NEGLECTED IN THEIR TRANSITIONS: SECOND GENERATION MUSLIM YOUTH SEARCH FOR SUPPORT IN A CONTEXT OF ISLAMAPHOBIA

by

MAYIDA ZAAL

A dissertation submitted to Graduate Faculty in Urban Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2009

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the
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dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Nicholas M. Michelli

_____ _____
Date Chair of Examining Committee

Anthony Picciano

_____ _____
Date Executive Officer

Michelle Fine

Carmen Mercado

Carola Suárez-Orozco
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSTY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

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Mayida Zaal

Adviser: Professor Nicholas Michelli

In the Netherlands, anxieties about immigrants, Islam, and the preservation of Dutch values have amplified fears of Muslim youth despite the public discourse of tolerance. While the burgeoning second-generation of Dutch-born Muslim youth faces discrimination in the public sphere, the labor market, and school, they search for services to support their efforts to navigate the formally tracked system of schooling. This dissertation reports on a year-long, qualitative study conducted in Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Research questions focused on second-generation Muslim youth (mostly of Moroccan origin) and their experiences in youth programs created to support their educational needs.

The study employed ethnographic methods including participant observations, focus groups, in- depth interviews with youth, and interviews with adults (namely, program coordinators, mentors/instructors, community leaders, and teachers). Youth (N=25) and adult (N=25) participants were recruited from youth programs citywide. Data from different participant groups were triangulated to identify patterns, contradictions or outliers that confirmed, challenged or supported findings focused on the experiences of youth. Additionally, theories of ecological contexts and intersectionality informed the

interrogation of the multiple identities embodied by immigrant-origin youth and the social and policies forces that create the conditions under which they live.

Findings indicate that two overarching discursive themes - tolerance and criminality - penetrate every experience for Muslim youth. These dominant discourses affect the structure and the content of youth programs, often interfering with the goals of youth workers. Nonetheless, there are significant benefits to those who participate in youth programs; they engage with caring adults who provide safe havens and important academic support.

Theoretically, the study's conclusions point to the *accumulation of burden* Muslim youth experience within a context of Islamaphobia. Moreover, results of this study highlight the need for greater support at *critical junctures* and transitions within the Dutch system of schooling. Findings have implications for how programs serve the educational needs of immigrant youth; specifically, the study raises questions about repressive policies and funding constraints that affect the services youth programs can offer.

Acknowledgements

It's hard to believe that it has been five years since I began this process of graduate school – coursework, followed by fieldwork, and then writing. What has been most significant are the people I have met along the way and those I have brought along on the journey with me. At the end of this amazing, confusing, painful, and joyous experience, I feel most fortunate to have travelled literally and figuratively to many places I can call home.

The nurturing I have received at my home institution has been remarkable. I would first like to thank my dissertation adviser, Nicholas Michelli, who gave tirelessly of his time and his support. Also in Urban Education, Carmen Mercado has been an incredible mentor helping me flesh out my initial ideas about this work. Christine Saieh, thank you for your help with all of the bureaucratic minutia that can come up in graduate school. You really helped to ease the pain. I would also like to thank Carola Suarez-Orozco at NYU for mentoring me and for giving me the opportunity to participate in the cross-Atlantic project that led me to Amsterdam.

Fortunately, I have spent the past five years at an institution that is happy to share its students and faculty across departments. As a result, I felt quite at home in other departments, namely the Middle East and Middle Eastern American Center where Anny Bakalian and Mehdi Bozorgmehr who were like older siblings were always ready to offer a challenge while looking out for my best interest. I am grateful to those in the Social Personality Psychology program who allowed me to infiltrate and benefit from your amazing resources. Thank you Michelle Fine for sharing your work with me early on and giving me the opening to respond, challenge and create. I am eternally grateful for all of

the opportunities you have shared with me. The folks in the Participatory Action Research Collective have been a constant source of inspiration!

Then there's my home in Amsterdam. Thank you to the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) for hosting me during my fieldwork year. I am most grateful to Maurice Crul who provided me with mentoring and guidance during this enriching experience. Also, I would like to thank Maria Bruquetas, Frans Lelie, and Helga de Valk. The additions to my extended family that I found in Amsterdam have enriched me in more ways than I can describe. Hakima Aouragh this study and this dissertation would not have been possible with you. Your commitment to young people and your unwavering sense of justice were exceptional. Miriyam, thank you for sharing your home, your activism, and your intellectual spaces with me! Thank you to all of the colleagues and the amazingly generous friends in Amsterdam who helped me make sense of this complicated space – Shifra, Sonja, Fatima el-Bouk, Andrew, and Mohammad.

Then there are those at home in NJ and NY who have been by my side and pushed me along when I needed a really good push. Vanessa, Ruby, Asma, Amy, Gail, Sue B., Janet, Julie, Maya, Janine, Jeannette, Bridget, Trish, Iris, Pat F., Maddalena, Sue Z., Missy, Patty, Lillian, Eunjung, and Paula. Thank you for cheering me on, for reading, for listening, and for helping me stay focused. You are all a part of this work!

Then there are the sisters in this struggle whose experiences and wisdom I have benefited from immensely – Darla, Patricia, and Jessica – The Dissertation Writing Group. I don't know where I would be without you, but I know I would not be here. Anna, Reva, and Ana Maria thank you for your loving and generous support. Thank you Gil Schmerler at Bank Street for supporting my scholarship early on.

Finally my family: Madre thank you so much for always dreaming with me and nurturing my creativity. Thank you to my siblings and my familia on both the Castaño and the Zaal side. Papi and Abuelita I wish you could have been here to share this with me. To my nieces and nephews – thank you for being such an inspiration and for fueling my purpose to create change for your future! Finally, my dear, kind, loving Hank – thank you for making me laugh every single day! You truly bring me joy!

Acknowledgement of Funding

Funding for this research was provided by:

- The National Science Foundation through the Children of Immigrants in Schools Project
- Ralph Bunche Institute at the Graduate Center – CUNY
- American Association for University Women

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CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

> One never gets over the hurt of not being supported; of being discouraged in school by teachers who don't think you can do it. When my Dutch friends did well in school they were told, "Oh, you're smart. You're a natural." I was bored in class because I didn't feel I was being challenged, so I stopped attending certain classes. When I graduated at the top of my class that year, the question was raised, "How did she do that?" Then they asked me if I was interested in being moved to a higher level (VWO). I of course then refused, as I wanted to leave that particular school as soon as possible.

Aliah, whose story appears above, had attended a well-rated primary school and lived in a middle-class neighborhood in Amsterdam. She thought her teachers believed in her, and the deception she felt when she experienced otherwise scarred her. She told me of being in her first year of secondary school (U.S. Grade 7) and of being advised to move to a lower level the following year because it would be better for her; it would guarantee she would do well. "I didn't know, so I said, 'Ok,'" she told me. She believed what her teachers recommended as she thought they had her best interest in mind. Her teachers' reason for placing her in the lower track, as well as their surprise at her outstanding ability, were fueled by the dominant images of biologically inferior people, and these deficit constructs interfered with her educational opportunities.

Aliah, now a 24 year-old graduate student, shared with me one evening as we sat discussing her experiences and the extent to which she was challenged with navigating school in a discriminatory context and with no support. She explained what others have

written about (Crul, 2000), that the practice of assigning certain youth, namely of color and/or working-class, to lower academic tracks began pre-immigration boom. When I asked where she found the strength and encouragement to do well, she explained, "There weren't really any role models or support systems." Nonetheless, Aliah continued her studies elsewhere and was a very successful student as a result of her self-propelled motivation and determination.

Growing up in the Netherlands as a young woman of Moroccan origin, Aliah's educational and developmental experiences were adversely affected by the racist messages she received from her teachers. Fortunately, and in spite of a lack of guidance available to help her cope with the challenges, living in a society that viewed her as a second-rate citizen did not completely thwart her efforts. Today, largely in response to the concerns about the potential radicalization of youth, the opportunity gap that exists in schools, and the perceived lack of social cohesion, a plethora of programs exist in Amsterdam to address the needs of immigrant-origin youth (including Moroccan youth). This dissertation reports on research that examined the experiences of Dutch-born Muslim youth and the support they received from youth programs that may have mitigated (or exacerbated) experiences like those lived by Aliah; the study tells parallel stories – the experiences of Muslim youth in Amsterdam who seek support as they try to find their way through the Dutch school system while their families and their cultural-ethnic-religious group struggles with an increasingly hostile nation-state.

Introduction

Muslim youth in the Netherlands, like other immigrant groups in Europe originating from Muslim countries, have been thrust into the public's spotlight (Jonker &

Amiraux, 2006, p. 112; Vertovec & Rogers, 1998). As a result of heightened fear following the September 11 attacks in the U.S. and the London and Madrid bombings, contentious debates about Islam's presence in Europe have spread throughout the continent. Moreover, in the Netherlands, anxieties about immigrants, Islam, and the preservation of Dutch values have generated fears of the Muslim second generation[1]. These social and political tensions have intensified hostile attitudes towards Muslim immigrants, resulting in greater discrimination in the public sphere, by institutions, and in the labor market (Thomson & Crul, 2007). Additionally, this climate of fear has led to an increase in the criminalization of youth, particularly those of Moroccan origin (Martineau, 2006).

For many young Muslims, their efforts to gain access into the higher tracks of secondary school are often complicated by the popular (and contradictory) discourse of "tolerance." Muslim youth born in the Netherlands must struggle with and make sense of racial prejudice and Islamophobia while having to dodge the discriminatory slurs hurled by politicians and the media. For instance, a current member of the Dutch Parliament is widely quoted, supported, and also challenged for claiming that a "tsunami of Islam"[2] is fast approaching and fellow Dutch women and men must heed the warning (Elsevier,

[1] While demographers in the Netherlands separate out first and second generation, those with at least one foreign-born parent are considered to have a foreign background (http://www.cbs.nl/en-GB/menu/themas/dossiers/allochtonen/nieuws/default.htm). In schools and in social and political spheres, anyone with a foreign background is referred to as an "allochtoon" or foreigner.

[2] According to statistics for the city of Amsterdam, nine percent of the city's residents are of Moroccan origin and five percent are of Turkish origin; and it is believed "that a majority of the Turks and Moroccans identify themselves as Muslims" (Slootman & Tillie, 2006).

2006). Moreover, newspaper headlines demonizing Moroccan[3] youth specifically have become a common and widely accepted occurrence[4]. Yet it is in this type of hostile climate that Muslim youth are expected to shape, develop, and negotiate their social identities – identities expected to be compatible with the country's "integration" project.

In addition to the social scrutiny they encounter, Muslim youth in the Netherlands must contend with multiple obstacles as they traverse the educational system. Most Muslim youth live in segregated neighborhoods where they attend segregated schools known as "zwarte scholen"[5] (black schools), and they are identified as one of the immigrant groups with the poorest educational outcomes as compared to their native Dutch counterparts (Crul, 2003). As they advance through an educational system that formally tracks students by the time they are 12 years old, most Muslim youth find themselves sorted into the lower tracks of either vocational or secondary education (Crul & Holdaway, 2009), sometimes with little or no opportunity for pursuing higher education. Nonetheless, many of them seek out after-school programs, tutoring, weekend schools, and mentoring to support their educational endeavors. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, youth programs appeared to be interesting sites of possibility,

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[3] While the use of "Moroccan" as an ethnic label does not account for the fact that many young people of Moroccan origin are born and raised in the Netherlands, I use this term because it is the label used in the media. More importantly, it is used by most youth belonging to the Moroccan Dutch second generation to identify themselves. Moreover, there is no tradition in the Netherlands of using hyphenated identities such as the ones common in the U.S (i.e., Arab-American).

[4] A recent article that appeared on the website of Radio Netherlands Worldwide with the headline "Holland's violent black sheep" claims that "young people…mainly from Morocco" are the perpetrators causing an increase in "petty and violent crime" in Dutch cities (Beauchemin, 2007, August 16).

[5] According to education officials, schools are identified as zwarte scholen "if more 70% of its pupils have low-skilled or non-western parents….In 2005 there were 319 'black' schools in the Netherlands" (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2007).

offering both practical resources (i.e., tutoring and mentoring) and opportunities to develop relationships with adults and successful peers that can help foster attachment to school.

Developing Research Questions

In 2006, prior to designing this study, I had the opportunity to meet with coordinators and participants in several community organizations and programs working with second generation Muslim youth in Amsterdam. The young people my colleagues[6] and I interviewed during this pilot visit were all 'successful" in the sense that they were in or on their way to higher education but had taken the long-route to get there; nonetheless, they had struggled and endured in spite of the non-academic tracks to which they were relegated. During the interviews, I heard youth express their concerns about national policies of integration, the lack of access to higher education, the vocational tracks (in which many Muslim youth were placed), and the lack of opportunities in the job market (even for those who were able to complete bachelors and masters degrees). The information gathered through these interviews helped shape the questions I had about the role youth-serving institutions played in providing immigrant origin youth (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001) with the resources they needed to overcome the educational obstacles they encountered.

As a hopeful junior scholar, I felt idealistic; the youth programs seemed like promising sites in which to learn effective practices in youth development, particularly within immigrant communities. I was impressed by the ways the young adults (ages 18 to

[6] The pilot visit was my first introduction to the team of scholars with whom I would be working as part of the larger National Science Foundation (NSF) study – The Children of Immigrants in Schools – that funded the fieldwork for this dissertation research.

24) I met supported each other by sharing social capital in terms of networks and connections to jobs and educational opportunities. My hopes were raised by the possibility that these community youth programs were "counterpublics" (Fraser, 1993 cited in (Weis & Fine, 2004), or "spaces where adults and youth can challenge the very exclusionary practices currently existing in public institutions" (Weis & Fine, 2004, p. 124). After years of working in urban public schools in the U.S., I was hopeful that there were other possibilities, other spaces that would disrupt the reproduction of inequity. I envisioned protective spaces that encouraged intellectual and social interactions among youth and adults, where the positive development of youth was a priority over the government's need to maintain social order. I decided to embark on a study that would explore the kinds of successful and promising practices that capitalized on the strengths (i.e., social and cultural capital) of immigrant communities (Carter, 2003a; Stanton-Salazar, 2001, 2004; Yosso, 2005).

As a result of this initial visit, the research questions I proposed were:

1. To what extent do Moroccan-origin youth have access to supports and resources to help them navigate the Dutch school system?
2. What is the role of community organizations and programs in providing educational and cultural supports and creating access to resources?
3. How can the constructs of social and cultural capital be used to understand the process by which Moroccan youth access resources embedded in their social networks?

While I took into consideration the social conditions, the political tensions, and the educational obstacles facing Muslim youth in the Netherlands when designing this

study, my initial ideas and questions where complicated by the realities I witnessed shortly after my return to Amsterdam in 2007. I discovered that the issues affecting the lives of Muslim youth were much more complex than I had initially gleaned, and I needed to expand my gaze beyond the youth programs they attended. I found a situation very different from what I had initially imagined; in practice, youth programs were filled with contradictions and seemed to reproduce the dominant group's ideologies. The toxicity of the racist discourse was palpable and contaminated everything. Furthermore, religious identity trumped ethnicity (Foner & Alba, 2008), and the discourses focused on the Muslim "Other" (Essed & Trienekens, 2008; Goldberg, 2006), which, consequently shifted my focus from an ethnic identity category (i.e., Moroccan) to a religious (i.e., Muslim) one.

Even though the methodological design remained similar to my original proposal, as a result of the data gathered during the initial phase of my fieldwork year, the research questions were modified to reflect the urgent conversations echoed by participants across multiple levels. While I still wanted to locate my study institutionally within youth programs, the reality of the social, political, and economic forces and the effects on youth's day-to-day experiences meant that I needed to delve more deeply to understand how these discourses penetrated young people's lives, the kind of support they received from the youth programs they attended, and how these supports intersected with the discourses that permeated the context. Equally important was understanding how these overlapping and contradictory discourses affected the educational opportunities of youth, particularly those transitioning from primary to secondary school. As a result, the focus on access to social capital within immigrant communities via youth programs shifted to

account for the discursive practices that, at best, seemed to thwart even the greatest intentions of youth workers and dampen young people's motivation.

Moreover, during my brief visit in 2006, it was not clear to me that the youth-serving institutions in which I was interested were not grassroots organizations that operated with any independence. Therefore, referring to these programs as community-based was inaccurate. While they were strategically located within immigrant neighborhoods and while some had originated from community-based efforts, these youth programs were accountable to state mandates and requirements as a result of their funding structures. As a result of integration policies and concerns about the radicalization of Muslim youth, these state-funded youth services included youth centers, mentoring programs, and even partnerships between police and youth centers that provided prevention and rehabilitation programs for young people who might have come in contact with the police (Martineau, 2006). Therefore, I decided to search for youth programs that provided "supplemental education" (Zhou & Kim, 2006) activities that supported young people's educational endeavors. These included homework assistance, enrichment and leadership development, and mentoring.

Subsequently, the research questions were modified as follows:

1. How do Muslim youth in the Netherlands experience youth programs created to support their educational needs and to help them navigate Dutch society?
2. What is the role of youth programs in providing educational and cultural support and creating access to resources?
3. To what extent do dominant Dutch integration discourses positively or negatively affect the educational opportunities offered Muslim youth by

programs created to serve them? How do young Muslim participants perceive these discursive messages?

The research questions guiding this study emanate from two related starting points. Firstly (and most importantly) the narratives of second generation Muslims born and raised in the Netherlands and educated in the Dutch school system were the primary point of departure during the data collection phase and the simultaneous and subsequent analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Secondly, the general methodology and everyday practices of the programs created to serve young people's educational needs provided the institutional framework from which to understand their experiences. Lastly, recognizing that the individual participants and institutions were affected by public and political discourses, I searched for connections between the macro, meso, and micro worlds of youth.

Relevant Literature

At the center of this study are questions about resources, the roles of communities, educational policies and practices and the social and political contexts in which immigrant origin-youth find themselves. The primary theoretical constructs that guided this research included research that recognizes the significant role played by youth programs in educating youth of color and that identifies social and cultural capital within immigrant communities. Moreover, the ecological scope (Bronfenbrenner, 1977) of this study was influenced and informed by research originating in Europe and the U.S. based on studies that decontextualize young people's experiences by narrowly focusing on the role of families and individual factors affecting youth (Eldering, 1997; Franz, 2007; Pels, 2000).

Inspired by literature that addresses community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005), and the social and cultural capital and resources that exist within ethnic, cultural and religious immigrant communities (Bankston, Caldas, & Zhou, 1997; Carter, 2003b; Lin, 1999, 2005; Mercado & Moll, 1997; Stanton-Salazar, 2001, 2004; Zhou & Kim, 2006), this study sought to understand young people's experiences at the intersection of state and local policies and practices. Of primary interests were contradictory practices that speak to inclusion but enact exclusion (Maira & Soep, 2005; Opotow, 2005; Young, 2000). Additionally, I wanted to uncover what Dutch social scientist Philomena Essed (1990) calls the "everyday experiences with racism" that play out in the microcosm of school, community programs, and Muslim youth's neighborhoods.

Propelled by in an interest in understanding "communities of interaction" (Pollock, 2008, p. 375), beyond schools, where young people interact with adults and peers who could affect their educational trajectories, this study focused on youth programs as sites of development, engagement, and learning. It builds on research that speak to the resources available within immigrant communities in terms of the positive roles they play (Crul, 2003), the social capital they posses (Stanton-Salazar, 2001; 2004), and the consequences of their limitations (Zhou & Kim, 2006).

While research questions shifted away from a primary focus on social and cultural capital, these constructs were relevant in terms of identifying the reproduction of the dominant culture and the lack of access Muslim youth had to social capital. In that regard, Bourdieu's (1986) concepts of cultural and social capital provide the basic definitions used in this study. The difference between Bourdieu's notions of cultural capital and social capital, according to Stanton-Salazar (2001), is that cultural capital can

be used by the dominant class to wield power over those with less power. Furthermore, because social capital can potentially provide young people access to resources as they move through their education, their "lack" of the "right" cultural capital can act as an impediment; both of these forms of capital are relevant to the context of schooling. To extend Bourdieu's framework, I used Stanton-Salazar's (2001) construct, which looks at the formation of social capital for immigrant-origin youth within the context of working-class communities.

Stanton-Salazar (2001) builds on Bourdieu's (1986) theory by adding that "a social capital network founded on a recognition of power dynamics and societal inequality sensitizes us to the kinds of ecological contexts in which many minority and low-status youth grow up" (p. 33). In particular, he critiques Bourdieu (1986) for not acknowledging that while social capital must be activated in order for it to have value, there are reproductive structures that impede this process.

Another significant component of Stanton-Salazar's (2001) theory of social capital is his inclusion of adolescents as social agents, cultural reproducers, and social capital transmitters. While identifying that a significant barrier to forming social capital is the highly stratified social structure, Stanton-Salazar acknowledges the agency young people have and their participation within these embedded social fields. His research and critical analysis help to contextualize the reality of the lives of immigrant-origin youth and gain a deeper understanding of the complicated issues they face in trying to gain access to social capital.

Existing research on immigrant communities finds that a family's social position can affect the extent to which second generation immigrant youth have access to

resources, including social networks. Yet in my review of the research, I found European studies on the role of community agents lacking, and, of those that exist, most use theories of social and cultural capital to create a deficit construction of immigrant communities (Driessen, 2001) by framing the cultural and social capital they offer youth as lacking. Rare were the studies that acknowledge what Yosso (2005) calls the "cultural wealth" that can be found in immigrant communities in the Netherlands (Crul, 2003). Additionally, research that focuses on the behavioral acculturation and identification of Moroccan youth further reproduces a culture of poverty perspective (Stevens, Pels, Vollebergh, & Crijnen, 2004) by not taking into account contextual factors that affect the degree of acculturation or the extent of one's identification with the host culture. Furthermore, in my searches, I came across numerous studies about Moroccan youth and the Dutch educational system that focused on the family as a source of conflict or as a limitation (Pels, 2000). These problematic constructs separate families and youth from their context and do not account for the effects discriminatory forces (e.g., segregated housing) on family systems.

Significance of Research

This research study makes a valuable contribution to the academic literature that explores the experiences of immigrant-origin youth in general and Muslim youth in the Netherlands specifically. It situates findings in the larger context of a nation-state and explores how the political and structural forces that exist affect young people's experiences and their access to educational opportunities and support. As outlined in the relevant literature, the majority of research about Muslim immigrant youth in the Netherlands utilizes deficit constructs that serve to reproduce the inequity that exists.

Specifically, this study builds on positive youth development research by arguing that youth programs can provide supplemental education services that help close the opportunity gap that exists between Muslim youth and their native Dutch counterparts. Additionally, it documents the value of community agents who help to support the educational process of immigrant children. Moreover, it highlights youth programs as spaces of resistance, or counterpublics, that can mitigate the unfair practices of tracking. Young people in this study, and adults who work with them, disrupt the prevailing stereotypes of Muslim youth in the Netherlands and challenge the reproduction of the dominant culture as the only culture that has value. Finally, it underscores the needs of immigrant-origin youth and the responsibility of institutional agents to serve them better and to avoid becoming obstacles to their success.

The Organization of the Dissertation

The chapters that comprise this dissertation connect the macro forces of the state to the experiences of Muslim youth within youth-serving institutions. The chapter that follows, Chapter 2 provides an overview of the Dutch context to help situate the Netherlands and, specifically, Amsterdam. A brief synopsis that explains the history of migration to the Netherlands is also provided in an effort to historicize the findings of this study. Moreover, a description of the Dutch school system and youth policy is presented.

Chapter 3 explicates the study design, the sample, and the methods used to answer the study's research questions. Furthermore, it offers an exploration of the researcher's positionality and theoretical framework that grounded the study design and the analysis of data.

By disentangling the multiple ways that tolerance as a Dutch value and discourses of the criminality of Muslim youth manifest, Chapter 4 presents findings that help to create a framework in which to understand the experiences of Muslim immigrant youth throughout the social, political, and cultural spheres of Dutch life.

In Chapters 5, findings that illuminate young people's experiences in youth-serving institutions are presented. By examining the ways in which youth programs reproduced, challenged, or resisted the dominant discourses by responding to the demands of the state and the expectations of the Dutch populace, this chapter connects the effect discourses have on youth serving-institutions. The concluding chapter, Chapter 6, presents a convergence of findings and the theoretical contributions that emerged from this study.

While the methods of analysis will be articulated in depth in Chapter 2, for the purposes of understanding the structure and the format of the chapters, it is important to note that all findings triangulate multiple perspectives offered by youth and adult participants to illuminate the contradictions and the patterns. Moreover, the findings of this study and the corresponding analysis, are presented as a parallel conversation using a method articulated by Jennifer Ayala (2005) in a study of first generation college-bound youth in the U.S. Inspired by mestiza consciousness theorists such as Anzaldua (1999), Ayala responds to findings in a fluid manner, which does not detach the researcher's analysis into a separate discussion section. Furthermore, considering the applicability and migration of my "Americanized" academic lens to the Dutch context, literature that helps explicate the findings of this study emerges primarily from critical studies within the European context in general and the Dutch context specifically.

CHAPTER 2 – THE DUTCH CONTEXT

Beyond the temporal and situational circumstances of the present (Revenson, 1990), we move through this world with history surrounding us; thus, in thinking about the Dutch context, it is important to keep the "historical record" (Cross, 2003) in mind – Moroccans as colonized people, the Dutch as colonizers, Europe's feudal history, and migrants as laborers, to name a few important contextual facts. How do these historical legacies influence the present conditions in the Netherlands? What was/is the historical, political, and economic relationship between the two countries that facilitated recruitment and migration of Moroccans to the Netherlands? How do legacies inform the policies affecting immigrants and their education in the Netherlands? These questions point to the significance of historicizing (Cross, 2003) and contextualizing this study. They provide the reader with an understanding of the particulars of the Dutch case (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000) and the multiple historical legacies that intersect to create important frames used in the analysis of the findings.

This chapter will begin by providing an overview of the Netherlands, followed by a brief history of migration of North Africans, back-dropped by a Dutch colonial legacy used to perpetuate the Orientalist (Said, 1979) constructions of the "feared" Muslim. The historical overview will be followed by immigration policies that explain the Dutch focus on integration and social cohesion. An awareness of these policies leads to an understanding of the lives of Moroccans in Amsterdam, specifically in terms of housing and in the labor market. After establishing this broad context, a description of the Moroccan second generation in the Netherlands will be provided. The chapter will conclude with an explanation of the Dutch school system.

Because the majority of the youth participants in this study were of Moroccan origin, much of the history and statistics presented in this chapter is specific to the Dutch Moroccan population. Nevertheless, on a daily basis Dutch discourse and practices confound Moroccans and other North Africans, who are subject to the same treatment. Additionally, where appropriate, statistical descriptive information about Turkish as well as Moroccan Muslim will be presented, as Turks are one of the two largest groups of Muslims in the Netherlands. Whenever possible, the statistics presented in this chapter will refer to the year 2007 in order to coincide with the period of extended field study.

Overview of the Netherlands: Spotlight on Amsterdam

With a constitutional monarch serving as its ceremonial head, the Netherlands is governed by a democratic parliament. It is considered an affluent country with a strong economy that provides social services within the context of a welfare state.

The total population of the Netherlands at 16.5 million people is densely populated over 16,485 square miles (slightly less than twice the size of the U.S. state of New Jersey). Amsterdam, the Netherlands' largest city, had an official population of 742,884 as of January 2008 (Statistics Netherlands., 2008). However, because of the over one million tourists that visit Amsterdam every year, the city feels more crowded.

The total population of Muslim citizens in the Netherlands is estimated to be about 1 million, or 6% of the total population, compared to Amsterdam where the population of Muslims is more than double at about 12.7% of the total population (Slootman & Tillie, 2006). Because of its belief in secularity, the Dutch state does not allow the census bureau (CBS) to gather data about religious practices of Dutch citizens. Therefore, the estimate of eth number of Muslims in the Netherlands is based on the

number of people who are foreign born or who have at least one foreign-born parent from a predominantly Muslim country. While the estimated number of Muslims is comprised primarily of the Moroccan and Turkish first and second generation, Dutch Muslims also originate from Pakistan, Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, Suriname, and India. Moreover, new Muslims arrive from war-torn countries, seeking asylum, namely, from Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and Somalia. Generally, asylum seekers are more secular along a spectrum of religiosity; however, the public perception is that they are very religious. Additionally, public discourses about Moroccans are applied to other ethnic groups that are identified with Islam. Therefore, in the Dutch context, different ethnic groups are confounded, and migration status and ethnic origin are trumped by groups' and individual's perceived religion (Foner & Alba, 2008). As I will show in Chapter 4, these negative discourses about Moroccans, which then get applied to all youth who are perceived to be Muslim, portray them as unwilling to learn Dutch, unwilling to assimilate to Dutch culture, and as dangerous.

History of Immigration

The history of Moroccan immigration to the Netherlands dates back to the 1960s and 1970s. Prior to this period, the Netherlands had already experienced migration from post-colonial nations, including the Island of Molluca and Indonesia. Immigrants from Spain, Portugal, Turkey, and Morocco began arriving during the 1960s (Lucassen, 2005). While the largest group originated mainly from Morocco, there were a small number of migrants from other North African countries including Egypt, Algeria, and Tunisia.

Recruited through guest worker programs common to many Western European nations in the post-war period (Koopman, Statham, Giugni, Passy, 2005), it was expected

that the Moroccan and Turkish men who had been recruited in their own countries by the Dutch government or by corporate entities to work in the Netherlands would only stay so long as they were needed. As a result of this "'myth of return,' it was considered unnecessary to integrate these migrants fully into Dutch society; thus, the government aimed only to provide them with good living conditions" (Ersanili, 2007, p. 5). Speaking about the settlement process of immigrants in Europe, Dutch historian Leo Lucassen (2005) explains the differentiated approach applied to those originating from Muslim countries,

> Guest workers from Turkey and North Africa were initially welcomed, as they would "help out" and keep the economic engine roaring. Employers, politicians, and the media were positive about these migrants, and there is evidence that the population at large was much less against these new comers than they would be later on. However, when it became clear that the Turks and Moroccans were there to stay, and they started bringing over their families during the 1970s and 1980s, the climate changed (p. 203).

In his historical analysis, Lucassen explains that the treatment that Muslim immigrants received in the Netherlands was similar to that experienced by those who migrated to other parts of Europe. Moreover, it differed from the settlement experience of Spaniards, Italians, or Portuguese decades earlier. Many of the internal European migrants returned to their countries of origin once their respective country's economy had improved. Those who stayed, as in the case of the Italians in France, were celebrated for settling. However, in the Netherlands, there were no efforts made to integrate these so-called temporary guest workers (i.e., Muslims) into Dutch society. Instead, many of them were confined to

cramped boarding houses provided by factory owners. Additionally, conditions in many of these factories were often hazardous to guest workers; many who ended up unable to work were classified as disabled as a result of the dangerous working conditions.

Through family reunification in the 1970s, women and children followed men migrating to the Netherlands from Morocco. This new flow of Moroccan migrants brought with them families and children who began to populate schools as first and second generation Moroccans living in the Netherlands. Schools found themselves in the position of educating newcomers for whom they were not prepared. Teachers were not prepared to serve the needs of second-language learners, and many children were left back because they could not speak Dutch at a level equal to that of a native speaker (Ersanili, 2007).

Schools and other groups pressured the government to initiate programs and policies to allocate resources that would help deal with the "crisis" of educating second-language learners. In the 1980s, cooperation began between different agencies and institutions to help close the "academic" gap and deal with all of the children who were held back; local districts began to create programs to address their needs. While establishing services for young people, the government and collaborating agencies were creating deficit categories to group young people they intended to serve: not high risk, high risk, and "criminal" kids. Moreover, investing in youth through sports, school, and work had begun, but the larger issue of children being left back was not being resolved.

While new migration from Morocco to the Netherlands waned after the 1970s, marriage migration in the 1980s became the primary reason of movement between Morocco and the Netherlands. In an effort to curb new migration through marriage, a

policy passed in 2003 made the process of acquiring a Dutch resident's visa for a spouse quite difficult and restrictive for those coming from "undesired" countries (van Wichelen, 2009, March 28). As a result, these different generational groups have produced various cohorts of second generation Moroccan Dutch children. Although Moroccan migration began some 40 to 50 years ago, and settlement of Moroccans has been established as a reality, many Dutch policy documents and government reports continue to refer to Moroccans as migrants or as ethnic minorities.

Integration of Immigrants

The concept of Dutch integration was first introduced in 1981 as part of a policy called the Minorities Memorandum. Nonetheless, Vermeulen (1997) explains its definition was not clearly and widely debated. Therefore, what began as an effort to help minorities maintain their cultural identity, eventually morphed into what it is today, a policy centered on assimilating immigrants into Dutch culture and values. In a country profile published by the Hamburg Institute of International Economics, Ersanili (2007) explains that, "diversity is increasingly seen as something that obstructs integration into Dutch society" (p. 1). Furthermore, the major challenge of a diverse society in the Netherlands is defined by Intercultural Dialogue, a website for the European Institute for Comparative Cultural Research, as a "growing alienation between different sections of the population, [namely a] confrontation between religions and value systems." The growing division is readily blamed on the presence of the almost 1 million Muslims living in the Netherlands. As a result of the belief that previous efforts to create a cohesive society failed, a shift in both policy and ideology occurred, one that required

Muslim immigrants to assimilate into Dutch society by abandoning their loyalties to culture and religion (Buijs, 2009).

Housing and the Labor Market

The primary concerns about Muslims living in the Netherlands focus on the social hostility they experience and their exclusion from fair housing and the labor market. Anyone with a foreign background is referred to as an *allochtonen,* or foreigner, and most allochtonen live in segregated neighborhoods; yet the prevailing discourse does not consider the exclusionary practices that led to the geographic isolation. While Amsterdam is the least segregated of the four largest Dutch cities - Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht – for there to be an "even spread of non-Western *allochtonen* across Amsterdam, 36.3% of them would have to move to another neighborhood" (SPC, 2005 cited in Ersanili, 2007, p. 3). The majority of the immigrant neighborhoods are located in Amsterdam's periphery, namely in local districts or suburbs away from the city's center. These neighborhoods are often pejoratively referred to as "dish cities," a reference to television satellites being the predominant markers of Turkish and Moroccan neighborhoods.

Like the housing discrimination faced by Moroccan immigrants, the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2006) reports that:

> Research in the Netherlands found that the reasons for the disadvantaged position of ethnic minorities in the labour market included negative stereotyping and discrimination. Many employers were found to give preference to native Dutch people "to avoid risks" (although employers who had experience with employees from ethnic groups were much more positive). Employees in services such as

> banks and employment agencies reported that their customers sometimes make it known in advance that they do not want to encounter ethnic minority employees (p. 47).

These discriminatory practices have resulted in staggering unemployment rates. According to a Dutch government report, "In 2006, only 38.7% of Moroccans and 43.9% of Turks aged 15-64 had a job. Unemployment was 17.2% among Moroccans and 15.1% among Turks, about 4 times the level among autochtoon Dutch: 4.3%" (Esanili, 2007, p. 3). Further, The Institute for Multicultural Development (2008) report that " the higher unemployment rates can be attributed to the high occurrence of youth unemployment within non-Western communities [including Muslims]" (p. 25). Additionally, the Netherlands Institute for Social Research reports that while in 2006 there was "a positive trend" among young people and those with a "low education level," the same was not true for "non-Western ethnic minorities" (Roes, 2008, p. 48). These statistics demonstrate that access to the labor market is not necessarily about an applicant's level of preparation, but actually ethnicity seems to be the primary discriminatory factor.

The Moroccan Second Generation

The Moroccan second generation is the fastest growing demographic group in the Netherlands. Nine percent of Amsterdammers (or 64,000) are first and second generation Moroccan, and 40% of them are younger than 19 years of age. While demographers in the Netherlands separate out first and second generation, those with at least one foreign-born parent are considered to have a foreign background. Moreover, in 2006 the percentage of Moroccans and native Dutch between 10 to 15 years of age is 18% and 33%, respectively (Statistics Netherlands., 2008). However, the statistic of 18% does not

account for the residential segregation that exists in Amsterdam; therefore, the concentration of Moroccan in particular ethnic neighborhoods is much greater.

The Integration of the European Second Generation (TIES) Study surveyed 1000 second generation Moroccan and Turkish respondents in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Based on the results of the study, there is cause for alarm *and* celebration in response to the second generation's position in the labor market and in education. In terms of education, large numbers are represented on either end of the spectrum – those who have attained or are working towards obtaining a higher education and those who have left school without the minimum credential necessary to enter the labor force (about one-quarter of participants) (Crul, Groenewold, & Heering, 2008). While the TIES study reports that overall dropout rates for the second generation have decreased, according to the Key Figures Report 2002-2006 by the Minister of Education, Culture and Science (2007a), Moroccans represented 5% of the total dropout rate in 2005-2006. Yet compared to the total number of Moroccans in the Netherlands (2%), Moroccan youth seem to be overrepresented in the number of those leaving school before graduation. Moreover, the TIES study reports that the second generation continues to be overrepresented in the lowest vocational tracks (i.e., VMBO, see Figure 2). These drop-out rates are not clear as the actual numbers of youth who left school without completing a minimum diploma are not reported in terms of ethnic group categories or the percentage of the total of the ethnic group who dropped out. Within the secondary vocational education track (i.e., MBO), 40% drop out without completing the minimum two-year requirement for a basic diploma (de Valk & Crul, 2008). As a result, this population is considered "at risk." "According to the most recent figures of 2006, 56 per cent of the second-generation Moroccan youth

and 63% of second-generation Turkish youth between the ages of twenty and 34 who have already finished school can be officially labeled ‘at risk’ youth” (Turkenberg & Gijsbert, 2007 cited in de Valk & Crul, 2008, p. 67). Moreover, while the outcomes demonstrate improvement over the last 10 years (Ersanili, 2007), these statistics demonstrate that the gap between the educational success of the second generation and their native Dutch counterparts still persists.

Overview of Dutch School System

Education in the Netherlands is compulsory and children must attend school full-time from age 5 till age 16 and part-time until age 17. Additionally, a provision to provide early childhood education for children ages 2 to 5 representing underserved populations exists. Dutch children can attend either public or private schools that are both state funded and considered part of the Dutch school system. Under constitutional authority, “people have a right to found schools and to provide teaching based on religious, ideological or educational needs” (Ministry of Education., 2007b, p. 8). This means that schools with certain pedagogical approaches such as Montessori schools, and religious that provide Christian, Jewish, Muslim, or Hindu teaching can be founded by foundations or associations that run them and receive state-funding for operational costs. In 2006, 33% of primary schools were under public authority, while 60% were either Roman Catholic or Protestant (Ministry of Education, 2007b). As a result, neighborhood primary schools may be private in the sense that they provide a particular philosophical approach or religious education; many children end up attending Christian-based schools in their neighborhood because these are the most conveniently located. Such was the case for many of the Muslim youth participants of this study who attended Christian schools,

as this was the primary school that serviced their neighborhood. Moreover, out of a total of 7,572 primary schools in the Netherlands, 40 of those schools are Islamic schools that are also funded by the state (The Institute for Multicultural Development FORUM., 2008).

Children in the Netherlands can attend school beginning at age 4, although it is not mandatory till age 5, and through age 12 they attend primary school. The structure of secondary education is quite complex and comprised of many academic tracks (see Table 2). During their final year of primary school, young people in the Dutch school system face the first critical juncture; they take the CITO Toets or CITO Exam, a high-stakes standardized test designed to measure "attainment" in language and mathematics. The score students receive on the CITO Exam and the child's academic performance are the most significant factors used to determine their track assignment in secondary school (referred to as "the advice"). Based on the advice students receive they can follow one of three types of secondary education: VMBO, HAVO, and VWO. These three tracks are further divided into lower and upper years of secondary school (see Figure 1).

Several texts explain the process of transitioning from primary school to secondary school in terms of the choices available to families and their children (see Ministry of Education, 2007). The reality is that young people must choose a school based on their track assignment. And although the first one or two years of secondary school (i.e., the lower years) are considered bridge years where students have the chance to move to a higher track (e.g., from VMBO-T to HAVO), most schools are now homogenous and admit students in specific track assignments, making it more difficult for the movement to a higher track to occur. Moreover, movement from one track to

another during the bridge years is much more possible if students have the support of a teacher that takes an interest in them and advocates for them to be promoted to a higher track. The chance to move into a higher track is most important for Moroccan youth who are overrepresented in the lowest tracks; 81% of the total number of Moroccan youth enrolled in secondary schools is enrolled in the VMBO or pre-vocational tracks (see Table 1).

Table 1: Distribution of Secondary Year 3 Across Academic Tracks (2005-2006)

	Native Dutch	Western non-Natives	Moroccans
VWO pre-university	22%	24%	7%
HAVO Senior general secondary education	21%	21%	12%
VMBO pre-vocational secondary education	52%	50%	81%
Undecided	+/- 4%	+/- 5%	+/- 2%

Source: Key Figures 2002-2006, Ministry of Dutch Education, 2007

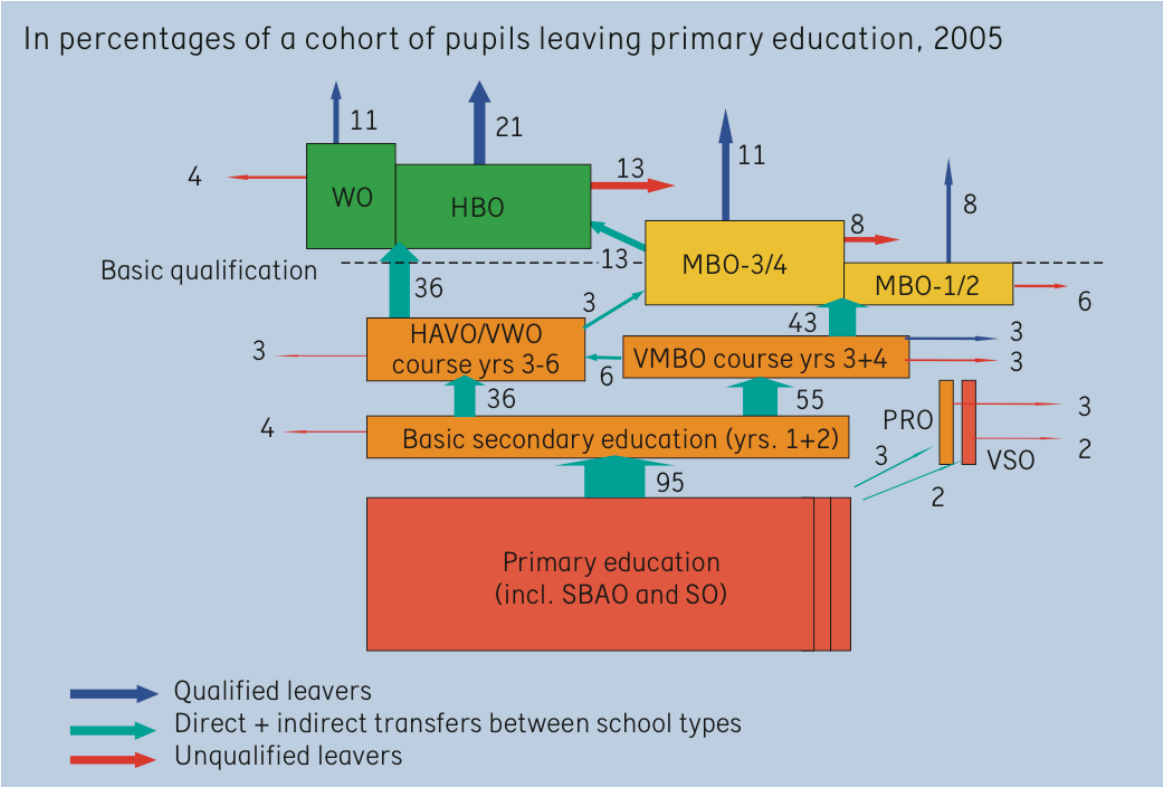
After completing secondary education those in VWO can go directly into a university program and those in HAVO can go into a professional program (HBO) and then move to university if they so wish (see Table 2 & Figure 1).

Table 2: Levels of Schooling in Dutch Education

	Level	Description	Length	Curriculum Focus	Leads to
Primary Education	PO	Primary education	8 years	General education	VWO HAVO VMBO
Secondary Education	VMBO	pre-vocational secondary education - subdivided into 4 more tracks	4 years	Last 2 years choose pre-vocational specialization – Engineering & Technology Care & Welfare Business Agriculture	MBO HAVO (for those in VMBO-theoretical who take math and French or German)
	HAVO	senior general secondary education	5 years	In 4th year choose academic specialty: Science & Technology Science & Health Economics & Society Culture & Society	HBO VWO (after 5th year)
	VWO	pre-university education	6 years	Study classical culture and in 5th year choose academic specialty: Science & Technology Science & Health Economics & Society Culture & Society	WO
Tertiary Education	MBO	Secondary vocational education	½ to 4 years	3 vocational sectors: Business, Engineering & Technology Personal & Social Services Health Care (internships and practical training can take up to 60% of study)	Year 1 - certificate Year 2 - basic diploma Year 3 - professional training Year 4 - HBO
	HBO	Higher professional education	4 years	Practical training – i.e., teacher training and healthcare professions	Bachelors WO
	WO	University	3 + years	Research and theoretical training	Bachelors-masters dual degree

Source: Key Figures 2002-2006, Ministry of Dutch Education, 2007

Figure 1 Flow Chart of Movement Through Academic Tracks in Dutch Education



Source: Key Figures 2002-2006 (Ministry of Dutch Education, 2007, p. 8)

Figure 1 illustrates the possible pathways students can follow after primary school. It is important to note that while the diagram depicts the first two years of secondary education as untracked, this is not the case in practice. In fact young people are tracked after completing primary school. Crul and de Valk (2008) report that while the majority of Moroccans (and Turks) belonging to the second generation are tracked in vocational education, they can take long route to university that will take an additional 3 years to complete. This means that after completing 4 years of MBO training, students can move onto HBO for a minimum of 2 years and then onto WO (university). While this route takes longer to complete, Crul and de Valk argue, it provides an important alternative for students who would otherwise only have a vocational diploma at best.

Additionally, they point out, the large number of (at least 15 %) of second generation youth who go on to HBO after MBO demonstrates the determination second generation youth have to access higher education.

Conclusion

The statistical overview of the Netherlands presented in this chapter scratches the surface, but it provides a snapshot of the issues facing Muslim immigrants and their second-generation offspring in the Netherlands. Additionally, relevant data that support the findings of this dissertation study are provided throughout Chapters 4 and 5. What is important to note here is that the compilation of historical legacies, demographic factors, policy measures, employment statistics, and housing segregation all intersect with the structure of schooling to produce the disadvantaged educational position of Muslim youth.

CHAPTER 3 – METHODS

> Each of us carries within us a world view, a set of assumptions about how the world works – what some call a paradigm – that forms the very questions we allow ourselves to ask and determines our views of future possibilities" (Lappe cited in Feagin & Vera, 2001, p. 21).

The process of developing research, while not linear or sequential, is affected by one's epistemological and theoretical positions. Lappe (above) urges researchers to claim their paradigmatic beliefs as doing so sometimes reveals the reasons for one's questions.

In this chapter, understanding the research process as a cycle of learning, action, and reflection, I convey reflexive narratives from the field and process the dialogical experiences that made me grapple with questions about myself as a researcher. From these perspectives, I transition to explicating my theoretical grounding and the resulting research design. Further, I provide a thorough description of the population I researched and the participants I included in my sample. To close, I delve into analytical methods and the ethical challenges and considerations of conducting this research.

The Dialectic Process of Conducting Research in a New Context

In their book, *Working Method*, Weis and Fine (2004) write about the methodological responsibilities of the researcher:

> At once grounded and analytically oscillating between engagement and distance, explicitly committed to deep situatedness and yet shifting perspectives….the researcher multiply positioned: grounded, engaged, reflective, well-versed in scholarly discourse, knowledgeable as to external circumstances, and able to move between theory and life "on the ground" (Weis & Fine, 2004).

These notions, articulated by Weis and Fine (above), describe my understanding of my positionality as a researcher and the effect it has on the epistemological and methodological approaches I chose. Being reflexive and aware of my subjectivities as a researcher has been a significant part of this work and imperative to recognizing the role of power in knowledge construction (Harding, 1998; Smith, 1999). Recognizing that "the personal-self becomes inseparable from the researcher-self" (Creswell, 2003) made me aware that the same issues that sometimes promoted my access to different institutions and my connections to individuals also complicated my position as a foreign researcher in the Netherlands. My positionality was not fixed, however, and shifted relative to the level of privilege and access to resources I had.

The ambiguity about how I identified – my "Americanness," my perceived religious identity, my status as an immigrant woman, my lack of clarity, my politics, or the vagueness with which I responded – may have created a discomfort for many who needed to define me categorically. Questions prompted by my brown skin like, "Are you 'really' American?", or questions about my religious beliefs like, "Are you Muslim? What do you believe in?", were not a surprise to me. But I had not anticipated being so conscious about how others viewed me, perceived me, like noticing the glaring questioning gazes that followed me in the red light district making me think people thought I was just another Latina prostitute. Of all the questions and insinuations, this was the most difficult and painful experience.

I rented a flat owned by the University of Amsterdam in the city's center – at the intersection of Chinatown, the Red Light district, and the University. There were no women who looked like me in that part of town (and very few at the University) – except

four Dominican women who made a living as sex workers in the display windows a few doors down from my apartment. I passed them every morning, and while I found it distressing that these women were horrifically objectified and displayed, I could not walk by without acknowledging their humanity by smiling or saying “Buenos Dias” if their doors were open. Although they responded respectfully, I often noticed one of the women lowering her gaze showing discomfort or shame at being seen by a fellow compatriot.

Besides me, these women were the only dark haired, brown-skinned women in the neighborhood, and we were categorized in the same objectifying way by some of the residents and especially some tourists. One morning in a café near my apartment, I was approached by a tourist who walked over to the table where I sat reading to ask me (in Spanish), rather than ask his Spanish-speaking waiter, for directions to the red light district, as if implying that I would be able to provide what he and his friends were looking for. This was a scenario repeated several times. I was even questioned by a Latino hairstylist (one of the few in Amsterdam familiar with my hair texture) who asked me if I was a newcomer because he knew all the “divas and ex-divas”, names he used to identify the sex workers, in town. When I said I was working at the university, he frowned, perhaps with skepticism. Fortunately, by the time my lease ended in the summer, I found an apartment share in a diverse working-class neighborhood with Turkish and Moroccan shops and the sounds of children playing in a nearby playground.

Within the ethnic communities I interacted, many people were curious about my own story of migration and my family’s protracted journey to the U.S. They viewed me as someone who could relate to their experiences and often asked me what I thought about the position of Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands and the hostility against

black and brown immigrants that pervaded public discourse. Many even claimed me as part of their community because, like them, I was "not well integrated." For instance, the fact that I did not ride a bike (the most common mode of transportation for native Dutch folks) and took the tram or walked instead prompted jokes like "Oh, so you're not integrated either!" While I may have shared some common experiences with the participants of my study, the reality was that I had a different set of privileges and as an "American" scholar a different kind of access to academic spaces. In spite of my discomfort with the label that flattened the multiple ways I identified, it was necessary to re-order, re-constitute, and redefine myself in as "researcher from the West" (Smith, 2006).

Linguistic Access and Challenges

The languages I spoke (even just conversationally) helped to improve my status in the immigrant communities. Being able to communicate with participants using "standard"[7] Arabic, English, some basic Dutch, and sometimes even Spanish provided me a different kind of access that I may not have had otherwise. I was able to navigate spaces where people moved freely between languages of migration and languages of origin. During my pilot visit, a colleague and I were invited to the home of her research assistant. The linguistic fluidity in the room gave me a glimpse of what I would experience. The Moroccan family with whom we were having dinner included the young woman's parents, her aunt and her younger sister. While the young woman and her sister spoke to us in English, they spoke to each other in Dutch. Meanwhile, I spoke with her aunt and her mother in Arabic, and her father who had migrated to the Netherlands via

[7] Those in the Moroccan community with whom I interacted considered the dialect of regional (i.e., Palestinian) Arabic I spoke "standard."

Spain spoke to me in Spanish! Among each other, the family used their native language, Tamazight[8].

My Arabic, while not completely fluent, is adequate enough to have informal familial conversations. I do not speak Tamazight, and because of a lack of formal Arabic language training, it is very challenging for me to understand a Moroccan dialect of Arabic. Nonetheless, I was able to speak with mentors, parents, and community members of Moroccan origin who had been formally educated in standard Arabic. Additionally, using traditional Muslim greetings (like "Salam u Allekum") when I met parents and families at community events often helped put them and myself at ease. During these events, I often spoke to parents about their children, and they shared concerns about their education.

My limitations with the Dutch language, however, proved to be a challenge that permeated every research decision I made. Dutch was a difficult language to wrap my head around. Prior to leaving New York City for my fieldwork experience, I took a weekly Dutch course taught by a native Dutch speaker. I found the grammatical rules of the language very difficult to absorb; nonetheless, I was picking up valuable vocabulary that would help me to understand bits and pieces of conversations that I would later be immersed in. In the meantime, I also studied language books and used Dutch language CDs to help me improve my vocabulary and my pronunciation of conversational phrases.

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[8] I would thank Mohammad Achbar for teaching me the importance of decolonizing this term. As a result of what I learned, I prefer to use the term Tamazight because it is one of the ways many in the Dutch Moroccan community reclaim their ethnic identity and reject the Orientalist (Said, 1979), colonialist term most commonly used, Berber. The majority of the Moroccan population in Amsterdam come from the Rif region of Morocco and is not of Arab descent; they are Amazigh.

Within a few days of arriving in Amsterdam, I sat for a placement test at the University of Amsterdam's language school. I placed in Level One and began an intensive six-week course. It was a very useful way to increase my vocabulary, but the grammar continued to be quite difficult. Most of the people with whom I interacted on a daily basis spoke English; so getting passed greetings in Dutch was often a challenge. It was easier for the multi-lingual people at the University or in shops in the city center to speak to me in English than to wait while I awkwardly stammered a few incomprehensible words in Dutch.

Not speaking Dutch and being unfamiliar with a new context where I felt like an outsider made me hypersensitive and able to pick up subtle cues, body language and other ways people communicated. Through my "fresh eyes[9]" I was able to pick up on nuanced, implicit or normalized practices and behaviors. In spite of my language obstacles, I took copious notes not stopping myself from taking risks and leaps of faith in hopes that I might hit the mark. As part of my methodological approach, I always checked and verified my understanding with others who remarked at how much I was able to capture.

Informing My Position as a Researcher

Based on my research interests in immigrant education, I was offered a position as a pre-doctoral fellow to conduct cross-cultural research in the Netherlands as part of a larger project funded by the National Science Foundation (NSF) called the Children of Immigrants in Schools. While the larger project was comparative (comparing data

[9] Anthropologist Sylvia Carrasco from the University of Barcelona (and senior researcher on the Children of Immigrants in Schools, the NSF Project that funded my fieldwork, used this term to refer to the advantages of doing cross-cultural research in an unfamiliar context.

gathered in Sweden, France, Spain, the UK, the Netherlands and the U.S.), my research focused on the experiences of Muslim youth of immigrant origin in Amsterdam (specifically those of North African descent).

As a fellow at the University of Amsterdam, I was introduced to Ph.D. students who were quite active within the academic and/or the immigrant communities in the Netherlands. Some advised me to tread lightly when approaching participants within immigrant communities. As a result of negative experiences, of being objectified and subjected to research that further dehumanized them, many immigrants had a mistrust of researchers and often refused participating in academic research. I was not entitled to anyone's story nor did I think that others needed to respond in my timeframe. Committed to ethical and just research practices, I was not interested in infiltrating the field. Instead, I followed the recommendation made by Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco and Todorova (2008), who state that, "sound cross-cultural research must be grounded in the communities in which the research emerges" (p. 15). I listened to the advice I was given by colleagues and moved cautiously in order to gain and subsequently maintain access and trust with participants and community members.

With these considerations and my own experiences with social exclusion in mind, I was hyper aware of being excluded and not wanting to reproduce exclusionary research. I wanted to ensure that I included multiple voices, epistemologies, and realities as I formed my understanding of the field (C. Mercado, personal communication, March 20, 2008). Additionally, I recognized the socially constructed power and authority I had as an academic researcher. While perspectives as an outsider helped me to better understand, interrogate, tease out, or point to issues that some took for granted or overlooked (e.g.,

the racist images of black face that were a part of the Sinterklass celebration), my awareness of my hyper vigilance meant that I sometimes did not ask more questions or probe further for fear of probing too deeply and being disrespectful.

I viewed my work as part of a larger collective effort aimed at creating social justice by drawing attention to the practices that create injustice and by collaboratively affecting change. I wanted to conduct research that contributed to "critical social knowledge" (Feagin & Vera, 2001), which is constructed with participants instead of for them. It was particularly important to me to speak with those outside of the academy, particularly those who were a part of the immigrant communities I was researching. Accordingly, I connected to individuals who served as regular informants and provided me insights into the socio-political contexts and discursive currents moving through the country. I graciously accepted offers made by colleagues or new friends to talk about what I was finding.

Hakima Aouragh served as my primary context informant. In her official capacity, she completed the training requirements to participate as a research assistant[10] in this study. Like me, she was bound to ethical considerations about maintaining the anonymity of our participants. Unlike others who helped me understand the context, Hakima's significant role in shaping this research and her official title allows me to identify her and recognize her contributions in this study. My relationship with Hakima was both dialogical and dialectic (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). She provided the cultural and linguistic translations (Winchatz, 2006) I needed to make sense of what I was observing. We engaged in a transactional process, and in addition to assisting me with research, she

[10] Hakima has access to the data gathered and intends to publish her own work based on this study. Additionally we anticipate co-authoring academic journal articles.

shared her experiences as a former youth worker and her critical insights as a second generation woman of Moroccan origin. The perspectives she offered often challenged my "American" assumptions. For instance, talking through what racism and discrimination felt and looked like to young people in the Netherlands as compared to what it looked in the U.S. helped shift and ground my perspective. The challenge she offered motivated me to look more deeply, to question my lenses, and to consider historical legacies.

Theoretical Grounding of Methods

Methodologically, this study is anchored in the ecological context model (Bronfenbrenner, 1977), which analytically situates individuals and their micro worlds within the institutions that affect their lives at the meso level (e.g., youth programs and schools) and the role of social, cultural, and political forces at the macro level. My participants are intertwined with their context and do not exist as "independent entities" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 114). The ecological approach allowed me to envision the layers nested within one another, not separate, distinct or ranked in any particular order, and notwithstanding that some factors do, indeed, trump all others. Therefore, I included multiple domains of young people's lives within the boundaries of my research in an effort to view "social phenomena holistically" and provide "panoramic views rather than micro-analyses" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 112).

Study Design

Fieldwork for this study began in 2006 with a pilot visit that led to an eleven-month stay in 2007 and a follow up visit in 2009. Multiple qualitative methods were used to gather information from and about the 25 youth participants whose experiences are the

focus of this study. They completed demographic questionnaires and participated in focus groups (Wilkinson, 1999) and in-depth interviews (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973). Participant observations were conducted within the youth programs they attended. Adults who worked with these young people (i.e., mentors, program coordinators, and teachers) were interviewed to further contextualize the findings. Furthermore, an analysis of policy and media reports reinforced and supported the analysis and discussion of the findings (Henry & Tator, 2002) (see Table 3).To create a contextualized story, multiple categories of participants were selected (see Table 4): youth (ages 11-18) and adults (program coordinators, mentors/instructors, teachers and community leaders) were sampled from youth-serving programs throughout the city of Amsterdam; context informants, including scholars and activists, provided member checks of the analysis (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Additional levels of inquiry included analysis of artifacts, media, photographs, policy documents and institutional reports. The multiple data sources were used to triangulate (Webb, 2000) and validate results.

Using principles of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) to read the preliminary findings helped me identify the need to look closer at structures of exclusion and "integration," productions and performances of "otherness," and how these carried over into young people's lives. These preliminary findings served to inform and guide the second phase of data collection allowing me to adjust my research questions and, consequently, my research design to address salient issues confronting Muslim youth in Amsterdam and the adults working with them. While I used ethnographic methods to collect information about youth participants and programs, this study is not an

ethnography because it did not aim to capture or evaluate all that occurred in one particular site or institution (Creswell, 2003).

Table 3: Data Sources

Data Sources	Description	Number in Sample
Participant Observations	Pilot visit 2006	--
	11 months of fieldwork 2007	--
	Follow-up visit 2009	--
Youth Programs	Surveyed	20
	Represented in adult sample	13
	Selected as sampling sites	6
Youth Sample	Focus group participants Demographic questionnaires	25
	In-depth interviews	10
Adult Sample	Program coordinators, mentors/instructors, teachers and community leaders	25
Context Informants	During the course of fieldwork	10
	Provided member checks during analysis	3
Document Analysis	Policy documents, institute reports, program materials	--
Artifacts	Photographs, advertisements, brochures, media	--

Participant Sample

To create a contextualized story that incorporated multiple perspectives, I designed the study to include various categories of participants. These categories of participants were: 1) youth who voluntarily attended programs offered in their community to support their educational experiences; 2) adults who worked in youth-serving institutions such as schools and a variety of programs serving youth; and 3)

activists and scholars who served as context informants. Table 4 lists these categories and the number of participants in each sample. In addition to the individuals in the sample, I included youth programs as a subcategory of participants because information about the youth programs was essential to understanding the experiences of young people.

Table 4: Participant Sample

Category of Participants	Number in Sample
YouthPrograms	20 surveyed
	6 selected as "Sampling Sites"
Adults	25 representing 11 programs, 3 schools
Youth	25 ages 11 -18
Context Informants	10 served as informants during fieldwork
	3 provided member checks during data analysis

Selection of Participating Youth Programs

Based on my research design, the focus of the NSF-project, and my initial findings during the pilot visit in 2006, I set out to connect with organizations and youth programs that supported young people's educational experiences. The focus of the NSF project was the academic trajectory of second generation Moroccans, particularly their experience with tracking. Similarly, I was interested theoretically in understanding how youth programs supported and/or affected immigrant-origin youth in the context of their educational needs. During the pilot visit, the young people I met at a youth center impressed me by their level of preparedness, their ability to negotiate the Dutch school system, and the extent to which they encouraged one another. Additionally, I learned that there was a plethora of programs in Amsterdam serving immigrant-origin youth that

specifically targeted Muslim youth. Based on the impression that these sites could offer possibility and hope to young people struggling in school, I decided to situate my study within youth programs.

The data reported about each program are based on artifacts, websites, reports, participant observations, and interviews with youth and adults. In an effort to be more consistent and systematic about the data collected from and about each of the sampling sites, I developed a profile of programs. These profiles included the following information: 1) name and location; 2) origin; 3) goals and aims; 4) structure; 5) funding; 6) scale; 7) description; and 8) staff and staff training. As a result of multiple factors such as availability of reports, availability of staff, and access I had as a researcher, the amount of information available about each program was not equal; some were more accessible than others over a longer period of time. Although I was unable to gather the same information about all of the programs, this was not of great concern because the programs were serving as sampling sites. While I had intended to provide a chart summarizing the data I gathered about each program in this chapter, I decided that these kinds of details could make the program easily identifiable and, therefore, jeopardize the anonymity of the participants. Additionally, my goal is to tell a comprehensive story and not single out one specific program.

Surveying Youth Programs

Based on the recommendations I received from Miriyam Aouragh (personal communication, February 5, 2007), a public intellectual and activist based in Amsterdam and to whom I was introduced early on, I decided to conduct a survey of programs to determine which ones would be the most suitable sites from which to recruit young

people. Hakima and I researched and contacted 20 different programs that seemed to provide supplemental education to immigrant-origin youth. We generated the list based on recommendations I had received and searched websites (in English and Dutch) to access additional information. The selection criteria included: 1) they served predominately immigrant-origin youth (and Muslim youth, although not exclusively); 2) they provided educational support (like homework assistance); and 3) they served youth who were in the final grades of primary school.

Not wanting to assume that people running these programs spoke English, Hakima contacted the 20 programs by telephone to inquire what services they offered and who they served. She documented their responses using a community contact sheet I created to determine which programs fit the criteria defined above. To discover more about the services they offered, some of the telephone calls led to site visits and interviews with program coordinators. The survey gave me a sense of the span of the programs that existed. Rather than choose programs that offered services that were explicitly academic, based on the results of the survey, I decided to broaden the definition of educational support to include those whose program goals were aimed at supporting learning, growth and development. Having a range of programs represented in my sample added to the conceptual generalizability (Bhavani, 1994). Additionally, I expanded the age category to include programs that served youth in the early years of secondary school. Based on these criteria, I selected six programs from which I could recruit youth participants.

Participant Observations

As a participant observer in the youth programs which served as sampling sites, I observed lessons and activities, chaperoned fieldtrips, supervised students on the playground, attended meetings with parents, met with teachers, and attended student performances and events. Additionally, I attended a reception and a charity dinner for which the students prepared the meals for members of the community. Participating in these events provided me with opportunities to have informal conversations with youth and adults.

In addition to attending activities at the sampling sites, I participated in community events in multiple neighborhoods and community centers throughout the city. These included cultural events such as Ramadan Festival, and debates, panels, and organizing meetings addressing Islamaphobia, racism, or concerns about the immigrant second generation. I also attended events at other youth programs to which I was invited by adults who participated in the study. These included an exhibition of student work and a graduation ceremony for a youth empowerment program.

I did not conduct the same level of participation at each of the program sites. Access was unpredictable, and the language issues were a tremendous challenge. Because I conducted the majority of my observations alone, I did not have the benefit of Hakima's translation in these scenarios. Nonetheless, showing up consistently and following through on the leads others offered helped me gain access to the youth programs, the adults with whom I wanted to speak, and the young people I wanted to meet.

Moreover, the majority of the youth participants did not speak English, and while I could talk with the adults and observe the activities in which they were involved, my

presence felt voyeuristic at times (Behar, 1993). Therefore, I was very intentional about the events and program activities I attended, choosing ones where I could serve a role, provide assistance, and interact in a less forced way. Had I had the language fluency I needed to communicate with young people while they were in their homework club completing assignments, or doing activities, I would have attended more of their sessions. I imagined the ways I would have interacted with them, and I tried to do so as much possible using the limited vocabulary I had and using more non-verbal communication. Many of the youth were curious and used what little English they knew to ask me questions like where I lived in the U.S. or if I knew any famous rappers like Snoop Dogg or pop singers like Brittany Spears. It was frustrating to me (and sometimes visibly frustrating to them) not to be able to continue the conversation.

Adult Participants

I interviewed a snowball sample of 25 adult participants formally and informally. About half of these (n=12) were interviewed more than once. All of the participants were informed that I was conducting research and gave signed consent. Table 5 lists the number of adult participants according to their role or title in the program or institution for which they worked. The participants represented 10 programs and three schools. The teachers (two primary school teachers and one secondary school teacher) were interviewed to provide a deeper understanding of the connection between the programs and kids' schools. The primary school teachers taught at the schools where 11 of the focus group participants attended.

According to my research design, in addition to interviewing adults representing all of the categories below, I had planned to interview parents of the youth participants.

In spite of my intentions, the multiple language issues served as a deterrent. Some parents spoke only Amazigh (or Moroccan); others, who had been formally educated in Morocco, spoke Arabic, and some spoke Dutch and/or were more comfortable speaking in a combination of these. While all of the youth participants Hakima and interviewed were comfortable with the idea that we might interview their parents, I decided that the language barriers would make it much more complicated to convert the data into meaningful and analyzable chunks. Nonetheless, I had several opportunities to speak with parents informally, but those conversations are not counted as interviews.

Table 5: Adult Participants

Title/Role	Number of Participants	Demographic Data	Number of Participants
Program Coordinators/Directors	8	Gender	9 male 16 female
Mentors and/or Instructors	12	Ethnic Identity	7 native Dutch 18 immigrant-origin
Teachers	3	First-Generation Immigrants	5 age - late 30s to 50s
Community Leaders	2	Second-Generation Immigrants	13 age – 20s to 30s

The varied positions or titles held by the adults with whom I spoke provided a broad sample. Many of the program coordinators also served a mentoring/instructional role. Of the mentors I interviewed, many told me that they were working or had worked with youth in multiple organizations. Nonetheless, the majority of the adults interviewed spoke in reference to one primary program or organization. Because the majority of them had had years of experience as youth workers (the general designation used in the Netherlands), their vantage point was multi-faceted and influenced by an amalgam of experiences. Furthermore, many of the mentors I interviewed had attended similar

programs in their youth; consequently, their perspective was layered as they spoke both as mentors/instructors and former participants. In addition to the experiences of the adults I interviewed, their positionality in terms of immigrant status, age, class, gender, ethnic origin, and religious affiliation provided different lenses through which they filtered their responses (Denzin, 1989).For instance, the adults who represented first generation immigrants provided different perspectives about the role of the state than did their second-generation counterparts (a finding I will explore in Chapter 5).

Based on the particular circumstances of some of the initial interviews with program coordinators (i.e., I had not been recommended by anyone and had contacted them based on information found on the web), half of the adult interviews were not recorded. I knew it was important to develop a sense of trust, and I feared they would feel intimidated by a recorder and restricted in sharing their stories. Moreover, I hoped the trust would lead me to meet with them again and to get their assistance in recruiting participants for a focus group.

The protocols for these interviews were semi-structured (see Appendix D). The majority of the adult participants (22 out of 25) were interviewed in English. I conducted the interviews with most of the adults alone. I met about half of the adults I interviewed through the programs Hakima and I visited. Others were introduced to me by colleagues who knew I was interested in interviewing youth workers. Interviewing alone or with Hakima had advantages and disadvantages. Sometimes I felt I was asking too much of adult participants who expressed insecurity in their English language fluency, even though I reassured them that I understood everything we were talking about. On the other hand, I think the fact that I was alone interviewing them made them more willing to share

their stories with me. As a foreign scholar unfamiliar with the territory, I could be more inquisitive and ask questions naively and curiously. Hakima, as an insider and member of the Moroccan second generation, however, could not ask the same types of questions and had to adhere to cultural norms with which I was unfamiliar. Nonetheless, Hakima helped me understand how to be culturally responsive and respectful and her ability to connect with those in the programs based on shared experiences was also of great value. Both approaches were successful, whether alone or accompanied by Hakima, and I was always greeted positively, with the exception of a mentor who was very rushed even though we had scheduled the interview well in advance.

Youth Participants

The 25 youth participants (ages 11 to 18) of this study were recruited using clustering sampling from six programs (Creswell, 2003). They completed demographic questionnaires[11] (Table 6) and participated in focus groups conducted in each of the sampling sites located in all four corners of the city (north, south, east, and west). Additionally, 10 out of the 25 participants were interviewed months after the focus groups took place providing a longitudinal perspective about their experiences of transitioning from one academic year to the next. Because I did not speak enough Dutch to communicate with youth and they spoke little English, Hakima conducted the focus groups and the interviews in Dutch.

Demographically, 22 out of 25 youth participants were Dutch-born; they all self-identified as Muslim. An effort was made to recruit an equal number of male and female youth participants (14 female and 11 male). The majority of the youth were between 11

[11] The demographic questionnaire was adapted from an instrument developed by Selcuk S. Sirin for the Muslim American Youth Study (Sirin, et al., 2008).

and 12 years old (see Table 8). All had foreign-born parents with the exception of one boy whose mother was Dutch-born. While less than half reported parents' ages at the time of their migration, 4 youth had at least one parent who was part of the 1.5 generation. At the time of the focus groups, the mean age of the participants was 13. The participants in my sample were from working-class families who lived in social housing (mostly in segregated neighborhoods). They attended segregated schools known, and commonly referred to, as ""black schools"[12]. Although all reported speaking Dutch with their siblings, with the exception of 2 who reported also speaking "Moroccan," the languages they spoke with parents varied greatly.

[12] Black schools, according to Dutch education officials, are schools where "more than 70% of its pupils have low-skilled or non-western parents….In 2005 there were 319 'black' schools in the Netherlands" (Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science, 2007).

Table 6: Youth Sample

Demographic Summary

Demographic Category	Descriptors	Number in Sample
Age	Range	11 to 18
	Average	13
Gender	Female	14
	Male	11
Schooling Level	Primary	17
	Secondary	8
Place of Birth	Dutch-born	21
	Foreign-born*	4
Country of Origin	Egypt	2
	Morocco	22
	Tunisia	1
Number of Siblings	Range	10 to 1
	Average	3.6
Language(s) Spoken with Parents	Dutch only	7
	Native Language only	12
	Combination of Dutch + native language	6

* Foreign-born participants migrated to the Netherlands between 2 months and 6 years of age.

Table 7: Age Frequency Chart

Age	# of Participants
11	6
12	10
13	4
14	1
15	2
16	0
17	1
18	1

On the demographic questionnaire, participants were asked to check off, from nine possible choices, religious and/or ethnic identities that described them (see Table 8) and their parents (with separate columns for mother/father). Interestingly, while 22 of them were born in the Netherlands, only 9 out of 22 identified as Dutch and the majority identified with at least three or more labels.

Table 8: Self-Selected Identity Labels

Ethnic and Religious Labels	Number of Participants Who Identify
Muslim	24
Moroccan	22
Dutch	9
Middle Eastern	2
Amazigh/Berber	10
African	8
Arab	13
European	4
Other	1 (Egyptian)

Focus Groups

Youth workers coordinated recruitment of participants based on the criteria I had outlined (Moroccan youth between the ages of 11 and 17). They were told that an American educator/researcher was interested in their experiences as immigrant-origin youth (or allochtonen youth as they were defined in Dutch) within youth programs. Those who were interested were given consent forms. Many of the program coordinators contacted parents directly to request their permission. A handful of young people who

wanted to participate were not granted permission. In two instances, young women who were participating recruited their peers.

Even though the initial population on which I focused was Moroccan youth, three of the participants who showed up for the groups were not Moroccan, but as North African Muslims they clearly identified with the experience of Moroccan youth. One of the young women was assumed to be Moroccan by the program coordinator who recruited her even though she was Tunisian. In hindsight, I wish I had recruited other North African Muslim youth who wanted to participate, but because the larger study funding my research was focused on Moroccan youth, I choose to limit my sample.

A total of six focus groups were conducted (see Table 9). Although I did not set out to structure mixed and single-sex groups[13], the variation these generated provided rich data. Focus groups were held on site in the youth programs the youth attended and lasted between 1 to 2 hours. We arranged for a quiet room without disruptions. All of the focus groups were digitally recorded, and the transcripts were transcribed and then translated into from Dutch into English (see Appendix B). As a result of limited resources, transcripts were not back translated, but Hakima clarified any questions that emerged by re-listening to the original recordings. Nonetheless, I take responsibility for any errors in translation.

[13] I was careful to ask program coordinators and other researchers for their opinion about how to best structure focus groups. The majority suggested that the younger groups would be comfortable in mixed groups.

Table 9: Focus Groups

	Date Conducted	# of Participants	Gender	Age Range	Level in School
1	May 2007	5	all female	14-18	All secondary
2	May 2007	5	4 female, 1 male	11-12	All primary
3	May 2007	6	2 female, 4 male	11-12	All primary
4	Dec. 2007	3	all male	11-13	1 primary, 2 secondary
5	Dec. 2007	3	all male	12-13	2 primary, 1 secondary
6	Dec. 2007	3	all female	12	All primary

Although I began meeting and interviewing program coordinators within days of my arrival in February 2007, I did not conduct focus groups until May and then again in December. The decision to conduct focus groups later was based on my methodological need to complete as many participant observations and adult interviews prior to speaking with young people. The preliminary results of the participant observations, the adult interviews, and the analysis of the youth programs' reports and documents helped shape the focus group protocols (see Appendix A). Moreover, recruitment was complicated by extended school holidays in April and May. The second set of focus groups (i.e., in December) was delayed because it was necessary to re-establish contact with program coordinators to recruit youth participants once they were settled into their new academic year.

Hakima translated the structured protocols I developed into Dutch. She then did a back translation to verify that the questions she asked in Dutch would translate back into what I had originally intended in English. In certain cases, questions were modified to

respond to the cultural context. As the facilitator, Hakima adhered to the protocol strictly both because of the importance of maintaining uniformity, particularly in light of the multilingual issues, but also because we were careful to translate "adult academic" language for youth. Her strict adherence to the protocol allowed me to follow along as she posed questions and probed further when necessary.

After completing the demographic questionnaires, the focus began by asking young people to make a list of the activities in which they participated outside of school. I wanted to know the types of activities in which they were involved and interested outside of the program from which we had recruited them. Girls were equally as likely to be involved in sports, and primary school students were more likely to attend religious education courses at their local mosque. The list was also useful as it allowed them to reference the programs they listed in their responses. Focus group questions concentrated to a great extent on the relationships young people had with the institutions (i.e., youth programs) that served them. To a lesser extent, the protocol included questions regarding the public's perception of Muslim youth.

My role as (mostly a silent) participant observer allowed me to notice the groups' interactions, their level of engagement with the topics being discussed, and the responses of individuals to certain questions. Under those conditions, I was also able to understand some of the youth's responses and to verify my notes with Hakima during our debriefing sessions. All of the groups exhibited a positive dynamic (Wilkinson, 1999). The participants knew each other and many were friends outside of their participation in the programs. In terms of their interaction and responsiveness to questions, the younger groups, and in particular the co-ed groups, were more influenced by "school" rules and

raised their hand before speaking. The three younger same-sex groups were more likely to speak over each other and finish one another's sentences, while the older young women's groups were more articulate and fluid in their responses.

In the interest of the time allocated for the groups (some could only meet for one hour while others could meet for two), the content of the protocols had to be modified to meet the needs of some of the groups. For instance, we planned to ask participants to write a greeting on a postcard offering advice to a newcomer student arriving in the Netherlands from Morocco. They could write any piece of advice that they deemed important. Because we were only able to do this activity with two groups, the limited sample was not large enough to analyze the data systematically.

Youth Interviews

In order to gather longitudinal data, 10 out of the 25 young people who had previously participated in focus groups were interviewed in-depth. Youth interviews were conducted in November and December of 2007 – approximately six months after the first three focus groups. Participants were followed over the course of their transition from one academic year to the next. Five out of the 10 youth had transitioned from primary school to their first year in secondary school, called the bridge year. This transition is critical in the Dutch school system as the year that young people are academically tracked. Because of the significance of the primary to secondary school transition, I decided to focus on youth between the ages of 11 and 13 years old and did not recruit older students for interviews. The timing of the interviews was intentional assuming young people would have settled well into their new academic year, and those who had gone on to secondary school would be more accustomed to their new environment. Of

those students who had moved on to secondary school, we did not know in what academic grouping or in what school they had ended up. The interview was our opportunity to find out.

We had contact numbers and/or e-mail addresses for most of the students from the demographic questionnaire they completed during the focus groups. Hakima began contacting them while we both looked for sites where we could hold the interviews. We did not want to interview children in their homes as we wanted them to feel free to answer questions they might otherwise feel awkward responding to in the presence of parents, siblings or other relatives. While it is typical for adults to meet at a café or a more public space, we thought this might be too disruptive and feel too exposing to the young people with whom we were working. I decided we would meet them at their former primary schools, and if that was not an option, we would rent space from a community center within their neighborhoods. Our goal was to also make their travel time short and to be close to their homes, especially during the winter months. It was getting dark much earlier, and we knew some of the parents would be uncomfortable allowing their children to be out after dark. When it was feasible, we arranged to use space at program sites, but for some of the interviews, we rented space in community centers within close proximity to youth participants' homes. Youth were paid a stipend of 10 Euro for their time.

When Hakima called each child, she first spoke to either the child's mother or father and explained who she was and why she was calling. Once she described her role as a research assistant to the "American researcher" that had spoken to their child in May, they remembered who she was and were willing to talk with her. She described why we

were following up and the purpose of the interview. She then asked to speak to the child. On several occasions, Hakima arranged to call back because the participant she was trying to reach was not available. Some of the meetings took at least three phone calls to arrange, first to speak to the parents, then to speak to the participant and then to find a mutually agreeable time and date.

Interviews were structured and, like the protocol for the focus groups, they were translated from English to Dutch and then back again to verify the meaning and objective of the questions (see Appendix C). The protocol questions were developed with the intent of learning more about each individual participant's story and the ways in which the experiences in the youth programs had affected their schooling experiences and their transitions. Many of the questions were formulated to follow-up on issues that had emerged in the focus groups and to probe further about their transition to a new academic year. Based on the results of the initial interview, the protocol was re-iterated to adjust some of the questions that seemed irrelevant and/or challenging. For instance, asking participants about their standardized test score (a number that is widely known and discussed by many including youth themselves) early on in the interview was not appropriate; inserting the question in the beginning created an awkward tone. Therefore, the order of the questions was changed. Moreover, because their experiences and needs differed greatly, separate protocols were developed for primary school and secondary school students. All of the interviews were digitally recorded and, like in the case of the focus groups, first transcribed and then translated into English.

Analytical Methods

Committed to understanding the experiences of the youth participants in this study as intricately connected within larger systems, the analytical approaches I used rely heavily on what Ruthellen Josselson (2004) calls "hermeneutics of faith and hermeneutics of suspicion." In the analysis process, I applied faith to "foreground what had been background [and] enlarge what may have been minimized" (p. 8) without changing the frame. In other words, I drew attention to issues that may have been normalized, overlooked, or made invisible and asked more questions to determine if the issues I highlighted in the analysis were, indeed, relevant. By using suspicion and following specific leads, I was able to triangulate data and receive confirmation about the kinds of hypotheses and theoretical claims I made. Additionally, using suspicion (both in the field and in my analysis) allowed me to probe deeper and question the hidden messages, the shame, or the denial that may have been present in the participants' narratives. In addition to exposing contradictions, my analysis was seeped in a commitment to representing variation in findings, i.e., patterns, outliers, and irregularities (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The preliminary analysis of data involved using bottom-up codes (Strauss & Corbin, 2007) to identify salient themes in focus group data, field notes, and interviews. These bottom-up codes were then used to develop coding schemes (Weston, et al., 2001) used for top-down coding. I explain relevant analytical categories and the methods I used to code the data at the beginning of each findings chapter (see Chapters 4 & 5). However, it is important to acknowledge here that the iterative process of coding and analyzing data (Miles & Huberman, 1994) meant that the bottom-up codes had to often be adjusted,

redefined, or made conceptually larger or smaller to capture a broader or narrower range of experiences.

The initial set of codes I developed focused on the types of support young people received through their participation in youth programs and to some extent in school. Informed by youth development literature (MacDonald & Valdivieso, n.d.; Nettles, 1991), I coded five types of support – academic, strategic, motivational, emotional, and social. The complete list of codes appears in Appendix E. After using these codes to code top-down, it became apparent that there were also many opportunities to offer support that were missed by the programs that youth attended (C. Suàrez-Orozco, personal communication, May 24, 2008); therefore, I created a code for "missed opportunities". Even still, after coding three focus group transcripts, I recognized that some of the codes were overlapping and, more importantly, the codes were insufficiently and inadequately representing the findings. Coding for support did not account for the experiences of youth embedded within complex social, cultural, and political contexts. These codes flatted, compartmentalized, and reduced (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) youth's experiences, as if the type and degree of support they received was not affected by contextual factors.

I needed to account for the kinds of experiences youth and adults reported and those that I observed – that is youth's experiences that were intertwined with and affected by factors present at micro, meso, and even macro levels. As a result, I added descriptive and context codes that accounted for the struggles and challenges youth faced, including confronting racism/Islamaphobia, making sense of media images, and struggles with academic tracking. As I coded the data, the knowledge that young people had about their needs, their history, and their location/position within Dutch society was outstanding.

Therefore, I created codes that captured their "ability to identify their needs" and "ability to ask for help." Moreover, I created a code to identify and/or connect the sourse of support or challenge to the experience I was coding for. These relational categories were important to understanding where the support originated (i.e., family, peers, mentors, etc.).

In addition to coding transcripts and fieldnotes for grand themes related to young people's marginalized status as immigrants, I employed theories of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1990; Essed, 1996) to code using additional factors such as class, religion, gender, and ethnicity. Interrogating the layers and the intersectionality of social forces that create the conditions under which immigrant-origin youth live is supported by the ontological element of critical social theory (Giroux, 1997). Moreover, understanding the complexities at the intersection of multiple identities embodied by immigrant-origin youth allowed me to form comparisons between gender groups, age groups, and levels of schooling (i.e., primary level 7, primary level 8, and secondary first year).

Finally, to identify patterns among participants, all of the interview and focus group transcripts were coded using qualitative data analysis software called HyperResearch. To further identify patterns and make comparisons, I treated my fieldnotes as a "data set, reviewing, reexperiencing, and reexamining" what had been written (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). Moreover, after reading through sets of transcripts and fieldnotes, I constructed analytic memos to help me sort through and prioritize initial findings.

With attention to validity and reliability (Kirk & Miller, 1986), data from six focus groups (N=25 youth participants) and 10 in-depth youth interviews were

triangulated with participant observations and interviews of more than 25 adults. Additionally, with a commitment to deeply situated analysis (Pollock, 2008), findings were supported by an analysis of integration and education policies, artifacts, and of media accounts reported during the term of the study (Henry & Tator, 2002).

In the interest of increasing the credibility and validity of my analytical interpretations of the data gathered, I asked for feedback (both formal and informal) throughout the process of the study, following a process Guba and Lincoln (1989) call "member checking." In particular, I shared the analysis presented here with three context informants who, as stakeholders in the Dutch community and as members of the Moroccan second generation, provided me with critical feedback.

CHAPTER 4 – MANIFESTATIONS OF INTOLERANCE

Noor, an 11 year-old Dutch-born girl of Moroccan origin, shared the following story during a focus group held in the after-school program she attended:

> I don't feel very safe outside cause uh…many times police look at kids a lot. Once I went to bring my sister home and I said, "Police!" And I ducked cause my brother was standing there and I wanted to scare him. Suddenly, uh the police thought I had thrown something. He said to me, "Come here." I walked over to him; he said to me, "Go pick up that trash you just threw here on the ground. Yes, plastic and otherwise you will clean the whole neighborhood." Then I was shocked I…he said to me, "or you pick it up or you're going to clean the whole thing." Then I said, "Well ok, what did I throw exactly?" Then he said, "You know exactly what you threw." Then I thought, "Plastic?" Well I hadn't done it. I picked up the plastic and put it in the trashcan and I left. The police said to me, "You're not just leaving like that. First you have to say, 'Bye policeman.'" So I didn't know it was a real policeman, you know?

Noor attended a progressive primary school that offered innovative teaching practices and social services as part of its broad school model. She described herself as a hard-working, friendly student who loves to learn and enjoys spelling and grammar. She expressed her goal of becoming an early childhood teacher and modeling herself after her aunt and her own teachers whom she described as "sweet." Her best friend was a Dutch girl, and she always hung around with her sister and her sister's best friend Amina. In contrast to the school and the youth program she attended, which seemed to provide safe havens for Noor, the reality of her day-to-day life was lived in a neighborhood with a

history of violence and racial profiling perpetuated against immigrant-origin residents by the police.

The focus group participants had been asked about the public's perceptions of Moroccan and Muslim youth in the Netherlands. Like youth in the five other focus groups held in programs throughout the city of Amsterdam, these participants repeatedly offered instantaneous and unilateral responses stating that Moroccans were often described as "criminals" and "thieves." As a follow-up question, they were asked if these perceptions mattered to them, and another participant named Rania, a 12 year-old girl of Tunisian origin, raised the issue of feeling safe. Rania explained that it was important to her that people in the youth program she attended did not hold those deficit views about Moroccans or Muslim youth, because then "I feel safe, then I feel better." Rania's response prompted Noor to divulge her story about feeling unsafe at the hands of the police.

Noor's narrative, prompted by her friend's emphasis on safety, is poignant in that it points to the level of insecurity and fear Muslim youth in the Netherlands live with. In her retelling of being accused of littering, Noor expressed the disbelief she felt in that instant; she knew she was being blamed for something she had not done. She was dumbfounded that a playful moment with her brother had turned into an intimidating confrontation with an authority figure. She felt powerless and did as she was told in an effort to avoid getting into more trouble. By intending "to scare" her brother by ducking and yelling, "police," Noor was playing on an image of the police officer as an authority figure to be feared.

Noor was further intimidated and felt afraid after spotting the man at her school during an event. It was obvious that the incident had left a real imprint on Noor; not only had she shared the story with us, but both her sister Naheda and her sister's best friend Amina knew the details of the story. Both girls, also participants in the focus group, explained that Noor had been falsely accused and corroborated that after the incident the man had attended an event at their school. Noor's perception that he was there to possibly harass or intimidate her was a result of her feeling like she was under surveillance and under constant watch. Because the school had a relationship with the police, it is possible that the police officer was there in an official capacity. Unfortunately, neither Noor nor her peers sought adult support by sharing details of the incident or their concerns about the man's presence with an adult in their school building.

Muslim youth in the Netherlands understand that the labels of thieves and criminals render them unsafe at the hands of the police. It is not their safety and security that is being protected or for which the officer is responsible for maintaining. Several of the schools that the youth participants attended had links to the police through community police liaisons. And while young people did not seem to be as aware of the arrangement, they were definitely aware of being watched by those entrusted by the state to protect them.

Like Rania and Noor, Dutch-born Muslim youth are struggling to succeed in school and develop into young adults while having to reconcile the social tensions and the blatant moral exclusion they experience (Opotow, 2005; Sirin & Fine, 2008). Moreover, they struggle to belong to a society that often warns them that their cultural and/or religious practices and beliefs make them incompatible with Dutch society. Set up

as the feared Muslims in social and cultural spheres, the "us/them" dichotomy is also reproduced within Dutch policy, which identifies Muslim youth (namely Moroccans and Turks) as "target groups" (Roes, 2008) and serves to demarcate their exclusion and to emphasize their classification as a problem. In addition, media representations produce and reproduce demonized images of Muslim youth absorbed by individuals, and adopted in institutions as is illustrated above in the incident with the police officer. These negative visual representations help to create and maintain a hostile environment.

It is under these highly contentious and contradictory conditions that Dutch-born Muslim youth are coming of age in a country that prides itself on being one of the most tolerant in the world, and, this, while fears of the rapid growth of the Muslim second generation contribute to racialized discourses that confound country of origin (e.g., Morocco, Egypt, Turkey) with religious radicalism (e.g., Muslim) and criminality. In this context, racist notions about Muslims permeate every level of Dutch society. The myth of tolerance is perpetuated, and the racism that exists is not acknowledged. On the contrary, excavating racism is often considered divisive, counter to social cohesion, and self-victimizing. What is remarkable about these social discourses[14] in the Netherlands is not that racism and anti-immigrant sentiments exist, but that in the shadow of tolerance they are often vehemently denied. Also remarkable is that despite that deep-seated denial, the young participants of this study had the ability to name and identify the sometimes nuanced, sometimes covert racist experiences they encountered on a daily basis across multiple levels of their lives.

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[14] The definition of the term *discourse* applied in this chapter is understood as follows: "a social, not an individual behavior….language behavior [that] determines actions and possesses power….[it] constitutes reality…does not manifest actions: It is action" (Jäger, 1993 cited in Wodak & Reisigl, 1999, p. 193).

All of the young people in this study expressed concerns about the prevailing negative stereotypes of Muslim (specifically Moroccan) youth that could lead to them being excluded and shunned in school, on the playground, and in the labor market. They were tired, for example, of watching old women grab their bags tightly in fear or cross the street to avoid them. Musa, a 12 year-old boy attending an after-school homework group, expressed, "I really don't want..that they think negative about me...otherwise I will be refused job applications or something, and, uh, friendships." He later added:

> They [native Dutch] said…a big part of Moroccans steal, and they involve all of us in it too..and, yes, sometimes you just can't go to the playground, for example when all Dutch people play soccer together and, uh, and you ask if you can join, they usually all refuse.

His groupmate, 13 year-old Ahmed, worried that the negative stereotypes led native Dutch people to "only think about the problems they have with us. Meanwhile, they don't look at the good things about us." Ahmed, Musa and the other 23 youth participants described the ways in which they understood and were affected by the dominant discourses that maintain negative perceptions about Moroccans and Muslims in the Netherlands. Their articulation of the ways in which these discursive conflicts penetrate their lives is described in this chapter.

The results presented in this chapter help to answer the following research questions: To what extent do dominant Dutch integration discourses positively or negatively affect the educational opportunities offered Muslim youth by programs created to serve them? How do young Muslim participants perceive the messages? While my research questions referred to discourses that address integration, the data demonstrate

that concerns about the integration of immigrants are explained, supported, and reinforced by a compilation of overlapping and intersecting discourses discussed here. And while my original intent was to understand how these discourses were reflected in the youth programs which the participants of this study attended, an ecological approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1977) necessitates that these discourses first be examined within social, political, and cultural domains. Therefore, the data and the corresponding analysis presented in this chapter provide both explicit and implicit examples of the discursive practices that were deployed in multiple domains and the ways they pervade the everyday (Essed, 1990).

It was through the stories of young people and the concerned adults who worked with them that I learned about the multiple layers of exclusion and racism that are a part of their lived reality. I had not anticipated this level of complexity and contradiction, and many things alarmed me, such as the commitment and loyalty to the status quo some expressed and the numbness and normalcy with which others responded to these daily practices. In interviews and focus groups, and in informal conversations, it was obvious that participants wanted to help me, the foreign scholar, understand just how bad it really was. Early on during my fieldwork, when I talked to adults about the experiences of Muslim youth in the context of supplemental education programs (Zhou & Kim, 2006), the goals of the organizations for which they worked, or the issues facing Muslim youth in the Netherlands, inevitably concerns, contradictions or worries about tolerance, social cohesion, the representation of Muslims and Moroccans, and criminality surfaced very clearly. Believing as Josselson (2004) conveys that "a told story conceals an untold one" (p. 13) these conversations led me to dig deeper.

Guided by an epistemological principle that positions participants as the experts of their own lives, I brought my initial findings to a handful of context informants. They verified that my analysis of the discursive practices (Guba & Lincoln, 1989), which supported, contradicted, and augmented the pervasive racism and social exclusion to which Muslim youth were subjected, was indeed accurate. Receiving confirmation of these early findings led me to question further the ways in which these discourses affected the lives of Muslim youth and to ask young people questions about the perceptions of Muslims they believed were part of the Dutch imaginary.

The intent of presenting the discursive themes that surfaced throughout the course of this study is not simply to situate the lives of the young participants; rather, it is to uncover the ways in which these discursive practices mediated by policy and history surround and permeate the lives of young people. Consequently, the resulting analytical framework for this chapter presents findings in two overarching categories – tolerance and criminality. Grounded in critical literature originating in the Netherlands and in Europe, narratives of young people, adults' interviews, and participant observations are triangulated to create an understanding of the hostile context that exists behind a mask of tolerance. The image of Dutch society as tolerant, open, and accepting is challenged by the manifestations of racism and Islamaphobia across contexts. The demonizing labels which frame Muslim youth as a criminal element to be feared are explored. These labels include "hang around" youth and youth "radicalized" into Islam. In addition to these dominant conversations and perceptions, responses to and illustrative examples of negative images are explored through media artifacts such as newspaper articles, advertisements, television commercials, websites, and photographs.

The discursive themes explored in this chapter are based on patterns and threads that were repeated throughout the period of fieldwork within multiple contexts and across participant groups (Miles & Huberman, 1994) and which are supported in existing research about the tensions in the Netherlands around immigrants, people of color, and Muslims (Aouragh, 2009; Essed, 1990; van der Veer, 2006). While this is not an exhaustive description of the dominant discourses that are present in relationship to immigrant-origin youth and Muslim immigrants, these are the most salient discourses echoed again and again that, according to the data, affect the lives of Muslim youth most intimately.

Permeating Discourses

I interviewed a progressive secondary school teacher, Maarten, who is a White Dutch man critical of the Dutch government and of oppressive and exclusionary social practices perpetuated against immigrants. I asked Maarten if young people had a sense of their parents' (mostly their fathers'[15]) migration stories and the conditions under which they were recruited as "low skilled, uneducated laborers" – a common characterization of immigrants by the dominant group. He explained that his immigrant-origin students did not have a sense of their parents' migration stories or what they had to contend with once they arrived. Maarten witnessed the dehumanizing conditions under which immigrant laborers were housed and the ways they were treated, as his own mother worked as a translator for a factory in the 1970s.

[15] Lucassen (2005) and others that write about the history of migration to the Netherlands report that it was men who were recruited in Morocco and Turkey. Subsequently, families were separated and women and children migrated after family reunification was permitted. See Chapter 3 for more on the history of migration.

> Maarten: They were the first generation migrant workers. They were not allowed to work together with Dutch people. They did work that was..in that sense illegal. It wasn't allowed for Dutch people to do [that work] because of safety violations. They were living, in pensions that first decade. I've been in a Turkish pension, which was right across the central station of [name of town]. I think they chased out the rats so the Turkish could live there. They were NOT allowed to learn Dutch…Everyday it was clear to them, "We're going back once we make enough money." So one of the main things that I think is also under discussion is "We've been too soft on migrants. We've been too soft."
>
> Mayida: Who says that? Whose perception?
>
> Maarten: Everyone's, ninety percent of the population.
>
> Mayida: Including Moroccan kids? Moroccan migrants?
>
> Maarten: Yeah because what they know is what's written in the newspapers and one of the things that is said is that "They didn't want to learn our language. They didn't want to learn our customs, and we've been so nice to them and they just isolated themselves." But, they were isolated, they were NOT allowed to..so it's blaming the victim.

As a result of what he witnessed, Maarten was committed to teaching his students the real history of immigration to the Netherlands and to helping them think critically about the past in connection to the present. His narrative illustrates the importance of linking history to present teaching, to the creation of dominant discourses, and to the role of the media. His approach of presenting students with historically accurate and critical content is valued in a school that has a reputation of producing high performing immigrant-origin youth and providing a significant structure of support – a phenomenon explored further in Chapter 5.

Maarten's statement encapsulates many of the dominant discourses that are used to explain the economic and social position of immigrants in the Netherlands, particularly those who migrated from Muslim countries. The focus of the pervading dialogue is on immigrants' (particularly Muslims') lack of willingness to integrate into Dutch society

and their resistance to Dutch culture and Dutch language, without any acknowledgement of how the first generation was systematically excluded and prohibited from living among Dutch people, learning the Dutch language and simply envisioning a future for themselves in a country that defined their stay as temporary. In this case, an absence, a distortion or an erasure of history serves to feed the stories created about the recalcitrant Muslims who because of their own "choices" have become a problem. Maarten's words demonstrate what Wodak and Resigl (1999) describe as one of the functions of discourse, "Racist opinions and beliefs are produced and reproduced by means of discourse, and through discourse, discriminatory exclusionary practices are prepared, promulgated, and legitimated (p. 175-176)." With this frame in mind, the following categories of discursive practices point to this historical memory lapse, the ways in which the idea of the "Muslim problem" (specifically the problem of Muslim youth) has been constructed, and the resulting exclusionary and racist practices that have been justified to address the "discomfort of equality[16]".

(In)tolerance Talk

> Tolerance is always expressed towards the tolerated…from the tolerating agent's position of power. I have the power and position to tolerate you. I am active; you the tolerated passive, powerless to effect me in my tolerating save to get under my skin, make me even less accepting of your distinction. My social power to tolerate you turns on all those like me likewise disposed towards you. Terminating angels.

[16] This term is from the title of an article by Leo Lucassen (n.d.). The article explores "the emergence of public and political concerns about the integration of migrants and their descendants in Western Europe" (p. 24).

> Race disappears into the seams of sociality, invisibility holding the social fabric together even as it tears apart (Goldberg, 2006, pp. 338-339).

As country that hosts the International Court of Justice, the Netherlands strongly defends its concept of tolerance as a model of acceptance and liberty, representing itself as a nation where people of multiple cultures and faiths have lived in harmony. Tolerance is a core value of a country respected for its vanguard policies legalizing same-sex marriages and extending equal protections under the law for gay and lesbian couples. But tolerance is an abstract, subjective, if not a slippery concept, and as Goldberg (2006) explains above, an expression of acceptance in which the person doing the tolerating holds the power to permit the existence of the "Other" (Said, 1979). While the Dutch constitution begins with an anti-discrimination statement, the level of tolerance shown to immigrants and their Dutch-born children, in practice, contradicts that promise of justice. Ironically, the model of acceptance and liberty the Netherlands applies within its own borders is not one that other countries should follow.

During my fieldwork, tolerance as a value embodied with contradiction was an issue often raised in community dialogues, interviews and conversations with youth workers and many young people. Conversely, concerns about the lack of tolerance demonstrated by Muslim youth for Dutch holidays and traditions were part of the public discourse that affected the types of activities and events young people attending youth programs were expected to join.

The Day of Remembrance is a significant Dutch holiday honoring Dutch citizens who died in World War II and the millions of victims of the Holocaust. As part of the cultural capital they tried to impart, one of the organizations I spent time with took young

people to the commemorating event held in Amsterdam. The purpose of this activity, as leaders of the organization told me, was to teach immigrant-origin youth about Dutch history and, most importantly, to teach them to respect Dutch traditions. Those attending the event congregated on Museumplein. I found it odd that the young people in our group garnered a lot of media attention and that many photographers used the presence of immigrant-origin youth, particularly the few veiled Muslim girls in the group, as a photo opportunity. Hundreds (mainly middle-aged native Dutch people) marched in silence from Museumplein to Dam Square, and when the young people in our group whispered to one another, several adults not involved with the organization shushed them. At Dam Square, the young people waited patiently for their turn to lay flowers on the monument as numerous dignitaries spoke of the great loss the Netherlands had suffered during WWII (see Figure 2). The mentors complained that it was too cold to have the children outdoors for that many hours, yet, the young people watched excitedly as the Queen walked through the crowd (see Figure 3). An older Dutch woman was curious about their presence at the event and chatted with one of the young Muslim boys in the group. One of the mentors commented to me that their presence challenged the idea native Dutch had about rowdy and disrespectful Muslim and allochtonen youth[17].

[17] The Pew Global Attitudes Project (2005) conducted a study comparing popular views about Jews, Christians, and Muslims within countries in the west. Out of nine countries listed, including the U.S., people in the Netherlands (followed by Germany) had the most unfavorable views (51%-45%) of Muslims in their society.

Figure 2 Youth laying flowers at a monument on the Day of Remembrance

Figure 3 Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands at the Day of Remembrance Ceremony Dam Square, Amsterdam

The belief that Muslim youth did not respect Dutch traditions was made explicit by what I observed and by those with whom I spoke. The public debate about this issue had been fueled the previous year when several youth were seen on surveillance cameras

kicking around one of the flower wreaths placed at the monument. As a result, the group of young people I observed was burdened with the responsibility of proving that they were indeed tolerant. The idea that it was these young people, this group of Muslim, immigrant and/or poor youth, who needed to be taught tolerance seemed to be of great concern to several of the mentors with whom I spoke. As a result of the poor choices of a few and the perpetuated notion that Moroccan youth did not respect the Dutch value of tolerance, the youth were expected to represent all Muslim and Moroccan youth at all times, particularly on this occasion in front of TV cameras and the nation's dignitaries.

Additionally, one of the mentors shared with me that the history remembered on this day did not sufficiently acknowledge the loss of life of soldiers from Dutch colonies who fought on behalf of the Dutch colonial power. This kind of erasure was the kind of hegemonic practice that enraged many and made the stories of immigrants across multiple communities invisible. Therefore, public remembrances served as opportunities to re-write the collective memory of the Dutch populace and correct the historical wrongs. Unfortunately, the opportunity was missed on this occasion.

In Defense of Freedom of Expression

Dutch tolerance began to unravel in the international spotlight after the public and brutal murder of Theo van Gogh in late 2004, "in the bombing of schools of the different, criminalization of the distinct, demonization of the damned" (Goldberg, 2006, p. 339). Van Gogh, a filmmaker and media personality whose murder was considered "a threat to openness and social cohesion" (Buijs, 2009, p. 422) was regarded as edgy and admiringly controversial by many in the Dutch populace who loved the drama he created. His vile references to Muslims left many with mouths gaping and gave others permission to freely

use profane hate speech, like calling Muslims "the secret column[18] of goat-fuckers" (van der Veer, 2006). Although van Gogh was sued for libel and slander on multiple occasions, he was not held accountable for his racism; instead, his freedom to express himself was upheld time and again (van der Veer, 2006).

Van Gogh was murdered by a Dutch-born Moroccan man who had been raised in Amsterdam and became associated with a radical Islamist group on the Internet. Almost immediately, the fact that van Gogh's murderer, Mohammad B., was Dutch-born and considered "well-educated and well-integrated" was cause for generalized panic and fear about the potential of "home-grown terrorism" among Muslim youth (Buijs, 2009, p. 423). Those in favor of tougher laws and more restrictive policies against immigrants and Muslims used the murder as evidence that a multicultural society had failed; instead, it had become one in which "'our boys and girls' had turned into murderers" (Buijs, 2009, p. 423). One Muslim man who committed a murder was an indictment of all Muslim youth. Equally sinister and disturbing was the claim that in addition to the "intolerance within Islam" being at the root of the problem, "Muslims' lack of humor" made things more volatile (van der Veer, 2006). The real conflict, van der Veer (2006) challenges, "is the aggression of the Dutch against a Muslim minority that forms some 7 percent of the Dutch population and is by and large a socially and culturally marginal group" (p. 112).

Most of the Muslim youth and many of the young adult Muslims working in youth-serving institutions who participated in this study described experiencing the aggression that had ensued after van Gogh's murder and which placed them under intense

[18] The reference to "column" is a reference to the system of Pillarization that organized Dutch society until 1960s as a system of four pillars each representing a religious or secular group.

scrutiny. For example, Aliah, a well-educated and very successful second-generation Moroccan woman in her early twenties who served as one of my context informants, openly shared her own stories of struggle and exclusion. While Aliah had lived in the Netherlands her whole life, she no longer felt Dutch; rather, she felt like an unwanted outsider disconnected from the country she called home. The tension, the stares, and the questions were a continuous barrage of micro assaults. When Theo van Gogh was murdered, she was asked why she would not stand in his memory with all of the others (including the apologists[19]), and her response was that she did not need to; after all, he was a racist. She was told that her position was not very tolerant, to which she responded, "He wasn't very tolerant was he?" She shared this story with me as she described how she not only felt excluded from Dutch society as a Moroccan-origin woman, but how she experienced questions about her own tolerance as a total contradiction to the protection from hatred to which she was entitled. Instead, it was the protection of self-expression in Dutch society that had allowed the hatred Theo van Gogh expressed against Muslims while her own freedom of expression was questioned. She worried about the repressive direction in which Dutch society was headed as she also remembered her Turkish neighbors who were raided in the middle of the night, their home ransacked after police looked for weapons based on a false accusation.

Saida, a 31 year-old woman who served as a mentor to a 14 year-old Moroccan girl, explained to me that things were much more difficult for the current generation of Moroccan and Muslim youth in the Netherlands than they had been when she was

[19] The term refers to those in the Muslim community who after the murder of Theo van Gogh felt they had to take responsibility and apologize to the Dutch nation for the actions of one of their own.

growing up. The negative representations and the expressions of hatred were not only more blatant and frequent, they had become acceptable. She worried that in addition to being relentlessly confronted with images of Moroccan youth as criminals, they were thought of as belonging to the same group as those responsible for the attacks in the U.S. on 9/11 and the murders of Pim Fortuyn and Theo van Gogh. Alarmed, I asked her, "but I thought the person responsible for killing Fortuyn was a white Dutch man?" And she responded, "Exactly." Yet, these events are grouped together "in one breath," Saida explained.

While the murder of van Gogh created intense generalized fear about the potential of Muslim youth to radicalize, the response to the murder of Pim Fortuyn did not raise similar concerns about the group represented by his murderer, a native Dutch man who was an environmental activist. Why did a parallel discourse about "homegrown environmental terrorists" not exist in the wake of Fortuyn's murder? A rationalizing answer would be that in the post-9/11 context, the specter of Muslim terrorist is an acceptable locus for explaining the instability of Dutch identity, even if it results in establishing mechanisms of control and exclusion (Aouragh, 2009; van der Veer, 2006; Vasta, 2007).

Although people like Theo van Gogh and Pim Fortuyn were not held accountable legally, socially, or politically for their hate speech, the debate about what is acceptable free speech is gaining more ground. The Anne Frank House and the University of Leiden (van Donselaar & Rodrigues, 2008) report that arguments against hate speech include censoring speech that incites violence, and claims that "a great deal of harm can be done even without inciting to [sic] violence, since a more liberal freedom of speech and

expression influences the prevalence of intolerance and discrimination" (p. 1). While this report is hopeful in that it sheds light on the extreme effects of hate speech, the allegiance to freedom of speech in the Netherlands and the way it is defined in absolute terms makes addressing conversations about the harm that words can do to individuals and to society difficult ones to have. Nonetheless, many efforts to promote tolerance are currently being funded through public and private means in the Netherlands and via the European Union (EU). Tolerance, Inc., the organization whose street sign is depicted in Figure 4, led educative campaigns to fight intolerance in the Netherlands before it, ironically, closed in 2003 after loosing its funding.

Figure 4 An Amsterdam street sign promoting "non-violence zones"

Foreigners and Others

To be effective as a popular discourse, intolerance must have its own language, its own lexicon. This language can be used to categorize, to sort, and to draw borders and boundaries that serve to exclude or include certain people or groups. In the Dutch language there are two words common to everyday usage that serve to sort those that belong and those who do not – autochtoon and allochtoon. The word allochtoon (or plural allochtonen) is a new addition to the Dutch dictionary and was created to demarcate the

direct opposite of autochtoon, meaning "native" or "indigenous[20]" Dutch (Essed & Trienekens, 2008). The word allochtoon was first used in policy documents in 1989 (Guiraudon, Phalet, & ter Wal, 2005), and it includes foreign-born children and second-generation children who have at least one foreign-born parent. Some have called for extending this category to include children with foreign-born grandparents. This distinction is a controversial issue, the concern being that the long-standing divide between included and excluded will remain (Ersanili, 2007; Geschiere, 2009). Those who argue in favor of the categorization cite the value of having long-term statistical data about the integration of a third generation of immigrant-origin individuals.

Concerns about the terms allochtonen and autochtonen are directly related to the negative implications and connotations the words carry as Essed and Trienekens (2008) explain:

> Formal distinctions are made between western and non-western allochtonen, the former implicitly representing closeness to western civilization, to economic, technological and social progress. In policy practice allochtoon refers foremost to non-western ethnic groups considered disadvantaged or less integrated into 'modern' societies such as the Netherlands….Ramifications are that allochtonen are informally considered and treated as second-class citizens, never quite Dutch, never quite the norm, always considered as aspiring, as problem, lagging behind (p. 57-58).

As Essed and Trienekens articulate, the distinction is not just one meant to sort immigrants from non-immigrants; it is also about history, power, and class. The terms

[20] *Native* and *indigenous* are terms that also appear in government documents and policies to refer to autochtonous members of the Dutch population.

were meant to clearly define who belonged and who did not, and, later, extended to designate which immigrants should be required to integrate (Geschiere, 2009). All of these connotations serve to divide the desirable immigrants from the undesirable ones.

In spite of the negative connotations, I found that the youngest participants of this study claimed the term allochtonen. It was clear that many among the second generation had re-appropriated the term and viewed the distinction it implied as an additive difference. In one of the focus groups, Reem said what many of her peers exclaimed in others groups, "I see myself as an allochtoon. I am an allochtoon." So even with its limitations and the criticism I heard from those representing the older generation ("We don't like that word"), the term allochtoon has gained currency in youth culture – often featured in rap songs and even T-shirts that publicly allow them to claim their status (see Figure 5). In a sense, identifying themselves as allochtonen is the only way Dutch society allows them to claim their difference.

Figure 5 Allochtoon T-Shirts

In a demographic questionnaire that they were asked to complete for this study, youth participants were more comfortable choosing from among a list of identities such

as Arab, African, Berber, or Moroccan. Only 3 out of 25 young people identified themselves as Dutch, while three others selected the broader term European. In fact the majority of youth participants did not see themselves as both Dutch and Moroccan (or Egyptian and Tunisian) because that idea of claiming both is not accepted in Dutch society and is widely contested in politics as in "one cannot be loyal to two countries." Therefore, in many ways their only choice was to reject being Dutch just as Dutch society has rejected them. During focus group conversations, they separated themselves from the Dutch values and practices with which they did not want to be identified. For instance, they described that native Dutch people did not take off their shoes when entering someone's home, which they believed, was disrespectful. Several of the youth described the rigidness around invitations to share meals as stinginess explaining that if one were invited to a Dutch home bringing an extra guest would be frowned as the host would have only enough food for the exact number of invited guests. Nonetheless, they do not deny their "Dutchness" in the sense that they say I am Dutch I was born here, but they separate themselves from Dutch people in terms of their way of life, their standards, and their values. They were engaged in what cultural studies researchers (Singh & Doherty, 2008) describe, using Spivak's notion of "strategic use of essentialism," as a process of representing themselves as individuals while creating an alliance with others like them. They are proud of their rich, malleable identities (Waters, 1990) and do not buy into the demeaning connotations that are attached to the word allochtonen.

Figure 6 Postcard advertising Ramadan Festival 2007

Essentializing Multiculturalism[21]

In the spirit of tolerance and multiculturalism, multiple private and public institutions in Amsterdam partnered to create Ramadan Festival[22] (see Figurers 6 & 7), an annual month-long series of events intended to increase understanding between Muslims and non-Muslims. In 2007, as part of the third annual festival, I attended several community Iftars or events at which Muslims who observe Ramadan by fasting from sunrise to sunset invite non-Muslims from the community to join them in breaking fast. Individuals, neighbors, or community organizations could apply for funding to hold an Iftar as long as the goal of the event was to improve social cohesion and bridge the social, cultural, and religious divide.

One of the Iftars I attended, which was held in a local community center, drew an intergenerational group of about 20 Dutch and Moroccan people sitting around four

[21] Inspired by the work of Henry Giroux (1997), this title refers to Dutch society's unwillingness to interrogate notions of power while promoting multiculturalism which serves to further essentialize marginalized communities, in this case Muslim immigrants.
[22] www.ramadanfestival.nl/index.php?nav=static&pagina=The_Ramadan_Festival_2008

round tables. The Imam[23] began the evening with the ritual call to prayer and then proclaimed, "Eet smakelijk," literally "delicious eating," a traditional Dutch saying offered before the beginning of a meal. The young women around my table giggled at the Imam's "cute accent." Two middle-aged men moderated the event – one belonged to the Moroccan first generation and the other was a native Dutch man. The Dutch man dominated the role of facilitator and asked the audience to discuss the persistent stereotypes of Moroccans and how those have changed from the first to the second generation. At my table, five women (three Moroccan and two Dutch) discussed in a mixture of Dutch and English (for my benefit) how things had changed. The argument was made that when Moroccan men came, they came to work and they worked hard. The implication was that things were better 10 to 20 years ago and there was less discrimination. One of the women, a second-generation Moroccan, warned others that it was important not to romanticize the past. The debate continued as the women discussed the differences in the level of ambition between the first-generation immigrants and their Dutch offspring. One woman asked, "How can we change the level of ambition so we can change the stereotype?" A university student named Yasmin explained in English, "Actually we're more ambitious than the Dutch. We did it by ourselves. Our parents could not help us." An older native Dutch woman who had lived in Brooklyn for many years commented with awe and admiration that she had "never met such highly educated women before," referring to the Moroccan women sitting at the table.

[23] The Imam is the Muslim religious leader usually representing a particular mosque and/or community.

Figure 7 Ramadan Tent in Dam Square, Amsterdam

Like the event described above and several others that I attended, it is difficult to see the value of this kind of dialogue without identifying the cost to the Muslim community. The aim of these events is to promote important Dutch values such as dialogue, tolerance, compromise and social cohesion (Essed & Nimako, 2006) and to break down barriers between native Dutch and Muslims. Yet, there is no interrogation of the level of openness to diversity on the part of Dutch society, something Dutch social scientists Frank Buijs (2009) says is an integral part of successful integration of immigrants. Instead those at the table being scrutinized and essentialized are immigrants, Moroccans, and Muslims. So it is difficult to recognize the value when the micro assaults that the Muslim participants endure are continuous and relentless. Also problematic is the fact that the facilitators do not have a raised consciousness about the level of racism and discrimination that is present in the room. There is no one in charge of and accountable for deconstructing what is happening. The basic level of conversation is indicative of the

lack of acknowledgement that racism is even a problem. While several of the young people I interviewed reported attending political debates, the presence of youth at this and other Iftars I attended (especially ones which focused on the second generation) was clearly missing.

"Backward" Religion

> Being religious is not hot in this society. If you have a religion you are medieval. That is the problem in dealing with the Islam discussion and also with Hindus and Christians. People don't have respect for people who live by their religion. When we talk with our children the first thing they say, "The main thing in my life is Allah." And I respect that. But, the people around them they don't give a damn about religion. So they can never understand their way of thinking. For example, when they wear hijab, the Dutch people always ask a hundred times, that is typical tolerance of Holland, "Can you explain to me why you wear this hijab?" They know the answer, but don't listen to the answer. And our children they explain and they explain "Oh, I do it for Allah." But do you think the Dutch people listen to these answers? Never because they have only one thing in mind, "I want you to say that it's a way to repress the women. That is why you wear the hijab." So they are not interested in the answer at all.

Lars, whose quote appears above, was one of the adults I interviewed. He described religious tolerance in the Netherlands as a "dictatorship of secularism" explaining that the notion of religious tolerance was complicated and contradictory as the Dutch claim to value secularity, yet many of the values and norms they promote originate from Christian ideologies. The double standard used against Muslims and the lack of

acceptance of their religious practices were part of the discourse that constructed Islam as a "backward" religion and those that followed it as "uncivilized" and "uncultured." Not only was the lack of religious acceptance a problem, but also the expectation that one must renounce his or her religion in order to "integrate" into Dutch society was made clear. Under these claims, not renouncing one's religion is explained as backward culture and people who need to be corrected (Fekete, 2006).

Lars' desire to reject an ideology that demonizes Islam and burdens young people, came through during the interview as he shifted his position from defining himself within Dutch society to removing himself from the dominant collective. As a Dutch Surinamese man, Lars moved within his multiple identities with ease. However, when I asked him how Dutch values translated into what they tried to teach youth in their program, he moved to a more critical position. The switch in pronouns from "we" to "them" signaled more than an attempt to differentiate ethnicities; he was communicating his ideological distance away from those who ascribe to the Islamaphobia he described.

Lars' quote depicts what Liz Fekete (2006), senior researcher of the Institute of Race Relations' European Race Audit, calls essentialism of Muslim culture that leads to "paternalistic justification of coercive state action…redolent of a colonialist, imperialist western tradition" (p. 17). Under these conditions, the state has to act as the 'good father' to liberate the Muslim child from her bad, biological and cultural father" (p. 17). This justifies the idea that Dutch people know better and need to interfere in order to protect children from their families. Further, Fekete challenges the positions of liberals and feminists, like Ayaan Hirsi Ali, whose film Submission directed by Theo van Gogh, "was no more than the old-age Orientalist sexual fantasy – a call to white men to save Muslim

women from Muslim men" (p. 16). These historically and politically entrenched layers of debate create a very treacherous path for young people to navigate.

All of the youth participants (N=25) of this study clearly identified as Muslim on the demographic questionnaire they were asked to complete, checking it off as one of their many identities. Additionally, they were asked to indicate on a scale of 0 to 10 their level of religiosity (with 0 being secular and 10 pious). The average level of religiosity for the 25 participants was 7.3, with more young people likely to check off 10 for pious (n=7) than those identifying strictly as secular (n=2). In spite of the variation within, their levels of religiosity were conflated and deemed static by Dutch society. They were thought of as a homogeneous group and well into the focus group discussion 13 year-old Ibrahim worried that Islam was generalized as "a religion about violence."

The issue of religious tolerance in Dutch society was introduced by participants in all of the focus groups when we asked them how they felt in the programs and why they liked to attend. While the majority talked about feeling accepted in terms of their religious beliefs by adults in the youth programs they attended, the young women's group (ages 14 to 17) talked about feeling shame and anxiety and being misunderstood for their religious beliefs in other spaces such as school. The shared experiences of religious intolerance came through very clearly as the girls chimed in to finish one another's sentences and add to their collective narrative (Wilkinson, 1999) For instance, Samira and Suha cringed at the thought of having to explain to a native Dutch teacher why they might not be able to attend an overnight international field trip; in their perspective, the teacher would inevitably misrepresent their reasons for not being able to go and blame their religion. Reem, who spoke the least in the group, contributed that, "there were other

girls who didn't want to go, or were not allowed to go by their parents. Then the teacher thinks…" Samira finished her sentence saying, "she's being oppressed, blah, blah, blah" indicating she had heard this many times before. Suha continued explaining why this scenario was problematic, "because you don't like to explain things all the time." Chema interrupted, demanding her right, "yes it has to be respected." And Suha continued getting to the crux of the issue, "And then defend again. You know!" They were adamant about not wanting to be put in a position of having to defend their reasons for not attending a field trip or any other school event. Being asked over and over again, as Lars described above, can be a real emotional burden.

Also responding from a place of self-protection and preservation, 12 year-old Ahmed told us his approach to dealing with religious intolerance. "If they think bad about us we can think bad about them too." He linked religious intolerance to Wilders and rejected his claims (and society's claims) that Islam was repressive to women.

> Geert Wilders says that the movie will come because he wants to tell the truth, but that's not the truth at all. Because the woman, women that wear a headscarf choose for it. They are not really forced to do so, because uh when they leave the house, they can do whatever they want, they are not being stopped by someone or something.

The film to which Ahmed was referring was the highly anticipated film by parliamentarian Geert Wilders. Released in 2008, the inflammatory short film called Fitna was meant to be a follow-up to van Gogh and Hirsi Ali's film. In it, Wilders equated Islam with violence, terrorism, and mass destruction and death and warned viewers of the dangers of Islam. The outrage and dissent that it ignited, led the Dutch

prime minister to publicly denounce the film claiming it did not represent Dutch society's view about Islam. Ahmed's wisdom and ability to respond in an articulate matter to these complex and painful issues are a testament to the weight of Islamaphobia young people must carry. Meanwhile the struggle with religious intolerance some of the adults I interviewed exhibited indicated just how much heavier the burden on young people really was. Karim, one of the confident and ambitious mentors, told me that, "Now everyone who is a Muslim thinks, 'Wow, I don't even dare to say I'm a Muslim,' because everything is the war against terrorism." In other words, if coping with not being accepted is difficult for adults, it can only be that much more difficult for young people.

The notions that Lars described, that those practicing Islam were "backwards," "uncivilized," "intolerant," and "repressive", were repeated throughout multiple levels of Dutch society and were the basis for a particular brand of Islamaphobia strengthened by racist and classist notions of the culture of poverty. An increased presence in the political arena of xenophobic political parties representing the right-wing have emerged in the Netherlands beginning with the party spearheaded by Pim Fortyun until his murder in 2002 (Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, & Passy, 2005) Most public were the claims by Geert Wilders, a Dutch parliamentarian elected by popular vote, who demanded that Muslims should leave the Netherlands if they did not adhere to Dutch principles. The emergence of Geert Wilders and the anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim hatred that he continues to spew under the guise of free speech has spurred a strong collective movement against racism and oppression (see Figure 8).

United Against Racism, a grassroots organization based in Amsterdam, has organized rallies, debates and lectures to stimulate action and discussions to address the

anger Wilders has incited and the fact that he is allowed (sometimes even encouraged) to attack Muslims living in the Netherlands. In March 2007, I attended an event held on the International Day Against Racism to address the controversies, fears, and concerns many had about the messages being discharged by the extreme right. The posters for the event read, "Islam is not the enemy. Hate is not the solution. Together against racism." Over 2000 people were in attendance, and a screen had been set up outside of the auditorium to serve the overflow. United Against Racism was under attack by the extreme right for holding an event that criticized a member of the Dutch Parliament at the University of Amsterdam, a state-funded institution. Furthermore, news media and liberal groups criticized them for framing the discussion in terms of racism, as this would alienate discussions about valid social problems.

Figure 8 "Geert Wilders. Extremist. Harms You and Society Seriously"[24]

[24] A poster created by the Amsterdam chapter of the International Socialists (2007) to protest Geert Wilders' racist campaign. The poster, depicting a box of Marlboro cigarettes, uses the health warning printed on cigarettes to warn the Dutch public.

While Wilders represents the most vulgar and exaggerated sentiments reflected in Dutch society, he was, after all, elected by popular vote, and his perspectives resonate with many. Wilders was not just one bad apple as some would like to claim. In fact, as Samira reminded us, "there are rotten apples everywhere."

Victims and Perpetrators [25]

> Mayida: What has changed in the city for Moroccan children, for allochtonen children, for children in general in terms of the issues they have to deal with. Ten years ago, 20 years ago compared to today?
>
> Teacher: ….I worry about the group of boys and girls – how they act on the street. It's awful sometimes. And I think that's an attitude that has to be changed. Because it is negative and negative attitude. And that's a negative perception. Well..
>
> Mayida: How do some of the children act because I have had very little experience of seeing the children outside?
>
> Teacher: Well, they are macho and try to hurt you. So long as they are here in the classroom everything is ok. But you are going out, outside and you have the street mentality. Then you have to do the things you don't do in the class. I think that's a problem because you want to belong to a group of boys or girls. And yes. The group is important for you, and that's a problem. Several children of younger groups here they are known to the police already.
>
> Mayida: Really? How old are they?
>
> Teacher: Seven. Seven.
>
> Mayida: Really?
>
> Teacher: And I think why? Why?
>
> Mayida: So they're known by the police because of things they've done on the street?
>
> Teacher: Yes, yes. And that's what I'm worrying about. When you have a conversation with those parents, "No, no, not my son." And I think why deny it. Talk; try to seek a solution for it.

[25] This title is inspired by text in an Anne Frank Foundation report (2008).

Mayida: Is this a relationship between the police and the school?

Teacher: Yes. We have a school agent and a neighborhood policeman. That's a very good contact. I have to say. So we know of some of the children they are known. They inform us.

Mayida: So they inform you of what's happening with the children outside of school?

Teacher: They inform us. We try to..yeah.

Mayida: What kinds of things would a seven year old for example be known by the police for? What kinds of things would they have done?

Teacher: Disturbing [the peace]. Hitting parked cars. Throwing stones, vandalism. I think it is…I don't like it. So young!

The concerns expressed by Johanne, the primary school teacher above, for the immigrant-origin students with whom she worked speaks to the public discourse that frames Muslim youth in Dutch society (specifically Moroccans[26]) as a group to be feared. This teacher, who has taught immigrant-origin children at a neighborhood primary school for several decades, is a caring educator who informs her students and their families of the resources available throughout the city. She taught several of the youth who participated in this study, and they found her to be a reliable ally. In spite of her nurturing efforts, however, she reflected the prevailing perceptions that demonize Moroccan youth in the Netherlands along a spectrum of criminality that includes the labels "hang-around youth", "criminals" and/or "radicals" to mark their behavior. It is important to note that I

[26] While Antilleans, Surinamese, and Turkish youth are also presented in the crime statistics, the greatest concern in policy and public discourse is about Moroccan youth (Roes, 2008). Diane, one of the adults I interviewed, had formerly worked with youth in prisons and now focused her attention on empowering young people in the Black community in Amsterdam. She explained how other groups were now being "ignored" as the primary focus was on the "feared Muslim youth." In reality, however, poor and working class Black youth from Suriname and other former Dutch colonies, along with Moroccan and Turkish youth, continued to be overrepresented in terms of the number of convicted youth receiving longer prison terms and serving time.

asked her what had changed in the city for Moroccan, allochtonen, and all children in general (as these are the common categories to which I heard adults refer), and her answers focused on criminal behavior. Her responses illustrate how even the most well-intentioned individuals can internalize the pervasive dominant discourses.

Even though I had already been in Amsterdam for four months when I interviewed Johanne, I was surprised to hear just how early Moroccan children and youth are introduced to law enforcement. What Johanne revealed added layers of complexity to my understanding of the pervasive discourses of criminality that surrounded Moroccan youth. It was difficult for me to comprehend, and as an outsider this information did not fit into any paradigm with which I was familiar. Wanting to make sure I did not misunderstand, I probed further and asked the teacher, "How old? What are they known for?", etc.

The narrative that presents Moroccans as criminals reverberates throughout Dutch society – at the policy level, in schools, in neighborhoods, and in the everyday experiences of young people. Of all the discursive practices described thus far, the set of constructs described in this section are directly aimed at Muslim[27] youth. There are integrated policy efforts that cut across government agencies and ministries that aim to address these concerns about "radicalization" and "criminality." These concerns about criminality, which are often conflated with religious affiliation, lead to policy measures that focus on intervention and prevention. This is a point to which I will return in Chapter

[27] However, while other marginalized youth are also overrepresented in crime statistics, the group that garners the most attention is Moroccan youth. Therefore, the references in this section to Moroccans (and not to Muslims) are meant to reflect that reality. Nonetheless, the data show that Muslim youth of other ethnic backgrounds also experience the stigma attached to Moroccans.

5. After a snapshot of crime statistics and reports regarding immigrant-origin youth, and specifically Moroccan youth, what follows is an examination of each of these categories through participants' responses that support, challenge or demonstrate ambivalence about being framed as "criminal" or "at-risk" in the media, at school, and on the street.

Interrogating Crime Statistics

In a recent report published by FORUM: The Institute for Multicultural Development (2008) about "The Position of Muslims in the Netherlands," in a section entitled Turkish, Moroccan People and Criminality, the authors explain that while "Muslims are not implicitly associated with crime….The image of Moroccans is influenced negatively as the crime incidence of Moroccan youth is disproportionately high and crimes are committed in specific areas of the city" (p. 28). Furthermore, they state, "Moroccans show the second highest crime rates. Violent and non-violent thefts, verbal abuse, vandalism and disturbance of the peace are the most common charges. They are less likely to commit sexual offences" (p. 28).

Moreover, according to The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SPC) (Roes, 2008), girls and boys from immigrant-origin groups are more often suspected of crimes than their native Dutch counterparts. For girls 12 to 17 years of age, 1.2% of "ethnic minorities" and 0.5% "indigenous Dutch…appear in the records as suspects; the comparable figures for boys are 4.9% and 2.0%, respectively" (p. 96). For young women 18 to 24 the percentages are the same as the younger age category. Whereas, the percentage of young immigrant-origin men who are known as suspects to the police is double compared to young native Dutch men, 7.5% and 3.8%, respectively. Furthermore, in their report, the SPC singles out the Moroccan first and second generation, stating that

they "are much more often crime suspects than the indigenous population and most other ethnic groups" (p. 96). These statistics published by the SPC and the statements from FORUM show a staggering reality of the extent to which Moroccan youth are "known to the police." But how did they become known? What does it mean to be known to the police? These are important, critical questions.

The data are presented without interrogating the racial/ethnic/religious profiling practices that led to the arrests of Moroccan youth included in these statistics. The overrepresentation of Moroccan youth in these statistics needs to be examined further to understand the correlations between racial profiling and tougher sanctions for behaviors more often demonstrated by Moroccan youth as compared to native Dutch. That level of examination is beyond the scope of this study, but what is significant to note is that others in the academic and policy worlds are responding with alarm and concern regarding this issue (Goodey, 2006). Even though the public claim is that Muslims are not implicitly associated to crime, the anxieties about Moroccan youth and crime imply a direct correlation between the two. According to Goodey (2006) from the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia,

> Negative criminal stereotyping of certain minority populations has served to support and reinforce the practice of ethnic profiling….As the police are the main gatekeepers for people's entry into the criminal justice system, through their decision about who to police, their discriminatory policing of certain groups has a knock-off effect with respect to who enters that system….certain communities find themselves on the receiving end of police attention (p. 207).

This title of this section, Victims and Perpetrators, is inspired by text in a report published by the Anne Frank House called *Racism & Extremism Monitor* (van Donselaar & Rodrigues, 2008). Determining who are the victims and who are the perpetrators is not a simple task when one considers the racist driven overrepresentation of Moroccan youth in crime statistics, the socio-economic conditions, and the rate of unemployment. Goodey's quote above speaks to this reality that in this hostile context an individual could be both perpetrator of the aggression and the victim of a racist society.

In October of 2007, a string of violent crimes within Stadsdeel Slotervaart, a predominately immigrant municipality in the western outskirts of Amsterdam, brought to the surface many of the fears about potential rioting and widespread unrest among Moroccan youth and the resulting discipline-and-punish tactics being endorsed by many in the government. Over the course of a few days, several deaths led to anger and protests – a conflict between two young men (a Moroccan boy, and a Turkish boy) resulted in the Moroccan boy's death; and three days later a 22 year-old mentally disturbed Moroccan man was shot and killed by police after he attacked a female police officer. In the streets, young people expressed their outrage about the killings and some took to burning cars in front of the police station. According to a report on the DutchNews.nl (2007, October 18) "despite the car blaze and heavy police presence, the area was mainly quiet." At least eight young men were arrested, and news reports warned that Paris riots could erupt in Amsterdam if the government did not do more. Five of those arrested were "taken into custody on suspicion of planning to cause trouble" (DutchNews.nl., 2007, October 18) – a new measure introduced as a result of the events that transpired that week.

The local council chairman (or mayor, as he is popularly known) Ahmed Marcouch[28] called for "the police to get tough on the troublemakers" (DutchAmsterdam.nl., 2009, April 20). "Confronted with declining authority" (Buijs, 2009, p. 423), these cumulative events led to the escalation toward hard line social control through policy and police tactics. Slotervaart, the type of community that Goodey describes above, has garnered a lot of police attention. The effects of ethnic profiling on the lives of young people have detrimental (possibly fatal) effects, and the call to action, to investigate ethnic profiling and question police practices, must be heeded.

Perceptions of Hang-Around Youth

Hang-around youth, or hangjongeren as they are known in Dutch, is a term used to refer to adolescents who hang out on the street, in their neighborhoods, and/or under bridges, or to describe "problem" or "criminal" youth (Martineau, 2006). For some, hanging around is considered a normal adolescent activity, while for others, it is deemed an unlawful offense. Anthropologist Erin Martineau (2006) studied the phenomenon of hang-around youth in the Netherlands and found that several factors, including the class and ethnic origin of the hangjongeren and the age and ethnicity of those filing complaints with the police, affected who was allowed and entitled to hanging around and who was not. She reported that ethnic difference and hanging-around behavior where often conflated, and that even though she was not studying the phenomenon as an ethnic problem, but as a social concern, what she found was a stark difference in reactions to

[28] A former police officer and a social democrat, Marcouch is very controversial in his stance regarding Moroccan youth. He has recently begun promoting the deportation of young men who are "known criminals" and do not have a Dutch passport back to Morocco (DutchAmsterdam.nl, 2009, April 20).

native Dutch kids who hang around and the ways these same behaviors were used to criminalize Moroccan youth.

Both male and female participants in my study discussed the issue of hang-around youth in all six focus groups; they were all aware of the negative connotations the term carried in reference to Moroccan youth. It was surprising that this issue was on the forefront of their minds, especially because the term had not been part of our discussions. They were prompted to make a list of the activities in which they participated and then asked, "Why do you think the government spent money so all of these things on your list can exist?" In other words, social tensions on the street and in regard to youth were not and had not been a part of our conversations.

While they described other reasons for programs being funded, such as integration and improving academic performance,[29] the most salient and immediate response they provided dealt with the issue of youth hanging around and the government's investment in preventing the behavior. Hosam, a coordinator for after-school homework groups, who told me that, "the issue of hang-around youth is the only reason that motivates support of this project", confirmed what the youth believed. Rachid, for example, stated what many of his peers in other groups echoed, that the government funded their program "because they want young people to get off the streets!" Demonstrating the extent to which she had internalized the need for intervention, Nabila explained that the government spends money so "you will not wander on the streets 24 hours a day, and you will not break things for nothing, no vandalism" – actions that would highly unlikely be committed by any of the youth with whom we spoke.

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[29] These factors will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 5.

Young people in half of the groups discussed how the strategies to prevent hang-around youth had led to positive outcomes. Samir, a 12 year-old primary school student, explained how he benefited from having the government fund youth programs. “Actually if the politicians hadn’t done this, then we would stay hanging outside. It’s good what they did.” In a different group Hamid added, “Here [in Amsterdam] we have more hangjongeren and so because in the beginning people had nothing to do that’s why they do all of those activities so they can also learn and get to know other people and so on.” In another part of the city, 13-year old Rachid was in his second year of gymnasium, the highest academic track available. He felt the outcomes of getting young people off the streets were positive because “they study better and have better futures...just for kids, the best for them.”

What is significant to note about all of these responses is that the participants of this study would not have been defined as hang-around youth. This population was selective in the sense that they were recruited through youth programs; they were help seekers and did not fit the stereotypical profile of hang-around youth. Yet, every group inserted the term hang-around youth as an issue of concern that led to the government funding programs or as an image that occupied Dutch society’s collective consciousness and increased fears about Moroccan youth.

The issue of hangjongeren is more than an issue in the media or a nuisance to complain about. Concerns about Moroccan youth hanging around have resulted in greater restrictions of public space (Karsten, 2005). In an interview with Janeke, a coordinator of one of the youth programs which served as a sampling site for the study, she expressed concern about the lack of play spaces for kids in the neighborhood. When the primary

school children she worked with played in the schoolyard that faces residential buildings, neighbors filed “noise” complaints – a common complaint cited against hang-around youth. As a result of the heightened anxiety about their disgruntled neighbors, the adults who ran the program had to severely limit the amount of time children were allowed outdoors. What is most striking is the fact that this program (housed within a community school) is located in a neighborhood notorious for racial profiling of immigrant-origin youth and for the death of a young Moroccan man who was killed after joy riding and being chased down by police. Noor, the young girl whose story appears at the beginning of this chapter, who told of feeling intimidated by the police after being accused of littering, also lives in this neighborhood.

So if playing in the schoolyard is not an option, and playing outdoors comes with many risks, what are the alternatives for children and young people who need safe outdoor spaces? What message does that send children about their ability to play freely? What are the implications if spending time outdoors is viewed as an annoying or even threatening act to many in their own neighborhoods? These limitations and restrictions raise many questions about what are allowable behaviors in public spaces for young people under scrutiny and surveillance.

Fears of Radicalization

After the murder of Theo van Gogh a policy shift led to focus on preventing “extremist violence among radical Islamic youth” (Slootman & Tillie, 2006, p. 3). Although the term radicalization was not a significant part of interviews and focus groups conducted with youth, the attention it received from policy makers and academics made it a relevant part of the discourse on criminality. Although few students seemed to be aware

the term, several did offer a reaction to this extreme label in the context of our discussion about public perceptions of Muslim and/or Moroccan youth. In particular, the murderer of Theo van Gogh, Mohammad B. (as he is widely known), and Geert Wilders were set apart as examples of extremism and radicalism (terms they used interchangeably).

In one of the all-girl groups, Samira, who wears a veil and considers herself pious, differentiated herself from the extreme and radical elements of Islam, which she believed to be one and the same.

> Radicalization is actually the same as extremism. Extremism, yes the burqa, I think..I don't like it at all. If you want to wear one go to Saudi Arabia or something, but this is Europe you know. If people look strangely at them, I would understand because this isn't an Islamic country. This is Holland.

Suha supported her and added, "It's not part of Islam either." Samira contributed saying, "And Mohammad B. of course, that's radicalization too" referring to the murderer of Theo van Gogh. Suha chimed in, "And Wilders." Samira agreed that Wilders also represented radicalization and critiqued his call for Muslims to "become Dutch citizens." As if speaking back to him, Samira said emphatically, "I do have the Dutch passport, Dutch nationality, but I feel Moroccan."

In her definition, Samira challenged the extremes on either end separating herself from Muslim extremists and Dutch extremists. She claimed herself, her identity as a Dutch citizen who "feels" Moroccan. With her responses, Suha turned the definition of radicalization on its head to refer to radical and extreme Dutch people (in this case politicians) while defending her religion and challenging the notion that "extreme" practices like wearing a Burqa are part of Islam.

The definitions offered by the youth varied greatly from the definition developed by the Dutch Intelligence Agency (AIVD), which states that radicalism is:

> the active pursuit of and/or support to far-reaching changes in society which may constitute a danger to (the continued existence of) the democratic legal order….The process of radicalization is a person's (growing) willingness to pursue and/or support such changes himself (in an undemocratic way or otherwise), or his encouraging others to do so (cited in Pressman, 2006, p. 2).

This definition of radicalization, which focuses on the process of potentially becoming radicalized, has led to the development of an official "Radicalization Plan" focused on Muslim youth.

In policy and within the academic research that has directly informed it, the distinction is made between radicalization as a state of being and radicalization as a potential process of becoming. According to a study conducted by Slootman and Tillie (2006) at the University of Amsterdam, "2% of Amsterdam Muslims score high on the religious and political dimension. They are not radicals, but are potentially the most receptive to radicalisation" (p. 4). And while the numbers are small, the distinction between "a state of being" and "a potential process of becoming" radicalized has led policy measures and regulatory mechanisms that aim to interrupt the process of radicalization. For instance, in response to fears about radicalization and criminal behavior, the Amsterdam Educational Reporting Centre for Radicalisation (AOR) was created to allow "school boards, teachers and supporting staff from all schools in primary and further education" to report students who they believe are becoming radicalized or demonstrate "radical behavior" (NIS News Bulletin 2006, March 2). Recently, Ahmed

Marcouch drew a great deal of attention and outcry when he proposed using the "Radicalization Plan" to justify deporting two young men born in Morocco but raised in the Netherlands who were allegedly part of a gang on their way to becoming radicalized. The threat of deportation is a recent development in the "get tough on crime" approach, a new weapon being used to deal with the Muslim "problem."

Perpetuated Images

In every focus group, young people talked about the negative images that were circling through their everyday lives. Nabila, a 12 year-old girl who helped us recruit friends at a youth program, was the first in her group to respond to the public perception question by saying, "They think bad about us, they always blame THE Moroccan!" The participants of the other all-girl focus group added that in addition to being thought of as "criminals, you know, hanging on the street" they were thought of as "stupid," having "no life," "no school" and "not [being] successful." Inas, who had been the quietest of the group piped up and said, that "we care about nothing." Rania[30], a Tunisian girl in a different and younger group, said, "often we..all the Moroccans get the blame, so there are no good thoughts about them." Here, the racist eugenics argument is intertwined with fears about Muslims to create this particular form or brand of Islamaphobia.

Speaking among a group of boys, Musa's statement indicated the frequency with which he heard the negativity repeated. He said, "they often, very often talk about Moroccans, Moroccans this, Moroccans that." They talked about the ways in which some of these stereotypical images were formed – in some cases because Dutch people did not

[30] Rania, who is Tunisian, is often referred to as Moroccan like many other North African youth who are categorized and labeled with the ethnic identifier that is most familiar in Dutch society.

understand cultural practices or because they generalized the negative behaviors of some to include the whole group. Nabila continued to explain her point, “For example, one Moroccan steals and then it’s all Moroccans who do that and when one person kills then again it’s all Moroccans. And when a Dutch person does that, they don’t say a thing.” Wafa, agreeing with Nabila, demonstrated her understanding of the double standard that was applied in society. She said, “For example, in a culture like the Dutch a person kills or something, then they think, yeah there is only one or something went wrong.” They realized that the “one bad apple” explanation used often to categorize the behaviors of the dominant group as isolated incidents that did not apply to them.

While recognizing some of the social injustices they had to deal with, they also wanted to take responsibility and hold others in their ascribed ethnic or religious group accountable. For instance, some felt that Moroccans did not understand Dutch people and that they were to blame for doing things that intimidated Dutch people, like hanging out in big groups.

Several participants expressed concern about the derogatory and degrading names that many in Dutch society felt entitled to use and for which they were not held accountable. Hamid explained that one of his teachers called them names as they walked through the hallways. Medina explained that “Most people have a name for Moroccans….The people that hate the allochtonen they have a name for them.” Medina had surprised us with her revelation, as she was quite shy and easily embarrassed. While she did not share the explicatives that were used, Medina wanted to ensure that I knew the level of degradation to which they were often exposed.

Negative Images and the Media

During the focus groups, the young people were asked to explain where they thought the negative perceptions came from, and the resounding response was that they came from the media and were carried over into the everyday. But politicians are also guilty of introducing, perpetrating, and normalizing vicious terms used against Moroccans and Muslims. One of the references, a term introduced by Pim Fortuyn and used freely by others, is Geitenneukers (goat-fuckers); this reference to bestiality was also commonly used by Theo van Gogh. Another politician made headlines using the term Kut-Marokkanen (cunt/fuck-Moroccans) when speaking to Amsterdam Mayor Job Cohen in what he thought was a private exchange that was not being picked up by the microphones. Incredibly disturbing is the level of acceptance and even normalization that these horrifically degrading terms have achieved. During my fieldwork, one of the issues of the University of Amsterdam newspaper, The Folia, had an illustration of a "goat-fucker" on its front cover. While the terms have sparked rappers to compose responses, and there has been some public outrage regarding the use of the terms, according to Aouragh (forthcoming) these terms used in reference to Muslims and Moroccans have hardly been challenged.

Similar to what Martineau (2006) reports, the youth participants in this study often noted how the media would highlight crimes committed by Moroccans and identify them as such while not identifying native Dutch perpetrators. In the discussion below, after the young women described the negative images that were prevalent, they expressed their thoughts about the media:

Hakima: Do you think that too?

> Group: No. No.
>
> Suha: That's the general media.
>
> Hakima: Yes, but where do all of those ideas come from?
>
> Reem: That's the way they look at us.
>
> Suha: it's being exaggerated….and, uh, the way they immediately think it's a Moroccan. And when they say..write in the papers that a Moroccan and a Dutch were fighting they say, two men were fighting and one of them was Moroccan.

Ibrahim and the other two boys in his group were concerned that news outlets perpetuated the generalization and the markings that they had to bear. They worried that, in Ibrahim's words, as a result of the "manipulation through the news" only negative events and behaviors about young Moroccans were reported in the news. Taking a more defiant approach, Suha told us that the media has no credibility, and Samira dismissed its validity saying they do not portray anything positive in the press or on television Through their reactions, these young people lamented the lack of positive images that represent them and others like them. Ibrahim explained, "but when there are positive things, I think they don't pick up on that, they don't use that….it's actually much better if you use the positive."

Sadly, in the absence of historicized (Cross, 2003) counter-narratives, these images infect the perceptions young people have of their parents. When I asked Maarten why he thought his students did not have an understanding of their parents' migration stories, he explained that:

> Fathers and mothers don't talk about those things because it's not heroic or epic [story] for their family. So they [children] don't know. So if we do any project, which is based on: "Ok. Do an interview with your parents about this or that."

> They will hear things from their parents that they never knew. I think they also have a view of their parents which comes from the media, conservative, one-dimensional and things like that.

These blatantly racist and often inaccurate images affect young people's sense of self, their sense of their families' history, and the ways they perceive their parents. The internalization of these negative messages projected through media images onto their bodies and their psyches are a cause for great concern.

Conclusion

At their most extreme, the discourses presented in this chapter manifest themselves as racism and Islamaphobia and give rise to discriminatory practices producing a "repressive tolerance" (Goldberg, 2006, p. 351). For instance, the practices and prominent arguments regarding tolerance feed intolerance for some and blinding acceptance of the behaviors of others. I set out to write a chapter that would provide a synopsis of the discourses that emerged during the course of this study; however, the layers and levels of complexity that I uncovered required more extensive examination. The range of experiences reported and the recurring patterns could not be ignored.

By presenting the resistance and challenges to the discourses within Dutch society, I aimed to do what Wodak and Reisgl (1999) explain as one of the primary functions of discourse analysis: "Discourse serves to criticize, delegitimate, and argue against racist opinions and practices, i.e., to pursue anti-racist strategies" (p. 176). Through this frame, I aimed to focus not on the acts, but on the implications for youth's lives (Maira & Soep, 2005). As demonstrated through their honest narratives, racism and the racist context are not marginal to the lives of young Muslim youth in the Netherlands.

Racism is a force that pervades and contaminates every aspect of their lives (Essed, 1990). It influences their formative experiences. It affects the choices they make and the opportunities to which they have access and can determine where they belong and where they are excluded.

"I don't want to go to school because [name of school] is disorganized and..they are a bit racist," shared 14 year-old Inas in a focus group. For Inas and her peers, racism and social exclusion are not simply social ills with which Muslim youth must contend; these forces affect their ability to attend school, to feel a sense of belonging, to dream and envision the possibilities in their future. These are the lives of the youth participants, lived at the intersections of contradictions and tensions.

As a closing exercise, the participants of two focus groups[31] were asked to write a postcard offering advice to a newcomer student migrating from Morocco to the Netherlands. In the greeting they could write anything they deemed important about school, community activities, or any other piece of advice they would have found helpful. One of the participants wrote a message warning the reader to "watch out for thieves", and another wrote, "don't pay attention to others who discriminate." Further demonstrating how the discourses seep through their everyday experiences, 11 year-old Adam, represented the grim reality of what he and his peers faced when he wrote:

> Welcome to Holland. You need to watch out for the police really well. And if you don't know how to speak Dutch yet, you have to learn it because there aren't many people who can speak another language. And good luck in Holland.

[31] This method of writing a postcard to a newcomer was only incorporated into two focus groups. It had to be eliminated from the other four groups because time did not allow us to complete this exercise.

The message Adam wrote above indicates the extent to which he had internalized the dominant narratives and the ways in which he understood his struggle, marginalized by a lack of tolerance and safety.

Negative Labels Reflecting in the Mirror

According to philosopher Charles Taylor (1994), "our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves" (cited in Suárez-Orozco, 2004, p. 182). In the case of Muslim youth born and raised in the Netherlands, the misrecognition and denial of their reality leaves them with few options. The labels of thieves or criminals or at-risk youth are used as social markings that place young people in subjugated positions. A significant finding is that the young women in this study were just as likely to talk about these labels as were the young men, demonstrating that the statistics that profile boys to a greater extent than girls had not made a difference in their lived experiences. While it is clear that no matter what the label – criminal, thief, at-risk – Muslim youth in the Netherlands are left with no positive images they can emulate; it is not clear what the consequences and implications are when young people are told they do not belong.

The notion of the "social mirror," inspired by Winnicott and theorized by Carola Suarez-Orozco (2004) in the context of immigrant youth, provides a framework for understanding how the level of toxicity facing Muslim youth affects the ways in which they form their sense of self. Under these circumstances, Suarez-Orozco posits that there are two extreme pathways youth can take – one leads to "hopelessness and self-

depreciation" and the other, a form of resistance, leads to anger, detachment, and acting-out (p. 183). The third pathway, which she describes as another form of resistance "infused with a sense of hope, a sense of justice, and a faith in a better tomorrow" (p.183).

Who's Responsible?

According to the Netherlands Youth Institute (2007), the unemployment rate for youth is double the rate for adults. For immigrant-origin youth (ages 15 to 24) unemployment is between 20 and 30% (see page 28). In the policy and government documents I reviewed that discuss hang-around youth, crime, and prevention of radicalization, few discussed unemployment rates as an area that needed to be addressed as part of prevention and intervention strategies. In addition to lack of suitable employment for youth, the lack of safe play or outdoor spaces was also disregarded in these reports. It is reasonable to theorize that both of these disparities contribute to young people feeling excluded socially, morally, and economically (Karsten, 1998; Opotow, 2005). Furthermore, widespread public conceptions about criminality of Moroccan youth are not complicated by the social realities of youth living under siege and being profiled by police.

Clearly meant to remove the onus of responsibility from the "native Dutch" for the tensions around youth crime, the report on The Position of Muslims in the Netherlands (The Institute for Multicultural Development FORUM., 2008) published by the Institute for Multicultural Development asserts that "the native Dutch specifically appeal to the Moroccan community to take on a collective responsibility to chastise and discipline Moroccan youth who commit crimes" (p. 29). In addition, in what seems like

an overt effort to separate out Moroccans as most problematic and affect the relationships between ethnic enclaves, the report goes on to explain that, "this appeal to a whole community is rarely made towards Turks and not at all towards native Dutch, Antilleans and Surinamese" (p. 29).

Inspired by psychologist Vita Rabinowitz, Michelle Fine (personal communication, April 23, 2009) raised questions about the state's responsibility in creating, addressing, and ameliorating social ills. The questions apply in this case in terms of who is responsible for causing the level of hostility and tension towards Muslim youth living in the Netherlands. While there is no one simple answer that indicates cause and effect, the discourses presented in this chapter are certainly correlated and affect the ways young people experience and enact their lives. Therefore, even if the cause is not clear, the state and its institutions must at least agree to be a part of the solution.

Hope and Possibility

Other postcards written by the participants of the study spoke of having fun, seeking out resources, and staying focused on their education while avoiding pressures. Here are some of their responses:

> There are a lot of fun possibilities like soccer club and every six months there is a fair at the big shopping center or play soccer on the street with friends. Rachid, 13 years old

> You have to take a good look around to see what there is to do and also learn something from it. And one important thing, if you go to school, you should try and do your best and don't be a follower and have a lot of fun and take care of yourself!! Asma, 12 years old

> Welcome to Holland. Don't let other people distract you just do what you need to do. So that's it. Bye. Have a lot of fun. [She drew in three Moroccan flags next to a Dutch windmill]. Medina, 11 years old

In spite of the difficult and painful contradictions that young Muslim youth must negotiate, there are safe spaces in which young people find a way to flourish and dream; spaces where they use their agency and create counter narratives of belonging and possibility.

Summary of Findings

In this chapter, I aimed to interrogate discourses about tolerance and criminality and the images perpetuated by the media that had penetrated the lives of young people. The following list groups key findings into these three categories.

Tolerance

- Tolerance as a core Dutch value is often contradicted, as Islamaphobia manifests and becomes more allowable (even normalized) in the name of freedom of expression.
- While the language of tolerance can serve to exclude, the young people in this study reject the hierarchies of subordination, re-appropriating terms like allochtonen in an effort to represent themselves as individuals while creating an alliance with other immigrant-origin youth.
- Without interrogating power, the liberal discourse of multiculturalism serves to further essentialize Muslims and to negate their reality.
- Hypocrisy about religious tolerance leads to young people being constantly challenged about their religious beliefs and burdened by having to defend them.

- Under the guise of being protected, the paternalistic approach that is applied serves to further demonize and alienate Muslims from Dutch society (Fekete, 2006).
- Criminality
- The behaviors for which Muslim youth are identified and punished lead to interventions and corrective policy measures that control, police, surveil, and track them (Maira, 2004; Ruck, Harris, Fine, & Freudenberg, 2008)
- The demonizing constructs of criminal threat located on the bodies and psyches of Muslim youth have detrimental effects (Sirin & Fine, 2008; Suárez-Orozco, 2004)
- To develop policy measures (i.e., remedies and interventions), discourses on radicalization, criminality, and at-risk youth have been conflated into one issue.
- Moroccan boys and girls are more likely than other ethnic groups in the Netherlands to be targeted and profiled by police. Regardless of gender, and in spite of their young ages, the participants had all experienced criminalization and felt they had to work to resist being framed as criminals.
- Dominant ideologies are being stamped onto youth's souls (Logue & McCarthy, 2007) in the form of criminalizing labels.
- Young people's sense of safety is being compromised by "racist police practices" of ethnic profiling and escalating punishment (Goodey, 2006).
- Young people experience "serial exclusion" (Goodey, 2006) as a result of regimes of control and regulation imposed on them.

- In light of few viable options and spaces in which to spend their time, young people internalize the need for intervention and view prevention strategies as positive.
- While radicalization is not a term the majority of young people identified with, those who were familiar with the concept clearly rejected it. Yet, the efforts being made to address radicalization have a direct effect on their day-to-day experiences, particularly because they were aware that many of the programs they attended received funding meant to prevent the radicalization of Muslim youth.
- Media Images
- The media is a source of many negative stereotypes with which the young people in this study are all too familiar.
- Name calling perpetuated in the media carries over into their everyday lives. Young people feel dehumanized and shamed by the degrading and offensive names used against them in the media, by politicians, in school, and on the streets.
- While it was not my intention to minimize or excuse incidents of violence in which Muslim youth have been implicated, my goal was to interrogate the repressive, suffocating discourses that have created the existing conditions for all Muslim youth.

Closing

In terms an ecological approach to understanding lives, the findings in this chapter begin to build the nested layers of young people's experiences by answering, in part, the following questions:

- To what extent do dominant Dutch integration discourses positively or negatively affect the educational opportunities offered Muslim youth by programs created to serve them?
- How do young Muslim participants perceive the messages promoted by the programs in which they participate?

To fully answer the research questions, the next chapter will link the discourses that affect their everyday with the practices and approaches offered by youth programs created to serve them.

CHAPTER 5 – THE ROLE OF YOUTH-SERVING INSTITUTIONS

> We try to talk mainly about school. "Do you have problems at school? Do you have problems with this? Why do you have problems?" Some of them have problems with their advisor at school and we try to talk about why. "Yeah, but he's racist. He hates me; that's why he always gives me detention. I have to come after school and do like this and like that." And then we try it…"But why, but why does he do that?" We talk about that and I always offer them, "If you want me to we can try and contact them because we are allowed to contact their schools and talk to their teachers or to their advisor. But mostly they say, "No, no it's ok. It's just a little thing. It's not really that big of a deal."

Latifa was an instructor in an after-school homework club held at a local community center. During break time she inserted conversations about young people's experiences in school and at home in an effort to help the Muslim immigrant youth she worked with cope with the kinds of tensions and hostility with which they were confronted. Her approach of asking questions and guiding the youth she worked with to their own solutions, was empowering and validating. She helped them name and express their frustration at the disparaging remarks they heard and the unfair treatment they received. Yet, as she described some were afraid of the backlash they might experience if she contacted their school on their behalf.

The interaction with youth that Latifa described is what I expected to find when I embarked on a year of fieldwork in Amsterdam, The Netherlands to study the role of youth programs in the lives of Dutch-born Muslim youth. I expected to find the kinds of connections that Stanton-Salazar (2004) defines as "social capital" because "they embody

key ‘social structural properties’ that…can lead one through the door…to those goods, resources, and supportive interactions that facilitate the accomplishment of goals” (p. 26). Instead what I found was a complex structures of contradictions that created obstacles and barriers for young people and the adults who worked with them.

For many Muslim youth in Amsterdam, the struggle to find support and encouragement to navigate the complex system of schooling is a constant challenge. Most working-class immigrant-origin youth in the Netherlands face obstacles as they traverse a rigidly tracked academic system that, after primary school, provides few options for improving their academic trajectory. For Muslim youth, the burden is greater, as racist and Islamaphobic hostility further complicates matters. At the core of these intersecting forces, the 25 youth participants in this study tried to find their way by reaching out to trusting adults and to encouraging peers in youth programs and in school. Many of them sought out after-school programs, tutoring, weekend schools, and mentoring to support their educational endeavors.

Inspired by the work of Carter (2003), Gibson, Gandara, and Koyoma (2004), Stanton Salazar (2001, 2004), and Yosso (2005), who recognize the significant role played by community agents in educating youth of color, I chose to study the experiences of Dutch-born Muslim youth enrolled in youth programs. Propelled by an interest in understanding “communities of interaction” (Pollock, 2008) beyond schools, this study focuses on youth programs as sites of development, engagement, and learning. These sites offer both practical resources (i.e., tutoring and mentoring) and opportunities to develop relationships with adults and successful peers, people who, in collaboration with youth, are in a position to foster a sense of belonging.

The initial aim of this study was to understand the types of support Muslim youth received from the programs in which they participated. Therefore, the research questions addressed by the exploration in this chapter are: What is the role of youth programs in providing educational and cultural support and creating access to resources? To what extent do dominant Dutch integration discourses positively or negatively affect the educational opportunities offered Muslim youth by youth programs created to serve them? How do young Muslim participants perceive these messages? Preliminary findings raised questions about the influence of dominant discourses on the types of services these youth programs provided. As a result, the theoretical frame expanded to include questions about structures of exclusion and "integration" and how these affected the focus of the youth programs.

To answer these research questions, it was necessary to find young people in primary school and in secondary school who were participating in "supplemental education" (Zhou & Kim, 2006), that is, voluntary activities outside of their school hours. The most obvious place to meet these young people seemed to be within the youth programs themselves. With the help of Hakima Aouragh, my research assistant, I surveyed a total of 20 programs that offered weekend and/or after-school activities that included mentoring, art and drama, history and culture, tutoring, and sports. These programs served as sampling sites and were carefully selected from others throughout the city based on three criteria: 1) they served Moroccan youth (although not exclusively); 2) they provided supplemental education; and 3) they served youth who were in the final grades of primary school and the early grades of secondary school.

I interviewed 25 adults representing 13 youth-serving organizations, which

included 3 schools. These interviews provided information about the range of services for immigrant-origin youth. Recruitment and observations of 25 youth participants (ages 11 to 18) were carried out in six youth programs, which served as sampling sites and were not individually evaluated. The information provided about the programs is a composite based on a triangulation of multiple data sources including participant observations at each of the sites; interviews with program coordinators, mentors/instructors, teachers, and community leaders; and artifacts such as annual reports and brochures. Extensive data about the six core programs inform my understanding of the experiences of the youth who participated in this study. Additionally, youth interviews and focus groups served to confirm the findings presented here.

The findings of this study demonstrate that young people in Amsterdam who are in need of substantial assistance to help them deal with the complicated contextual factors influencing their development and access to opportunities, indeed, receive important support in some areas and are greatly neglected in others. A broad range of services and programs does provide important mentoring and academic support, and participants benefit greatly from positive interactions with nurturing adults. These arrangements provide emotionally safe spaces, often shielding youth from the hostility of the outside world. Additionally, links between youth programs and schools are a significant resource. On the other hand, many of the services offered are affected by the social pressures to promote the integration and/or assimilation of Muslim youth. Furthermore, the structure of many of the programs limits reach in terms of their ability to coordinate services across organizations and to serve larger populations in need.

This chapter provides both descriptive and analytical frameworks based on

profiles generated about each of the programs and data aggregated to find clusters and trends among and across each of them. The description includes: an overview of the six sampling sites, the types of services they provided, the communities they served, and the adults who staff the programs. Funding structures are also discussed. To protect the anonymity[32] of individuals in my sample, I avoid using specific or detailed references that might identify a particular program, as Amsterdam is a small city, and the network of youth programs and youth workers is even smaller.

To generate an analytical framework that speaks to patterns and contradictions of practice (M. Fine, personal communication, May 2009), I crosschecked major themes and findings across the adult and youth sample (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Based on the challenges, tensions, and successes I witnessed and what my participants reported about the structure of the programs and the services offered, I created two theoretical categories namely, benefits and limitations. In practice, elements of the programs' structure, (i.e., their scope and their approaches) can be both a limit and a benefit to the recipients they serve. Thus these categories are not discreet or dichotomous. Further, because the experiences of participants and the adults working with them are dialectic, benefits to young people can also yield advantages to youth workers (and vice versa).

The category of benefits includes those elements of the programs that seemed to have a positive effect on the experiences of youth participants (i.e., academic, psychological, and social experiences). Similarly, benefits also include factors that offer advantages or positive returns to adults working in these youth serving institutions. The

[32] This is in accordance with the legal and ethical requirements of the Institutional Review Board at my university.

limitations include factors that interfere with or hinder the potential benefits that can result from these programs.

Based on a triangulation of observed and reported experiences, the primary benefits for Muslim youth who participated in the youth programs were that they received important mentoring and support from engaging adults (Crul, 2003), and that they felt safe and respected by the adults who worked with them (Noam & Rosenbaum Tillinger, 2004; Woodland, 2008). Equally important was the youth programs' connections to schools and to the youth participants' families. This included the advocacy function that some programs served in their capacity of acting as liaisons between families and schools.

While there were many reported benefits, program coordinators were often influenced by an accumulation of factors that contributed to who they could reach and what they were able to offer. In addition to structural factors, staffing concerns and funding trends and requirements also presented potential restrictions. In some instances, the programs' reactive approaches (e.g. offering only remedial services and not enough enrichment opportunities) confined their scope. Many of the programs (intentionally or unintentionally) reproduced the dominant discourses about Moroccans and/or Muslim youth; there were, however, those programs that found ways to resist the dominant ideologies and provide counter narratives that challenged the status quo.

Inspired by youth development literature (Cordero-Guzman, 2005; Nettles, 1991; Noam & Rosenbaum Tillinger, 2004; Woodland, 2008) and literature about programs serving immigrant communities (Crul, 2003; Zhou & Kim, 2006)), I created a typology

of approaches[33] to help me further understand the benefits and limitations of what the youth programs offered. Therefore, where applicable, I use the following descriptors to refer to their approaches: remedial/enrichment, preventative/preparatory, reactive/proactive or intended/unintended. This typology is not intended to define approaches in a polarized or dichotomous way. In practice, many of the services and programs examined in this study employ multiple approaches while neglecting other significant ways of serving young people (e.g., providing enrichment). For instance, in response to fears about radicalization of youth, there are funds that support prevention initiatives geared to interrupt the potential process of young Muslims becoming radicalized (a policy discussed in Chapter 4 and one which promotes a reactive, limited approach). The choice between taking a proactive stance over a reactive one is not so clear cut, and sometimes being reactionary serves a proactive purpose. As a result, organizations may be compelled to respond reactively in order to get funding for prevention and be able to offer young people the preparation they need even if it means colluding with a harmful ideology.

Overview of Programs

The six programs from which youth participants were recruited varied greatly in terms of scale, institutional structure, and goals. While these programs are not themselves a representative sample, the range and variety typifies the kind of programs to which Muslim youth living in the city of Amsterdam have access. The programs offered both structured and unstructured activities. They included a mentoring and academic project;

[33] I would like to credit Reva Jaffe-Walter for offering this term to capture this conceptual construct.

two after school academic and enrichment programs; a young women's group; and two homework assistance programs.

Several of the programs began as small, grassroots initiatives serving solely Moroccan and/or immigrant origin youth. They expanded as the population and its needs increased. As they grew, the groups sought funding from local municipalities and/or created partnerships with state welfare agencies and became programs that were part of larger organizations. Some of the programs were contracted by municipalities to provide services within "black" schools, that is, schools that have predominately immigrant-origin student populations. Others rented spaces in neighborhood community centers and local schools. Attendance was voluntary, and many offered programs during gap periods (after school, weekends, holidays, and summer break). While most of the services were free, some activities (i.e., enrichment activities or homework assistance) required participants to pay a nominal fee such as 20 Euro per year. In some cases, discounts were available to low-income families.

Types of Services

While the six highlighted programs differed somewhat in terms of their goals and philosophy, they all shared a desire to support young people through the process of navigating school. Some were more intentional than others in providing specific strategies that supported this goal. Table 10 below lists the types of primary services participants in the programs received.

Table 10: Types of Activities & Services

Types of Activities & Services
Homework Help
Dutch language instruction
Content-based instruction (history/culture)
Instruction on Dutch values and norms
Mentoring
Test-preparation
Time management
Career education
Field trips to cultural sites
Leadership development
Arts
Dance
Cooking
Physical activities and sports

Scale and Recruitment

The programs ranged from serving more than 1400 primary school students attending 50 schools throughout the city to serving 200 youth in a particular school or serving 50 youth in a neighborhood center. Participants were often recruited through schools. Teachers contacted programs to refer those who they believed were in need of support. Many of the youth participants reported learning about the programs they attended through word of mouth and being encouraged by their peers to attend. Based on Dutch policy, programs must be open to young people from all ethnic backgrounds. Nonetheless, the majority of participants were youth of immigrant origin, with Moroccans representing the largest group.

Staffing and Training

All of the programs had limited paid staff, and some employed mentors and instructors on a part-time basis. Many depended heavily on volunteers. The large programs advertised heavily for youth workers through local newspapers and television stations, free dailies, and the Web. They distributed fliers and postcards and posted announcements throughout the city and in transportation hubs. Of the part-time staff (i.e., paid or volunteer), many were student interns who studied social work, education, or child psychology. Others were simply motivated by the idea of providing a service to the community and included working professionals, homemakers and retired people. The ratio of youth to instructors and mentors was quite low (e.g., 5:1 or 7:1), allowing adults to give young people individualized attention. The organizations made an effort to provide consistency for the young people they served by asking mentors and instructors to make a minimum one-year commitment.

Training in the programs was not standard across the board. Some of them had structured training programs while others simply required that the adults they hired feel confident working with young people. Unlike programs that had less extensive training, one of the programs that offered after-school activities was connected with a school and believed in strong collaboration between teachers and youth workers (many of them social workers). In this program, staff compiled a training manual illustrating how they approached their work with children. This was used as a tool for teaching mentors the skills they needed to be successful. The program was invested in being consistent. From my conversations with several staff members, it was clear that they were interested in meeting the needs of the whole child and did not approach immigrant-origin youth as “a

problem" in need of correction. Their responsive approach showed their pedagogical focus on meeting the learning and enrichment needs of the young people with whom they worked.

Funding and Accountability

Maintaining their funding and being accountable to the state were key issues that occupied the minds of most of the adults with whom I spoke. The programs were all supported by state funds through the local districts and to a lesser extent by private foundations. Some of the programs received state grants that were allocated for particular kinds of initiatives like citizenship funds meant to facilitate the integration of second generation immigrant-origin youth into Dutch society.

Each program had to meet different accountability requirements. All had to file annual reports, and some took young people to present their work at the municipal council meetings. They talked about being inspected by their parent organizations or the welfare agencies that oversaw their activities. Saida, one of the mentors with whom I spoke, explained they had to log their activities and report to their funding agency. She did not mind the requirements because they had some leeway in terms of the kinds of activities they could do with their mentees. Through the program, mentors received a small subsidy they could use to pay for trips and activities they planned with their mentees. She had planned a trip to the Anne Frank Museum and would be planning future trips based on her mentee's interests.

Critical Benefits

Engaging with Adults

Karim, who was born to a Dutch mother and Tunisian father, was a highly ambitious 22 year-old man who was in his fourth year of mentoring when I interviewed him. He had a deep sense of commitment and responsibility and wanted to give back to younger kids in the community. He had benefitted greatly from being mentored in his early years. He explained his motivation for being involved in mentoring:

> Many children are struggling. They are living in Amsterdam in neighborhoods that are not integrated well, and in the lower economic class. So they don't have that much ambition or perspective of the future to get to reach something and I think it's very important for the people who have a certain level to help them accomplish the same things.

He was well aware of the persistent disparities in opportunities between native Dutch and immigrant-origin youth.

Karim was very generous to allow me to interview him in English, even though at one point he fretted, "I'm running out of my vocabulary." I apologized for not knowing more Dutch, and we chuckled when I reminded him that my Dutch vocabulary had run out in the first five minutes of our conversation. We continued talking in the café of a bustling community space in the heart of one of Amsterdam's immigrant enclaves.

Karim was very clear that the mentee/mentor commitment was a two-way street. His mentees' level of engagement and motivation fueled his enthusiasm. We spoke about his experiences with multiple organizations, and he articulated three important themes that were key elements in a successful mentor/mentee relationship: being consistent,

providing social capital, and being able to empathize with the experiences of one's mentees. For instance, he talked about the value of working with the same group over a three-year period:

> That was the best thing because other projects tend to change groups or change things after one year. I think a very good and important thing is to go on with them….My most interesting group was one not far from here. I really saw the improvement they were making – the character of their social expression, their degree of intelligence of everything. It was quite beautiful to see it after three years. We still have a very good bond. We saw each other once or twice a week. The project was for homework and as well as for the social aspect.

The consistency and stability that Karim provided as a mentor to his group of four mentees is difficult to measure, but Karim's assessment of their growth over time is invaluable. "You can't see the improvement in the middle; It's afterwards that you see the growing process," he elaborated. He understood that his role as a mentor was more than providing guidance or consistent support. He believed the cumulative effects strengthened his mentees' engagement to school (Crul, 2003; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Zhou & Kim, 2006).

The role of mentor in terms of providing access to social capital is as significant as providing consistency and structure (Noam & Rosenbaum Tillinger, 2004). Karim explained that he coached his mentees "through the whole process of becoming adolescents…how to manage getting a job…[and] manage their studying on the side." He was explicit in addressing the class divide that existed between immigrant-origin youth and Dutch youth by offering his mentees valuable social capital. "Dutch people have it.

[This program] is letting foreign people, people with a foreign background giving them chances to meet the business world." He did not want them to, in his words, "re-invent the wheel"; therefore, he was very intentional in exposing his mentees to the kinds of jobs and professions they envisioned and/or he thought they could pursue. "We started with what they want to do in the future…One wanted to be a lawyer," so he arranged for them to visit a courthouse. "Somebody wants to be an artist we can go to the museum." He saw the possibilities as limitless and their potential as infinite. He was committed to showing them "it is possible to reach something", and offering them the necessary encouragement, because, from his perspective, "their vision was a little bit depressed."

Karim felt "well integrated", and although he reflected on the racism his peers had faced as immigrant youth, he felt the primary challenges facing the younger cohort were more pronounced and exacerbated. He was knowledgeable and articulate about Dutch history and spent time explaining the context, Dutch colonial legacies, and the immigration of Moroccans and Turks to the Netherlands. He then explained what things were like now; "They don't even know the difference in the Netherlands between Turks and Moroccans, especially outside of Amsterdam." He worried that Muslim youth could not claim their religious identity amidst the extreme hostility. He empathized with his mentees because, in his words, his generation had:

> Struggled through the same obstacles…When we were little we also had the language barrier as well as the different culture…[needing] to learn how to express yourself in a good manner…Things that are not common in their family, in their background because they have a total different culture and total different

way of expressing themselves and when they don't blend in or mix with Dutch society…it's very hard to reach the same level.

He tried to connect with his mentees in terms of their daily struggles with racism and Islamaphobia, but there were limits. He explained that according to the program he worked for, "We can't discuss religion." These limits prevented him from sharing his knowledge – cultural capital that would have been of great value to the young people with whom he worked (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Instead of addressing issues of discrimination more directly, he talked with young people about the ways they could navigate the system, while having to make parts of that system invisible.

The experience of working with Muslim youth was transformative for several of the mentors and instructors with whom I spoke. Annemarie, a young native Dutch woman was volunteering to get teaching experience. She was studying education, and although she lived in Amsterdam, she had no previous experience working with diverse student populations. Working as an instructor in a "black school," she explained, had forced her to challenge her stereotypical notions based on projected ideologies and media representations. And as a result of her altering experiences, she had a better chance of landing a job in a diverse school where she now wanted to work.

Sanaa, who worked for an organization that advocated for youth in vocational tracks throughout the Netherlands, shared that contributing meaningfully to others helped her develop important personal and professional skills that helped her in her own career development. For instance, she learned a great deal about the services and resources available and that in addition to sharing with others, she was able to tap into for herself.

Contrary to the ways Karim and his second-generation peers had felt socially excluded in their youth, the contributions he made as an adult to his mentees made him feel valued. He felt a great sense of pride and accomplishment for the role he served in young people's lives, and as a result, he now claimed his place in Dutch society more confidently. He "was somebody for them to fall back on…between a teacher and a friend… they have a certain respect but they can tell me everything," he told me proudly. They trusted him and could come to him with problems. The commitment and dedication Karim exhibited were visible in other mentors I interviewed who were also second-generation immigrants. In addition to the ways young people benefit from connecting with adults who respect, value, and nurture them, mentors also gain a greater sense of their own social contributions and expand their capacity to engage in a diverse world.

Providing Safe Havens

Gezellig, a Dutch word with no direct English translation, means "pleasant, comfortable, cosy" (Osselton & Hempelman, 2003, p. 140). It was a term I heard used by youth in every focus group to describe why they enjoyed attending their program's activities and how they felt when they were there. It helped that most of the program facilities were roomy, modern, well lit spaces enhanced with bright colors. Although two of the facilities were older, they were also tidy and well furnished. These physical spaces increased the level of comfort and coziness youth felt while they also enjoyed the respectful social interactions and the positive academic encouragement they received from their mentors and their peers.

When asked to describe specifically what they liked, the majority of youth participants described feeling emotionally safe and respected for who they are. Rania, a

12 year-old participant, explained how she perceived her place in the program as compared to her place in the outside world,

> With the organizations, it's mostly that they see you as equal to others. They think it doesn't matter to them whether you are a foreigner or uh, just Dutch and mostly on the street it's like, uh, that does matter.

In another group, Samira, who wears a hijab and is older and more articulate, talked about the level of respect she experienced in terms of her religious beliefs. "I respect everyone and my organization does too…Like others respect my religion so I respect theirs….If they didn't I wouldn't be here; I would notice that." Then as if speaking for the group of young women at the table she added,

> Yes, tolerance, I'm open, the organization is open to me and other girls. Uh, allochtonen [she laughs, group laughs] and uh the organizations don't have a problem with it otherwise we wouldn't be here because they wouldn't let us in anyway.

Samira's reference to tolerance speaks to the pervasive public discourse explained in Chapter 4. Like Rania, she was able to articulate the distinction between what happens in the comfortable and safe microcosm created by the youth program she attended and the world outside those walls. While the cultural background of their mentors was not irrelevant, it was inconsequential in terms of young people's experiences of feeling respected, safe and tolerated. Rather, what mattered more to young people was how open, welcoming and accepting mentors were (Noam & Rosenbaum Tillinger, 2004; Woodland, 2008).

In general, the youth programs were welcoming spaces that provided young people with alternatives and a place to go. Based on the findings presented in Chapter 4, it was also evident that the majority of the youth participants had internalized the discourses about criminality and hang-around youth and therefore felt that the programs provided an alternative to hanging around. Thus, these spaces were important in "mediating the stress" (Kurita & Janzen, 1996) young people experienced as a result of the multiple transitions they encountered. In addition to asserting that they felt safe and welcomed in the programs, the participants discussed the importance of having Muslim mentors with whom they could interact. They described feeling understood by mentors in terms of their culture, their traditions, and their languages. For instance being able to speak slang, Arabic, or "Moroccan" (Tamazight) added to their sense of belonging. Several of the students explained the significance of having Moroccan mentors who could speak to their parents.

Connecting to Families

The extent to which programs connected with and included parents in its activities varied across programs. Some contacted parents if their children were absent from the activity. Some held meetings with parents periodically or sent reports home. Others organized community events, presentations or performances of children's work to which parents were invited. I attended several of these community events, including a charity dinner prepared by students for members of the community.

Several of the programs supported young people by serving as liaisons between teachers and families. In one outstanding example, mentors attended the parent/teacher conference where the child would receive his/her "advice." Receiving one's secondary

school track assignment, or getting one's "advice" as it was commonly called, took place in the spring of Group 8 (U.S. Grade 6), which is the last year of primary school. This was a highly anticipated and significant milestone in the context of Dutch schooling, and, for many of the youth participants, it was a moment filled with disappointment and surprise; many received advice for a level lower than they had hoped. One of my context informants, a native Dutch woman, reported that making sense of a child's advice and what it means in terms of choosing a school can be quite complex and overwhelming for parents of any background, and for immigrant parents unfamiliar with the Dutch school system, the challenge is compounded. Karim, one of the mentors who had attended these meetings shared that it is particularly difficult for parents who have not been educated in the Dutch system to advocate for their child. They are more likely to accept the advice without asking any questions. However, those parents who had been educated in the Netherlands were familiar enough that they could ask questions about how the decisions for their children were made and challenge them if necessary. Moreover, in light of the history of discriminatory practice of assigning Muslim immigrant youth to lower tracks than they should be, it was a great benefit to have someone there who could ask questions, advocate, and help process the information that was being given.

While supporting young people in concrete and significant ways, encouraging family involvement was sometimes defined in terms of the culture of poverty creating conflicting understandings of reality. Karim, a mentor who in many ways had demonstrated a raised social consciousness, responded to the culture of poverty construct by trying to expand the context. He shared his take on parental involvement:

> Especially in the foreign groups of society attracting the parents is very important. They don't usually..they are not used to having much involvement in their children's education. Because we have the language barrier, they don't tend to come much to school for meetings..other culture..double identity, crisis of identity. So when attracting the parents, the children can be confident as well. So they don't have the struggle of switching between values and knowing how to act.

As Karim's account illustrates, parents need to feel welcomed and accepted in schools. In spite of this need and the large number of immigrant parents, finding someone in the youth programs who spoke Tamazight or Arabic outside of a few mentors was not so common. In addition, program events open to families, i.e, activities to which parents could bring their children, seemed to be more well-attended than activities that did not provide childcare. When a program coordinator, for example, decided to hold an exhibition of students' work off site, mentors complained to me that this would make the event less accessible and decrease attendance.

Nonetheless, the concerns of the mentors, who were more aware of the constraints (economic or otherwise) on the families of their mentees, were ignored. Months later, when I re-interviewed this program coordinator, he raised the lack of parental involvement in the program's activities as an area of concern. Without taking any responsibility for scheduling events that were not accommodating to parents' needs (e.g., inconvenient location, lack of child care, or lack of language access) he blamed parents' economic and educational class for these results.

Supporting Academic Learning

The academic support category includes the more traditional and direct learning experiences or opportunities from which the youth in this study benefitted. While the youth programs I observed were not solely focused on academic learning, they all provided important academic tools. This section describes skills and content-based supports that they received or needed. The skills include test-taking skills that helped to prepare them for the CITO Exam, time management skills, and study skills. The content-based academic supports include subject-specific instruction such as history and Dutch language instruction that young people described as being of value to them and in many instances helped them prepare for the CITO Exam and/or their transition to secondary school. The content-based support also includes the homework help they received in all areas. Equally important, but not as prevalent, were academic opportunities that allowed young people to explore multiple areas of interest and content that seemed relevant to their lives and thus engaged them in learning and critical thinking.

Another program coordinated between teachers and youth workers ensured that the expectations and the rules in both the in-school and after-school settings were consistent. This allowed participants to move fluidly from one setting to another and provided them with a sense of assuredness, as the expectations were transparent.

Help with homework was an important element of the kind of support offered by youth programs. However, the youth we interviewed were very resourceful and sought help with their homework from multiple sources outside of these programs, including help from family members, siblings, and peers. Similar to findings in a study conducted in the Netherlands by Crul (2003), I found what was most remarkable in terms of the

homework help they received in youth programs was access to the kinds of resources they needed to complete their assignments, namely a quiet space to work, computers with Internet access and/or word processors, and computer printers. Young people reported having mentors and instructors in the youth programs they attended check in with them regularly about their assignments, their study habits outside of school, and their time management skills. At least two of the programs that offered homework help made teaching study skills a structured part of their program, so much so, that before students started doing their homework they had to check in with their mentor/instructors to review the items on their agenda.

Hamid, who had participated for several years in a mentoring program as a primary school student, had learned great study skills that he carried over to secondary school. In his interview, he talked about managing his time effectively in relationship to completing his homework and knowing when to ask for help. “When we get homework, I do it right away. That way I don't have to do a lot at home,” he explained. Similar to Hamid, Samir attributed his “good grades” to his balanced approach to studying. After being asked to explain why he thought he was doing well, Samir said, “I make time for my exams. For example, I say, ‘first I will rest for an hour, then I will work for an hour, rest an hour, work an hour, and then go to sleep.’” Both boys felt confident about the study skills and strategies they had learned to manage their study time.

Several of the students reported that the extra academic support they received in their after-school and weekend programs helped them answer questions on the CITO Exam. Hamid and Medina, for example, both reported that they answered questions regarding the Second World War with confidence because they had learned a great deal

about this historical time period in one of the programs they attended. This alignment between the content learned in youth programs and what they were taught in school provided important advantages for young people who felt better prepared to tackle the academic material they encountered in school.

Structural Limitations

Recruitment, Coordination, and Gaps in Services

In their current structure, and because of funding and policy requirements, at the time of this study, all of the programs were open to youth from all ethnic backgrounds. Consequently, several of them were under pressure to diversify the population they served. Afraid of jeopardizing their funding, many stressed that their responsibility was not to one specific group. They did not want to be seen as only serving Moroccan youth, even though in many cases that was the population that took taking advantage of these particular programs. Aicha, a program coordinator, explained that being monitored by funding agencies based on the population they attracted was an unfair assessment. Her participants, mostly Moroccan, lived in the immigrant neighborhood in which her center was located. Moreover, according to a study by urban geographer Lia Karsten (1999), native Dutch kids who were more affluent have historically had access to a broader spectrum of activities, including participating in expensive sports clubs or activities in other parts of the city to which their parents could transport them. Therefore, geography, youth's needs, and socioeconomic differences have made it difficult for programs to attract both allochtonen and autochtonen youth.

In addition to ensuring diversity, the number of youth the programs served was highly scrutinized for funding purposes. In other words, youth programs needed to justify

the amount of their funding based on the number of youth they served. Sadly, during a follow-up trip to Amsterdam in 2009, I learned that one of the programs serving young women lost its funding and had to close one of its locations. When I interviewed Aicha, the program coordinator, in 2007, she explained that they were under fire for not serving larger numbers of girls and for not attracting a more diverse group (the girls she served were of North African descent), even though in its annual report the program documented close to 1000 participants across numerous activities. Aicha ran her program on a shoestring budget. She was the sole full-time staff person, and while she worked hard to recruit young women, it was often difficult to compete with other programs or expect that young women would travel from other neighborhoods to attend the programs she offered. The young women who depended greatly on the coaching and mentoring they received, and in what felt to them like one of the few safe spaces they could access, shared their frustrations with me. They were determined to help keep the center open and were scheduled to make a presentation in front of the municipality's council to justify the need for this program to continue. The young women felt the pressure of having to present the results of their annual report in front of the city council to prove their necessity and effectiveness in the community and to justify their continued need for funding.

In this constricting funding environment, attracting enough students of a certain age category in a certain neighborhood was a challenge for some programs. As a result of the funding trends focused on 10 to 12 year olds (i.e., programs aimed at preventing radicalization), there was often an abundance of activities for this particular age group. Many programs in the same or in adjacent neighborhoods duplicated services and competed for the same population of help-seeking kids.

In spite of the duplication of services for some, there were many young people that were underserved. Namely, older cohorts of youth (i.e., secondary school students) experienced a drop-off in services that they need. From his perspective, Karim, felt that sometimes younger kids "are not very ready for the project [and it] becomes a bit like babysitting." But it is during what he called "the most critical ages of 13 to 18" that youth really need the attention and guidance. Between primary school and the early years of secondary school, immigrant-origin youth are in great need of support through the multiple and difficult transitions they must navigate. These include making sense of their academic track assignment, choosing a school, adjusting to their new setting, and for many, finding an internship. However, this is when the gap in services for them occurs. The young women in one of the focus groups were critical of the youth programs targeting their age group (14, 15 and up) focusing on social activities and announcements for parties. This finding is consistent with my observations that there is a precipitous drop-off in the number of supplemental education programs that exist for young people in secondary school (i.e., beginning with Grade 7).

When I asked other program coordinators why they thought this drop-off occurred, they explained that youth centers were expected to serve the needs of young people in secondary school. However, one youth center coordinator with whom I spoke said, they "don't help look for employment or school placement [but]…could make a call or write a letter to help connect them to a network." Moreover, the location of the youth centers sometimes presented a problem for those in the early years of secondary school (ages 12 to 14 or 15) whose parents may not have felt comfortable allowing them to

travel to other parts of the city in the evening and in the dark unsupervised. Therefore, the kind of coaching and mentoring that youth were seeking was not readily available.

According to the findings, funding trends and a lack of coordination of services contributed to the drop-off in programs available. While the program coordinators I spoke with did not recognize the drop-off in support of older youth (ages 13 and up) they were concerned that the coordination among youth programs made them less effective. Youth workers had begun recognizing that they needed to collaborate and share resources; as a result, an effort to coordinate services among youth serving programs and institutions across the city of Amsterdam was being organized (M. Crul, personal communication, May 2007).

Frustrated about the lack of coordination and the gap in services for his secondary school students, Maarten shared the following:

> We don't have a system for mentors. There is discussion whether we should have such a thing at the Amsterdam level. Although a lot of these programs are state funded, but because of the structure in Amsterdam, you have city council and district councils and they all have different ways of doing things. I think on some level there is some sort of communication and learning from each other, but basically they are all re-inventing the wheel.

Skeptical that this structure could be changed, Maarten verified that political trends (not young peoples' needs) were the factor that determined the kinds of programs available.

> Probably by the time they have figured out a [coordinated] system half of them will have closed. Many of these programs are short-term because it has nothing to

do with those programs being effective. It's about a change in the political climate or a change in the political setting.

These structural factors and the constraints on programs are important to examine. The limitations speak to the conflicted relationship these youth programs have had with the state; and, at this rate, the arrangement will continue to have a negative effect on what resources young people can access.

Staffing Concerns

Each of the programs made an effort to employ staff that represented the ethnic diversity of Amsterdam; as a result, the youth participants could see their ethnic origins represented among their mentors and instructors. However, some were more successful than others. Those with greater financial resources were more likely to attract greater ethnic diversity among their staff. Because many of the mentors and instructors were students in need of paid employment, those representing immigrant communities in Amsterdam and interested in youth work were more likely to seek out organizations with paid positions. I heard concerns from several mentors who worried that there was a great need for more volunteers of immigrant origin to work with youth. Although young people reported that the background of their mentors did not matter (a point I will return to later), three of the mentors I interviewed who were part of the immigrant second generation said they thought it was important for mentors to be able to connect with mentees who struggled with similar issues.

Retention of staff was an issue articulated by many of the coordinators with whom I spoke. Programs with greater hiring potential often made decisions to promote student interns (who may have previously volunteered) to paid staff positions or positions

with greater responsibilities as a way to maintain dedicated staff who connected successfully with youth. By retaining committed individuals, programs reduced their turnover and their need for training new hires while maintaining consistency for young people. In some cases, rapid expansion of programs meant that they needed to re-locate experienced mentors and instructors to new sites, negating the positive effect their stability would have had on the young people with whom they had been working.

The content of the training mentors and instructors received raised many questions about their level of preparedness and the extent to which training was culturally responsive to the needs of the young people they served (Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Based on the interviews and the needs demonstrated by young people, mentors need more extensive training to address learning needs but also social issues that emerge. Karim shared the following about his mentor role and the program in terms of training:

> [Mentors] get a couple of days training on how to handle children how to educate them, but sometimes it's not enough. It's not everyone who can do it. Certain problems will occur in every class so it's not easy. This project started small. I was there from the beginning but then it was all chaotic…then training became a little bit more organized and reasonable.

Sandra, a mentor in a different program, expressed that she and others in her position needed more training. She expressed her frustration at her lack of preparedness, "I'm not from an educator background. I don't know how to teach the do's and the dont's."

Saida, who had recently become a mentor in one of the programs, shared her training process in great detail. Part of the training she received included exercises meant to practice listening without problem solving. Saida explained:

> This was the most difficult part…to really listen…and don't come with your solutions. It's not that you are coming with solutions for your mentee, but you have to teach him or her to deal with their own problems, their own issues. We could give them a little advice…but just be a friend. You are not a relative, you are not a student, you are not her teacher, you are just someone outside that has another view of her or his situation.

In her training sessions, they used role-playing exercises to help mentors think through issues that young people might bring forward. The issue the facilitators used to simulate active listening was helping a young, overweight woman deal with frustrations about her mother who is overworked, and, as a result, the young woman spends quite a lot of time alone. Moreover, even though almost all of the mentors in training were requesting to work with Moroccan girls, issues specific to Moroccan young women – like coping with Islamaphobia in the Dutch context – were not discussed during the training sessions. Nonetheless, Saida, who was very aware of the struggles her mentee faced (i.e., anger about discrimination), wanted to ensure that her mentee had the tools she needed to be able to negotiate future challenges on her own. This particular program appealed to her because the focus was not on integration; rather, it was on helping young people reach their potential with more autonomy.

The Politics of Funding

Some program coordinators and mentors felt real ambivalence about how to offer young people what they needed while meeting funding requirements and regulations. Sadeq, a youth program coordinator, made it clear that his connections to political agents had helped his program succeed financially. While he coordinated political discussions

and debates for youth, he was careful to stay right of center and avoid criticizing Dutch society too strongly for fear of alienating his supporters. Like others, Sadeq knew they were being routinely monitored, and everything they did was closely scrutinized at multiple levels. One of the events I attended focused on assigning personal responsibility to Muslim youth without interrogating systems of exclusion and a context of Islamaphobia. However, during my fieldwork period, the issue of Geert Wilders' virulent attack on Muslims in the Netherlands escalated, and as a result, I observed Sadeq and his organization aligning with anti-racist groups to take a more public position against racism. I was not able to follow-up to find out if these actions affected their funding in any way.

Additionally, some funds were slated to support preventative measures that addressed concerns about youth becoming "radicalized" in terms of Islam. Karim, who had been involved in youth work for four years, explained that,

> Because there are so many problems in this part of Amsterdam, the budget is greater so they have more money to invest in kids who are potentially not doing well or who are potentially harmful to the society. So they want to..in advance, they want to straighten them out to push them in the right direction. Yeah, it's just policy. It's just the neighborhood.

By saying, "It's just policy" Karim accepted what some saw as contentious ground a mere fact. One of the program coordinators told me that his homework assistance program existed because of the grave concern the state had about "keeping hang-around youth off the streets." Moreover, several of the mentors interviewed felt constrained by these funding trends; they expressed their desire to offer young people services that were

more aligned with their immediate needs such as preparing for the CITO Exam or developing future career aspirations. Instead, in some instances, their focus was relegated to teaching Dutch values and norms to help facilitate the integration of the second generation.

Limited start up funds made it difficult for the programs to create a viable structure and recruit participants and staff. Karim explained the catch-22 that could result,

> It's hard to go to the government and get a budget. You don't get enough money to organize well. You have to start small and when things go wrong in the beginning you're not able to continue….These projects are very difficult to measure…because you could say you were better off because of the project or you did something on your own at the same time that helped you.

Under these funding limitations, as Karim asserted, it is difficult for youth programs to prove (or measure) their effectiveness over the short-term. Even over the long-term disaggregating the cause and effect and finding correlation between benefits to young people and the programs without data was very difficult. I asked all of the program coordinators if they had any longitudinal data on the young people they served. None of the programs had tracked participation over time nor had they conducted their own evaluations, but at least two were intending to do so. One of the programs that had existed for ten plus years, in addition to providing annual data about the population served and the content of their programs to demonstrate their effectiveness, they provided evaluations from teachers who reported on the academic progress of youth participants as correlated with their program attendance.

Compared to others in my sample, the organization that closed one of its locations (discussed earlier) offered the programs that were the most focused on preparing young women proactively. Held in a community space utilized by young women, predominantly of Moroccan origin, this program offered career education workshops, fitness activities, and field trips. Their workshops focused on helping young women secure internships, a significant obstacle to completing their requirements for graduation from their secondary school track. Finding an internship was quite complicated and difficult in light of the discriminatory practices prevalent in the Dutch labor market against Muslims, and particularly Muslim women who wore the hijab. To help them prepare for the challenges they were facing, and would face, the program offered ample opportunities for the young women to develop leadership skills by initiating and planning activities for others. Not only were they responsible for coordinating the events, they made presentations and proposed budgets. In addition, they used internet-based social networking as a way to appeal to and engage their young audience. This program was very aware of the needs of the population they served. When activities that included an overnight stay were organized, they structured an alternative for those who could not participate in the overnight but who still wanted to be a part of the activity. By being culturally responsive they did not limit participation.

During my follow-up visit in 2009, I learned that the young women participants had joined Aicha, the program coordinator, to present the program's annual report to the local district's council in hopes of compelling them to continue funding the program. Their narratives and testimonials were not enough. Taking a proactive stance and offering services to help young women prepare for current and future responsibilities did not help

secure their funding, and they closed their doors in 2008. Ironically, had they applied for funding to prevent radicalization or criminality of Muslim youth, they might still be open. On the other side of the spectrum, and important to note, the best-funded program was the most adherent to the Dutch agenda of integrating (i.e., assimilating) its Muslim citizens.

In addition to being aware of funding politics affecting their own program, the young women who participated in a focus group (ages 14 to 18) were also aware of the contradictions that effected other services and programs. Seventeen-year-old Samira shared a story about the closing of a youth center that had been widely reported in the press and in the news as a contradiction to the concerns about hang-around youth and the positive measures meant to provide safe and healthy spaces for young people within their communities. "In our neighborhood we had a community center. They closed the community center there. First those young kids were there…now it's gone and boys are hanging again." Her friend Nadira chimed in explaining that "it was only for 5 years….because it was a container or something. It was only allowed to stay there for 5 years." Samira added, "Yes [the community center] was really for those boys. They were always there and now you see them hanging everywhere." If the center had, in fact, been closed because it was housed in a temporary container, there were no reports of plans to replace or re-locate the space. It was reported that community organizers and young people were trying to bring attention to the issue.

The politics of funding had left the youth programs with little choice but to be cooperative and compliant with the trends and expectations that they would, in a sense, fix the "problem" of Muslim youth and help Dutch people feel safe again. Consequently,

some chose different paths to try to reach their goal of maintaining their funding. There were those who were loyal and grateful for the generosity of the welfare state without questioning the requirements. As a result, they promoted the integration agenda, providing young people with basic remedial activities. Those that rejected or resisted[34] the state's aims and focused more on providing preparation rather than prevention and remediation ran the risk of losing their funding. Additionally, there were those that tried to work under the radar and colluded with the state on paper while still offering young people more critical perspectives and support to deal with the social pressures they encounter. Another option, but one I did not observe, included programs bypassing the state and providing their own funding.

The analysis I provide in terms of the intersection of the overarching funding and the services available to young people only scratch the surface. A more in-depth investigation of this issue was beyond the purview of my study. Nonetheless, the question remains: What is the role of the state in terms of deciding what children are taught?

The Manifestations of Discourses within Youth Programs

Whether it was a result of the requirements or conditions of their funding or because those running the programs shared the prevailing ideologies about immigrants, Muslims, and/or Moroccans in the Netherlands, many of the youth workers I interviewed reinforced or were complicit with the intersecting dominant discourses discussed in Chapter 4. These included the perceived lack of integration of Muslim immigrants, which is considered a threat to social cohesion and the fears about criminality and the potential

[34] Throughout the course of my fieldwork, I learned of several programs that had lost their funding because their activities were not more centered on prevention of radicalization or on improving the integration of the second generation.

radicalization of Muslim youth discussed in Chapter 4. While the narratives echoed about Muslim youth by the 25 adults I interviewed shared some common themes, some were more conscious of the penetrating effect the discourse had on their program, some were accepting of and loyal to the expectations Dutch society had of its immigrants, and some wanted to reject and resist the discourses blatantly but were hesitant because their need for survival as a program and of the great social and economic cost to them if they did protest.

Reproducing Discourses

Sandra, a native Dutch woman who volunteered as a mentor, was surprised that the youth she worked with were committed enough to attend the program consistently for a year. Although the youth participants (ages 10-12) were of heterogeneous ethnic origin, she described the program as aimed at "integrating Moroccan and Turkish" youth. The program, she explained, "is relevant in terms of integration and gives children more opportunities to learn a wider view." Broadening their perspective was important because, in her words, "they won't come out of their neighborhoods." Additionally, she understood the purpose of the program was to "give them something they won't learn at school or at home. So they can get better chances after."

Sandra and I sat outside in a school playground under a rare blue sky one afternoon after I had observed her teaching young people about world religions. When I asked her what the youth were missing that youth programs should or could provide, without skipping a beat, her first response was to address behavior. She thought they should be taught "etiquette…to learn to behave in certain situations." But she said, "only one lesson, otherwise it would be too pushy." I asked her what I had asked the other

adults I interviewed, "Are there programs like this for native Dutch kids (that teach religious tolerance and proper behavior)?" "No," she said, "Dutch children learn this at home from their grandparents and parents. Whereas these children would not get it at home." She then proceeded to tell me her story about growing up in a white neighborhood in Amsterdam. "I went to the museums with my parents. They teach [sic] me what we now teach these children." I asked her if she had been as aware about other religions as were the students she worked with. She replied, "I didn't know as much as they know now about these religions, but the big things I did know." I probed further and asked her what else she thought the young people needed. After contemplating the question, she responded that they needed more support with "the step to secondary school." She then added that she thought they needed "lessons about drugs or other risk behaviors."

Sandra's narrative demonstrates the extent to which the discourses about a culture of poverty permeate the programs serving Muslim youth. In contrast to her own upbringing, Muslim youth in Amsterdam did not receive the right kind of cultural capital, which in her view included attending museums and learning how to behave in public. Like Sandra, Lars also spoke to me about the importance of imparting Dutch culture, of exposing young people to art, especially to great Dutch Masters[35]. Speaking for himself and others in his program, Lars said,

> We just want the children to taste a little bit about culture because in their own environment it's not so common to go to a museum with your parents because the parents are not so educated. Well, of course, they are busy with the pain of the

[35] The Dutch Masters refers to famous painters (e.g., Rembrandt and Vermeer) who lived in the 17h century – a period commonly called the Dutch Golden Age.

> day. And of course sometimes there's a little bit of poverty in some of the suburbs [lists the Muslim neighborhoods around Amsterdam]. If you look at the statistics well there's a lot of poverty and poverty in terms of Dutch standards.

While Lars acknowledged the class divide that exists between native Dutch and the immigrant origin youth he worked with, he did not hold the economic disparities as reasons for the differences in access or interest to Dutch cultural institutions. Nor did he acknowledge that these Dutch institutions promoted a culture of hegemony and dominance over the non-native minorities. For instance, during my fieldwork, one of the museums in the city curated a well-attended exhibit on Istanbul. While Turks make-up half of the Muslim population in the Netherlands, their participation in Dutch society was completely invisible within the exhibit. Rather, the exhibit celebrated the prosperous relationship between the Dutch and the Ottoman Empire that existed during the Dutch Golden Age. The absence of acknowledging the relationship between the Netherlands and Turkey in terms immigration was highly criticized by second generation informants with whom I spoke as an example of the invisibility of immigrants' history within the Dutch narrative.

The majority of the adults I interviewed who were native Dutch echoed narratives perpetuating the culture of poverty (i.e., "They don't leave their neighborhoods and are isolated") like those expressed by Sandra and Lars[36]. According to these constructs, unlike native Dutch kids, Muslim youth were in need of correction (de Leeuw & van Wichelen, 2005). They originated from deficient cultures and poor families. In spite of the concerns outlined in the media, in academic research, and in education with regard to

[36] Lars was of mixed heritage and identified as both a native Dutch man and of immigrant origin.

the academic gaps that existed between Muslim youth (namely Moroccan and Turkish) and their native Dutch counterparts, providing Muslim youth with the necessary tools and opportunities they needed for "their step to secondary school" was not a priority. Instead of talking about the resources young people needed to cope with the academic challenges they faced, including their overrepresentation in the lowest academic tracks, deficits were framed in terms of their poor culture, setting the stage for the belief that what Muslim youth really needed to be less offensive to native Dutch people was a general understanding of Dutch society – its values and cultural practices.

When I probed further and asked Lars how the exposure to art might benefit youth he worked with, he explained that, "I think we are able to; maybe it's a small way of giving them tools. He paused to think about his reply and continued:

> We try to teach them that you can be proud of your own identity, but that you have to communicate like Dutch, that you have to think sometimes like them to be successful in this society. When you have a discussion with someone. When you disagree. What is the way of dealing with this issue? You can become angry like in some countries it's very normal or you can be like the Dutch. You can disagree, but when you walk out the door, you can say ok let's have a drink. This is typical Dutch.

The culture-of-poverty constructions used by Lars, Sandra and others who talked about how "isolated they are. That they don't leave their neighborhoods" were just as much about class as they were about anti-immigrant and Islamaphobic fears. In an article in which they explore the applicability of the concept of whiteness to Dutch society, Essed and Treinekens (2008) theorize that the notion of whiteness in the U.S., as a

structure of racial advantage marking boundaries and privilege, is insufficient for the Dutch context. Instead, what they assert aligns with what Lars, Sandra, and others described above; that is, that "European-ness [or Dutchness] probably means 'white' (whichever way white gets to be defined), 'plus' something else. This plus refers to a continuum between popular (everyday practices) and high culture" (p. 69).

Complicit Sacrifice

Within a few days of my arrival in Amsterdam, I had the opportunity to meet with the director of a program who felt strongly about his organization's role in supporting the Dutch integration agenda. Moad, a first generation Moroccan man, explained to me that one of his organization's primary functions was to teach children cultural capital that would help them function in Dutch society in a successful way. This meant that facilitating integration and teaching Dutch values and norms such as tolerance were of great importance. Although he was concerned with the academic performance of Muslim youth and the persistent gap between them and native Dutch youth, he did not address providing them academic content and support with school. I soon learned that much of the funding they received was earmarked for the types of programs they offered (i.e., citizenship funds that required that the receiving organization address issues related to social cohesion and becoming Dutch).

Moad was concerned with demonstrating solidarity with Dutch society; he wanted to be seen as compliant with the rules of the game. It was not surprising that the other adults I interviewed who, like Moad, spoke of their loyalty to the state, of trying to prove their cooperation with the expectations that they would quietly assimilate into a Dutch way of life, represented the first generation. After all, it was their status as first generation

immigrants and their right to be counted among the Dutch population that had been vehemently contested and was still being challenged in the public domain. Therefore, their overt investment in the discourse was greater. They were caught in a difficult place trying to belong in a country that, 30 to 40 years after their arrival, still sometimes viewed them as interlopers and hoped they would return to their countries of origin[37]. As a result, they avoided taboo conversations with youth about discrimination and Islamaphobia for fear, one adult told me, that they would "reproduce the cycle of victimization."

Defying (or Challenging) the Discourse

While I heard many counter narratives from context informants, very few that challenged the dominant discourses were prevalently represented within the youth programs. Looking for alternative explanations that did not subscribe to the culture of poverty and criminality discourses, I often asked the adults I interviewed probing questions like "What else might explain [insert phenomena]? I was interested theoretically in knowing what alternative understandings were available to young people and to work toward understanding this I needed to know what alternatives adults articulated. The predominant answers to this additional question were the same. Even still, the majority of the adults representing the second generation expressed their dissent, quietly recognizing they had little power to affect change within the youth serving institutions for which they worked.

Maarten, the secondary school teacher with whom I spoke, expressed his normative, non-essentialized view of Muslim youth, "They are not very different from

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[37] The "myth of return" refers to the idea that Dutch society believed that "guest workers" were in the Netherlands temporarily and would not be staying. As a result the government made no effort to help immigrants settle (Ersanili, 2007).

other kids. They have trouble learning and motivation problems, busy doing other things in school, basically they're just what youth are supposed to be." On the other hand, he explained that in his school there were teachers who reflected, "the right wing views of those children, they will have an attitude that we'll have to teach them our values, so you'll hear some racist slurs as well." He added, "On the other hand, you have teachers who won't go to another school because they love the mix of the cultures here and think it's the best thing that can happen to a teacher is being able to teach here. In general, most teachers here appreciate the differences." It was promising to hear such a positive point of view from a secondary school teacher amid youth serving professionals who rarely viewed diversity among youth as a rich component of their work.

While limited, there were a few instances where adults took responsibility for not providing young people with what they needed. During our interview, Sandra, who spoke earlier and mostly in terms of the culture of poverty, expressed regret that the program did not prepare youth better to attend a public ceremony during which one of the children talked and was told by an older Dutch woman to "shut up!" By taking accountability for not adequately preparing the young people for what would be expected of them during the ceremony, Sandra provided a counter narrative to explain the program's role and did not blame young people for normal youth behavior like talking.

Saida revealed the story of one of her mentees, who was known as a good student with ambition and talent and who had demonstrated intelligence. This student had been demoted from an academic track to a lower vocational track, and her advisor at school had become greatly concerned for the precipitous drop in her grades, which had led to the change of placement. The school reached out to a community program to find her a

mentor; they were concerned that she was being severely affected, according to Saida, by "the anger of discrimination." Even though she was not explicitly charged with (or trained in) helping her mentee process and cope with the anger she felt at being excluded, Saida took this young women's needs very seriously. She worried that this young woman would not be able to reach her potential without the necessary tools to overcome the discriminations she faced.

Like Saida, Latifa believed in going beyond her official role and helping young people with whom she worked by guiding them and helping them develop problem-solving skills. Latifa, who assisted youth with their homework, described how she utilized break time as an opportunity to talk with young people about the tensions in Dutch society and particularly the challenges they faced in school. She explained, "In the 15 minutes break we talk a lot about Geert Wilders or new films, movies that come out. 'What do you think about that?'" Concerned that some would rather sit on their own, she encouraged everyone "to come down so everybody can get acquainted with each other." She described what their conversations were like:

> We try to…we also give our own opinions about how we think about this, how we think about that and then sometimes, in the beginning they 're like "no, no…fuck Wilders and we have to kill him". And then we try and talk to them. "No, but killing is not the solution." Blah, blah, blah. And then they're all like, 'yeah you are right, you are right. But you know, I'm just saying, I'm just saying that. I don't really mean it.' But then I'm telling them that the Dutch boy when he hears that, 'I know that you're just kidding, but he thinks you really want to that like KILL him.' and then they start thinking, but yeah they're still like 11, 12.

Latifa recognized that in the absence of alternatives or safe spaces where they could express their anger, young people's words might be misconstrued. She wanted to allow them to express themselves freely and to offer them ways to re-frame their words of resistance.

*The Limits of their Approache*s

The dominant discourses about second-generation Muslim youth affected not only how adults in these programs viewed the young people they worked with, but also how they related to them. Equally important, these prevailing discourses affected what the programs could offer. For instance, while one program wanted to offer career preparation (and could not secure funding) another (well-funded program) focused on providing remedial content, like learning about the meaning of Dutch idioms. And while I argue that improving Dutch language fluency is an important means to learn the language of power (Delpit, 2001), the focus that I observed was on improving aspects of language that improved their chances at successful assimilation into Dutch society, not language skills that improved their writing, critical thinking, technical, or scientific skills that would provide greater academic opportunities.

In this vein, during the Day of Remembrance[38] event that I described in Chapter 4, one of the mentors, a young medical student of immigrant and Dutch origins, was angry that they were spending the valuable time they had with such a wonderfully captive audience at this event. She sounded off about the lack of meaningful content being

[38] In a conversation with a program coordinator, I learned that attendance at The Day of Remembrance event was based on a strategic decision to help the program be in good standing with their funding agency. To recruit as many youth as possible, those in attendance were treated to McDonalds lunch, a rare treat in Amsterdam.

offered to youth that would have a direct effect on their future interests and opportunities (like greater exposure to math or science). With the exception of one of the organizations I surveyed, which focused on hands-on science activities and preparing students for a science exposition, exposure to math, technology and science was absent from all of the programs I observed.

Additionally limiting was that the majority of non-academic activities offered by these programs were gendered. These gendered programs were mostly related to cooking and other home economic type skills focused on self-care and in some instances were also linked to future job and career opportunities. The irony of the gendered activities offered is that in light of the Islamaphobic fears about Islam's repression of women, many of these activities reified traditional heterosexual roles supported by the extreme-right and the same liberals afraid of Islam because they believed it was repressive to women (Fekete, 2006).

Moreover, all of the female youth who participated in focus groups expressed their desire to be more active in sports and in physical activities that included soccer, swimming, and gymnastics. Many of the programs observed that had an athletic component (even one-time activities) were very appealing to youth participants. According to the Netherlands Youth Institute (2007), "sport is a favorite pastime for children: 85% of all children between 4 and 12 participate in sports at least one hour a week" (p. 26). Yet, the young people in this study reported they could not participate because the cost of taking swimming lessons, or belonging to a soccer club, made these opportunities inaccessible. This is in line with what the Netherlands Youth Institute reports that, "relatively few ethnic minority young people or young people with

disadvantaged backgrounds are involved in organized sport activities." The government plans to implement a new program to "stimulate sport activities by migrant people" (p. 26). In the meantime, immigrant youth have inequitable access to athletic activities and because radicalization prevention funds that do sponsor sports activities do so namely for boys, the gendering of programs persists.

Finally, few of the programs offered opportunities for young people to develop leadership and decision-making skills. Sanaa, a 21 year-old mentor, was very motivated to organize youth work that focused on teaching young people to advocate for themselves, to access resources and networks, and to become leaders. Unfortunately, funding to create these opportunities for young people (i.e., 10 to 15 year olds) within immigrant communities was not readily available.

In spite of the limitations of their approaches that resulted from the discursively driven funding trends, a focus on prevention seems to have yielded programs that provided important academic support such as homework help. Nonetheless, while remedial programs are important to address the growing opportunity gap between Dutch-born Muslim youth and native Dutch youth, it cannot be the only approach. Young people need preparatory and enrichment activities to develop critical thinking. Additionally, they also need to imagine a world beyond their own so they can envision the possibilities for their future. Most important is the fact that they received very little guidance on how to navigate the school system, move through the academic tracks, choose a secondary school and find an internship.

Conclusion

According to Stanton-Salazar (2004), successful work within youth organizations is apparent when young people experience attachment, commitment, and involvement. I arrived in the Netherlands to conduct my fieldwork with the assumption that the programs and organizations serving youth were helping young people deal with the structural barriers and the social hostility that exists. I had hoped to find exemplars and model programs that incorporated immigrant cultural wealth and provided rich sources of knowledge and cultural and social capital. What I found is that, as a result of a compilation of factors, the programs I researched reproduce or reify social class and maintain the social order (Essed & Nimako, 2006). While there are some benefits to youth participants like receiving (albeit remedial) academic support and engaging with caring adults who make them feel safe and connect to their families, the predominant practices reproduce the status of immigrant-origin youth and their families. Moreover, the efforts made by dedicated youth workers are often thwarted, diminished, or sabotaged by the discourse that controls the types of funding they receive and activities and services they can offer.

Summary of Findings

In an effort to identify the consequences in terms of the educational opportunities for Muslim youth that resulted from the programs I observed, the findings reported in this chapter were categorized into benefits and limitations.

- The dominant attitudes and ideologies within the macro system of Dutch society are reflected and reproduced within the meso systems of youth-serving institutions.

- As a result of funding constraints, youth programs become an extension of the state fulfilling its aims and promoting its hegemonic agenda.
- Muslim youth need services and programs that help to mitigate the social and cultural forces they encounter.
- A subtle but palpable finding is that in addition to reproducing dominant ideologies and social class, many of the programs offered gendered activities for young people, reifying traditional male and female norms.
- Because acknowledging racism and discrimination is framed as weakness, youth workers are discouraged, sometimes even prevented from discussing these issues openly with young people.
- Claims of Dutch tolerance in contrast to Muslim intolerance deem Muslim youth as the problem. As a result it is Muslim and other immigrant youth who are burdened with knowing more about the dominant culture while the reverse is not true (Giroux, 1997).
- Having access to resources is critical, but in the context of exclusion it is not enough. While some adults try to bridge access to social capital for the youth with whom they work, these links are not strong enough to overcome the structural and systemic challenges Muslim youth face.
- In the absence of having their own culture valued and recognized, elevating the cultural capital of the dominant group is simply repressive to immigrant-origin youth (Yosso, 2005).
- Deficit culture views are subtractive (Valenzuela, 1999) and problematize important connections to family and community (Stanton-Salazar, 2001).

- The one youth program that acknowledged ethnic solidarity and promoted the value of providing young women with preparation and enrichment was successful at serving the needs of its participants. Yet, their funding was eliminated.
- After primary school, young people who age out of youth programs experience a drop-off in support during periods of critical transition.

While the limitations described above weigh heavily on youth programs and the efforts of many dedicated individuals that work for them, their efforts are not insignificant. In spite of the constraints and challenges that the youth workers faced, young people who participated in their programs were indeed better off for having the opportunity to connect with caring, accepting, and generous adults who cared about their well-being and their academic success. Like the young people reminded me, it did not matter if their mentors or instructors were of the same or similar ethnic background, what mattered most is that they were cared for and respected.

The ways in which the youth programs connected with families was significant and demonstrates that it is possible to engage parents in meaningful and valuable ways. In particular, offering parents information and the tools they need to help advocate for their children is of utmost importance.

In a study of young Black male participants, Woodland (2009) found that, after-school programs can provide what he calls "the 'missing context' for healthy psychosocial development." The following recommendations are based on the findings presented thus far:

Recommendations

1. Mentoring relationships should be at least one year and, whenever possible, longer.
2. Using sports is a great way to attract and engage youth (both male and female) in youth programs.
3. While it is not necessary for mentors and youth workers to be Moroccan or Muslim in order to empathize with the ways Muslim youth are marginalized, they do need to have a raised consciousness about the level of racism and Islamaphobia that young people encounter. As youth workers, they must be willing to tackle difficult conversations about these issues and they need training to do it. How can the youth programs actually make a difference and affect change when other structures and practices have not changed? Expecting adults to tackle issues of racism in a context where the dominant majority wants to deny or challenge the reality that exists is quite difficult.
4. Youth programs need to evaluate their effectiveness (in terms of how well they serve youth) by gathering data from and about the youth and the adults that work with them.

In one of my conversations with Lars (a program coordinator), he told me that the problems were "social-geographical," and that the issue was social and residential segregation of Muslim immigrants. Instead of trying to destroy the cohesiveness of ethnic enclaves (Stanton-Salazar, 2001) by forcing young people to choose and stand in opposition to their communities and their own families as if they were harmful to their well-being and social progress, the Dutch state should encourage social cohesion within and among ethnic groups. Driessen and Smit (2007) (citing Vermuelen & Penninx, 2000;

Zhou, 2007) argue that " it is clear that strong orientation towards one's own group need not stand in the way of social mobility and favourable societal position" (p. 53).

The limits of their structure, the lack of coordination of services, and the restrictive funding options result in what one mentor called, "children's diseases," In other words, these factors were the result of growing pains that many of these projects, still in their infancy, were experiencing. There is hope that by forming coalitions and learning from one another, youth programs will be able to better serve young people. However, the transformational hope lies in Dutch society challenging its intolerant racist notions and fears about Muslim youth. It is the dominant majority's responsibility to raise their level of consciousness to help destroy the racist and demeaning Islamaphobia that will otherwise be perpetuated.

The expressed needs of young people are often ignored or they are not even asked. They have some support with imagining their futures, but not enough with planning the next steps, like choosing schools and finding suitable internships. This disparity is a major consequence and limit of their approaches. Not so much the lack of enrichment, the lack of preparation for youth is paramount in that they are not well prepared to cope and deal with, to negotiate, the reality of Dutch society.

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter presents the convergent findings of this study and the overarching theoretical constructs that connect the discourses generated at the macro level, the effects on youth programs at the meso level, and the saturating effects both the macro and the meso influences have on the experiences of Muslim youth. Beginning with two opposing yet similar vignettes (one representing a young man in a high academic track and the other a young woman in a low vocational track), young people's lives are explored in relationship to the findings; what follows are two stories of Dutch-born Muslim youth living at the intersections of Islamaphobia, racism, and anti-immigrant hostility that manifest in the reality of their everyday lives (Essed, 1990).

Hamid's Story: Assigned to a High Track

I met Hamid in February 2007 while he was attending a weekend youth program that was academic and culturally based. He was in Group 8 (U.S. Grade 6) and was preparing to transition to the first year (or bridge year as it is commonly called) of secondary school. He was a well-mannered young man and was well regarded by his peers, his mentors, and his teachers. I had observed him over the course of several months during language lessons, on the playground, and during field trips interacting with other adults. Moreover, I had the opportunity to meet his mother at a parents' meeting and at a youth program event. She was Hamid's role model, and he admired her deeply. In my interactions with Hamid, he was often shy but very responsive. He enjoyed trying to speak with me in English and appreciated my attempts to connect with him using the few Dutch and Arabic words we both had in common.

In May of 2007, he was excited about participating with five other schoolmates in a focus group for this study. Very active and motivated to search for "things to do," he sought out activities at two community centers in his neighborhood, where he used the computers, took cooking lessons, and learned Judo. Additionally, he attended religious education at a local mosque two days a week.

When Hakima and I contacted Hamid again in November 2007 for an individual interview, both he and his mother were happy to hear from us. He had broken several ribs in an accident and had been out of school for four weeks. He was very distraught about not having received more support from his school. He wanted to tell us his story; the school was supposed to send a teacher to help him keep up with his assignments during his recovery, but, despite several attempts by his mother, this had not happened. Maybe because of his injury or the difficulties he had endured in his first year of secondary school, Hamid looked different, more mature but less vibrant and energized, as if he was worn down by it all.

He had placed in a high academic track (HAVO/VWO) and chose to attend a small school close to home. He talked about his experiences the previous year. Although Hamid had not felt challenged in Group 8, he had felt well prepared to take the CITO Exam. On the day of the test, however, local television news cameras were filming as he and his classmates took their exam, something that caused them unnecessary anxiety. As a result, Hamid predicted he would place in a vocational track (a track in which Muslim youth were overrepresented). In spite of the abysmal testing conditions, he was recognized for his hard work and received high academic advice (HAVO/VWO). Being placed in a dual track, though, made him less confident. He felt he was not well prepared

academically and feared failing; therefore, he informed us he would prefer to follow the lower track (HAVO) in his second year of secondary school.

Hamid was very clear about who influenced him academically – his sister. Only a few years his senior, she advised him on the best school to chose and guided him through the process of transitioning from primary to secondary school. He did not get any guidance from the youth program or any sources other than his sister.

> I didn't know anything about secondary school. My sister, told me how everything works…because actually I didn't really know a lot about it even though I uh, I asked…she [the primary school teacher] explained it in a complicated way so uh…so I just asked my sister, she told me everything, how it works.

According to Hamid the only information he received from his primary school was:

> That you should prepare yourself well. They say that to every class…about how you should work, but they don't say anything else….We only got uhm, yes we did get a school guide, but there wasn't a lot of information in it…usually it says things about school, like that it's a nice school. They write that about every school.

In December, Hamid was still searching for openings in activities of interest to him (e.g., soccer, film and cooking). The soccer club that his mother tried to sign him up for was full. The film and cooking activities were organized through his school, and at the time of the interview, he was awaiting a response from his advisor about whether or not he had been accepted for the activities. Moreover, the community center in his

neighborhood that he once attended had closed. “That community centre over there, it’s gone,” Hamid explained with regret.

He regretted his choice of school and hoped to go elsewhere the following year (specifically, the school well-known for its diverse student population and challenging curricula, and where Maarten, one of the teachers whom I interviewed, worked). In addition to the crowded conditions and the annoying upper class bullies who often teased him, Hamid absorbed constant verbal assaults from his French teacher who told him and his classmates that they would never amount to more than cheap supermarket store clerks. The complaints against this teacher went unnoticed by his advisor, whom Hamid described as rude.

Hamid was grateful for his mother’s support, a single parent, who raised him to work hard. In spite of being such a strong advocate of education and a strong figure in her son’s life, however, his mother’s only wish was that he live to be “really old.” Her primary concern was her son’s survival (literally).

Medina’s Story: Assigned to a Low Track

Teased, isolated, and set apart, Medina was awkward and uncomfortable around her peers but very talkative and friendly with adults. I met Medina while she attended a youth program in her last year of primary school. She was quite open and articulate in her interview (more so than she had been in the focus group six months earlier). She felt she had grown more confident during her first year in secondary school.

Although she had hoped to receive a slightly higher score on her CITO Exam and a higher track assignment, the advice she received was for VMBO Kader. Yet, she felt like VMBO Kader was the right placement for her after all.

> Hakima: And what did you think of the advice?
>
> Medina: [silence] Yes, yes it is on my level. Uhm..For example, if I had T [meaning Theoretical level, one step higher than Kader] it would have been more difficult, you know. For example if I was in that school, uh it would have been more difficult if I for example had to make an exam, but this is exactly my level, what I do now.
>
> Hakima: Yes? You do think that it fits you?
>
> Medina: Yes, yes.
>
> Hakima: And why do you think the teacher gave you that advice - VMBO Kader?
>
> Medina: Uhm, maybe because I am not really a HAVO student or something, but for example Kader, Kader fits me.

Moreover, Medina received a special education accommodation and was placed in a small class of 15 students. This, she explained, resulted from a test she took at a municipal office. She felt she needed the accommodation because she was easily distracted, and in a smaller class, she received more one-on-one attention.

Medina had been afraid of starting secondary school, afraid of the unruly Moroccan boys she had heard about on TV. However, she was relieved to learn that there were school guards present. “I think its better that there are more people that watch everything. That’s better of course.”

She reported liking her school because it had “nice teachers and nice students.” She was a hard-working student and enjoyed language learning, particularly French and English. She disliked her “Worldviews” class because the teacher focused heavily on Christianity, and in her words, “it was too much” and “sometimes it goes too far.” Medina loved the increased independence and the social choices that were part of her secondary school experience. She had more friends she could trust, but she worried about the teasing and the bullying that went on. Following the rules was important to her, and

she was attuned to her teachers' moods, avoiding at all costs getting on their wrong side. She felt connected to her Dutch teacher, who in spite of being mean to other kids had made Medina his class assistant. Even though, she said, "some were jealous" of her role, she liked being able to step out of the chaos that sometimes ensued in class by running errands for her teacher.

Having aged out of the youth program she had participated in for several years, at the time of the interview, Medina was not involved in any activities outside of her school. The only activity she would have been motivated to participate in was a homework class that could support her immediate needs; however, her late school dismissal prevented her from attending.

Ashamed of her current grades, Medina explained why they must have gone down by saying, "I don't show an interest in learning, I think." Nonetheless, she hoped she could jump tracks and eventually move from the second-to-lowest vocational track (VMBO-Kader) to VMBO-T and then to HAVO, an academic track. She wanted to become a schoolteacher like her aunt, who was the only woman Medina knew who taught native Dutch kids and wore a hijab.

Different Pathways, Similar Outcomes

Although Hamid and Medina's trajectories and school settings varied significantly, their experiences, worries, and challenges had many points in common. Both Hamid and Medina exemplified the same wisdom and resourcefulness demonstrated by the other youth participants of this study. They exhibited help-seeking behaviors while searching for educational opportunities within a context of inequity.

Although Hamid was enrolled in a high academic track, he felt excluded and forgotten. While he was home recovering from his injuries, he had not been able to complete his work, and the home schooling assistance he was entitled to, and that his mother had worked hard to arrange, had never come through. When we spoke to him in the individual interview, he had fallen behind and had over 16 exams to make up. Being completely neglected by the school had caused him great distress. When we asked Hamid how things had changed from one year to the next, he said, "sometime I feel as if nobody supports me, the teachers I mean and then when I go home I feel sleepy." He had internalized all of the stressors he was experiencing and was demonstrating the physical and emotional manifestations of racism – the psychological layering young people living under oppression experience (Suarez-Orozco, 2004). As a result, he had lost the confidence he exuded when I first met him during the previous academic year.

During her interview, Medina exposed in multiple ways how she had been inculcated with fear of the Muslim boys in her school. The idea that they were out of control and needed to be feared and watched was amplified by the specter of the criminal Moroccan reflected in the media. Reciprocal images of angry teachers who humiliated their students were not represented in public discourse, nor was the role teachers played in reifying oppressive conditions. Like Hamid, Medina managed mean and sometimes racist teachers and peers. Medina, however, had learned how to cope with the meanness of her teachers – most likely by showering them with kindness. While Medina felt relief that those watching kept her safe from "the boys," Hamid felt no protection from the virulent wrath that his out-of-control French teacher unleashed.

In the midst of this presumable chaos, Medina talked about her own transformation from the silent student to becoming a more daring and vocal young woman. Although she made every effort to share how much she enjoyed aspects of her new school, she talked longingly about her nurturing primary school teachers and the familiar setting they created. She missed her mentor terribly, and although Medina had tried to connect with her, her mentor was no longer at the youth program Medina had attended as a primary school student. Thinking about her future, Medina identified her aunt, who wore the hijab and was a teacher, as her role model. Medina had chosen to begin wearing the hijab (a visual symbol of her Muslim piety) in secondary school, in spite of the Islamaphobia in Dutch society. She had thought through the consequences of her decision in terms of her future aspirations, and her aunt was proof that she too could live by her religious beliefs and pursue her dreams. She told Hakima and I, as we walked her home after the interview, that her aunt gave her hope, hope to become a teacher wearing the hijab too.

In spite of their ability to identify the racism they encountered, both Hamid and Medina internalized and absorbed messages about their academic abilities based on teachers' lowered expectations. Like Aliah, whose story appeared in the beginning of Chapter 1 Medina trusted her teachers and believed that being placed in the lowest track was, indeed, the right fit for her. Hamid's feelings of self-doubt about being successful at the highest track were not balanced by the level of support he had received while he was injured. In fact, Hamid had been neglected, set up to fail, and believed it was his fault; he said, "I know for sure that I will fail because now I'm having a hard time with HAVO" (HAVO being the lowest of the two tracks in which he was enrolled). Both Medina and

Hamid's responses to the negative reflections indicate what Carola Suárez-Orozco (2004) describes as youth who become resigned to "to the hopelessness and self-depreciation that may in turn result in low aspirations and self-defeating behavior" (p. 181). But Medina and Hamid, like the others in this study, were at once resigned to the images of failure projected onto them and "infused with hope, a sense of justice, and a faith in a better tomorrow" (p. 181). In spite of the limitations and road blocks, they seek opportunities and use their aspirations to imagine something better. Imagination is a significant element that young people reach for as they become agents of their own paths (Logue & McCarthy, 2007).

Knowledge and Wisdom

The stories of Medina, Hamid and the other 23 youth who participated in this study, illustrate their meta understandings of their political situations as they move from objects to subjects of their own stories by naming the subjugated positions to which they are sometimes relegated. These youth live with the contradictions, holding the tensions of a society that does not accept them as multiply positioned and multiply identified youth. They are aware of the fears others have of them ad the challenge and the obstacles they face. They try to claim themselves beyond the labels that identify them as a criminal threat (Sirin & Fine, 2008) and exhibit self-protectiveness by finding ways to resist Dutch culture's hegemonic invasion of their bodies and souls.

Even if they do not articulate the presence of power within the social transactions that create the negative stereotypes controlling them, young people in this study understood that power had been misused. As described in Chapter 4, young people were very aware of the public's perception of Muslim youth and identified the labels used to

identify them, such as criminals, thieves, hang-around youth, lazy and even stupid. Many of them resisted the categories in which they were placed, knowing that "Who gets what designation is determined by those who have the social and political power to designate" (Scully, 1988, p. 11)[39].

Remarkably, within the suffocating context of limited opportunities, young people in this study had a wealth of knowledge and a sophisticated understanding of the world in which they struggle and their relationship to institutions and institutional agents. Clear about articulating their needs, young people recognized the degree and source of the support they did receive. They identified the cultural wealth emanating from kin, siblings, and peers (Stanton-Salazar 2001, 2004; Yosso, 2005). Their level of clarity is a testament to their deep understanding of the learning opportunities they have as well as what they lack (or from what they are excluded.) Aware of issues with which they struggle, they spoke confidently as experts of their condition.

Revisiting Research Questions

This study was designed to investigate the following research questions: How do Muslim youth in the Netherlands experience youth programs created to support their educational needs and to help them navigate Dutch society? What is the role of youth programs in providing educational and cultural support and creating access to resources? To what extent do dominant Dutch integration discourses positively or negatively affect the educational opportunities offered Muslim youth by programs created to serve them? How do young Muslim participants perceive these discursive messages?

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[39] I would like to thank my colleague and friend, Ana Marìa Flores, for sharing this important reference with me.

The process of conducting research and analyzing data to find answers to these questions was not linear or fragmented. Instead, findings that answered one question helped answer others while simultaneously uncovering more questions. For instance, in the field, it became necessary to answer the question of the influence of dominant integration discourses in order to inform and understand the experiences of Muslim youth within youth programs.

The prevailing discourses about Muslim immigrants, specifically youth, in the Netherlands are exposed in Chapter 4. By explaining the extent to which these discourses penetrate every level– the public, institutional, and personal domains – I aimed to show how Muslim youth are inevitably implicated. From the point of view of youth workers and their programs, Chapter 5 explores the ways in which prevailing discourses affect funding which control (or limit) what the youth programs can offer. These findings converge here in the concluding chapter, superimposed on the stories of Medina and Hamid, which illustrate the difficulties and the challenges Muslim youth must negotiate as they seek educational opportunities.

Theoretical Contributions

An Accumulation of Burden

Within the context of Islamaphobia, racism, segregation, and poverty, Muslim youth in Amsterdam face multiple burdens as they navigate their daily lives. While they were able to recognize oppression, young people were left to cope with the strain, the anxiety, and complexity of it on their own. Knowledgeable about their subjugated positions and those who had relegated them there meant that Muslim youth needed to know too much in order to protect themselves within a system of oppression. They were

burdened by a history that does not acknowledge their reality or their family's history of struggle and often internalized the racist messages that penetrate all of the spheres of their lives. In addition, while trying to navigate the complexity of school, they were often burdened with searching for resources and support in a system that did not meet their needs. Moreover, they were weighed down by having to educate others in terms of their religious beliefs and culture while trying to defend themselves from a hostile society (Zaal, Salah, & Fine, 2007). They also had to carry the load of illnesses (theirs or their family members'). In essence, a web of systemic social factors creates an accumulation of burden for Muslim youth in the Netherlands.

The Weight of Islamaphobia: Consequences of Internalized Discourses

Many of the youth who participated in this study exhibited multiple consequences as a result of the racist images they sometimes could not help internalize and absorb. They separated themselves from "those Moroccans" or "those Muslims" in an effort to distinguish themselves from the negative elements and discursive labels placed on their young bodies. They are often caught in the gnarled grip of a polarized dichotomy of good vs. bad. Part of the reason Muslim youth internalize constraining labels and discourses is that these young people have very few alternative images presented to them. Moreover, while they are able to recognize their experiences with oppression they do not often have the words to describe what that domination means. Having to endure these symptoms and manifestations of internalized Islamaphobia weighs heavily on the youth in this study. This burden adds to the other burdens and accumulates in their psyche and their souls.

Burden of Educating Others

Muslim youth in Amsterdam are challenged about their beliefs and their practices. A typical and often repeated scenario was described in Chapter 4 by one of the program coordinators I interviewed. Lars explained that while the Dutch claim to be tolerant of religion, the reality is that they are constantly challenging religious beliefs outside of Christianity, (in particular, Islam); in essence, the Dutch are practicing what Lars called a "dictatorship of secularism." Under these circumstances, Muslim youth, and particular young women wearing the hijab, are often asked to explain their religious beliefs.

I argue that burdening Muslim youth with the responsibility of educating others about their culture, beliefs and practices is a misuse of power and privilege by the dominant culture. This oppressive scenario reinforces the cultural deficit constructs that are currently perpetuated in both social and academic circles (see Driessen, 2001; te Nijenhuis & van der Flier, 2001). The repeated requirement of immigrant-origin youth to explain themselves can have an overwhelming affect on their identity and development (Berry, 2001; Phinney, 1990). According to Suarez-Orozco (2004) experiencing this intensely negative "social mirror" diminishes the psyches of subjugated youth.

Missing the Mark at Critical Junctures

The following analytical questions provided the frame necessary to determine if young people were indeed getting what they needed: What kind of support and opportunities were provided to Moroccan-origin youth to help them navigate school? To what extent did the support they receive meet their needs? What, if any, opportunities to provide support were missed by the youth programs? While youth participants were indeed better off as a result of the support they received, the findings point to many

opportunities that youth programs missed in terms of the ways they fall short of providing young people with what they needed to overcome the barriers in education. The most critical fallout (as depicted in the previous stories) for Muslim youth under limited conditions is the lack of support they receive to navigate the numerous transitions they encounter. These transitions, as Rice (Rice, 2001) describes, are significant "institutional discontinuities" that in the absence of support and guidance can create a lot of disruption and difficulty.

Theoretically, these transitions, which I call critical junctures, can become fractures when the educational needs of young people are not met. The critical junctures they encounter include:

1. taking the CITO Exam during their last year of primary school;
2. receiving their "advice" or track assignment for secondary school;
3. making an informed decision about a secondary school;
4. transitioning to secondary school
5. moving to a higher track during the first year of secondary school (when it is most possible)
6. securing an internship to fulfill requirements of the vocational track in secondary education

The stages were identified based on the areas that created most anxiety, confusion or concern for young people and their families. For instance, all of the youth participants reported feeling underprepared for taking the CITO Exam, surprised by the advice they received, confused by the process of choosing a school, and wishing they had more support throughout the transition from primary school to secondary school, including the

process of moving out of a track and later finding an internship. Even though the CITO Exam is such a defining moment in the academic trajectory of Dutch youth, the youth workers with whom I spoke minimally mentioned it as an area of concern. Yet, young people very clearly articulated the anxiety they felt at taking the test and being underprepared.

Given that high-stakes test taking is mandatory in the Netherlands, all young people deserve to be fully prepared for every aspect of the test-taking process – content, question type, timed exams, etc. Moreover, in addition to the preparation to which young people are entitled, the discriminatory practices that often underpin the advice processes need to be addressed. While the alarm about unfair tracking practices of Muslim youth has been sounded in research, policy and education circles (Crul, 2000), many in the public domain and in academia provide counter-narratives that deny the practice. The combination of structural factors (i.e., inadequate preparation and tracking practices) signifies that the problem is not simply a matter of needing more information. Nonetheless, youth programs should be in a position to help facilitate the process of track assignments and choosing a school by arming parents with the tools they need to advocate for their children at each of these stages.

The lack of support around the process of choosing a secondary school is very significant. In order to make an informed decision about the secondary school they should attend, participants in this study indicated needing and wanting information about the type of schools available for their particular track, the quality of the curriculum, and types of programs offered. They described other significant factors in the process of selecting a new school, namely they wanted school environments that were safe,

peaceful, pleasant, comfortable and small. They also needed to understand what the advice they received meant in terms of what schools they could choose. Several of the young people described having a school in mind as their first choice based on the school's reputation, but they had to attend a different school because their track was not supported in their first choice school. As a result, there were mismatches and many of the youth ended up in school settings for which they were not prepared. One young man took the initiative to visit a school on his own after receiving his advice and learning that his two top choice schools did not offer the track to which he was assigned.

In Hamid's case, he was able to identify that were it not for the support he received from his sister (and the advocacy of his mother), he would not have been able to prepare for what he should expect. His ability to name the lack of meaningful and substantial information he received was very clear. He knew what he needed to be ready for educational success, but he did not get what he needed to navigate the process. In Medina's case, her choices were limited by both the track and the special education accommodation (LWO) to which she had been assigned. Her parents were given a guidebook that provided basic (and insufficient) information from which to choose a school.

Youth programs need to consider all of these transitions when thinking about how to best serve the needs of immigrant-origin youth. Navigating these transitions successfully is critical to young people's educational success. Moreover, as the results of this study demonstrate, young people need support to navigate transitions across multiple contexts – between social spaces, between Dutch society and their neighborhoods, and between primary school and secondary school, to name a few.

Hardiness Zones

In search of theory that would not flatten out the pain or neutralize the burden that Muslim youth in the Netherlands experience, I came across a construct called "hardiness" which is theorized by Lyn Mikel Brown (2001, June 1) in a study of urban adolescent girls in the U.S. Based on the concept of hardiness also explored by Ouellette (cited in Brown, 2001), I borrow this construct to frame the experiences and needs of the Muslim youth participants in this study. Unlike resiliency, which focuses on the individual (Luthar, 2006), hardiness "considers the social and political landscape in which [youth] come of age" (Brown, 2001, p.2). Furthermore, Brown argues, hardiness zones need to be cultivated to provide young people with the tools they need "to resist the long-term harm of institutionalized sexism, racism, and classism" (p. 2).

Referring to Claudia, the narrator in Toni Morrison's The Bluest Eye (Morrison, 1970), Brown (2001) asks:

> What if we were to know what Claudia knows in her nine-year old wisdom: that to alter a human life we need not one caring adult or mentor, not individual resolve, not courage or pull-yourself-up-by-your-bootstraps will power, but the right soil—the proper pH, the correct nutrients, sunlight and rain, the right hardiness zone?

These questions are directly applicable to the youth participants of this study who know deeply what they need and that what they get is definitely not enough.

Like the young women in her studies, the youth participants of my research exhibit Brown's three elements of hardiness. First, they demonstrate "hardiness control" in that they understand their social conditions and develop coping mechanism to

counteract the effects. Second, they exhibit "hardiness commitment" by maintaining and honoring their cultural and religious beliefs and their "connection to others and recognition…of resources" (p. 2). Last, as young people who "know where to go for support and…are flexible and persistent", the youth in my study meet the "hardiness challenge" (p. 2). The construct of hardiness zones offers rich solutions that consider the complexities of young people's realities and really do commit to a broad rather than exclusive kind of healing and development.

Policy Implications

The policy implications for this study point to large, structural stress points. Practices within the Dutch government that condone ethnic profiling, for instance, contradict integration policies and efforts at creating a cohesive multicultural society. In essence, the Dutch government, through its repressive actions, is demonstrating that they are not interested in creating equitable access to educational opportunities and, in turn, the labor market. In fact, the result of these contradictory practices is to assimilate Muslim youth into a permanent underclass (Rumbaut & Portes, 2001). Moreover, these policy contradictions that have created the structural inequities that exist need to be examined closely, particular within education. The "educational attainment" gap will not decrease passively with each passing generation as some in the Netherlands predict (van Ours & Veenman, 2003) unless the injustice that has been done to the current generation of youth is redressed.

Corrective and preventative funding measures can serve to further alienate young people who desire greater opportunities in education and in the labor market. Young people need greater (and more explicit) support to develop ways to participate in their

disparate worlds through transitions in multiple contexts. Youth programs serving marginalized youth need to have greater autonomy to provide the services that truly address young people's needs.

The inj-ustices experienced by Muslim youth in the Netherlands are palpable throughout this study – through the narratives of youth and the adults that work with them. In fact, the participants openly expressed their outrage at the social conditions to which they were subjected. Unlike the Muslim youth participants in the U.S.-based study conducted by Fine and Sirin (2007) who muted their expressions of anger, the participants of my study (especially those 14 and up) needed to communicate how they felt to counter the constant denial of their experiences within the dominant Dutch narrative. They demonstrated what Goodey (2006) describes as the "repressive regimes of control and regulation resulting in serial exclusion" that work against anti-radicalization efforts by fueling young people's anger. These issues need to be addressed if young people are to be spared the damaging effects of racism and injustice.

Questions that Remain

Although this study provided invaluable information about the experiences of Muslim youth living in Amsterdam, it unearthed difficult and looming questions about structural inequities and social justice. Questions that remain reflect macro social, political, and economic structures that need transformation in order to create equitable access to educational opportunities for Muslim immigrant youth living in the Netherlands. For example,

- What is the future of multicultural European societies like the Netherlands? What would it mean for the Netherlands to become an inclusive multicultural society?

- Are citizens of the dominant Dutch culture willing to embrace difference and truly integrate and live with "others" equally, regardless of religion or ethnic background?
- What do race and racism really mean in the European context? How do representatives of institutional authority, such as teachers, politicians, or community leaders use race as a factor for exclusion?
- What political power can immigrant communities access to begin addressing some of the inequities that exist?
- How can programs serving immigrant youth thrive at the grass-roots level in the context of a welfare state? How can they bypass mandates or fund their own programs without being blamed for radicalizing youth while trying to politicize them?
- How can the focus move away from individual responsibility for failure and toward examining systemic/structural forces in education policy and practice discussions?
- How should stereotypes of Muslim (especially Moroccan immigrant) youth be challenged (i.e., those that identify Muslim youth as lazy, criminal and unable to succeed in Dutch society).

In spite of the sadness, the burden, and the pain they experienced, young people in this study found "hardiness zones" in which they could seek refuge and connect with supportive peers and nurturing adults. While the youth programs were not representative of the "counterpublics" (Fraser, 1993 cited in Weis & Fine, 2004) (that is spaces that help rupture inequities), there were conscious and caring individuals throughout the youth

programs I surveyed that feel the necessary urgency, determination, and responsibility required to effect change. However, the issues facing the Muslim second generation in Amsterdam and across the Netherlands need to be addressed at multiple levels. In order to make a real difference, collective efforts and action need to be initiated within political, social, and economic spheres.

APPENDICES

Appendix A – Focus Group Protocol

Collect consent forms from Program Coordinator.

I. [5 minutes] Introduction
   a. Who are we?

      Mayida Zaal is an educator from New York and she is here working on a project to learn more about the types of programs available to immigrant youth in the Netherlands. She taught children 10 to 15 years of age in math and science.

      Hakima Aouragh is a sociology student and a community organizer who has worked with children and youth. She is also a researcher on this project and is assisting Mayida by translating.

   b. Why we are here?

      We are interested in understanding the experiences that young people of immigrant origin have by participating in youth programs. We will tape this, but not use anyone's names or other identifying information, and you can decide you don't want to answer any of the questions. There are no wrong or right answers. We just want to hear what you think.

      What we learn from you and the other participants will be included in a publication that informs teachers and others who work with immigrant youth. We expect to hear a wide variety of opinions and ideas – there are no right or wrong answers, and people do not have to agree with each other, but simply respect others.

   c. Can you introduce yourselves and tell us your name; your age; and what group (grade) you are in?

II. [15 minutes] Youth Programs
   a. List of activities:
      i. As young people living in Amsterdam, you have access to different kinds of activities, programs, and youth centers. Make a list of the activities that you participate in (outside of school)? Tell us how often you attend and what you do in those activities. [Hand-out chart. Complete list.]
   b. Tell us about the programs you listed on your chart.

i. What are they? How often do you attend? How did you find out about these programs? Why do you attend? What do you do there? What do you learn at those activities?
ii. Do these programs help with school in anyway (for example – dealing with teachers, being better prepared to understand the material you are learning, working with your peers, negotiating friendships?

III. [20 minutes] Discussion (specific to youth program)
a. Let's talk specifically about the activities offered by [name of youth program].
i. How did you find out/hear about this program? Probe - What made you decide to attend?
1. Probe- Why do you attend this program two times per week?
ii. Do your parents encourage you to participate in this program?
1. Probe - Why do you think your parents want you to participate in this program?
iii. Do your teachers / or other adults at school encourage you to participate?
1. Probe - Why do you think your teachers want you to participate in this program?
iv. What do you like the most about this program? What don't you like, or like the least?
v. How is this program different from school? Can you give us examples?
vi. Can you give us examples of things you learn here [name of youth program] ? What do you get from your participation?
vii. Does this program help with school in anyway (for example – dealing with teachers, being better prepared to understand the material you are learning, working with your peers, negotiating friendships?
1. Probe - Describe the different ways that you benefit by attending this program (e.g., with your teachers, peers, schoolwork or thinking about your future).
2. Probe - Do you feel better about school because of this program?
viii. What do you think your mentors and the program organizers *want you to learn* from this activity?
ix. Like many programs in Amsterdam, this project receives money from the government in order to function. Why do you think the government/state is interested in funding this program?
1. Probe- Why does the state provide money for this program to exist?

b. [20 minutes] Tell us about your interactions with the mentors or community leaders/youth workers.
    i. Who are the mentors/adults you interact with at these different programs? Tell me about them.
        1. What do you learn from your interactions with the mentors?
            a. Probe – Explain that. Tell me more. Why do you think that is?
            b. How is this different from what you get at school? Probe - (e.g., if they say we get more attention. We can speak Moroccan). Tell me more about that? Why is this important to you?
            c. How do you feel being in a project where there are Moroccan mentors? Is this an important factor for you? What extra value does that add?
        2. Referring back to your list of activities - Are there adults at these other programs that you feel connected to? Tell me about them.

IV. [20 minutes] Discussion Part II
    a. Public Perception
        i. How would you describe what the general public thinks about Moroccans in Amsterdam, specifically Moroccan youth?
        ii. Where do these views about Moroccan youth come from?
        iii. How would you compare what the public thinks with what the mentors and staff at this organization think about Moroccans in Amsterdam?
        iv. If there are any differences in views, how do you explain them? Do they matter to you? Explain.
        v. Finally tell us about what plans you have for your future.

V. [10 minutes] Final Activity [if time permits]
    a. *Greetings from Amsterdam* – On a postcard write a message to a student your age who will be moving from Morocco to Amsterdam to attend school here. Share with him or her any recommendations you may have for their transition into Amsterdam living. [You could stop there in order to address any questions.] Tell him or her what kind of support you recommend they seek out in the community. Describe what kind of resources they might need to navigate school.

VI. [5 minutes] End
    a. [Ask participants to complete demographic sheet including their contact information.]

Appendix B – Focus Group Transcription

The following focus group transcript has been redacted to delete any identifying information about participants and of the youth programs they attended. Additionally the names of participants are pseudonyms in adherence with Internal Review Board guidelines.

Translated from Dutch to English by Hakima Aouragh

Date: 12/12/2007
Location: In an Amsterdam Community Center
Duration: 61:47
Part: 1 of 2 Duration: 32:12

Hakima: She will get the tape ready, so the three of you can be heard clearly, that's why we sat you like that (around the table), this way everyone uh will be clear on the tape. Well, she is Mayida Zaal.

Mayida: Hello

Hakima: She is from uh, from America, from New York and uh she works here on a project to uh let's say, to know more about what kinds of activities and facilities are available for youth and especially for uh Moroccan youth, that's her research. And in America she is a teacher and she used to teach math and science. And uh, my name is Hakima Aouragh, I study in the Netherlands and I study Sociology and uh I am assisting her actually with the project because she, mostly with translation. She doesn't speak Dutch, but I do. But I will do the interview so you don't have to speak in English or whatever. Oké, and uuuh, the reason why we want to do this activity, this interview, this whole project is because we want to understand what your experiences are with these kinds of activities like for example the homework class you all do or maybe you do other activities, so we would like to know about the experiences, from the youth actually with uh, uuuhm a foreign background and specifically Moroccans. Uh, you have seen that this is being taped, we do that so we can listen to it later again and work it out. I can't talk and write everything at the same time now so, but we won't uh, use your names or uh, say things about you. What we discuss here is personal. And uh, we have uh, very clear rules uh, for example if you don't want to answer a certain question, you are not required oké? And what we will learn from you, will be published later in a sort of report, a publication, that's meant for other teachers that work with immigrant youth. To see if they can learn something from it, to inform them. We hope we will hear a lot of opinions and ideas and uh you know there are no right or wrong answers, you can say whatever you want, as long as you respect each other and you don't have to agree with each other.

[Latifa, one of the instructors, comes in]
Latifa: This is from Musa. I did give you uh forms right? Oké, this is the rest then.

Hakima: Yes

Latifa: I only need the ones of the other group…

Hakima: Let's do that later yes?

Mayida: Thank you

Hakima: So uh, this was the introduction to explain to you why we are here. And we introduced ourselves and now you can introduce yourself. Shall we start with you? Your name, your age and in what class you are in.

Ahmed: I am Ahmed, uhm I go to the [name of school], I am 13 years old, I love soccer and I am a member of a soccer club. That's it.

Hakima: And what class are you in?

Ahmed: V1V, of [name of school]

Hakima: First class?

Ahmed: Yes

Musa: Yes, I am Musa, uh I am in group 8 of the [name of school], yes I always play, usually soccer, I go to a soccer club too and I am 12 years old. Yes, that's it.

Hakima: Oké

Taleb: I am Taleb. I am 12 years old. I go to the [name of school] too and in group 8 too. I love soccer and I'm in a [soccer] club too.

Hakima: Yes, yes soccer players in the house today. Thank you. Uuhm, we have some lists, can you give me the lists [says to Mayida]? You as young people in Amsterdam often have access to several activities, right? You mentioned soccer, but also different community centers and uh youth centers are available to you uh for youth in Amsterdam. If you would like, first write your name on top of the list you will get in an minute and then what kind of activities you do, so the name of the activity and how often you go and what you do there and learn there, everything you do outside of school. We mean everything, even if you just visit a community center or a mosque or whatever you do after school.

Ahmed: Does it have to be in English?

Hakima: No, Dutch, in Dutch is oké [laugh]

Mayida: [laugh] Thank you

4:31 to 7:38 [participants fill in their list]

Hakima: Yes, are you finished?

All: Yes

Hakima: Yes, now we will talk about the things you have written on your list. I will ask some questions and you can answer, you don't have to raise your hand or something, but uuhm, maybe if you forgot anything, you can just say it. If you remember anything yes? So who would like to start and tell us what he has got on his list? What are the activities about?

Ahmed: Soccer, homework class and I used to swim

Hakima: And how often?

Ahmed: Soccer three times a week, homework class twice a week, and swimming twice a week.

Hakima: Yes, and what have you uh, what do you do at those activities; can you tell me about it per activity?

Ahmed: Uh, soccer uhm, we train two times a week, and uh we have to do all kinds of things, uh all parts of soccer, uh for example targeting or play match and uh, homework class, we do our homework and if we don't understand something, they help us and uh at swimming lesson they teach us uh uh how to dive and float

Hakima: Yes, and why do you participate in those activities?

Ahmed: Uh, soccer because I like it, homework class because I don't like to do my homework at home and uh swimming I had to [not clear] swim

Hakima: Huh, and how did you find out about those activities? How did you know about it?

Ahmed: From uh family and flyers…from school

Hakima: For all those activities or uh?

Ahmed: Soccer: family, homework class family too and swimming from the flyers

Hakima: Yes, and can you tell us, say what you learned from these activities? For yourself..

Ahmed: How to do something…and the techniques

Hakima: For which activity does that apply?

Ahmed: Soccer and swimming

09:56
Hakima: Yes, and what do you learn uh, what do you think you learn from the homework activity?

Ahmed: Uhm, I do my homework better here, here it's quieter and…they just help us better. Because uh most parents don't understand much about it, [they're] allochtonen (of foreign background)

Hakima: Can you say more about that? No? And do you have the feeling that these activities help you with school?

Ahmed: Homework class yes, soccer less

Hakima: Yes, and in what way? Yes, for the homework class?

Ahmed: Homework class uh, I understand things better, if I don't understand my homework I can't say to my teacher (female) yeh, I don't understand that, because she already explained it

Hakima: And you? Tell me about your list.

Musa: Uh, I play soccer, uh and I have homework class in [name of community center] and I do that three times uh I do soccer three times a week and homework class twice

Hakima: Uhu, and how, what uh why do you participate in these activities?

Musa: Yes soccer because yes, it's athletic, it's healthy and yes I really like soccer and with homework class uh, because, yeah I would rather sit in the class and do my homework there, but here it's more cozy [gezellig]. Yes that's actually the reason I go to homework class

Hakima: Yes, what do you mean by more cozy here?

Musa: Yes, I mean with the students and the teachers (female) and so

Hakima: Yes and uh otherwise you have to do it at home or at school?

Musa: Yes, at home

Hakima: Yes, there is, what's the difference for you? Do it at home or here?

Musa: Uhm, uh here you have more friends and uh at home there is no one that uh can explain things to you and yes well that's it actually

Hakima: Yes and do you, what do you think you learn at those activities?

Musa: Every week we get homework about uh proverbs and yes that way I can learn something

Hakima: Who gives you that homework?

Musa: From school

Hakima: Yes, and how did you find out about uh these activities?

Musa: First I was at homework class [name of community center], but uh those teachers (female) there were, were always late and so a year later I went to [name of community center]

Hakima: Yes

Musa: Yes, they are always on time and yes everything is fine.

Hakima: Yes, and how did you find out about [name of community center]?

Musa: I know I know a boy that used to come here, yes, he told me that he was coming here, then I came to take a look and it was nicer and then I stayed [not clear]

Hakima: Through him?

Musa: Yes

Hakima: And uh how did you find out about the other homework in [name of community center]**?**

Musa: From a friend too

Hakima: Yes, from friends all the time

Musa: Yes

Hakima: oké, and do you think that these activities help you in any way with school?

Musa: Yes, uh soccer not because I learn how to play soccer, but for homework I think yes, for example with spelling etc. yes.

Hakima: And do they teach you other things like how to relate to teachers or with friends or..?

Musa: Homework class?

Hakima: Yes

Musa: Uh, uh not really because you do uh just your homework.

Hakima: Yes, yes oké and you? Your list? Tell us.

Taleb: I wrote soccer and homework class. Soccer three times a week and homework class twice a week and uhm, I go to soccer because, soccer is also my hobby and I want to get better in it and homework class, when I understand something for example, don't understand, nobody can help me and here it's quieter then home because my sisters make, they make it hard for me sometimes and here not that's why

Hakima: Yes, and how did you find out about these activities?

Taleb: Both from friends.

Hakima: Yes, can you tell me for example how you find out about this from friends? How does that go?

Taleb: First I used to go to a homework class but that one was not as good as this one. There was noise all the time so then a friend told me that here it's quieter.

Hakima: You can respond.

Musa: Oh

Hakima: You wanted to say something right?

Musa: No, uh I was the friend that told him that he uh

[laugh]

Hakima: Oké, but he wasn't, you heard it from another friend again?

Musa: No, from him too.

Hakima: But who was here first?

Musa: I was here first, but at the other place he was first

Hakima: Oh, so at the previous homework club you went there through him…

Musa: Yes

Hakima: And at this one?

Musa: He came because of me

Hakima: He is here because of you oké, but you came here through someone else?

Musa: Yes

Hakima: Yes, oke, but so first uh, you used to go to [name of community center] too, but you too thought it was uh…

Taleb: Yes

Hakima: Less? Yes. And uuuh, what do you think you are learning?

Taleb: Yes at uh, homework class helps me do better on my exams when I have to study. And with soccer, uh, it's just a hobby.

Hakima: Yes, you do that for yourself? Why do you participate?

Taleb: I like it

Hakima: And for homework class?

Taleb: Because I, here I can do my homework better than at home

Hakima: Yes, and does it help you with school?

Taleb: Yes

Hakima: In what way? Let's say from the moment you came to homework class, do you have the feeling that it helped you with school?

Taleb: Yes with my homework, to finish it and uh to learn for my exams

16:14
Hakima: Yes, oké. If we talk specifically about uh for example, uuuh [name of community center] right, it's from [name of organization] right, do you for example have uuhm, do your parents encourage you to participate in this activity?

Taleb: Mine do

Ahmed: Mine a little bit. Actually I participate uh, came here on my own

Hakima: Yes… and you? Your parents encourage you, can you tell us how?

Taleb: Yes, my father often says, uhm, he used to say, go to homework class, because here it's a bit more crowded and there it's quieter

Hakima: Yes and with you? You said yours a bit too

Ahmed: Yes, we found out about it through Taleb, uuh because uh one day I had nothing to do, so I went to Taleb and he said, yes I have to go to homework class. And so I said, "What are you doing there?" "Doing homework." So I went with him.

Hakima: Taleb is a friend of yours?

Ahmed: Family

Hakima: Family. So actually you are here through uh family. Yes. But at home uh, they encourage you too to come here?

Ahmed: Yes

Hakima: Yes, and for you?

Musa: Uh, soccer not, that's something I did on my own, but uh for homework class they do

Hakima: Yes, and why do you think your parents want you to participate in this activity?

Ahmed: At home they don't see..not really see me do homework but, so uh they want me to come here.

Hakima: Yes, and for you?

Taleb: Uh, for me, for the homework, that way it goes better at school and that way I can get a better diploma

Hakima: Why do you think your parents encourage you to participate?

Musa: Yes, they try to make the best for me of course. They want me to get a good job later, get a good future etc

Hakima: And at school, the teachers or other adults, mentor or something at your school, do they also encourage you to participate in the homework class?

Ahmed: No one knows

Hakima: At your school?

Ahmed: A few kids do, but no one uh

Hakima: But teachers, yes

Ahmed: Except uh, my mentor from [name of another youth program], she helps me at home

Hakima: How? Can you tell me something about it?

Ahmed: I found out about it through school and then uh my father said oké it's good and then uh she came

Hakima: And what did you exactly find out through school?

Ahmed: [name of primary school]

Hakima: Yes

Ahmed: In group 8, they wanted to help children who were behind

Hakima: Uhu

Ahmed: Uh that, for example with covering books and uh homework, then uh my father thought it was good

Hakima: But who came then?

Ahmed: This..a woman, [name of woman]

Hakima: And where was she from?

Ahmed: From [name of youth organization]

Hakima: And do you know what that uh [name of another youth program] is exactly about?

Ahmed: Yes, they help children from the first class (secondary school) that don't know exactly how uh to find their way uh how to deal in the first class

Hakima: Yes

Ahmed: You have to know for example how to cover your books etc

Hakima: But she came in group 8?

Ahmed: No, ever since uh the first

Hakima: Ever since the first

Ahmed: Since this year

Hakima: But uh what do they exactly do for you?

Ahmed: Uhm, she talks to me about things at school, problems or uh positive things and that's it

Hakima: One woman that comes all the time

Ahmed: Yes

Hakima: And does she come during school time or after school?

Ahmed: After school, at home

Hakima: At home, yes actually that's an activity you could write on your list too right? Yes. You can still add it if you want. Yes. And you? Do you have teachers or uh other adults at school that encourage you to participate in the homework class at uh [name of community center]?

Musa: In group 7 I had, but uh in group 8 not, in group 7 they used to tell me, yeh, you can go to homework class it will be better then, but in group 8 not really

Hakima: Yes, and what's the reason you think? In group 7 they did and in group 8 not?

Musa: Yes, in group 7, sometimes I didn't do my homework, yes and that's why uh at home I started to realize that it's important and then I started to do my homework

Hakima: And why do you think that the teachers in group 7 encouraged you and in group 8 they don't?

Musa: Because I didn't do it in group 7 but in group 8 I do

Hakima: Oké, yes and for you?

Taleb: Yes, for me the same actually

Hakima: Yes

Taleb: In group 7 they used to say, homework class is better, but in group 8 I do my homework so that's good

Hakima: Yes, and if I ask you what you uh like the most about uuh this homework class?

Musa: Uuuhm yes, students etc

Hakima: Can you tell me something about it?

Musa: Uh for example uh, breaks, we can make jokes, laugh with each other

Hakima: Because how does the homework class actually happen? Can you tell me how that goes? You come in and then?

Musa: Uh it's 4 till 6, you come in, it's till uh 5 o clock, no it's till 6 o clock, but uh at 5 o'clock we have a break and then we go down and then we can choose, tea or chocolate milk and then we sit in a room with a table and then yeh, then we have a break and we can talk with each other and then it's till if I'm right till 5.30, 5.30 till 6 o'clock and then you can go home

Hakima: You have a break from 5 till 5.30, half an hour?

Musa: Uh, yes, yes

Hakima: Yes and uh do you have certain rules here?

Musa: Yes, of course.

Hakima: Yes

Musa: Uh that, no [not clear] during the lessons

Hakima: No what?

Group: Walk man

Musa: Or MP 3

Ahmed: That gets in the way when you're doing homework

Hakima: Yes

Ahmed: And uh, not scream and uh in the break you can uh….uhm…you can choose uh what you want, there is this man down stairs, for example tea or chocolate milk

Hakima: Yes and what do you like the most about the homework class? Watch out for falling

Ahmed: That I get help and uh that I do my homework better here

Hakima: Yes, and you?

Taleb: Yes, I think homework is important and uh it's also cozy here during the break

Hakima: Yes. What don't you like?

Group: Nothing

Hakima: Or the least?

Ahmed: Nothing actually

Hakima: It's allowed [laugh]

Musa: Everything

Hakima: You like everything?

Musa: Uhu

Hakima: Yes, and how is this different from school, homework class for you? Can you uh..

Ahmed: At school uh, the teachers explain less and uh, they can't help you after class, because another class starts right away, in the first class. I think in group 8 it's less

Hakima: Yes

Ahmed: There they can still explain things to you during, uh after class

Hakima: Yes, do you think that too?

Taleb: Yes

Hakima: Because he says in group 8 it's different, how do you think this is different from school?

Musa: Yes, that's right because uh, a teacher has uh more lessons and yes he won't, he doesn't want to explain it especially for you alone, because he has more to do and uh, a teacher of group 8 not, he just has one class and yes

Hakima: But how is this homework uh, uuuh this homework class, how is this different from school? What's the difference with school?

Taleb: At school you don't talk about your homework and the teacher (female) doesn't always explain things, only the difficult things, for example how can you search for it, where, the teacher doesn't tell you that, at homework class they do

Hakima: Yes, can you give an example?

Taleb: For example uh, if we can't find an speech, uh proverb, we ask the teacher (female) so she can help us sometimes for example when it's difficult for us

Hakima: Do you have a computer in here? Where you can search?

Group: Yes

Hakima: Yes, and do you use it?

Group: Yes

Musa: Yes, I have to use it today

Hakima: For example..for what?

Musa: Uh, yes for uh proverbs, terms

Ahmed: Papers

Musa: Uh, difficult words

Hakima: Yes, yes and uh can you give more examples for example uhm to explain what you gain from this. What do you get from this homework class?

Ahmed: More than at home

Hakima: Tell..

Ahmed: Because at home uh they don't explain things and at school neither, they only give you homework at our school, they say work further and make your homework. If you have any questions, stop by, but, but when we do that, they don't explain it so we can understand it, but uhm, there are more children, so they say; go to your class, there are more children, I will visit you later and then the bell rings and then you have to leave and the teacher says nothing

Hakima: Huh, and what benefit do you also get from this? For example, learning how to interact with older people or with your classmates? Or thinking about the future?

Ahmed: The nagging from uh the teachers that always say that you haven't finished your homework

Hakima: That's not the case anymore, yes and for you? [silence] Do you have the feeling that you..feel different or better about school since you started coming to homework class?

Musa: Yes, sure uh in the beginning it didn't go very well, I didn't understand a lot of things and after a while I understood everything, so yes I went ahead

Hakima: Your, and your feeling about school, is it changed?

Musa: Sure

Hakima: In what way?

Musa: You understand things more, no trouble, uh not being afraid to give an answer, because you are afraid that it might be wrong

Hakima: Uhu

Musa: Yes.

Hakima: And you? Do you feel better about school because of this?

Taleb: Yes, uhm things are much better now with a lot of things compared to before homework class

Hakima: What things?

Taleb: Doing homework, uh yes and the same with exams, I make them better, get higher grades then before

Hakima: And your feeling about school, is that changed?

Taleb: Yes, ever since things got better I like school more

Hakima: Yes, oké and uhm… your teachers (female) here or how you call them? Companions?

Musa: Just by their name

Hakima: Just their name? What do you think that they want you to learn?

Ahmed: Uhm, do our homework and some students come here to make cheat sheets

Hakima: How? [laugh]

Ahmed: They write on a paper, very small, very small handwriting and then they cut it off

Hakima: Yes, but what do you think that they want you to learn? From the homework class

Ahmed: That you uh have to do your homework and you will be thankful in the future that you went to the homework class, because you might have failed because you didn't do your homework or not as good

Hakima: Is there anyone else except them that you have contact with here?

Ahmed: Not really, except from [name of another youth program], but not here

Hakima: Yes, but here it's only these two instructors?

Taleb: Yes

Hakima: Yes and what do you think that they want you to learn?

Taleb: Uh yes uh that you realize how important school is for your future, yes that

Hakima: You too Musa?

Musa: Uh, learn how to search things, uh responsibility, yes everything actually

Hakima: How do they teach, how do you see that with the responsibility thing, you think that they want you to learn that, what exactly?

Musa: Uh yes, that you, that you know where your homework is without having the teacher ask you where your homework is, where is your homework

30:14
Hakima: Yes and uh if I..let's say a lot of activities in community centers are being paid by the municipality right?

Ahmed: Yes

Hakima: This too [name of community center], they get money here from the municipality (stadsdeel) so they can do this for you, make sure there is a room, that there are two instructors that accompany you, why do you think the municipality is paying for this, finance this?

Ahmed: They think education is important, because otherwise uh, no one can uh, can follow that person later

Hakima: Follow, how do you mean?

Ahmed: Uh, for example some one uh, quits, then there have to be people that are smart enough to take over the job

Hakima: Yes, and you? Why do you think that the municipality thinks it's important to pay this?

Taleb: Yes, uhm because uh I think that the municipality thinks it's important that uh children learn how, how to be at school uh, how you, find it important, school and that uh they think you should do your best at school for a better job

Hakima: And you Musa? Why does the municipality give money to let this for example exist [name of community center], homework class?

Musa: Uh, they want smarter children, uh that can take over important work, Like Ahmed just said, They don't want a stupid generation in Holland, yes

Hakima: Oké, now I will uh, I would like to take a break for 5 minutes

Mayida: Yes

Hakima: Yes? We will, I will stop now for 5 minutes so we can discuss a few things and you can also take a break and eat some chips etc

Date: 12/12/2007
Duration: 29:35
Part 2 of 2

Mayida: It's on (recorder)

Hakima: Yeh, oké

Mayida: Tea?

Hakima: Uh, no, well let's go on because I heard that you have still have to finish uh a paper today right?

Musa: A speech [or presentation]

Hakima: Speech. Who else? Someboby else…

Musa: Him too

Taleb: Me too

Hakima: Do you still need to do a lot for it?

Taleb and Musa: Yes

Hakima: Because this was actually till six, uh this whole interview, but uh of course we want you to prepare your speech [or presentation] well, so we will continue now, then try to finish at 5:30, so you will have a half hour left to work on your speech. Is that good? Yes? Oké.

Mayida: Ask them if any of them want tea?

Hakima: Do any of you want tea?

Group: No

Hakima: Something else? Chocolate milk, because you said that you can always choose between tea and chocolate milk right?

Musa: Yes, I want chocolate milk

Hakima: They can always choose between tea and chocolate milk in their break

Mayida: Yeah.

Ahmed: I want tea.

Hakima: So he wants tea and he wants chocolate milk

Mayida: Oké

Hakima: And you?

Mayida: Would you like something?

Taleb: Chocolate milk too.

Hakima: Chocolate milk. You can uh, you can tell Latifa, because it's a part of their uh..thing

Mayida: Sure

Hakima: Oké, she will get the drinks and we will go on so you can finish on time yes? Oké uh we have just talked about uh why the municipality thinks that it's important that such things exist and how you uh yes how you feel about school because of this what you learn. Now we would like to talk about the interactions with uh those teachers (females), I will call them teachers yes otherwise I have to say their names all the time. Uhm, but

not just uuuh, here, but also for the other activities you have listed, so also your coaches at the soccer clubs and you too at [name of another youth program], we would like to know how uh what your interactions are like with them. So how you deal with each other, interact, communicate, talk with each other?

Ahmed: At soccer uh, I was was only uh, registered, but I don't play yet. At homework class they actually don't talk much, except when we uh, when they explain something, at [name of another youth program] they keep asking thinks like uh, how is it going at school, how are you doing, that's it

Hakima: Yes, can you tell me what your interactions are like between you two?

Ahmed: Good because you can talk to her and uh she doesn't stray off uh from her subject and uh that's good about her, otherwise we would only talk about other things instead of school

Hakima: Yes, can you tell me something about the uuh, the mentor of [name of another youth program], but also about here, can you tell me something about them? How are they and

Ahmed: They help us a lot and uh they watch all the time how things are going here, because they also ask things

Hakima: Yes, and what you do learn from that..from your interactions with them.

Ahmed: That we uh, pay more attention during the lesson, that we uh, realize how important school is for us

Hakima: Yes, and you Musa? How is your interaction or contact with the teachers or companions?

Musa: Uh, yes good. Uh, I can ask things without feeling embarrassed or something

Hakima: Who are you talking about?

Musa: About uh the teachers of homework class

Hakima: Uhu, and how do you mean? Can you explain that without feeling embarrassed?

Musa: Yes, uhm, uh at some places you feel shame, you don't want to ask certain things and yes here you can, yes, ask things yes without feeling embarrassed about it

Hakima: And what are the places were you do feel that?

Musa: Uh, sometimes yes sometimes at school, because yes, maybe she already said it while you weren't listening

Hakima: Hu, and at soccer? You play soccer right?

Musa: Yes, there it's just serious, you are more serious actually

Hakima: Who is your coach or your trainer?

Musa: Uh yes, yes two trainers and one coach

Hakima: Can you say something about them? What they are, what their origin is?

Musa: Uh, one old and one young uh, young trainers. One still goes to school and the other one works. One of them has two sons that play with us too and yes, that's it actually

Hakima: And how is your contact with them?

Musa: Too, just normal, it's not that I feel shame or something

Hakima: Can you only talk with them about soccer or about other things too?

Musa: About other things

Hakima: Yes, like for example

05:26
Musa: Uuuhm, a kickboxing match or something like that or school

Hakima: Yes [Mayida comes in with the drinks] and what do you learn from your interactions with for example uh with the uuuh teachers here or the soccer coach. What do you learn from your connections with them?

Musa: What?

Hakima: You deal with them, communicate with them, you have to deal with each other right. You have to ask them about things…

Musa: Yes

Hakima: They talk to you too. There is an interaction between the two of you all the time right?

Musa: Yes

Hakima: What do you learn from it?

Musa: Uh a lot, a lot of informative things too

Hakima: Yes, can you tell me about it?

Musa: Because when you ask things, she answers and that way you know about it too. For the next time when someone else asks you

Hakima: Yes and except the other informative things? You maybe? [silence] How is uh, with whom do you interact at soccer?

Taleb: With my trainer, both trainers

Hakima: Yes, can you tell me something about them?

Taleb: Yes uh, they are both Dutch, the both have a uh sons that also play with us in the team, yes

Hakima: And uh what uh, yes how is your interaction with them? Your contact with them

Taleb: Yes, good. When I want to ask about something for example, they can, they give you a normal answer and yes

Hakima: What kinds of things can you ask them? Only about soccer or private things too school or

Taleb: Not about school, but about other things. For example about sport, or just

Hakima: And can you tell me something about uh, de ment.., the instructors here? What are they like?

Taleb: Yes, kind, they explain things to us, but sometimes they don't understand everything but then they look it up.

Hakima: And how do they do that?

Taleb: How?

Hakima: When they don't understand something?

Musa: On the computer

Taleb: Oh, on the computer

Hakima: What did you say Musa? How?

Musa: On the computer

Hakima: Oké, and uh what do you think that you learn from the contact with them?

Taleb: Uh, that uh better my homework

Hakima: Uhu

Taleb: And yes, if I don't understand something, I have to ask so I will know that too

Hakima: Yes, and if you compare this with school right, when you think about school, how that normally goes and here, how is this different from school?

Musa: At school you have less subjects, figures, language etc, but here it's only about homework, homework, homework and yes, that's a big difference

Hakima: For you? How is this different from school?

Ahmed: Uuh, at school they explain less and here more

Hakima: Is it important to you that they explain more here?

Ahmed: Yes, because otherwise I will not understand certain things and I will never understand and then it might come up in an exam and then I might get a low grade then

Hakima: Yes and how is this for you different from school?

Taleb: Yes at school you can't do your homework after class and here you can on the computer or something and you are with yes other kids. Some are high, in a higher class, some lower

Hakima: And how is the difference between the teachers at school and uh and the teachers (female) here? How is, what is the difference? [silence]

Musa: Uuh, other origin

10:08
Hakima: Tell us more?

Musa: Uh, they are uh Moroccan and I have uh two Dutch teachers (female) and that's also a big difference

Hakima: Specifically, what's different for you about that, that they are Moroccan?

Musa: Uuh, the way the talk sometimes

Hakima: How?

Musa: Talk

Hakima: Talk?

Musa: They talk different sometimes

Hakima: Do you mean they talk Moroccan or?

Musa: No, just different

Hakima: Can you give an example of how its different for example?

Ahmed: The pronunciation

Hakima: What pronunciation?

Ahmed: Uh, I don't know, not really different

Hakima: You feel different?

Ahmed: I don't think it's really different

Hakima: Oké

Ahmed: Because I don't pay attention to that

Musa: Yes, here I feel less embarrassed and yes at school I do feel embarrassed a little bit. Because uh, when you here, when you're for example, when you're are frustrated here or something, you can go and register at [another community center] again or something. At school that's more difficult and at school you will do more your best

Hakima: Huh, but you said that the first difference is that here they are both Moroccan and at school you have two Dutch teachers

Musa: Yes

Hakima: What, what is exactly the difference between those two?

Musa: Uhm, at school you have, here you have..you can do a lot of things. At school you can't go on the computer during class or just walk up to the teacher and ask for things

Hakima: But is it important to you that the uh uh the teachers here are Moroccan?

Musa: No, as a matter a fact it doesn't matter that much

Hakima: For you?

Taleb: Yes, it doesn't matter to me either. As long as they explain it well

Hakima: And what's the difference for you between the teachers at school and here?

Taleb: Here they have more time for you. Everything you don't understand, you can explain. At school you can't. Sometimes the teacher (female) says, "Go sit down, I am busy with the class."

Hakima: Uhu

Taleb: And sometimes they forget and here they can give you a direct answer

Hakima: Huh, and is there a difference for you in the way you feel about the teachers here and the teachers at school?

Taleb: Uh, not really

Hakima: He says for example, yes here I feel less ashamed and uh they talk differently and uh yes you understand each other better

Taleb: I understand more because they have more time for you

Hakima: And how is it for you to be in a homework class with two Moroccan teachers?

Ahmed: Uhm, it doesn't really matter a lot to me what their origin is as long as they can explain things right and as long as they speak clear

Hakima: Huh, and how is it for you Musa, having two Moroccan teachers here? Does it have extra value?

Musa: No, not really

Hakima: Not an important extra factor for you?

X: No

Hakima: And if you go back to uh, to your activity list you just filled in, are there other people there you feel most connected to?

Musa: My teammates yes teammates

Hakima: Uhu, and adults?

Musa: Too. Uh parents of uh teammates too

Hakima: What do you mean by parents? What..how is your contact with them?

14:21
Musa: Yes, just [not clear]

Hakima: Oké, and for you? Some one special?

Taleb: No

Hakima: No, oké now we will , we have actually finished this part about uh uhh the activities and the instructors/mentors and your interactions with them. Now we will uuuh, do one of the last activities or uh parts of this interview, start with that and that's more a sort of a discussion. So I would like you to, that everyone says whatever he wants and thinks. You don't have to really wait till one gets his turn to speak or something. Everyone has his own opinion. You don't have to be afraid of what you say. You can say whatever you want. This subject is about the public opinion. The image that exists about Moroccans. Especially about Moroccan youth in Amsterdam. How do you think, how would you describe that image? What uh…

Ahmed: According to foreigners or according to us?

Hakima: No, not according to yourself, according the people outside, the society, how do you think that they think about Moroccan youth in Amsterdam?

Ahmed: Uhm, some have racist ideas like all Moroccan steal or uh uhm uh Dutch always wear wooden shoes, but uh, but uh some are meant to be funny and some are not and uh also just uh usual comments like uh funny ones like English people always have tea or coffee time at 2 o'clock

Hakima: But exactly, now we talk specifically about Moroccan youth right, about Moroccans in general, but especially young people in Amsterdam. How uh how is the image about them outside in the society? [silence]

Ahmed: That they uuuh, they steal, they think that most Moroccan do bad things, at school too and uh some don't again. But I don't think that it's important to me how they think, uuhm as long as they get a good image about the whole society and not about one certain group

Hakima: And what do you think about that image?

Taleb: Yes, uh I think that uhm other people think that Moroccans steal a lot, but uh I don't think that that's true, because everyone steals. Sometimes you see Dutch people

steal, Surinamese, Turkish, yes some people are like that, some people are just normal again, go to school, don't play hooky, yes they are just smart and they don't steal

Hakima: And you?

Musa: How they see us?

Hakima: Yes

Musa: Yes, uh different. If you start to, uh start feeling different, that you have the feeling you 're not safe

Hakima: Who doesn't feel safe?

Musa: Just uh the young people. When they notice that things are not fair..

Ahmed: Then they feel unsafe in this country too, because then they will think, yes I have to move and uh in my country things are bad and then I will get a bad future

Musa: Then they are afraid to say tell their opinion

Hakima: And how do you think that the society thinks about Moroccan youth in Amsterdam? [silence] They also mention some examples about how they think that people from out side let's say think. How do you think about that?

Musa: How uh about us?

Hakima: Yes, how do you think for example that the public opinion is, let's say outside uh in the society.

Ahmed: In this country? How everybody in this country thinks about Moroccans?

Hakima: How..yes

Musa: Yes uh, I think, I often hear on the streets that Moroccans have a smaller chance of getting a job, they say that they uuh, have more difficulties getting a job

Hakima: And were do you think that comes from?

Musa: Because they are afraid that they will steal for example

Ahmed: Or uh just like at the market, some uh young people ask uh usually if they can clean up or something, but they usually refuse, uh, they refuse especially foreign people

Hakima: And why do they refuse them?

Ahmed: They think they will steal. They think that uh, all Dutch (autochtonen) people are neat etc

Hakima: And were do you think that these ideas come from? You say, yes they think we steal, uh they think one small group does something…

Ahmed: Papers

Hakima: All of them do?

Ahmed: Papers, people and TV

Musa: Yes

Ahmed: And the other day the teacher (female) uh said people will not uh uhm say Turkish stole uhm, uh with big letter in the paper, Turk steals something, no. They will rather say a Moroccan in the paper than a Turk, or uh Dutch

Hakima: Were do you think that these ideas come from? The image that exists? Were does it come from?

Musa: People have uh

Ahmed: Everything

Musa: They love to talk about us

Hakima: How do you mean?

Ahmed: They only think uh about the problems they have with us, meanwhile they don't uh they don't look at the good things about us

Musa: Only negative things

Hakima: And what do you mean Musa, they love to talk about us?

Musa: Yes they often, very often talk about Moroccans, Moroccans this, Moroccans that

Hakima: Huh

Musa: Yes, I think that's strange

Hakima: Were do you think it comes from?

Taleb: Uhm yes, for example there is a certain group that is bad, then they think it's everyone

Hakima: And do you think that there is a uh difference? Or let me say it this way. How would you compare the image about Moroccan young people in Amsterdam, with the image the teachers (female) here have about Moroccan young people?

Musa: Yes different

Ahmed: They think very different because they are Moroccans uh themselves, but actually that's not important here, because they, they uh don't feel involved with the bad group of Moroccans. Of each nation there is a bad and a good good group, but in the paper they only talk about the negative things

Hakima: So you say because they are Moroccans themselves. How do you uh think...how would you...

Ahmed: Not really because they are Moroccans, but they just have an opinion about it and that would also be the opinion if they were Pakistani, Venezuelan, they would have the same opinion about it I think, because they are not really racist

Hakima: And you Musa, you wanted to say something too about uhm, how would you compare it, how the image is outside and how they think here about Moroccan young people

Musa: They are Moroccans themselves, so they won't say, not that fast, yes you steal or something because they are Moroccans themselves

Ahmed: Most parents say that it's because of the bad group of Moroccans, uh so we we are being criticized in the same way. They judge uh, the big group and not the smaller groups, for example when a group, a big group of uh Dutch people steal etc, then foreigners will say, yes Dutch people steal, don't come any closer. That way uh the uh the others in their own country will think negative about Dutch people and the small group makes the other group of the same origin bad

Hakima: And is there a difference for you in the way they think "outside"and the way they think here about Moroccan young people?

Taleb: Uhm, yes because they are Moroccans too it's different and outside everybody is a bit different, Dutch, Surinames etc

Hakima: And does it matter to you that they think different here?

Musa: Yes

Ahmed: Yes, because uh if they think bad about us we can think bad about them them too, because they uh always say uh that uh Geert Wilders says that the movie will come because he wants to tell the truth, but that's not the truth at all. Because the woman,

women that wear a headscarf choose it. They are not really forced to do so, because uh when they leave the house, they can do whatever they want, they are not being stopped by someone or something

Hakima: But here they think differently?

Ahmed: Yes

Hakima: And does it matter, and does it matter anything to you that they think differently here than outside?

Ahmed: To me it does, because I really don't want to uh, that uh they think negative about me

Hakima: Why? Why is that important to you?

Ahmed: Otherwise I will be uh, refused at job applications or something and uh friendships

Hakima: And what does it matter to you Musa that they uh here, you also said yeh they think different here because they are Moroccans

Musa: Yes

Hakima: And does it matter to you?

Musa: Uh yes of course because uh for example what they said when a big, a part of Moroccans that steal, they involve all of us in it too and yes sometimes you just can't go to the playground, for example when all Dutch people play soccer togheter and uh and you ask if you can join, they usually all refuse

Ahmed: That's why uh Moroccan young people uh, are negative about them too sometimes

Hakima: Huh, but imagine you uh, so you say that there is a difference between outside and here. But what if the teachers (females) think the same way as they do "outside"?

Musa: I wouldn't feel safe then

Ahmed: Yes

Hakima: You wouldn't feel safe?

Ahmed: Not, not safe but, more uhm pushed in a corner

Musa: Yes, not your opinion

Ahmed: Don't want to express your opinion

Musa: Express yes

Ahmed: Otherwise you would feel embarrassed by the teachers (female)..for being punished or something

Musa: Then they are against you

Hakima: And does it matter to you?

Taleb: Uhm, uhm yes because otherwise they would hear things outside and it comes in here too and Moroccans work here too and then yes they don't want to help you, they will think you steal.

Hakima: Oké, we almost have to finish this, but I would still like to ask you one last question about your plans for the future. I will start with you. What does your future look like? What are your future plans?

Taleb: Yes, I would like to have a good job and just that I am happy and uh that I don't become poor

Hakima: Do you know what you want to become later?

Taleb: No not yet

Hakima: Not yet. And for you?

Musa: Me uhm, I don't have really something that I would like to become, but I do know some things that I like uh like dentist, I think that's nice or uh physiotherapist, lawyer yes those are professions I like

Hakima: Yes. And you?

Ahmed: Uh I want uh. I would love to be a computer expert, because that's a good profession and I would like to be uh happy later

Hakima: And how do you see your future? For example, where will you live? Will you be married, have children or..?

Ahmed: I don't know

Hakima: No

Musa: Yes, I want children

Ahmed: In a country uhm with uh a good society

Hakima: In Holland or outside of it?

Ahmed: Maybe outside of Holland

Hakima: Yes. Oké

Mayida: Is it oke if I take some pictures? Ask them

Hakima: Can she take a picture of us?

Ahmed: Yes

Hakima: We only have uh, it's exact 5:30, like I promised. We only have one activity left with a postcard that we wanted to do with you

Mayida: They can maybe do it on Monday

Hakima: But we can uuh give it to Latifa and ask her if she uh, we can give it now and you can give it back to her on Monday for example. It's a postcard and actually the meaning is that you write something on it for a Moroccan young person that will move from Morocco to Holland. He will go to school here, your age. And what we ask you is to write on the card what you advise the person that will come. What do you think the person should do to be successful at school or what would you advise him or her to do to make it easy to live in Amsterdam? Yes? If you like to write it down on the card.

Mayida: [not clear]

Hakima: Thank you, so we will also give a form to Latifa with some questions (demographic sheets), so a card and a form that you will get from Latifa because we don't have time for that now, so you can finish your homework now

Musa: Yes

Mayida: Thank you

Hakima: And thank you, it was interesting

Mayida: And maybe we will talk to them in May if it's oke to see how school is going and..?

Hakima: Yes do you have uh, if you would like to write your phone number and email address on the back of the form you will get from Latifa. Is it oké with you if we call you again sometime in May?

Ahmed: Yes

Hakima: To talk again, because for you it will be exciting then because you have your CITO score then, you will know what you're going to do then. And you have almost finished the first class of secondary school, and how all of that went yes? Oké.

Appendix C- Individual Youth Interview Protocol

The following protocol was developed for youth in their first year of secondary school. It was modified when used to interview those participants in their last year of primary school.

Introduction: The last time we spoke you were in group [fill in grade]. We learned a lot from the young people we spoke with in focus groups. Now that you are in a new school year [and a new school] we'd like to hear how things are going for you.

1. Current School:
    a. Where are you attending school now? How many students attend your school? How many students in your level? Your class?
    b. How has the experience been like so far? What are the teachers like? What are the students like?
    c. What did you expect it would be like?
    d. Tell me about your different classes.
        i. Tell me about your most interesting/enjoyable class. What do you do in this class? What makes it enjoyable (the teacher, other students, the curriculum, etc.)? Give an example of an activity you look forward to in this class.
    e. What is your least favorite class? Why? What do you do in this class? Can you think of anything that would make this class more interesting?
    f. Are there other things you like or dislike about your new school?
    g. How is this school different from basis school?
        i. Is there anything you miss about basis school?
    h. Describe yourself as a student. How well do you do as a student?
        i. What explains how well you do or don't do?
        ii. In what groups/classes are you in?
        iii. What do you think being in this group means for you? What do you think it means for your future? What do your parents think?
    i. Would you describe yourself in the same way this year as last year? If not, what has changed about you as a student?

2. CITO Toets and Advice:
    a. What was your CITO Toets score?
    b. What advice did you receive in Level 8?
        i. What do you think are the reasons (or the factors that contributed) to your teacher giving that advice?
        ii. What do you think about this advice? Was it what you expected? What your parents expected? What do your parents think?
    c. How do you think basis school prepared you for the test?

3. Support/Interactions – Adults
    a. Talk to me about some of your teachers in school. How would you describe them? Probe:

i. What is your relationship like with your teachers? With which teachers do you have the best relationship? Why?
ii. Are there any that you tend to go to for help (academic/emotional support)? Can you talk to them about anything you have going on in your life – at home, at school, with your peers? Please explain.
iii. Who is your favorite teacher? And who is your least favorite? Why?

b. Are there adults in school that you can go to if you need help, have questions, or need someone to talk to? Do you have a mentor or a counselor in school? What is your relationship with him/her like?
c. Are there any adults outside of school (and outside of your family) who you could seek out when you need help, have questions, or need someone to talk to? Who is this person? How often can you talk with him/her? What is your relationship like? What do you talk about?
    i. Do you maintain contact with the mentors from [name of youth program]?
d. Is there anyone in your family (parents, sisters/brothers, cousins, aunts/uncles) that you talk to about – school, problems you might have, homework, your activities and interests?

4. Peer Group:
    a. Would you say you have a lot or few friends in this school? Who are your "friends" in this school? Are you all in the same classes? Do you have friends outside of your classes? Probe:
        i. Do you hang out with your friends/classmates outside of school? What do you do?
        ii. What do you and your friends usually talk about when you are together?
        iii. Who is your "best friend" in and out the school? Who do you prefer to socialize with in and out of school? Why?
    b. Do you have a different circle of friends in your neighborhood? If yes, how are these friendships different?
    c. Do your friendships influence your performance in school in anyway?
        i. [IF student needs to be prompted more ask this…] Have you ever felt pressure from your friends to not do well in school? And how about from your friends in school? Have you received pressure from your friends (inside and outside of school) to do well in school?

5. General Support:
    a. Do you think you receive the necessary support to do well in school? Who offers you this support? Do you know where to go for support?
    b. What kind of information and help was available to you to prepare for middlebare school? Where did you get this information (siblings, friends, basis school, community program)?

   c. Are there things you wish you knew (or had been prepared for) in advance of starting middlebare school?
   d. What other supports do you wish existed for you to help you get through school successfully (homework help, time management, study skills, negotiating friendships, dealing with problems you might have at home, etc.)?
      i. What types of support (social, emotional, academic) do you think could be offered to you that you do not receive?
      ii. Who do you think should offer this support?
   e. Have your past experiences helped you in any way with school? Did the support your received from [name of youth program] or other programs you participate with help you with your transition to middlebare school? How?

6. Youth Programs:
   a. Are you involved in any activities outside of school this year? Why or why not? [If yes got to 2]
   b. What are they?
      i. What types of things are you learning and doing there (e.g., sports, debates, homework help, field trips, study skills)?
      ii. How do you think these activities help you (i.e., with school, preparing for your future, to learn to get along with others)?
   c. What other activities do you wish were available to you?

7. Future Perspective:
   a. What types of jobs or careers you think you will be able to do after completing _____ (i.e, MBO, HAVO, etc.)?
   b. How do you imagine your future (work, education, life)? What do you want to do when you get older? Please tell me about this.
   c. What's your future vision of yourself in 5 years? and in 10 years?
      i. What will you need to do in order to achieve your goals?
      ii. What role do grades and education play in achieving these goals?
      iii. How will the type of school you are in help you reach this goal?
   d. What do your parents/family wish for you?
   e. What do you/will you have to do to make your goals happen?
   f. What are the things you think you will need help with in order to reach your future goals?
   g. Who are the people that support you (or have supported) you in terms of school, thinking about the future, and so on?
   h. How do you define success? Describe a person in your family or your community who you think is successful? Why do you think this person is successful?

8. Identity:

   a. How do you identify yourself? (national identity? Racial/ethnic/religious identity? Political identity? Other affiliations?) What does being _____mean to you?

9. Closing:
   a. Is there anything else you would like to add?
   b. We are interested in talking with your father/mother about your involvement in youth programs and your educational experiences. May we contact them to see if they would be interested in talking with us? We will NOT disclose to them anything that you have shared with us.

Thank you so much for talking with us again.

Appendix D – Semi-Structured Adult Interview Protocol

The adults interviews were semi-structured and tailored to the particular role of the participants (i.e., program coordinators, mentors/instructors, community leaders, and teachers). The following questions represent the types of questions that were asked during adult interviews.

1. Tell us about your program/organization. Why was it created? What is its purpose? What are its goals?

2. How is your program funded?

    a. [If funded by the state] What motivates the state to fund your program?

    b. What are the funding requirements? Do these affect what [name of program] can offer youth?

3. What is your role in the program/organization?

    a. What motivates you to be involved?

    b. Are you involved in other programs/organizations that work with you?

4. What type of training does the program offer mentors/instructors?

5. How do they recruit personnel?

    a. How did you learn about this program?

6. Tell me about the population you serve.

7. What kinds of interactions, in addition to learning activities, do you have with the children?

    a. Do you talk about future aspirations, goal setting, social issues, home issues, navigating, negotiating school?

    b. Self-esteem, discrimination?

8. How do youth benefit from the activities your program offers?

9. Are there services or activities that are lacking? What prevents your program from offering these services?

10. What are the challenges facing immigrant origin youth, specifically Muslim youth, in Amsterdam today?

Appendix E – Analytical Codes

1. Academic Opportunities / Support
    a. Skills-based
        i. Test preparation (they are also prepared by receiving content)
        ii. Time management
        iii. Life skills – (e.g., cooking) also connected to careers/jobs
        iv. Study skills
    b. Content-based (some of this content also helps them prepare for CITO test)
        i. Homework help (all areas – especially reading and language arts, math)
        ii. Dutch language instruction (i.e., idioms, spelling, vocabulary, grammar).
        iii. Subject-specific - World religion / history / geography (i.e., they report being helped and better prepared for test by learning about world religions, etc.)
        iv. Arts – dance, music

2. Strategic Support
    a. Resource-based support (or practical supports)
        i. Access to computers
        ii. Quiet place to work
    b. Information about programs
        i. internships
        ii. other youth services/programs
        iii. future orientation / career planning/development
    c. Preparation for transition to secondary school
        i. transition to secondary school
        ii. school choice
    d. Advocacy - (i.e., when mentors advocate for and coordinate with school teachers)

3. Motivational Support
    a. Expectations – includes low expectations and high expectations
    b. Standards and boundaries
    c. Leadership opportunity / skills - (e.g., developing decision-making skills
    d. extra curricular engagement - in all activities including sports activities

4. Emotional Support
    a. Friends - (i.e., friends sustaining one another)
    b. Adult/Youth connections – mentoring/counseling – formal/informal
        i. Helpful teachers available to talk about anything (or not available)
        ii. Support with family issues
    c. Safety/Security – (i.e., safe from: the police; from the establishment/the system; from the government)

i. Feeling secure and a sense of belonging / accepted

5. Social Support
    a. Navigating cultural challenges –
        i. At home
        ii. Within Dutch society (e.g., Dutch values, Dutch norms) their frustrations about Dutch culture
        iii. Cultural issues at school
    b. Cultural capital
        i. Trips to museums
        ii. Attendance to cultural events

6. Missed opportunities to provide support
    a. Support for positive identity development [as Moroccan, Dutch, Muslim, young men and women]
    b. Support for transition year – year 1 of brug klass (or bridge year) first year of secondary school
    c. Lack of science/math instruction/ enrichment
    d. Support with negotiating conflict

7. Descriptive/Context Codes – (i.e., issues youth struggle with within their particular context)
    a. Identity
    b. Racism/ racist discourse/Islamaphobia
    c. Media representations
    d. Academic tracking

8. Knowledge (i.e, youth's knowledge about their needs and their)
    a. ability to identify one's needs
    b. ability to ask for help (help-seeking strategies)
    c. political knowledge – (i.e., knowledge of the discourse)
    d. cultural knowledge – (i.e., Dutch values & norms)
    e. social knowledge – (i.e., social capital)

9. Burdens
    a. Illness – their own, their siblings, their parents
    b. Internalized racism - All of the physical and emotional manifestations of Racism
    c. Islamaphobia
        i. Burdened with media images
        ii. Having to educate others

10. Sources of Support:
    a. Friends/Peers
    b. Kin
        i. parents

    ii. siblings
    iii. extended family
c. Mentors/program coordinators community AND members and leaders of other community activities
d. Teachers
e. School as a source
f. Self
g. Idol or hero

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