowledge, and standpoints not easily acquired from paper. Semi-structured interviews served the purposes of descriptive research as they allowed to construct a holistic understanding of the participants' perceptions (Bryman, 2016; Dulock, 1993). The participants were asked questions about the citizenship dimensions as operationalised in the theoretical framework to investigate what perceptions they ascribed to citizenship. Collecting data on people's perceptions in qualitative research is valuable because it allows the researcher to preserve the nuances given by the participant so that comprehensive insights can be obtained (Pickens, 2005). It must be stressed that the level and type of meaningfulness is influenced by the level of priority an individual attaches to citizenship regarding self-interest, values, and social identification (Howe & Krosnick, 2017). See tables one and two for an overview of the participants.

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Neighbourhood of residence	Ethnic background
Djuna	16	Moerwijk	Turkish
Eren	17	Moerwijk	Turkish
Elmira	16	Morgenstond	Moroccan
Nadir	20	Morgenstond	Egyptian
Omar	23	Moerwijk	Moroccan
Rami	15	Vrederust	Moroccan
Salim	21	Morgenstond	Moroccan
Zainab	19	Moerwijk	Moroccan

Table 2: overview of youngsters that participated

Name	Profession	Neighbourhood of profession	Trained by *Stichting Vreedzaam* in (year)
Annemiek	Director of *Stichting Vreedzaam* since 2019	Morgenstond ((in)directly involved in the remaining neighbourhoods of Southwest)	2014
Lieske	District coordinator for Wijkz	Vrederust	2018
Marjolein	Director of a primary school and freelancer for *Stichting Vreedzaam*	Moerwijk	2015
Richard	Police officer	Vrederust	2019

Table 3: overview of the professionals that participated
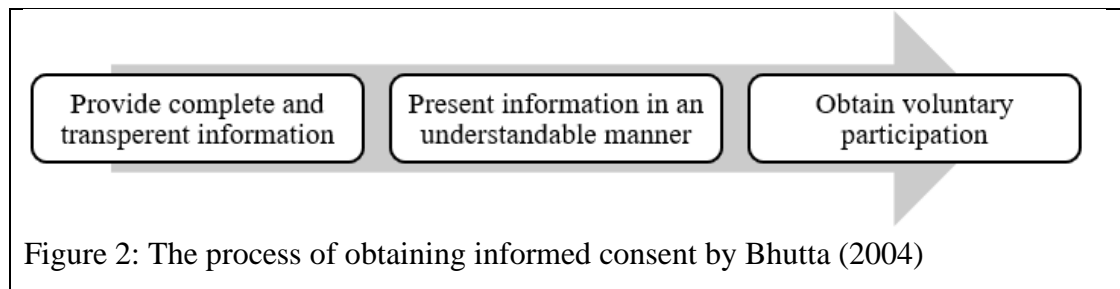
2.7.   Data analysis

Analysing data was theory-driven, meaning that an extensive theoretical framework provides an extensive list of indicators and concepts to analyse the retrieved data. As discussed earlier, this study had an abductive approach allowing the researcher to include significant findings not part of the initial framework. Analysing the data abductively as an iterative process broadens the study beyond the deductive approach by examining initially unexplored findings, which led to a more comprehensive understanding of the theory and empirical data (Meyer & Flinders, 2013).

The software program Atlas.ti was used to code the interview transcripts through two coding strategies common to qualitative research. First, open coding was conducted to categorise the data and identify topics. Second, through axial coding, these topics were further structured and organized into core codes (Scott & Medaugh, 2017). These codes were developed partly based on the theoretical framework, but also unfolded from the empirical data as this study has an abductive approach.

2.8.   Ethical considerations

Several ethical considerations were taken into account for the four phases of research: (1) writing the thesis proposal, (2) collecting data, (3) analysing the data, and (4) publication of the study. A disclaimer is this study does not argue to be ethically bulletproof. Hence, the discussion of this study reflects on these considerations to maintain the integrity of this study.

First, informed consent is crucial in the second phase of the collection of data. Obtaining informed consent is explained through Bhutta's (2004) work which includes three essential steps (see figure two). First, the researcher provides complete and transparent information about the research and the participants' rights. The participants have the right to question the researcher so that ambiguities can be cleared out. Second, it must be clear what is being asked of the participant and presented in a manner the participant understands. Third, covers voluntary participation whereby the participant must be competent to give his/hers/theirs consent (Bhutta, 2004). This informed consent must ideally be obtained on paper, however, it might occur these steps cannot be realized. Informed consent would be disruptive in everyday situations and might affect the participant's behaviour (Bryman, 2012). In this case, informed consent should be obtained post-hoc. Importantly, the caretakers of the minors that participate in the research should be informed.

Figure 2: The process of obtaining informed consent by Bhutta (2004)

Second, the invasion of privacy is important for the latter three phases of the research; collecting data, analysing the data, and the publication of the research. Despite informed consent, the participant has the right to refuse to answer questions if this for instance is a private issue. A reason could be the participant does not wish to make it public (Bryman, 2012). Moreover, researcher's position, even as an observer, alters the social landscape and can be experienced as an invasion or threat of privacy in the participant's habitat (Fuji, 2012).

Third, confidentiality is strongly related to the invasion of privacy which protects the participant and the information shared with the researcher. This is key in the analyses and publicization phases of the study. The researcher must confidentiality protect the shared information in a safe location which minimizes the possibility of harm when the research is published (Fuji, 2012). It must be ensured that the participants cannot be retrieved based on the pseudonyms and descriptions of the participants. Besides the participants themselves, this study should consider the harm it could cause for the selected case; the region Southwest in The Hague. Stigmas of this region could be reinforced by making arguments that are perceived and argued as problematic by the researcher. Hence, it is important to constantly reflect on the risks and ethical dilemmas while analysing the data and publicizing it. An approach is focussing on the positives and similarities between the subjects and "mainstream" society which touches upon the debate of "othering" (Gajala, 2002). Moreover, the researcher should consider how the researcher leaves the selected case behind for future researchers. If participants experience harm, they might be less open to future researchers as a consequence.

Chapter 3: Contextual background

This chapter outlines the context of The Hague Southwest and explains the "Region Deal The Hague Southwest" (*Regio Deal Zuidwest)* that is offered as a solution to counter local problems. Moreover, background information about Foundation Peaceable (*Stichting Vreedzaam*) and its two programs are discussed.

3.1.   The Hague Southwest

The Hague has about 553,000 inhabitants making it the third biggest city in the Netherlands, after Amsterdam and Rotterdam (Allecijfers.nl, 2022a). As The Hague rapidly grows, the city is on track to becoming the second biggest city by potentially transcending Rotterdam with about 588,000 inhabitants. The Hague is an important area on the globe as the national government, many embassies, and the International Court of Justice can be found in the city. The Hague is the most segregated city in The Netherlands, with an average (low)income of 27.700 euros a year and a high level of ethnic diversity, as 19,7% have a "western" migration background and 36,4% have a so-called "non-western" background, a total of 56,0% (Allecijfers.nl, 2022a). These demographic factors lead to problems, especially in The Hague Southwest, consisting of the neighbourhoods Bouwlust, Moerwijk, Morgenstond, and Vrederust and has about 70.500 inhabitants (Allecijfers.nl, 2022b).

3.2.   Region Deal The Hague Southwest

In 2019, the national government collaborated with the municipality of The Hague, neighbourhood partners, entrepreneurs, and citizens to tackle the above challenges by formulating a policy called the "Region Deal The Hague Southwest" (*Regio Deal Den Haag Zuidwest)* (Municipality of The Hague, 2020b). 7.5 Million by the national government and 10 million by the municipality are invested in this four-year policy that entails private and interdependent public actors working together towards shared goals (Rijksoverheid, 2019). This policy acknowledges that the issues are far-reaching, multi-dimensional, long-term, and extremely pressing, and hence offers an all-encompassing solution to ameliorate the liveability, wealth, and economy in these neighbourhoods (Rijksoverheid, 2019; Municipality of The Hague, 2020b). Therefore, the policy has three pillars: (1) Society and participation, (2) Vital Citizens, and (3) Activating, learning, and working which aims to tackle unemployment. For this study, pillar one and two are the most relevant. The first mentioned pillar aims to generate a "strong social foundation" by focusing on improving the well-being and resilience of neighbourhood residents through a joint approach against undesirable behaviour. This approach

contributes to significant changes in behaviour and is carried out by individuals holding different professions in the region (Rijksoverheid, 2019). The ideas and philosophy of *Stichting Vreedzaam* are an example of such an approach that is already broadly shared and implemented. Regarding the second pillar, the objectives are to encourage Southwest's residents to become healthy, self-reliant, and developed residents at any stage of life (Rijksoverheid, 2019). Vitality is also strongly related to education by teaching people from a young age basic age to prepare for later stages in their life. Both pillars contribute to safety in the neighbourhoods (Municipality of The Hague, 2020b). This study is a collaboration with the "Thesis Workplace The Hague" offering students the opportunity to scrutinize local issues in this region, simultaneously, their findings contain valuable scientific contributions for the above policy.

3.3.   *Stichting Vreedzaam*

Stichting Vreedzaam contributes to the preparation of children and youngsters to participate in a democratic society (Stichting Vreedzaam, n.d.). According to *Vreedzaam's* philosophy, democracy is strongly dependent on the ability and the motivation of the citizens to contribute to the general interests, be responsible for the community, be open-minded about differences between people, and solve conflicts peaceably. *Stichting Vreedzaam* established a manifest based on seven pillars shaping the manners of how they carry out their philosophy: (1) democratic citizenship, (2) educators, ranging from parents to teachers, and social workers, (3) the execution in practice, (4) children are already citizens, (5) ownership, (6) clear perspectives, and (7) collaborative upbringing (Stichting Vreedzaam, n.d.). *Stichting Vreedzaam* has a relatively small team. Annemiek explains how they operate:

> *"Expand and maintain the networks. Providing trainers training, new materials for parents, training for mediators, developing scripts for children's neighbourhood councils, and everything for the guest workshops. Developing and facilitating materials so that people in the neighbourhood can start. But also exchange ideas, a person from Den Helder might be interested in how it is done in Arnhem or Groningen, so people can learn from each other and get inspired. Hence, we have multiple inspiration and network meetings, trainings, and development of new products"*

To do so, *Stichting Vreedzaam* executes a community program that is based on these pillars: *De Vreedzame Wijk* (in relation to school-program *De Vreedzame School*).

3.3.1. *De Vreedzame School*

The Peaceable School (*De vreedzame School)* is a program developed for primary schools to educate pupils on social competencies and democratic citizenship. It considers the classroom and the school as a community in which pupils are heard and seen, given a voice, and whereby pupils learn to collectively make decisions and solve conflicts. Marjolein, a freelancer for *Stichting Vreedzaam*, illustrates how this translates into practice:

> *"How do you have a dialogue, how do you listen to each other, how do you summarize this, if you do this together. It is possible to build much more, because if you can solve conflicts, you can enhance relations, dare to give your opinion. Multiple elements of Vreedzaam are embedded in these things and there is where it actually begins."*

The implementation process takes two years through several school team workshops. During the first year, the focus is on the implementation of these workshops, in the following year pupils are trained as mediators. The following themes are discussed: social security, anticipating (undesirable) behaviour, parent involvement, and group discussions (De Vreedzame School, n.d.)

3.3.2. *De Vreedzame Wijk*

The implementation process of "The Peaceable Neighbourhood" (*De Vreedzame Wijk)* takes two years and can be seen as the extended program of *De Vreedzame School* to the neighbourhood through community programs. With this extension, a joint pedagogical approach is implemented in all organisations that are actively involved with the youth and parents in the neighbourhood. *De Vreedzame Wijk* is grounded on the following four origins: (1) a cohesive society, (2) reinforcement of the pedagogical civil society, (3) exploiting the accomplishments of *De Vreedzame School,* and (4) integral collaboration with local organisations. Acknowledging situations in each neighbourhood are different, the implementation per neighbourhood requires a customized approach, followed by the so-called "shell model" (*schillenmodel)* (Stichting Vreedzaam, n.d.). Accordingly, first, organisations with social proximity to schools are approached (e.g. parents and after-school care), whereafter organisations with a bigger social distance (e.g. social youth centres), and so on. Implementing *De Vreedzame Wijk* is not solely about educating professionals or volunteers who work with children. The goal is to anchor the pedagogical principles of *De Vreedzame Wijk* in the policy of the institutions surrounding the schools. These principles need to be reflected in the goals of the organisation, the culture, and personnel policy. Key in the implementation strategy is establishing ownership which means that local professionals in the neighbourhood continue by

carrying out *Vreedzaam's* philosophy whereby each neighbourhood has a local coordinator. This motivation is explained by Annemiek:

> *"Because our opinion is, we are not De Vreedzame Wijk, but the people who are there daily, who live there, but also work and all those children. Thus, we should not be on the forefront, but more as support, the spark."*

Chapter 4: Results: Citizenship perceptions of youngsters

This chapter describes systematically youngsters' citizenship perceptions per dimension as in the theoretical framework. Street culture and civil society were applied as lenses to comprehend how these perceptions are shaped. Doing this will answer the second sub question: *What are youngsters' perceptions of citizenship?*

1.1. Youngsters' political citizenship perceptions

All youngsters are not engaged in national politics as they perceive politicians neglect their interests:

> *"They just do not consider us, they pretend they are"* (Nadir)

Two of the four youngsters who had the right to vote during the last elections voted, however, none of them intend to vote in the next elections. Mainly because youngsters perceive a substantial lack of trust in politicians and transparency of decision-making processes. A lack of trust notwithstanding adults' position indicates Kaldenbach's (2011) equality notion of respect shaping youngsters' perceptions. This leads to frustrations and disappointment towards politicians on how e.g. societal issues are deficiently countered, Omar explains:

> *"The lines for the food banks just get longer, and as a social worker, I experience no initiative from politicians. Many times they* [politicians] *point to us and say 'we are a participating society, you have to fix it yourself.' I just think they just let us down."*

Furthermore, Nadir does not believe politicians are capable of helping them or making an actual change and Zainab perceives she is not feeling represented as citizens are not sufficiently included. Rami answers in line:

> *"I think as citizens we have nothing much to say. I think that many decisions are being made afterward without asking our opinion or perspective."*

Specifically, youngsters are convinced that voting does not make a difference despite having the right to vote:

> *"Honestly, I do not see the benefits of it anymore, really not. I have voted in the past when I was 18, the first political party was PVDA, however, you get false promises. It felt like I was spit in the face."* (Omar)

Exceptionally, the COVID-19 pandemic was a topic closely followed by most youngsters. They were engaged in this topic as the political decisions during this pandemic massively impacted their daily lives (Djuna). Furthermore, Rami perceived inconsistency in the politicians' policy

as they said A, but executed B. This fuelled the already existing lack of trust. Moreover, the youngsters are drowned in the information existing in the political landscape:

> *"It goes from left to right, it is a lot of information, if it is something important, it will come to me anyway."* (Salim)

Providing information through e.g. workshops at community centres or schools would be helpful says both Zainab and Elmira which, in turn, possibly fuels their motivation to be more politically engaged, locally and/or nationally. Moreover, at community centres youngsters are more motivated to engage in local politics as they perceive they are better represented. Eren argues politicians on the national level should include youngsters more if they sincerely are motivated to make a difference:

> *"We have a youth council, so the youngster decide. Cause who knows better than us what is the best for us. If you want to make an impact on behalf of the youngsters, you can better let us do the work instead of the elderly, because they are a bit old school. They think certain things are still a trend, whilst youngsters are way past that."*

1.2.   Youngsters' social citizenship perceptions

Youngsters find it important to treat others equally whereby respecting others is nearly perceived as mandatory, regardless of who this is:

> *"It is something you always should get in what you do. You give people a positive feeling if you respect others no matter what you do. Thus, you help others as well. It is definitely not something that should be deserved. It is something you should get standard.'* (Nadir)

This indicates a sense of solidarity (Marshall, 1992) as it is irrelevant who the other person may be. Nonetheless, youngsters convey particularly respect towards social workers of the community centre they visit on regular basis. Youngsters perceive they are taken more seriously by them (Eren). Elmira underscores her social worker in Morgenstond is her role model and the reason why she pursues a study in the similar sector. Furthermore, most youngsters identified as Muslim whereby respecting the elderly is almost perceived as an obligation:

> *"It is actually if you commit a murder when you are all satisfied whilst your neighbour is perishing from hunger. This is something a Muslim, who is truly committed, cannot sleep with I think."* (Omar)

Generally, youngsters perceive they are treated equally by other citizens in their own and surrounding neighbourhoods. Omar explains this is because he has a familiar face and people

know who he is, contrary, when visiting another city (e.g. Rotterdam) he feels very much as if others are watching him. Eren also perceives he is treated equally by residents of the same neighbourhoods, but he is slightly deceived and frustrated that the environment of his neighbourhood of residence (i.e. Moerwijk) is not being taken care of equally compared to other regions outside The Hague Southwest:

> *"People think 'it is Moerwijk, there are rats already.' But instead of avoiding them, they* [politicians] *do completely nothing. (…) If I go to Wateringen, it looks very clean. Streets are clean, everywhere is a bin."*

Furthermore, there is no trust the police treat youngsters as equals compared to other citizens. This sentiment has emerged from past and present experiences youngster had with the police. Eren shared an appalling story in which he was walking with his Somalian friend of colour on their way to the supermarket whereby suddenly police cars approached them from different angles. The police got a report of two boys of colour fighting Moerwijk and therefore the police asked if Eren and his friend were involved. Subsequently, a sturdier build police officer engaged and directly asked Eren's friend for his identification as he (Eren's friend) is also a person of colour Eren concluded. They were both shocked, especially because the police were unwilling to listen to their stories which Eren definitely perceives as disrespectful behaviour. Hence, Eren has lost his trust in the police completely:

> *"You cannot trust the police, I have seen it with my own eyes, that you cannot trust them. (…) That is a principle I will keep on holding."*

Omar also shares an experience with the police after buying his first scooter whereby he observes a pattern in how the police perceive him:

> *"I had my own money which the police can check, but still I was being picked out from the street. Actually, it was truly bullying, because they say 'come on the roller bench, let's check if something is wrong.' We noticed, this is simply profiling, seeing how far they can go and they wait until you make a mistake."*

Such experiences indicate youngsters in their neighbourhood are not treated equally, simultaneously, this explains their distrust towards the police. This indicates the youngsters perceive equality and respect regarding social citizenship as a "*high priority*" to put in Salim's words.

Furthermore, Article 1 in the Dutch constitution prohibiting discrimination is perceived as extremely significant. Zainab and Salim explain it is normal to internally have judgments,

however, it is not necessary to share these with others. Elmira even thinks we as citizens and the police should act more when discrimination occurs. Nonetheless, hope and trust this is preserved and protected is gradually declining:

> *"I comprehend to some extent that people say 'no, that* [discrimination] *is not how it is supposed to be done because the law prohibits discrimination.' Nevertheless, we had so many conversations with each other, we had plenty of tv-shows, we saw plenty of documentaries, it still happens."* (Omar)

1.3. Youngsters' cultural citizenship perceptions

Youngsters broadly recognize other citizens' cultural norms and values. The fact no exception is made, indicates that cultural citizenship is perceived as highly meaningful. Elmira is amazed why this ever would be an issue:

> *"Muslim and no Muslim, why do we make a distinction? Just let someone be as they want to be. Someone who is attracted to girls, who is a girl herself. It is not a problem at all if you want to do this, just do it. As long as this does not affect me, you can do whatever you like."*

Eren explains he respects all cultural norms and values, but he has more respect for people who pursue things they enjoy regardless of society's expectations. For example, when a person of colour plays golf because, according to Eren, golf is predominantly a sport for white people. Moreover, Omar underlines everybody is equal, regardless of e.g. ethnic background or disabilities; everybody deserves as much respect. Eren describes how liberating it can be to pursue your happiness based on a story of a Brazilian friend of his who converted from Christianity to Islam:

> *"When people do not feel it in their heart, but they switch to something they like to what they have liked for a long time or did not dare to do so. And when they make that step, they feel much freer. And I think we must respect that.*

Nonetheless, the youngsters mention it is easier to connect or commit to a relationship with another person of the same religion. Nadir explains that people of the same religion trust each other more easily and quickly and Zainab notices that her manager is more understanding as she is Muslim as Zainab. A slight paradox can be observed regarding the youngsters' perceptions of cultural citizenship as distinct cultural norms and values are irrelevant in the interaction with other citizens, whilst, the youngsters connect and trust others more easily sharing the same religion. Djuna stresses she has no Dutch friends at all, most of her friends are

so-called "non-western". Youngsters seem to make calculated decisions based on religion before trusting others or committing to a relationship which indicates youngsters' perceptions are shaped partially by street knowledge as described by Anderson (1990, 1999) and Ursin (2012).

Furthermore, Omar perceives that not always a sense of belonging, an indicator of cultural citizenship (Beaman, 2015), is preserved and expressed toward "non-western" people which influences his sympathy towards Dutch people. He exemplifies this by comparing how Dutch people react to the current war in Ukraine whereby he observes a degree of hypocrisy:

> *"People say 'it* [the war in Ukraine] *is awful, it might happen here', however, he is not really engaged in this war. He thinks 'now you* [Dutch citizens] *are all wheezing', but if west-European countries are bombing people from Arabic countries, you do not hear them complain, they are being called fortune seekers. Someone who fights for his country, they call him a hero for someone out of Ukraine, but if you look at how Israelian authorities treat Palestinians and you stand for them, you are perceived as a terrorist. Thus, I got the feeling it is very easy to put people in boxes 'you have blue eyes, we find you sadder, and you have an Arabic last name, you are all aggressive.'"*

1.4. Youngsters' moral citizenship perceptions

Respecting others is perceived as crucial to being a good citizen. In turn, respect is not something that should be "deserved". Most youngsters emphasize that respect is the fundament of how citizens should interact whereby respect should be mutually given. When this is not mutual, youngsters find it difficult to commit to any form of relationship (Nadir). Respect can also be lost, especially when other citizens are perceived as selfish or lack empathy (Omar). In this case, earning respect back is almost impossible. Moreover, whilst respecting adults, especially the elderly, is perceived to be a good citizen, this does not mean you always have to give way to them. Nadir thinks adults can learn something from younger people, but they are too stubborn to do so. Slight frustration is perceived as adults are not willing to engage in discussion on topics of which youngsters are convinced they are sure about, Djuna explains:

> *"If you are in a discussion, they say 'no, you are young, I am old, I have experienced this and that.'*

Another characteristic that is considered to be a good citizen is trust. However, trust is not easily gained. First an assessment is made based on how that person approaches them, if they feel

safe, and if that person can have a reasonable conversation (Nadir). This indicates street etiquettes are applied and shapes youngsters' perceptions. Elmira argues trust also indicates whether that person can express empathy. The meaningful perception of trust to be a good citizen is summarized by Eren:

> *"Trust is one of the most important characteristics, but unfortunately, one of the rarest characteristics."*

Furthermore, youngsters find it important and normal to correct each other on inappropriate behaviour. For instance, Elmira explains that throwing litter on the streets is simply not okay whereby it is normal to speak up about it in a polite manner. Especially when fellow citizens are treated unequally, disrespectfully, or discriminated against, youngsters do not hesitate to speak up. Omar even feels morally obliged to speak up when things get personal. This indicates youngsters rather engage in dialogues instead of avoiding them. Nevertheless, the youngsters perceive it is not solely meaningful to correct inappropriate behaviour, but also in a positive manner to help each other out:

> *"If I do not understand or he does not understand something, we help each other immediately. It is not like 'you are dumb, how come you do not know this?!' You know, it is not bringing each other down, but helping each other, to grow so to say, develop each other."* (Eren)

Moreover, there is a broad consensus that citizens should have space to enjoy whatever they may enjoy or identify with. This indicates the right to self-recognition and self-identification is perceived as valuable which reflects moral citizenship (Schervisch & Havens, 2002). Although this may clash with religion, it is key to engage in dialogue instead of avoiding them, Zainab explains:

> *"But also regarding homosexuality, in Islam it is not denied. Mere is how you deal with your feelings. Her mother calmly explains to her brother, do not be scared. There is space to talk about it. A lot is being said about it, but leave others alone. Compare this situation to yourself."*

Chapter 5: Results: Citizenship perceptions of the professionals

This chapter describes the professionals' citizenship perceptions representing *Stichting Vreedzaam*. Civil society and street culture are again applied as lenses to answer the second sub question: *What are the professionals' citizenship perceptions?*

5.1.   The professionals' political citizenship perceptions

Political citizenship is perceived important in a narrative in which youngsters are perceived as society's future:

> *"Involve children more often in think tanks, they are the future you know. Why are they not allowed to speak up about it? So yes, I think this should be much more than is currently done"* (Marjolein)

Marjolein argues decisions made by political authorities impact youngsters by the time they age, therefore, they focus on youngsters' political participation in community workshops. However, on the municipality level, Annemiek experiences a blind spot regarding the importance of children-participation which she is motivated to tackle:

> *"And we do the appeal, the call, 'Hello, the children, know your neighbourhood. They already are citizens, they are already here.' (…) You must do something together, the playing field, deciding on the democratic playing field. The topics they* [youngsters] *are concerned about and do it seriously. That is often a blind spot, there is not even thought about it."*

Nevertheless, decisions are ultimately made within the political apparatus (e.g. municipalities) in which youngsters' opinions are not even asked, let alone taken into consideration. Annemiek perceives this as a persistent issue whereby it is important to trust youngsters and underline that participating in politics is a learning process that often is executed successfully. Keeping youngsters motivated it is key for political authorities to fulfil their promises to assure the level of trust from youngsters which indicates trust shapes the perceptions of political citizenship:

> *"The classic examples are that children councils were being asked to think along and to contribute, and, subsequently someone says 'well, thank you, we will come back to it.' Sequentially, nothing happened. That are lethal things, which you can permit once, but if this happens two or three times, then it is done. It will be very difficult to keep track, to motivate them* [youngsters]*, and you have to be careful as an adult by saying 'I told you, they cannot do it, never mind.' No, hold up, a lot has happened in advance, you have to restore that."* (Annemiek)

Furthermore, the professionals emphasize the values and modus operandi of democracy so that everyone, explicitly youngsters, can (politically) participate, engage in decision-making processes, and feels represented. Hence, they form children and neighbourhood councils to educate youngsters about what a democratic society means. This indicates the fundaments embedded in a democracy shape how the professional perceives political citizenship:

> *"I think it is important that we keep on cherishing the democratic society and that we also spark the fire at children so that potentially young, but also older, people participate and actively contribute to the democratic society. So yes, in multiple levels it is nice if you are engaged."* (Lieske)

Investing in relationships with youngsters and taking them seriously is perceived as important to provide them with political power, and, in turn, can climb on the participation ladder (Lieske). There is a strong belief that youngsters higher on this ladder, sequentially, are more willing to engage in future community programs. Nonetheless, a sentiment of disappointment prevails as e.g. municipalities are neglecting the political initiatives of youngsters. For instance, Marjolein describes how the municipality of Rijswijk ignored a letter from her pupil council:

> *"What I find a shame, is that in return no response is given, so that is a thing. The children also think that is really bad. But I think you can let children at a very young age engage and I think adults often think about problems whilst children are very solution-oriented.."*

Ensuing, Marjolein elaborates on this issue by describing how she perceives the Dutch political modus operandi as slightly frustrating:

> *"The Netherlands is I think quite a system world, that runs on systems and we do things because that is how it has always done. (…) I think 'should it always be like this?' I am quite stubborn concerning this."*

5.2. The professionals' social citizenship perceptions

The value and importance of social equality between citizens are perceived as focal points within the philosophy of *Stichting Vreedzaam*. The professionals all referred to the topic of conflicts and especially how to peaceably solve them to achieve (social) equality. Solving conflict is so salient is because this impacts the relationship between people, sequentially, this impacts the degree of equality. Annemiek explains why:

> *"The relationship, that is a very important one. If you do not commit with people or you have an argument, you will think 'I do not know you, whatever.' (…) That I find very equal, that they know, 'we will see each other again, so we have to try this together later on.'"*

During the workshops, relationships between youngsters and adults are strengthened by e.g. seating everyone in a circle, including the adults, because a circle indicates people are equal. People are forced to look at each other, and are unable to hide something or yourself behind the table so that transparency enhances (Annemiek). Another example to preserve equality is to let youngsters work in interactive working forms and allow them to give input:

> *"With two people or four, so in a very equal manner, everyone is taking part and can participate in the activity or lesson. I find that very beautiful and equal to Vreedzaam they can exert their influence. Thus, if they have an idea or an icebreaker, or a question, they can discuss it in a circle. There is plenty of room to make that happen."* (Annemiek)

However, reaching an agreement is not necessarily perceived as the goal, as long as you remain respectful:

> *"Of course, it may clash sometimes, you do not have to agree always, and of course, you may have an argument or face a conflict with each other. If you remain respectful and know how to talk about it, you will come to a solution."* (Marjolein)

Respect seems to shape the social citizenship perceptions as all professionals emphasized this. Lieske encompasses respect as respecting others and the environment which requires responsibility, in turn, responsibility is sparked by creating ownership so that youngsters feel heard and seen. Annemiek expresses respect by e.g. greeting others or complimenting them, sequentially, she expects respect in reciprocity. This indicates that respect complementary to reciprocity shapes the social citizenship perceptions.

Furthermore, Article 1 in the Dutch constitution prohibiting discrimination is broadly perceived as a valuable and essential instrument to protect equality amongst citizens. Richard translates this law in his work as he argues he cannot do his work whilst excluding others. According to Lieske and Annemiek, this law contributes to a sense of belonging and solidarity. Therefore, they both argue more attention should be dedicated to how the constitution is established as this is not randomly designed. Solely referring to this law is deficient, Marjolein stresses it is important to offer tools to translate the message and value of this law.

5.3. The professionals' cultural citizenship perceptions

Cultural citizenship perceptions are strongly shaped by focussing on similarities instead of underlining differences which creates a sense of belonging (Marjolein). Annemiek translates this in her profession by formulating the concept of diversity more positively by highlighting similarities between people. This impacts the society positively, Lieske explains:

> "Make these commonalities explicit so that you stimulate and create cohesion. (…) We have become groups opposite to each other in society and I find that a bad thing."

Annemiek answers in line as she perceives it a pity when people in advance have biased envy, especially as she perceives society is getting more recalcitrant due to a variety of societal problems. For instance, Richard perceives less respect from Dutch elderly people towards youngsters or elderly with an ethnic background. Hence, Annemiek underlines the importance of respect which she describes as sincerely seeing others regardless of e.g. appearance or disability. Furthermore, she thinks it is more fun and beautiful when people are different as it gives society colour and more creative ideas. Notwithstanding the professionals focus on similarities between people, they are aware that others (i.e. residents from The Hague Southwest) observe and anticipate differences. Although having an open-minded attitude herself, Annemiek explains the residents may be cautious as they may think:

> "' Who are you? What is your business here? There you have another highly educated white woman.'"

Moreover, despite treating and perceiving the residents similarly, Richard doubts whether people would feel safe or trust to report a case of discrimination to him as he is a police officer. Marjolein explains she is aware of her appearance when she provides a workshop in the community centre of Moerwijk. This indicates they recognize others' cultural norms and values in heterogenous neighbourhoods as the professionals are understanding why and how the residents anticipate them. Hence, Marjolein wears regular sports clothes whilst she gives a workshop in Moerwijk instead of wearing her "principal outfit" which contributes to the level of trust:

> "If you want to accomplish something with the youngsters, you have to get on the same level, and adjust a little to reach them."

Hence, Richards perceives it as important to engage in dialogues with youngsters to exchange ideas and opinions. For example, the police organized a workshop, called "The Multicultural Sound" in Vrederust whereby youngsters could engage in discussion with the police. Rules during the discussion were based on *Stichting Vreedzaam's* philosophy: sharing opinions

without hurting others and emotions (e.g. anger) are allowed as long as you remain polite. Marjolein is also a proponent of engaging in dialogue with people holding distinct cultural norms and values:

> "*I think it is key to engage in dialogues with someone when that other person is completely different. Engaging in a dialogue instead of judging may lead to something interesting.*"

5.4. The professionals' moral citizenship perceptions

Following up, engaging in dialogues instead of avoiding them, is perceived as essential to being a good citizen and the way we as citizens interact with each other. Although someone makes a mistake or misbehaves it is crucial to not exclude that person from the others to retain a sense of belonging:

> "*Instead of mentioning every time what another person does wrong and repeatedly punishing, for youngsters at a very young age, for everybody, they will think at some point: 'if you do not want me, I will give it to you.' Leading to extreme expressions for example. Because that person does not feel the warmth anymore. I think that Vreedzaam should do this more. What I find a very important pillar: 'We will keep you with us.'*"
> (Annemiek)

Embedded in *Vreedzaam's* philosophy is to learn youngsters skills and tools so that they peaceably can engage in dialogue and peaceably solve conflicts by themselves. Hence, youngsters can participate in workshops that educate them to a mediator so they can intervene at school and in the neighbourhood. In turn, when a conflict occurs, youngsters can solve this by themselves. If this does not work, they can ask a mediator for help. If still no solution is found, they can ask the teacher for help. This indicates that ownership and responsibility are perceived as significant skills to be a good citizen:

> "*Expand the responsibility, in turn, you work on respect. That is the underlying approach*" (Lieske)

Nonetheless, not just youngsters should speak up when a conflict occurs. Richard stresses the importance of residents in Vrederust also should engage in dialogues, however, he perceives a lack of skills how to do so. For instance, residents relatively quickly call the police in case of nuisance whilst this could be avoided if the residents would have the skills to engage in a dialogue peaceably. Furthermore, Richard finds it important people speak up to each other on

the streets, however, sometimes this is less successful and people begin to curse correspondingly easily. Thereby, Marjolein argues all citizens have an exemplary role in society, especially adults:

> *"An adult always is role model, if you as an adult throw garbage on the ground, what do you teach a child that passes by? You tell this child this is normal, whilst this is not, because you do not want the environment to get polluted. Thus, I think that adults may be a bit more aware of their position, regardless of having or working with children or youngsters. They are always in your surroundings and they unknowingly copy your behaviour, and I do not think everyone is aware of this."*

Chapter 6: Analysis: Differences and similarities

After describing the citizenship perceptions in both groups separately, it is possible to juxtapose and analyse these perceptions by linking them to the theoretical framework. This answers the third and last sub question: *What are the differences and similarities between youngsters' and the professionals' citizenship perceptions?* Thereafter, the expectations formulated in the theoretical framework are reviewed.

6.1. Differences

The first remarkable difference concerns a more overarching one. Perceptions of the professionals have principally been described in a narrative wherein youngsters, and even younger ones, are the main focus. This fits in *Vreedzaam´s* philosophy wherein youngsters are already seen as citizens which illustrates why they focus so much on youngsters in their programs, in turn, why the perceptions are described regarding youngsters. Whereas the youngsters much more described their perceptions from their point of view.

The second and foremost striking difference concerns political citizenship perceptions. The professionals perceives it extremely important to engage with and include youngsters in decision-making processes (e.g. local community councils) as contemporary political decisions impact them in later stages of life. Complementary, the professionals educate youngsters on what it means to be a democratic citizen and how decisions are being made democratically. Thereby, they perceive conveying trust enhances youngsters' motivation to participate in democratic society. This reflects Morrone's et al. (2009) idea that more interpersonal trust leads to more institutional trust which means civil society shapes the professionals' perception of political citizenship. Nonetheless, youngsters' political citizenship perceptions are completely different as trust, especially institutional, seems to be non-existent whereby they perceive the current modus operandi of democracy as untrustworthy. This dramatically discourages youngsters' motivation to engage in politics, which in turn, shapes their perceptions of political citizenship. For instance, all youngsters do not aspire to vote in upcoming elections. Contrastingly, the COVID-19 pandemic was a topic of high interest as this had a major and direct impact on their everyday lives.

Two more differences can be observed within the social citizenship dimension. First, the element of social equality in civil society is perceived as salient in both groups which fit Fourie's (2012) and Kolodny's (2014) comprehension of social equality. The difference is in their approach to achieving social equality. The professionals attempt to achieve social equality

by conveying ownership of how to solve conflicts and building relationships amongst citizens whereas youngsters perceive respecting other citizens as the underpinning to achieving social equality. Respect is also considered important for the professionals, but this is substantially perceived as more meaningful for youngsters. For instance, Salim explains respect is a broad concept that is embedded in every human interaction and is, therefore, a prevalent value. This reflects Kaldenbach's (2011) equality notion of respect as youngsters desire to be treated equally despite age or position which thus shapes the youngsters' perceptions of citizenship. The second noticeable difference concerns trust in whether equal treatment of all citizens is sufficiently preserved and protected. Particularly, youngsters manifest distrust towards the police based on past experiences as they do not respect youngsters and are unwilling to listen. Eren's and Omar's compelling stories demonstrate this which seems to fit in Anderson's (1999) research in which the (criminal) justice system is experienced as unfair leading to a deficiency of reciprocity and trustworthiness (Anderson, 1990, 1999; Kaldenbach, 2011).

Furthermore, although both youngsters and the professionals are aware that people with distinctive cultural norms and values affect the interaction between citizens, a difference is what norms and values are perceived that leads to these effects. In turn, how both groups anticipate this. The professionals mostly mention differences based on physical appearance, Marjolein deliberately picks out what to wear when she gives a workshop in Moerwijk and Annemiek is aware of her whiteness in multicultural neighbourhoods. The fact that both Marjolein and Annemiek are aware of their presence and features fits in Beaman's (2015) idea of acknowledging those deviant outside the cultural norm (i.e. skin colour or clothes). Interestingly, the professionals seem to appeal to a set of rules in specific situations which reflects Anderson's (1990) description of street etiquettes. However, the motivations to appeal to these rules are far-fetched compared to youngsters within street culture described by Ursin (2012). Oppositely, youngsters perceive differences predominately based on religion and ethnicity which are not necessarily visible based on superficial characteristics. Hence, youngsters have more friends who also identify as Muslim, and sequentially, trust is quicker established. This relates to the earlier observed paradox whereby youngsters say distinct cultural norms and values are irrelevant regarding interactions, whilst, exceptionally, religion is considered important in practice. Appealing to street wisdom helps to assess what interaction is desirable so that a feeling of security can be preserved as understood by Anderson (1990). Additionally, an unfair recognition is perceived in how Dutch citizens (and politicians) react to tragedies in Europe (e.g. the Ukrainian war) compared to the ongoing wars and tragedies in Arabic countries. Omar perceives hypocrisy accompanied by feelings of frustration.

The last two small differences are detected within the moral citizenship dimension. First, both groups perceive respect and trust as highly important to being a good citizen which implies that as well the elements of civil society, as well as street culture, shapes their perceptions. However, youngsters explicitly underline respect for the elderly which is again based on their religious beliefs whereas this is not the case for the professionals. This finding fits Kaldenbach's (2011) notion of obedience as a form of respect whereby youngsters seem to have some type of relationship with the elderly, nonetheless, this does not entail they always give way to them. Moreover, this latter observation fits in Kaldenbach's (2011) notion of equality within respect as youngsters desire to be treated equally despite other citizens' age (i.e. elderly). Captivatingly, this implies youngsters simultaneously may hold two-fold notions of respect (i.e. obedience and equality) shaping their perceptions of moral citizenship. Second, trust is in both groups perceived as important to be a good citizen. Nevertheless, before trusting others, youngsters first make another assessment of whether that other person is trustworthy. Youngsters pay attention, especially to how people talk and their passing behaviour to assess whether that specific person is trustworthy. This reflects Anderson's (1990) comprehension of street etiquettes in which youngsters appeal to a set of rules based on superficial characteristics of others such as talkativeness.

6.2.   Similarities

What is more, similarities can be found. Although the political citizenship perceptions seem entirely different, the similarity is that both youngsters and the professionals perceive youngsters (and even younger) should be higher on the participation ladder. Hence, *Stichting Vreedzaam* establishes youth councils to give them a platform, sequentially, more political agency. Arnstein (1969) conceptualises citizen participation as the power that is granted over the policy process by the powerful to the have-nots. In this case, youngsters are the have-nots, particularly those below 18 years old, contrastingly, municipal employers are powerful. As such, youngsters are occasionally allowed to make suggestions (e.g. playground preference), however, exercise no real power over the policy process. This means youngsters occupy rung (4) Consultation on Arnstein's ladder as youngsters' allowance to share opinions does not result in actual change. Annemiek confirms this as she experiences a blind spot regarding children-participation amongst municipal employers. Even if youngsters are included, it is solely a formality without substantial impact. Moreover, Elmira and Zainab as the professionals are convinced youngsters would be more politically engaged, nationally and/or locally if more education on how a democratic society functions are provided. This reflects Alexander's et al.

(2012) theory that people with an extensive scope (e.g. spending more time) are more likely to engage in more (civil) mechanisms in the long term. Thus, if youngsters would spend more time learning what a democratic state means, they are more likely to engage in politics accordingly. To sum up, both youngsters and the professionals argue youngsters should be positioned higher on Arnstein's ladder. Nevertheless, for different reasons; Eren argues youngsters themselves know better what is best for them and the professionals perceive youngsters as already citizens. Despite these distinct arguments, the similarity remains they perceive youngsters should be higher on the participation ladder.

Another similarity is how both groups perceive social citizenship as something that should be safeguarded which requires some responsibility of citizens. Unconditionally respecting other citizens remains salient as this contributes to a sense of social solidarity which indicates social citizenship (Marshall, 1992). Furthermore, the importance and necessity of Article 1 in the Dutch constitution are perceived in an akin manner between youngsters and the professionals. Nonetheless, youngsters express and experience substantial distrust that discrimination remains an issue despite the many efforts to tackle it Omar explains. This confirms Anderson's (1999) and Kaldenbach's (2011) research that brown and black youngsters in heterogenous adverse neighbourhoods experience structural racial inequality and hence shape their perceptions of social citizenship and discrimination in particular.

The following similarity is analysed in regards to cultural citizenship whereby youngsters as the professionals perceive it as important to fully recognize cultural norms and values and establish a sense of belonging. This perception is shaped by the element of social equality of civil society whereby everyone deserves equal treatment regardless of an individual's distinction to the (civil) society's norms which fits Fourie's (2012) understanding. Hence, the professionals encourages to exchange of ideas with other citizens which leads to more creativity and understanding, in turn, citizens are motivated to do so more. This coincides with Alexander's et al. (2012) idea that citizens who are more engaged and thus have a more extensive scope, in turn, are more likely to be engaged with others. Moreover, the professionals encourage to look for similarities instead of differences between citizens this creates a sense of belonging according to Marjolein and Lieske. Subsequently, social equality amongst citizens will be strengthened which reflects Buckmaster's (2009) idea that to achieve equality, a common culture must be developed in which the divergences between social groups are less sharp. In this case. the common culture is based on the commonalities between citizens. In line, youngsters perceive it as valuable to engage in dialogues with other citizens holding deviant cultural norms and values. For instance, Eren is Turkish and Muslim, but he perceives it as

valuable to engage with others from different backgrounds (e.g. religion or ethnicity) as people can learn from each other. Nevertheless, youngsters convey more trust to others who also identify as Muslim.

The last two similarities within the moral citizenship dimension relates to the previous two mentioned similarities which concern respecting and engaging in dialogues with other citizens. Respect is perceived as a focal element of being a good citizen, particularly for youngsters. This reflects that respect as discussed by Anderson (1990, 1999) and Kaldenbach (2011) is a valuable entity, however, the youngsters' description of respect as a form of social capital does not cohere with how respect is understood within the street culture (Anderson, 1990, 1994; el Hadioui, 2011; Kaldenbach, 2011). Respect is described as the fundament of how we as citizens should interact with each other to be a good citizens whereby respect must be an act of reciprocity. Nonetheless, respect must be given with sincere intentions from the heart Eren and Nadir explain, otherwise, its value gets lost. This reflects Stanca's (2017) idea that the intention is considered relevant for the perceived kindness of the act. Moreover, both groups perceive it as normal to engage in dialogues instead of avoiding them so that we as citizens can help each other grow and develop to put in Eren's words. Thereby, youngsters as the professionals are aware that citizens have a preview function in society, particularly, younger kids. Marjolein stresses that kids always are present in your surroundings and copy your behaviour relatively easily.

To conclude, the answer to the third sub question is as follows. Seven differences are distinguished between the two groups. First, the professionals describe their perceptions in a narrative in which youngsters, even younger ones, are the main focus in how they describe and support their perceptions. This fits in their philosophy in which they perceive youngsters as already citizens. Second, the lack of trust explains why youngsters perceive political citizenship as less relevant and an issue they have completely no interest in. Whilst the professionals perceive it as important to educate youngsters on what a means to be a democratic citizen and therefore give them a political platform through local councils. Third, both groups perceive social equality amongst citizens as primary, however, they differ in their approaches to achieving it. The professionals perceive solving conflicts and building relationships between people as the most efficient whereas youngsters put more emphasis on respecting others. Fourth, youngsters convey no trust the police treat them equally. Fifth, although recognizing deviant cultural norms and values enhances a sense of belonging, a difference is on what level

deviations are being noticed. Among the professionals, the differences are more based on physical appearance (e.g. clothing) whereas youngsters highlight differences embedded in one's identity (e.g. religion). Sixth, respect is perceived as salient for moral citizenship, but youngsters convey particular respect for the elderly which is mainly religiously based. Seventh, trust is again perceived as essential within moral citizenship, however, youngsters firstly assess whether someone is trustworthy by appealing to a set of street etiquettes.

There are also six similarities. First, in both groups, they perceive youngsters should have a bigger political platform to let them climb on the participation ladder as most political decisions impact youngsters in later stages in life. Second, social equality and treatment are perceived as something that must be protected in which all citizens bear some responsibility. Respecting others is a must nevertheless who this may be so that social solidarity can increase. Third, also within social citizenship is that Article 1 is perceived as a powerful and fundamental instrument to protect and preserve social equality. Fourth, in both groups, cultural citizenship is perceived in an akin way as all cultural norms and values are recognized which is based on the strive for social equality. Fifth, within the dimension of moral citizenship, respect is again principal to being a good citizen which is differently described by the youngsters as in the theoretical framework. Sixth, engaging in dialogues is perceived as the default as all citizens have a preview function and it stimulates us to grow.

6.3.   Reviewing the expectations

Based on the analysis, the expectations formulated in the theoretical framework can be reviewed. It was expected that the political citizenship perceptions would be largely diverging between youngsters and civil society-oriented associations. This appears to be true: youngsters describe a significant level of distrust towards politicians and decision-making processes as scrutinized by Anderson (1990, 1999) and Stewart & Simons (2010) which shapes their political citizenship perceptions into indifference and frustration. Contrastingly, the professionals emphasizes the modus operandi of democracy which is akin to the indicators of how political citizenship is understood (Marshall, 1992) and therefore perceives political citizenship as a fundamental and valuable for (political) decision-making processes. Thus, the first expectations can be confirmed.

Second, it was expected social equality as an element of civil society shapes both the social and cultural citizenship perceptions for youngsters and civil society-oriented associations, but in diverging manners. The results seem to indicate this is partly true as both groups perceive citizens should and do stand in equal relation to each other (Fourie, 2012), regardless of who

this may be (Beaman, 2015; Marshall, 1992). This is why Article 1 is perceived as a fundamental and valuable instrument for both groups. Nevertheless, the strategy to achieve this is distinct as youngsters perceive respecting others, especially the elderly, as a top priority whereas the professionals focus on the skills to independently solve conflicts and build relationships with other citizens. Thus, social equality shapes both the social and cultural citizenship perceptions with a convergent outcome, but in divergent manners. Hence, this expectation can also be confirmed.

Lastly, it was expected respect as understood in street culture significantly shapes the moral citizenship perceptions of youngsters as this is perceived as a valuable external entity within the street culture. This seems partly to be true as respect is perceived as salient to being a "good" citizen, however, the results seem not to indicate this is similarly understood as within the street culture (Anderson, 1999; Kaldenbach, 2011). Therefore, the last expectation cannot be confirmed as respect shapes moral citizenship perceptions, but not as understood in street culture.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

After analysing the citizenship perceptions between youngsters and the professionals of *Stichting Vreedzaam*, the main research question can be answered: *To what extent do the citizenship perceptions diverge or converge between youngsters and Stichting Vreedzaam in the region Southwest in The Hague?*

As previously established in "Chapter 2.4. Case selection", youngsters in the region Southwest describe their perceptions predominately through the lens of street culture while the professionals of *Stichting Vreedzaam* through the lens of civil society. These viewpoints stipulate some divergencies and convergencies between the two groups regarding the four scrutinized dimensions of citizenship. First, it clarifies why political citizenship perceptions compared to the two related groups are partially converging, but are principally divergent. Youngsters' political citizenship perceptions are chiefly indifferent for the reasons they perceive a significant level of distrust, their (political) wishes are neglected, and politicians do not fulfil their promises. Contrastingly, the professionals perceive it as essential to comprehend what it means to be a participating democratic citizen, especially as youngsters are perceived as citizens already. This explains also why the professionals emphasize the modus operandi of democracy in their programs and educate youngsters how democratic decision-making processes work. Remarkably, convergence between the two related groups can be found as the indicators of political citizenship as established in the theoretical framework (Arnstein, 1969; Miller, 2001) are for both groups perceived as meaningful elements to strengthens youngsters' position in the political landscape. This offers fruitful insights to explore more similarities in the light of improving the suitability and effectiveness of citizenship education. Nonetheless, the conclusion leads political citizenship perceptions between youngsters and the professionals are largely divergent juxtaposed to each other. Thereby, youngsters' political citizenship perceptions are mainly rigid due to their experiences in the current political climate.

Second, the social citizenship perceptions converge extensively as both groups perceive it as highly important to thrive for social equality as described by Fourie (2012). Interestingly, the perceptions are shaped in different manners, whereas youngsters perceive respecting others, especially the elderly, as key to achieving social equality. Whereas the professionals perceive the existence of conflicts and building relationships between citizens the manner of achieving social equality. *Stichting Vreedzaam* provides workshops so that youngsters can gain ownership to solve conflicts independently and peaceably, with each other or with the help of peer

mediators. However, divergence occurs between the groups as youngsters do not perceive social equality is preserved sufficiently which is mainly shaped by experiences with the police. Moreover, despite a variety of attempts to reduce discrimination and the existence of Article 1, youngsters perceive discrimination as not an issue that will be fixed in the long term. Nevertheless, the thrive to protect social equality amongst citizens is perceived salient and valuable for both groups. This leads to the conclusion that social citizenship perceptions compared between youngsters and the professionals are largely converging. Interestingly, these perceptions are shaped by divergent fashions which surprisingly lead to converging outcomes.

Third, cultural citizenship perceptions are largely converging as both groups fully recognize (deviant) cultural norms and values and emphasize a sense of belonging amongst citizens. The perceptions are chiefly shaped by the scope of civic engagement as an element of civil society described by Putnam (1993, 2000). Frequently engaging in dialogues with other citizens is perceived as a contribution to enhancing a sense of belonging for as well youngsters as the professionals. Moreover, the descriptions of cultural citizenship in both groups fit Beaman's (2015) and Pakulksi's (1997) description as the right to be different beyond society's normative cultural dimension and the legitimate acceptance of marginalised lifestyles. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that youngsters perceive to significant extent hypocrisy of how "non-western" citizens are being treated regarding some topics (i.e. the discrepancy of the reactions between the war in Ukraine and Arabic countries). This leads to the conclusion that youngsters and the professionals have converging cultural citizenship perceptions compared to each other, but which are largely shaped in divergent manners.

As last, moral citizenship perceptions largely converge despite the two small differences mentioned in the previous chapter. Both groups perceive the elements that construe moral citizenship as discussed by Schervisch & Havens (2002) as meaningful which are: the right of self-recognition and identification and engaging in dialogues instead of avoiding them. Respecting other citizens shapes the perceptions of both groups, whereby youngsters have particular respect for the elderly and social workers. This leads to the conclusion that the perceptions of moral citizenship between youngsters and the professionals largely converge.

In short, and to answer the main research question, citizenship perceptions between youngsters residing in the region Southwest in The Hague and professionals representing *Stichting Vreedzaam* converge to a great extent. Although the political citizenship perceptions are predominantly diverging, the remaining three dimensions converge to such an extent that it can

be argued the perceptions between youngsters and the professionals converge. However, this does not entail these perceptions are shaped similarly as the lenses of civil society and street culture have shown. Moreover, the findings do not suggest civil society is solely a lens applicable to *Stichting Vreedzaam* but also to youngsters. The divergent perceptions that are detected are chiefly shaped by a lack of trust among youngsters based on past, present, and, unfortunately, future experiences. Thereby it is not likely these perceptions will change. A broadly shared element that shapes the perceptions are the importance to remain in dialogue with other citizens so that a sense of solidarity and belonging establishes. The next chapter outlines the implications that these findings have for the understanding of citizenship perceptions, for future research and policymakers.

Chapter 8: Discussion

This final chapter restates briefly the findings, whereafter their implications are discussed. Furthermore, it is explained how these findings fit into the existing body of literature. Lastly, limitations and recommendations for future research and policymakers are presented.

This study aimed to describe citizenship perceptions of youngsters living in heterogeneous adverse neighbourhoods and professionals of a civil society-oriented association through the lenses of street culture and civil society. It was found that the four scrutinized perceptions between the two entities largely converge, but are shaped in divergent manners. Political citizenship perceptions evidently diverge compared to the other social, cultural, and moral dimensions. More specifically, the difference in the degree of trust describes why perceptions regarding the former diverge to such an extent. This finding fits in the academic literature of Anderson (1999) in which the criminal justice system is broadly experienced as "*one for black and one for whites*". Moreover, this exemplifies Morrone's et al. (2009) understanding of institutional trust. Whilst *Stichting Vreedzaam* aims to provide youngsters a bigger political platform through e.g. local councils, this does not necessarily mean trust will flourish among youngsters towards politics. This problematises Putnam's (2000) analysis that trust will flourish when people (i.e. youngsters) participate in free associations (i.e. local councils). More specifically, the results show youngsters are mostly not motivated to engage which confirms Alexander's et al. (2012) research that people who associate with an extensive scope are more likely to be engaged in more mechanisms. Youngsters have a relatively small scope and therefore not likely to engage.

Furthermore, the results do not fit the descriptions of respect discussed in the theoretical framework. Anderson (1994) describes respect in the street culture as an external entity that is hard-won but easily lost, whereas the results clearly show respect is not hard-won. Respect is perceived as the core of being a "good" citizen which yields for youngsters and the professionals. Their understanding of respect is broadly "treat another citizen as how you wanted to be treated yourself". This, to some extent, reflects Kaldenbach's (2011) notion of desired equality as a form of respect as youngsters do not directly admit to the upper hand of adults solely because of older age or higher position. An exception to this rule is respecting the elderly which, for youngsters, is strongly based on their religious belief which is Islam in which respecting the elderly is the default. The results cannot be linked to intimidation as a form of

respect whereby youngsters are the dominators in the street (Anderson, 1994; el Hadioui, 2011; Kaldenbach, 2011).

Concerning this study's abductive nature, two valuable findings beyond the theoretical framework must be discussed. First, ownership of how to solve conflicts is perceived as a focal skill to achieve social equality which relates to Fourie's (2012) understanding of social equality in civil society. Individuals stand in equal relation to each other in a similar fashion to how individuals stand in equal relation when solving a conflict, meaning that both sides need to be heard to solve the conflict peaceably. Second, the professionals perceive building relationships as important to express individuals standing in equal relation to each other, notwithstanding age or position. Thereby, they emphasize preserving a sense of belonging even if an individual expresses inappropriate behaviour which relates to Beaman's (2015) advocacy to value a sense of belonging within the cultural citizenship dimension.

8.1. Limitations and strengths

Whilst the findings of this study capitulates interesting implications, some limitations should be considered. First, the snowball sampling method brings some disadvantages. Most interviews with youngsters were conducted at community centres, however, it was not guaranteed they would be present as this was on a voluntary base. Therefore, the researcher was highly dependent on those who happen to be present, meaning no alternative method than this non-probability sampling was applicable. In turn, implications with representation occur, as no random sample can be employed, and samples tend to be too homogenous or biased because the gatekeepers are more likely to select who is akin to them (Sharma, 2017; Etikan, Alkassim & Abubakar, 2015). Sequentially, the generalisability of the study is endangered (Cohen & Arieli, 2011; Sharma, 2017). Nevertheless, this limitation was roughly alleviated as the sample of the youngsters was diverse in terms of age (average of 18.4 years old) and "gender" (three girls and five boys) which mirrors the diverse population.

A second limitation concerns that youngsters may not hold specific perceptions regarding citizenship, or struggle with describing how their perceptions are shaped. Despite sampling being from 14 years old to retrieve more consistent data as youngsters are more aware of their position in society, this remains difficult to assure (Sindal et al., 2016; Vollebergh et at., 2001). Moreover, the level and type of meaningfulness may be influenced by the level of priority an individual attaches to citizenship impacted by self-interest, values, and social identification (Howe & Krosnick, 2017). Interestingly, this was confirmed by an anecdote of Marjolein who at 17 years old was required to write a "deep" reflection for her studies whereby

her former teacher was shocked as her teacher was convinced Marjolein does not have the capacity yet to write such reflections. Nonetheless, the average age was 18.4 years old meaning the possibility youngsters do have some type of perception increases and the data is more likely to be consistent (Fagan & Tyler, 2005). Akin, generalizing the data is justified as the age range of the participants yields from 15 to 23 years old.

A third limitation concerns ethical considerations. Most of these interviews were conducted at their local community centre which is often a place in which the youngsters feel safe and understood. On one hand, the researcher may be perceived as an invader of their habitat (Fuji, 2012), on the other hand, the youngsters may feel safer and more comfortable in their habitat. Hence, the youngsters needed to be sufficiently informed by adjusting the informed consent form to a document with no jargon and walking through it together.

Contending these limitations, the study has some credible strengths. First, employing qualitative research fits the descriptive approach of this study. In-depth semi-structured interviews on-site evoked honest and dire responses that other research methods could not have acquired. Secondly, describing perceptions through the lenses of civil society and street culture is not yet done in a comparative study. Moreover, this adds to the academic literature that goes beyond the conventional dimensions of citizenship. This resulted in systematic descriptions of the four scrutinized citizenship dimension which made it possible to juxtapose them for the analysis. It produced the captivating finding that the perceptions between youngsters and the professionals largely converge despite differences such as age, ethnicity, or living conditions. Thirdly, examining perceptions is formerly measured through quantitative research (Ho, 2017; McDonald, 2012), this study adds to the type of research that scrutinizes perceptions through qualitative research. This made it possible to describe more nuanced descriptions of citizenship as the participants could elaborate on this in more detail. Furthermore, as discussed earlier, youngsters may not hold particular perceptions as they simply had none. The flexibility of semi-structured interviews made it possible to question why they do not hold particular perceptions whereas quantitative research does not.

8.2.   Recommendations

This study's findings serves also as a groundwork for future research. First, it would be interesting to juxtapose the perceptions of youngsters with professionals from other organizations or institutions to identify whether the findings are unique or can be generalized

to similar types of organizations as *Stichting Vreedzaam*. Second, and vice versa, it would be absorbing to juxtapose the perceptions of youngsters in other (less deprived) neighbourhood in the Netherlands so that *Stichting Vreedzaam* can use these insights for other neighbourhoods in which they are operative. Third, it would be fruitful to examine what other factors are significant in how youngsters' citizenship perceptions are shaped besides street culture (and civil society) to get a better understanding of this socialization. Lastly, this study recommends recovering the lack of trust youngsters have, especially in politics. Especially as *Stichting Vreedzaam* predominantly perceives the modus operandi of the democratic state as salient, trust is an essential condition that is recommended to be increased.

This study offers a multitude of recommendations within the debate on citizenship education in heterogeneous adverse neighbourhoods such as The Hague Southwest (see table three). As for policymakers on the national level, first, the results demonstrate citizenship perceptions are socially constructed and shaped. Therefore, this study recommends providing customized citizenship education that matches the social context per neighbourhood so that suitability and effectiveness increase. Second, the findings confirm Anderson's (1999) theory that criminal justice systems are broadly experienced as unfair, with a double standard, and racist by youngsters in this region. This is deeply problematic as this fuels youngsters' emergence to adopt alternative strategies to assure self-worth and status which may lead to violent behaviour, in turn, the safety of the neighbourhood decreases (Stewart & Simons, 2010; Vinken, 2011). Therefore, this study recommends improving the relationship between youngsters and the police so that both groups feel safer. A helpful instrument may be "The Multicultural Sound" to evoke a dialogue as explained by Richard. *Stichting Vreedzaam's* philosophy offers guidelines to navigate this peaceably.

As for policymakers on the local level working on this specific region, first, the results indicate a trend that youngsters' (political) wishes are neglected and promises are not fulfilled leading to more indifferent and rigid perceptions. Youngsters may be included in the light of so-called "children-participation", nonetheless, in practice, this remains a formality. Therefore, youngsters' (political) wishes should be considered more seriously within local decision-making processes, especially if it concerns their daily lives in their neighbourhood of residence. This increases youngsters' trust level towards (local) politicians, and sequentially, their motivation to engage increases in the long term. Second, citizenship education should not be provided solely in educational institutions, but also at local community centres. Operating at

other institutions widens the scope of the target audience (i.e. youngsters) which may lead to positive changes regarding the effectiveness of citizenship education.

Last, for *Stichting Vreedzaam* specifically, from this study emerges the recommendation to operate their programs with local professionals more closely whom youngsters identify with, trust, and convey particular respect. The findings indicate that being Muslim impacts the youngsters' interactions with other citizens, especially regarding the level of trust. Therefore, it might be fruitful to operate with professionals who also identify as Muslim or have a so-called "non-western" background. Second, invest more in integral collaboration with local organisations (one of the four origins of *De Vreedzame Wijk*) as youngsters experience more safety in such places (e.g. local community centres) and can relate to peers. Furthermore, youngsters convey particularly more respect to social workers as they are simultaneously perceived as role models, therefore, local organisations and their social workers can function as a spatial and social bridge between *Stichting Vreedzaam* and youngsters.

To conclude, this study's objective was to systematically juxtapose citizenship perceptions between two related groups within the same context. This study is an attempt in the search for syncing citizenship education in heterogenous adverse neighbourhoods to improve its suitability and effectiveness. Important to remind is, after all, youngsters as the professionals are human beings in the first place which offer the starting point in this search. To put this in Nadir's inspirational words:

> *"In the end, we are all humans of flesh and blood, all the same. What I dislike, is an excess of pride, or belittling of other people. Especially based on race or background. I think actually that everyone is morally obliged to support each other a little."*

	Policymakers on the national level	Policymakers on the local level in The Hague Southwest	*Stichting Vreedzaam*
Recommendations	Customized citizenship education per neighbourhood	Position youngsters higher on the participation ladder	Collaborate with local professionals with whom youngsters identify with
	Improve the relationship between youngsters and the police	Provide citizenship education beyond educational institutions	Invest more in integral collaboration with local organisations

Table 3: Overview of recommendations based on this study's findings

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Operationalisation table citizenship through the lenses of civil society and street culture

Citizenship: A set of rights and/or the status that is claimed and granted by members of a political community to be equal under the law or beyond and the competencies individuals are required to have to maintain or develop their citizenship (Beaman, 2015; Dam et al., 2020; Joppke, 2007; Pakulski, 1997; Pawley, 2008)

			Political (P)	Social (S)	Cultural (C)	Moral (M)	Interview questions	Indicators of civil society and street culture
					Dimensions			
Civil society: Free associations outside the state, the market, and the family in which citizens can voluntarily participate to advocate for their rights and self-	Dimensions	Social equality	Equal treatment by and under the law, by politicians, and within the political apparatus is considered an important right (Fourie, 2012; Marshall, 1992)	The set of rights to protect and contends individual's rights in terms of equality with others and under the process of law is equally protected (Fourie, 2012; Marshall, 1992)	The right to be different beyond society's normative cultural dimension and legitimate acceptance of marginalises lifestyles is equally protected and respected (Beaman, 2015; Pakulski, 1997; Marshall, 1992)	The assessment of others if they treat each other equally to be a "good" citizen (Marshall, 1992; Schervisch & Havens, 2002)	- To what extent do you perceive it important that according to Article 1 in the constitution, everyone should be treated equally? (P) - Could you describe what according to you an appropriate manner is to treat another person as an equal? (S) -To what extent do you perceive it important people with deviant cultural norms and values treat each other as equals? (C) -Do you perceive it important that citizens correct each other to treat each other as equals? (M)	-Equal for and under the law -Deviant characteristics/features compared to the norm

		Type of trust	The expectation that the set of rights as a member of an apparatus with political authority or as an elector of the member of such an apparatus is protected (Fukuyama, 1995; Marshall, 1992; Newton, 2011; Rotter, 1980)	The expectation that citizen's rights and status regarding equal treatment are protected under the law (Fukuyama, 1995; Marshall, 1992; Newton, 2011; Rotter, 1980)	The expectation of the right to be different beyond society's normative cultural dimension and legitimate acceptance of marginalises lifestyles are protected (Beaman, 2015; Fukuyama, 1995; Pakulski, 1997)	The assessment of whether the expectation that others act in a predictable, honest, and co-operative is considered important to be a "good" citizen (Fukuyama, 1995; Newton, 2011; Schervisch & Havens, 2002; Rotter, 1980)	- To what extent do you perceive trust in the promises politicians make? (P) - Could you describe to what extent you perceive it important that citizens in general trust each other? (S) - To what extent do you perceive citizens with different cultural norms and values to trust each other? (C) - To what extent do you perceive it important trust as an important characteristic to be "good" citizen? (M)	-Relying on oral promises -Relying on written promises -Relying on oral promises by political leaders or groups -Relying on written promises by political leaders or groups
		Form of reciprocity	The set of rights as a member of an apparatus with political authority or as an elector of the member of such an apparatus is mutually protected (Marshall, 1992; Stanca, 2009)	Citizens mutually protect and contend individuals' rights in terms of equality with others and under the process of law (Marshall, 1992; Stanca, 2009)	The right to be different beyond society's normative cultural dimension and legitimate acceptance of marginalises lifestyles is mutually protected and respected (Beaman, 2015; Pakulski, 1997; Marshall, 1992)	The assessment of whether a returning act despite being costly for the reciprocator is considered an important characteristic to be a "good" citizen (Schervisch & Havens, 2002; Stanca, 2009)	-To what extent do you perceive politicians mutually respect the rights and interests of the citizens? (P) -Could you explain to me whether you treat another citizen as equal when that individual treats you as equal? (S) -To what extent do you perceive treating other citizens with deviant cultural norms and values as social equals? (C) -In what cases should you provide a returning favour to be a "good" citizen? And why? (M)	-Limited to two individuals -A direct reciprocal act -Includes three individuals -Helpful behaviour towards a third agent

		Scope of civic engagement	The extent citizens are engaged in politics and in protecting a set of rights as a member of a political apparatus (Alexander et al., 2012; Checkoway, 2009; Marshall, 1992)	The extent citizens are engaged in protecting and contending individual's rights in terms of equality with others and under the law (Alexander et al., 2012; Checkoway, 2009; Marshall, 1992)	The extent citizens are engaged with culturally deviant citizens and protecting their rights to be different and legitimately accept marginalised lifestyles (Alexander et al., 2012; Beaman, 2015; Checkoway, 2009; Pakulski, 1997)	The extent citizens are engaged in assessing themselves or other citizens whether they are considered a "good" or "ideal" citizens (Alexander et al., 2012; Checkoway, 2009; Schervisch & Havens, 2002)	-Do you perceive it important citizens are engaged in politics? (P) -To what extent do you perceive it important other citizens treat each other as social equals? (S) -Could you explain to me if you in general connect easier with other citizens who shares the same norms and values? (for example, based on ethnic background or sexuality) (C) To what extent do you perceive it as important to be engaged in assessing yourself or others whether they are a "good" citizens? (M)	-The number of members engaged in a free association -Time spend in a free association
Street culture: A set of rules governing interpersonal public behaviour to ensure social order, acquire self-worth, and social status (Anderson, 1990; Stewart & Simons, 2010 Vinken, 2011)	**Dimensions**	**Respect**	The extent respect as an external entity as a form of social capital is perceived by members of an apparatus engaged with political authority or as an elector of the members of such an apparatus (Anderson, 1990, 1999; Kaldenbach, 2012; Marshall, 2011)	The extent respect as an external valuable entity is perceived as a form of social capital is protected and contented as an individual's rights in terms of equality with others and under the process of law (Anderson, 1990, 1999; Kaldenbach, 2012; Marshall, 2011)	Respecting other citizens with deviant cultural norms and values and whether these citizens can gain respect as an external valuable entity (Anderson, 1990, 1999; Beaman, 2015; Kaldenbach, 2012; Pakulski, 1997)	The assessment of whether respecting and "obtaining" respect as a valuable external entity is considered an important characteristic to be a "good" citizen (Anderson, 1990, 1999; Kaldenbach, 2012; Schervisch & Havens, 2002)	-What is your perception regarding you are respected by a member of political authority? (P) -What is your perception regarding respect whether this is equally protected amongst citizens? -Could you explain to me if you treat people with respect who have deviant norms and values compared to yourself (for example based on religion or sexuality)? (C) -Are there people in the neighbourhood who you respect in particular? (M)	-Obeying adults -Giving way to adults -Having a relationship with an authority -Resisting the upper-hand of adults -Lack of trust in adults -Presentation of the self through clothes -Use of violence -Perceiving respect as a form of social capital -Full recognition of cultural norms and values -A sense of belonging -The preservation of cultural lineages

		The awareness of an individual's set of rights as a member of an apparatus with political authority or as an elector of such an apparatus is protected (Anderson, 1990, 1999; Marshal, 1992; Ursin, 2012)	The awareness of an individual's set of rights is protected and contended rights in terms of equality with others and under the law (Anderson, 1990, 1999; Marshal, 1992; Ursin, 2012)	The awareness of citizens' rights to be culturally deviant beyond society's normative cultural dimension and the acceptance of legitimate acceptance of marginalized lifestyles are protected (Anderson, 1990, 1999; Beaman, 2015; Pakulski, 1997).	The awareness citizens assess themselves or other citizens as a "good" or "ideal" citizen (Anderson, 1990, 1999; Schervisch & Havens, 2002; Ursin, 2012)	-To what extent do you perceive others are aware of their political rights? (P) -What do you perceive as an important and suitable manner to treat others equally? (S) -To what extent do you perceive others to be aware of citizens' deviant cultural norms and values? (C) -What skills and/or knowledge do you consider as important to be a "good" citizen? (M)	-Realize every public interaction is unique -Make calculated decisions -The right of self-recognition -The right of self-identification -Engaging in dialogue instead of avoidance
	Street knowledge						
Indicators of the citizenship dimensions		-The right to vote -Participation in the policy process (based on Arnstein's (1969) "participation ladder" -Appeal to representatives -Equal under the law	-Equality of access to state services -A sense of social solidarity	-Full recognition of cultural norms and values -A sense of belonging -The preservation of cultural lineages	-The right of self-recognition -The right of self-identification -Engaging in dialogue instead of avoidance		

Appendix 2: Operationalisation table citizenship

Concept: Citizenship			
Definition	**Dimensions**	**Sub-dimensions**	**Indicators**
A set of rights and/or the status that is claimed and granted by members of a political community to be equal under the law or beyond and the competences individuals are required to have to maintain or develop their citizenship (Beaman, 2015; Dam et al., 2020; Joppke, 2007; Pakulski, 1997; Pawley, 2008)	Forms of citizenship: the meaningful interpretations of citizens as the performance of citizenship is conducted in everyday life (Jones, 2015)	Political: the set of rights as a member of an apparatus engaged with political authority or as an elector of the members of such an apparatus (Marshall, 1992)	-The right to vote -Participation in the policy process (based on Arnstein's (1969) "participation ladder" -Appeal to representatives -Equal under the law
		Social: the set of rights to protect and contends individual's rights in terms of equality with others and under the process of law (Marshall, 1992)	-Equality of access to state services -A sense of social solidarity
		Cultural: the right to be different beyond society's normative cultural dimension and the legitimate acceptance of marginalised lifestyles (Beaman, 2015; Pakulski, 1997)	-Full recognition of cultural norms and values -A sense of belonging -The preservation of cultural lineages
		Moral: an assessment of whether yourself or another citizen is considered a "good" or "ideal" citizen (Schervisch & Havens, 2002)	-The right of self-recognition -The right of self-identification -Engaging in dialogue instead of avoidance

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Appendix 3: Operationalisation table civil society

Concept: civil society			
Definition	**Dimensions**	**Sub-dimensions**	**Indicators**
Free associations outside the state, the market, and the family in which citizens can voluntarily participate to advocate for their rights and self-regulation (Bailer, et al., 2009; Diamond, 1994; Malena & Heinrich, 2007; Woldring, 1998).	Social equality: expresses an ideal where people stand in equal relation to each other (Fourie, 2012)	*Not bounded to sub-dimensions*	-Equal before and under the law -Deviant characteristics/features compared to the norm
	Type of trust: the expectation that others act in predictable, honest, and co-operative ways (Fukuyama, 1995; Newton, 2011; Rotter, 1980)	Interpersonal: relying on other citizens (Rotter, 1980)	-Relying on oral promises -Relying on written promises
		Institutional: relying on political leaders (Morrone et al., 2009)	-Relying on oral promises by political leaders or groups -Relying on written promises by political leaders or groups
	Form of reciprocity: behaviour to return acts despite being costly for the reciprocator (Stanca, 2009)	Direct: a consequential interaction between two individuals (Molm et al., 2007)	-Limited to two individuals -A direct reciprocal act
		Indirect: a consequential interaction including a third agent (Molm et al., 2007)	-Includes three individuals -Helpful behaviour towards a third agent
	Scope of civic engagement: a process in which people take collective action to convey public concerns (Alexander et al., 2012; Checkoway, 2009)	Number: how many individuals engage in a free association	-The number of members engaged in a free association
		Frequency: how often an individual engages in a free association	-Time spend in a free association

Appendix 4: Operationalisation table street culture

Concept: Street Culture			
Definition	**Dimensions**	**Sub-dimensions**	**Indicators**
A set of rules governing interpersonal public behaviour to ensure social order, acquire self-worth, and social status (Anderson, 1990; Stewart & Simons, 2010 Vinken, 2011)	Form of respect: an external entity as a valuable form of social capital (Anderson, 1990, 1994; el Hadioui, 2011; Kaldenbach, 2011)	Obedience: the behaviour to obey adults (Kaldenbach, 2011; Pozzi et al., 2016)	-Obeying adults -Giving way to adults -Having a relationship with an authority
		Equality: desire to be treated equally despite age or position (Kaldenbach, 2011)	-Resisting the upper-hand of adults -Lack of trust in adults
		Intimidation: the idea of being the dominator and wanting others to obey their demands (Kaldenbach, 2011)	-Presentation of the self through clothes -Use of violence -Perceiving respect as a form of social capital
	Street knowledge: the awareness of others and their distinctive features (Anderson, 1990, 1999; Ursin, 2012)	Street etiquettes: a rough set of rules that are appealed to in specific situations based on superficial characteristics (Anderson, 1990)	-Talk -Eye work -Passing behaviour -Money -Dogs -Safety strategies -Interiors of public spaces
		Street wisdom: ability to move beyond ambiguous assessments (Anderson, 1990)	-Realize every public interaction is unique -Make calculated decisions

Appendix 5: Interview guide for representatives Stichting Vreedzaam (Dutch)

I Introductie
1. Wat is uw naam?
2. Wat is uw beroep?
3. In welke wijk(en) werkt u?
4. Hoe en sinds wanneer bent u verbonden aan Stichting Vreedzaam?
5. Kunt u in het kort het gedachtegoed van Vreedzaam omschrijven?

II Politiek burgerschap
1. Hoe ziet u het belang dat burgers betrokken zijn bij de politiek?
   a. Hoe probeert u burgers, vooral jongeren, meer bij de politiek te betrekken?
2. In welke mate heeft u vertrouwen in de beloftes die politici doorgaans maken?
3. Hoe zijn volgens u politieke partijen/instanties het best georganiseerd? (Met name of het aantal leden een verschil maakt of de mate waarin iemand betrokken is)
4. In welke mate heeft het meerwaarde of is het van belang dat in de grondwet is vastgelegd (Artikel 1) iedereen gelijk behandelt dient te worden in uw rol die u voor Vreedzaam heeft?
   a. Hoe vertaalt u deze boodschap in u functie?

Artikel 1: "*Allen die zich in Nederland bevinden, worden in gelijke gevallen gelijk behandeld. Discriminatie wegens godsdienst, levensovertuiging, politieke gezindheid, ras, geslacht of op welke grond dan ook is, is niet toegestaan.*"

III Sociaal burgerschap
1. Hoe gaat u volgens u respectvol met elkaar om?
   a. Ervaart u dat jongeren in Zuidwest met respect worden behandeld onderling maar ook door anderen? (Met name volwassen)
2. Kunt u beschrijven wat volgens u een passende manier is om een ander gelijk te behandelen?
   a. Zou u deze aanpak op de doelgroep aanpassen? Zo ja, hoe? (bijvoorbeeld andere etnische afkomst of culturele achtergrond?
3. Kunt u beschrijven in welke mate u het van belang vindt dat burgers elkaar doorgaan vertrouwen?
   a. Hoe wordt er aan dit vertrouwen gewerkt?
   b. Hoe ervaart u dat het zit met het vertrouwen onder de burgers? En onder de jongeren?
4. Kunt u beschrijven in welke mate jongeren betrokken zijn met Stichting Vreedzaam in de regio Zuidwest?
   a. Wat zou Stichting Vreedzaam in de organisatie anders kunnen doen om de jongeren meer te betrekken?

IV Cultureel burgerschap
1. Hoe vertaalt u het gedachtegoed van Vreedzaam in u werk?
2. Hoe denkt/ervaart u dat het zit met het vertrouwen tussen mensen met verschillende culturele normen en waarden/achtergronden?

      a. Hoe kan het gedachtegoed van Vreedzaam bijdragen om dit vertrouwen te vergroten?

3. In hoeverre helpt het gedachtegoed van Vreedzaam om een brug te slaan tussen met een verschillende achtergrond/ normen en waarden?
4. Hoe speelt u in op de culturele normen en waarden van de jongeren in de regio Zuidwest?
   a. Ervaart u wel eens frictie/onbegrip tussen het gedachte van Vreedzaam en de jongeren?
   b. Denkt u dat, indien, er ruimte voor verbetering is met betrekking tot deze vragen?
5. Hoe zou u "straat cultuur" omschrijven?
   a. Ervaart u dit als een "probleem" in de wijk?
   b. Zijn er elementen van de straat cultuur waar Vreedzaam van zou kunnen leren?

V Moreel burgerschap
1. Welk gedrag juicht u toe?
2. Welk gedrag keurt u af?
3. In welke mate vindt u het van belang dat vertrouwen een belangrijke eigenschap is om een "goede" burger te zijn?
4. In welke mate vindt u het de verantwoordelijkheid van de burgers dat ze elkaar corrigeren als ze ervaren/zien dat ze elkaar ongelijk behandelen?
   a. Vindt u dat burgers het recht hebben om elkaar te corrigeren?
   b. Wat zou een geschikte aanpak zijn vanuit Vreedzaam?
5. In welke mate vindt u het van belang dat burgers elkaar corrigeren als ze ervaren/zien dat anderen elkaar respectloos behandelen?
   a. Wat zou een geschikte aanpak zijn vanuit Vreedzaam om elkaar te corrigeren?
6. Wanneer iemand een ander een dienst/gunst verleent, vindt u dat er dan wordt tegenover hoort te staan.
   a. Zou dit een verschil maken tussen of je die ander een bekenden of onbekenden is?

Appendix 6: Interview guide for representatives Stichting Vreedzaam (English)

I Introduction
1. What is your name?
3. What is your profession?
4. In which neighbourhood(s) do you execute you profession?
5. How and since when are you connected to *Stichting Vreedzaam*?
    b. Could you briefly describe the ideas and philosophy of *Stichting Vreedzaam*?

II Political citizenship
1. How do you consider the importance citizens are engaged with politics?
    b. How do you attempt to involve citizens, especially, youngsters, into politics?
2. To what extent do you have trust in the promises politicians make?
3. How are political/organisation the best (most efficient) organised? (Especially the number of members or the intensity a member is engaged)
4. To what extent do you consider it important that according to Article 1 in the constitution, everyone should be treated equally in the role you have for *Stichting Vreedzaam?*
    a. How do you translate this into the execution of your profession?

Article 1: *"All persons in the Netherlands shall be treated equally in equal circumstances. Discrimination on the grounds of religion, belief, political opinion, race or sex or on any other grounds whatsoever shall not be permitted."*

III Social citizenship
1. How do you treat each other respectfully?
    b. What is your experience with youngsters in Southwest if they treat each other with respect? And by others (especially adults)?
2. Could you describe what according to you an appropriate manner is to treat another person equally?
    a. Would you adjust these manners based on the target population? If yes, how? (for example, based on ethnicity or cultural background)
3. Could you describe to what extent you consider it important citizens in general trust each other?
    a. How do you contribute to the strengthening of this trust?
    b. What is your experience with the level of trust among citizens? And among youngsters?
4. Could you describe to what extent younsters are engaged with the programs of *Stichting Vreedzaam* in the region Southwest?
    a. What could be done differently in the organisation to enhance the level of engagement of youngsters?

IV Cultural citizenship
1. How do you translate the ideas and philosophy of *Vreedzaam* into your profession?

2. To what extent do you experience or think citizens with different cultural norms and values trust each other?
   a. How can the ideas and philosophy of *Vreedzaam* contribute to enhance the level of trust?
3. To what extent contribute the ideas and philosophy of *Stichting Vreedzaam* to form a bridge between people with different backgrounds/norms and values?
4. How do you anticipate the different backgrounds/norms and values among the youngsters in the region Southwest?
   a. Do you experience tension/misunderstanding between the ideas and philosophy of *Stichting Vreedzaam* and the youngsters?
   b. Do you think, if, there is space for improvement regarding these questions?
5. How would describe "street culture"?
   a. Do you experience this as a "problem" in the neighbourhood?
   b. Are there elements of "street culture" which can be of value for *Stichting Vreedzaam?*

V Moral citizenship
1. What kind of behaviour do you encourage?
2. What kind of behaviour do you discourage?
3. To what extent do you consider it important trust is an important characteristic to be "good" citizen?
4. To what extent do you consider it is the citizens' responsibility to correct each other when they experience/see others treat each other unequally?
   a. Do you think citizens has the right to correct each other?
   b. What would be an appropriate manner to correct each other based on the ideas and philosophy of *Stichting Vreedzaam?*
5. To what extent do you consider it important for citizens to correct each other when experiencing/seeing others treat each other disrespectfully?
   a. What would be an appropriate manner to correct each other based on the ideas and philosophy of *Stichting Vreedzaam?*
6. When people provide each other with a favour, do you think a returning favour should be given?
   a. Would it be a difference if this person is a familiar person or a stranger?

Appendix 7: Interview guide youngsters (Dutch)

I Introductie
1. Wat is je naam en leeftijd?
2. In welke wijk woon je in de regio Zuidwest? (Morgenstond, Moerwijk, Bouwlust of Vrederust?
3. Hoe lang woon je al in deze wijk?
4. Wat is je afkomst?

II Politiek burgerschap
1. Kan je beschrijven in welke mate je betrokken voelt bij de politiek?
    a. Wat zou jou motiveren om meer betrokken te raken?
2. In welke mate vind je het van belang dat jij, je leeftijdsgenoten, maar ook volwassenen politiek actief zijn?
3. Heb je vertrouwen in de politiek/politici?
    a. Heb je het vertrouwen dat jouw stem een verschil maakt?
4. In welke mate ervaar jij dat je wordt gerespecteerd wordt door politici?
    a. Heb je vertrouwen dat mensen/politici naar je luisteren?
5. Kan jij aan mij uitleggen in welke mate je het van belang vindt dat het in de grondwet is vastgelegd dat iedereen gelijk behandelt dient te worden? (Artikel 1 in de grondwet)

Artikel 1: "*Allen die zich in Nederland bevinden, worden in gelijke gevallen gelijk behandeld. Discriminatie wegens godsdienst, levensovertuiging, politieke gezindheid, ras, geslacht of op welke grond dan ook is, is niet toegestaan.*"

III Sociaal burgerschap
1. Kan je aan mij uitleggen of jij vindt of iedereen met respect behandelt dient te worden?
    a. Hoe ga je volgens jou respectvol met elkaar om?
    b. In welke mate vind jij dat je respect hoort te verdienen?
    c. Als jij respectloos wordt behandeld, hoe doe jij hier dan iets aan?
2. Met welk gedrag/op welke manier behandel jij anderen op een gelijke manier?
    a. Zijn er mensen die je op voorhand niet gelijk wilt/kunt behandelen?
3. Word jij gelijk behandeld in Den Haag?
    a. Ervaar jij dat je op bepaalde plekken "meer of minder" gelijk behandeld wordt?
4. Heb jij doorgaans vertrouwen dat je gelijk wordt behandeld door anderen?
    a. Waarom wel/niet?
5. Waar let jij op bij een ander om in te schatten of je diegene kan vertrouwen?
    a. En let je op de omgeving om die inschatting te maken?

IV cultureel burgerschap
1. Kan je aan mij beschrijven hoe jij vanuit huis hebt geleerd een ander met respect te behandelen?
    a. Hoe praktiseer/uit je dit in je dagelijkse leven?

2. Heb jij bepaalde normen en waarden (een cultuur) die afwijken dan die je thuis of op school leert?
3. Kan jij aan mij uitleggen of jij mensen met afwijkende normen en waarden dan jij (bijvoorbeeld religie of geaardheid) met respect behandeld?
4. Kan jij aan mij uitleggen of je het doorgaans gemakkelijker vindt om connectie te leggen met iemand die dezelfde normen en waarden deelt? (bijvoorbeeld op basis van afkomst of religie)
5. Hoe zou jij "straat cultuur" omschrijven?
    a. Ervaar jij dit als een "probleem" in de wijk?
    b. Kunnen anderen mensen (volwassenen) iets leren van de "straat cultuur"?

V Moreel burgerschap

1. Welk gedrag juich jij toe? (Wanneer vind jij dat iemand zich goed gedraagt?)
2. Wat voor soort gedrag keur jij af? (Wanneer vind jij dat iemand zich niet goed gedraagt?)
3. Wat zijn volgens jou belangrijke vaardigheden/kennis om je "goed/passend" te gedragen?
    a. Is dit per situatie anders?
4. Zijn er mensen in de wijk waar je respect voor hebt?
    a. Waarom? Kan je de eigenschappen van deze mensen omschrijven?
5. Spreek jij iemand aan als je diegene een ander niet gelijk behandelt ziet worden?
    a. En wanneer je ziet dat iemand respectloos wordt behandeld?
    b. Hoe zou je dit aanpakken?
    c. Zou het een verschil zijn als je deze persoon persoonlijk kent?
6. Als jij iemand een gunst verleent/helpt, verwacht je dan dat de ander jouw een gunst terug doet?
    a. En andersom?
    b. Zou je iemand een gunst verlenen aan iemand die op je lijkt? (bijvoorbeeld op basis van leeftijd of afkomst)
    c. Is dit per situatie anders? (bv. Als je een vriend een gunst verleent in vergelijking met je ouder/verzorger)

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Appendix 8: Interview guide youngsters (English)

I Introduction
1. What is your name and age?
2. In what neighbourhood do you reside? (Morgenstond, Moerwijk, Bouwlust of Vrederust?
3. For how long do you reside in this neighbourhood?
4. What is your ethnic background?

II Political citizenship
1. Can you describe to what extent you are engaged into politics?
    a. What would motivate you to be more engaged?
2. To what extent do you consider it is important you, and your peers and adults, are politically engaged?
3. Do you in general trust politicians?
    a. Do you in general have trust your voice makes a difference?
4. To what extent do you feel you are respected by politicians?
    a. Do you have the trust people/politicians do genuinely listen to you?
5. To what extent do you consider it important that according to Article 1 in the constitution, everyone should be treated equally in the role you have for *Stichting Vreedzaam?*

Article 1: *"All persons in the Netherlands shall be treated equally in equal circumstances. Discrimination on the grounds of religion, belief, political opinion, race or sex or on any other grounds whatsoever shall not be permitted."*

III Social citizenship
1. Could you explain to me whether you think everyone should be treated with respect?
    c. How do you treat each other in a respectful manner?
    d. To what extent do you think respect is something you have to earn?
    e. If you are treated in a disrespectful manner, how do you react to this?
2. With what behaviour do you treat others in an equal manner?
    a. Are there people who in advance you cannot or do not want to treat in an equal manner?
3. Are you being treated equally in The Hague?
    a. Do you experience that in some places you are treated with more or less respect?
4. Do you in general have trust you are treated equally by others?
    a. Why?
5. To what, if, do you pay attention to estimate whether you can trust another person?
    a. Does the environment play apart in this?

IV Cultural citizenship
1. Could you describe to how your upbringing have taught you how to treat others with respect?

a. How do you translate this into your everyday life?
2. Do you have norms and values that are deviant from those you have learnt at home or at school?learneduld you explain to me if you treat people with respect who have deviant norms and values compared to yourself (for example based on religion or sexuality)?
3. Could you explain to me if you in general connect easier with someone who shares the same norms and values? (for example, based on ethnic background or sexuality)
4. How would you describe "street culture"?
    a. Do you experience this as a "problem" in the neighbourhood?
    b. Do you think others (adults) can learn something from street culture?

V Moral citizenship
1. What kind of behaviour do you encourage?
2. What kind of behaviour do you discourage?
3. What are important skills/knowledge to express "good" behaviour?
   a. Does this differ per situation?
4. Are there people in the neighbourhood whom you respect in particular?
   a. Why? Could you describe their traits?
5. Do you stand up when you see an individual another individual treat unequally?
   a. And in the case of disrespect?
   b. How would you approach this?
   c. Would it make a difference if you would know this person?
6. If you provide someone with a favour, do you expect something in return?
   a. And the other way around?
   b. Would you do someone a favour if that person is similar to you? (for example, based on ethnic background or religion)
   c. Does this differ per situation? (for example when it is your friend compared to when this is an adult?)