

Working with the community. Good practices in Rotterdam

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Introduction

In this paper two case studies are presented as examples of potentially good practices to reinforce community. In this paper these projects are put against the wider complex societal framework of globalization. Processes of globalization and migration have changed Dutch society. Globalization and immigration have led to the development of a multicultural society, and in its slipstream social issues such as integration, inclusion and exclusion and in the recent years the question about Dutch identity and citizenship. Identity consist both of local and transnational identification processes. Multicultural society can be observed in the urban areas within western modern societies. Globalization processes can locally be seen in the multicultural, multiethnic neighbourhoods of western city life. Urbanized society can be characterized as 'glocal', an interesting contraction of global and local. 'Multiculturalization' of Dutch society has caused some problems between different ethnic groups but has never lead to social unrest as in France or multicultural violence in Britain the first decade of this century though how different the social circumstances in these countries might have been and the multicultural backgrounds of the conflict can be questioned as the cause of the conflicts (*Community Cohesion* 2001). However, there is a sense of discomfort, of uneasiness, between Dutch and immigrated non-western Dutch, especially after 9-11, the rise and murder of the right wing dandy politician Pim Fortuyn and the killing of the Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh.

In the public domain, it is often heard that the sense of loyalty to Dutch society, the sense of belonging and community spirit are under pressure. People act as individuals living just for themselves or within their own ethnic group. Groups exist next to each other and do hardly interact. They stand with their backs to each other (RMO 2005). Feelings of insecurity and distrust characterize the ideas of the critics of multicultural society, mostly on the right wing of the political spectrum.

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In Rotterdam only, all kinds of projects have been started and initiatives have been taken to shed light on the different aspects of the multicultural society or to help certain target groups to participate in Dutch society, such as:

- Establishment and further proliferation of community schools
- Mentoring projects for all kinds of young people of different ages
- Organization of multicultural debates
- Temporary curfew for youngsters
- The development of family counselling
- Rituals of naturalization by city councils
- New Perspectives projects for several vulnerable minority groups
- At home in the street (TOS) projects
- Communities that Care (CtC) projects
- Different neighbourhood initiatives, initiated by citizens, but also by other stakeholders, etc.

The two projects central in this presentation are the so-called Brilliants and Kreekhuizen projects. Both projects have been focused to bring back the community spirit, or if you want, the (re)construction of the community. These projects differ from each other in organizational backgrounds, in target groups, in their aims and goals, in methods, in scale, and, moreover differ in the social and ethnic backgrounds of the neighbourhoods or boroughs they were initiated in.

Investigating the possibility of re-interpreting the outcomes of the case studies, an attempt will be made to relate the approach and methods of the projects to the findings with *Identification with the Netherlands*, an interesting report by the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR 2007) about national identity which kicked up quite an amount of social dust when it was published, for instance about the question of double passports and loyalty to Dutch society. The last years globalization, migration, and individualization as well, have strengthened the question of Dutch identity, in other words what the Netherlands exactly is and who we as Dutch citizens are. It stated that identification with society is formed by multilayered, hybrid, continually social psychological processes instead of adapting people to a typical one dimensional anchor

point of a more or less (re-) constructed, artificial Dutch identity, the point that Dutch government, some political parties and some Dutch scholars want to stress. The report shows that Dutch citizens can have more loyalties without having problems at all with their connections with the Netherlands.

I think that discussions about the threat of national unity is discussed in other European countries as well, such as in Belgium, Germany, Austria, etc. I understood that the Blair administration put against multiculturalism the concept of mono culturalism. The concept of 'Britishness' became dominant. According to Gordon Brown the singularity of the 'Other' at the expense of British unity of 'Us'. According to the Argentine writer Alberto Manguel, Brown mistook or did not understand that the singularity of the other was not a threat to national unity itself, but just the fact that the other was depicted as an enemy was creating a danger to national unity.² Britishness became the standard, the same as the comparison between non-western allochthones to 'Dutchness' in the Netherlands.

Brilliants

The Brilliants Project has a close relationship with the *Communities that Care (CtC)* approach which has been introduced in the Netherlands from the 2000s onwards. In the 1990s CtC has been developed in the United States by Hawkins and Catalano to prevent crime, violence and other behavioural problems of youngsters in the age of 12-18. The method consists of both elaborate researches into the particular problems of the ward where the youngsters live and the school they attend to, and to apply existing or newly developed interventions to improve the individual life circumstances in the ward.

CtC is an American programme directed towards youngsters with possible problematic behaviour (criminality, violence etc.) and the possibilities of their neighbourhood to prevent these problems. This prevention programme for neighbourhoods has to improve the social environment of young people. It does not use a fixed project plan of methods but it specifies criteria and calibrates effectuality of its methods. CtC starts from a model in which risk factors and protecting factors on different aspects of life are investigated, such as

- the community (crime, drugs, weapons, harassment),
- the family (history of problem behaviour, conflict, parental attitudes),
- the school (academic failure, lack of commitment, truancy) and

² An interview by Paul Depondt of Alberto Manguel in de Volkskrant September 26th, 2008.

- the peers and the individual (antisocial behaviour, gang involvement, rebelliousness, early initiation of and attitudes toward problem behaviour).

By means of a controlled research setting it has been discovered that the reduction of risk factors and the stimulation of protecting factors in the neighbourhood are the key concepts, especially in the long term. The Department of Justice has introduced the CtC programme in some cities in the Netherlands. These experiments were professionally supported by Movisie a National Institute for Care and Welfare. The first results seem to be promising for some cities, amongst others for Rotterdam. One of the key issues in the CtC programme is the evidence-based way of working. In this paper one social work method, the so-called Brilliant approach is investigated whether it will pass the high methodological demands of the CtC procedure. An important condition for success is that a city council supports the project actively.

The risk and protecting factors mentioned above, form the basis of research into the neighbourhood and the social environment of young people in order to develop a prevention programme which is closely related to the existing problems. In principle, the programme is executed by means of existing or newly developed tested and promising methods. The main focus of the programmes under the CtC flag is to organize youth counselling, family care, social work, community work, etc. in close cooperation with local policy bodies (f.e. boroughs), housing associations and the local police (Centre of Expertise Urban Dynamics/ Kenniskring van de Stad 2008; Hawkins and Catalano 2003; NIZW 2005).

A special programme has been instigated by Luz di Trafico, an association for the Antillean population, and the Borough of Hoogvliet, a Rotterdam suburb. Hoogvliet is a part of the agglomeration of Rotterdam: 10 kilometres south west of the inner city and connected by means of a metro line. It has 34000 inhabitants. Hoogvliet has a multi-ethnic character. It offers a more or less adequate reflection of the Rotterdam population. Only the population of Antilleans is overrepresented and the population of Turks and Moroccans is underrepresented when we compare the borough statistics with those of Rotterdam in general (Veldboer et al, 2007). From the safety monitor it is clear that Hoogvliet is experienced as a safe borough (www.Cos.Rotterdam.nl). However, at the start of the project in 2004, it was identified, not by elaborate research however, that Antillean youths experienced all kinds of behavioural problems causing problems both for themselves and the neighbourhood, such as harassment, threat, theft, aggression and violence, and school dropout. The Brilliants project is called into life by Luz di Trafico as part of a prevention plan of Hoogvliet Antillean youngsters. This programme is focussed on giving Antillean youngsters the opportunity to develop themselves: to finish their studies, to find work and to develop all kinds of cultural skills in the field of music, dance, presentation, etc. Later participation in the project was soon

opened up to youngsters from other ethnic backgrounds as well, because youths from other backgrounds showed interest to participate; another reason has been that one wanted to avoid further stigmatization of the Antillean community. The precondition of participation was that potential candidates had a positive motivation to cooperate in the programme and the willingness to mean something for their neighbourhood. In fact, the chosen participants held favourable attitudes about their own future. In other words, they were (high) potentials already, brilliants which needed some fine cutting to open up their possibilities.

Each participant is connected to a personal coach with whom a contract is signed in which mutual liabilities/obligations are entered and should be fulfilled. The participants had drawn up plans with aims and goals for the support processes, such as to remove the restrictions to study to help finishing education or finding work, to help spending leisure time, doing music, providing facilities for setting up rap studios, etc.

In return for this individual support they have to do something for the community, such as organising sporting events, musical events and cultural festivals. Also a film was made about the attractive parts of Hoogvliet. Participants act as hosts for important visitors of the ward, amongst others, the queen, the prime minister and other ministerial, provincial and local authorities. Of utmost importance is to become a role model for other young people in Hoogvliet. This would indirectly create a more positive image of the Antillean population and in the future the image of groups of other ethnic backgrounds that are confronted with negative attitudes that hamper further integration in the Hoogvliet community.

With our investigations the improvement of the image of youngsters in the wider Hoogvliet community was not found. It was not a extensively stated goal either. From our research into the different echelons and the young participants we can conclude that participating in the project brought forth positive results. Indeed, youngsters had reached their goals and appreciated the tasks they had to perform in return, though they had some critique on the hours of attendance (in relation to times they were expected to attend school or work) or availability for the meetings to organize the activities. Sometimes they were expected to perform tasks they were not yet equipped for, for instance to cooperate in a project, to take minutes and make reports. Interesting to see are the individual interests on the one side and to work for the community and being conscious to be a role model on the other. There is a just a small amount of youngsters who continue to work for the community after realising their individual goals at the end of their participation to the project. The fact that the researchers experienced difficulties in finding respondent for the interviews is perhaps symptomatic for the lack of community interest.

Kreekhuizen

Kreekhuizen is part of Groot-IJsselmonde, a neighbourhood in the Borough of IJsselmonde in the South East of Rotterdam. In the safety monitor Groot-IJsselmonde attention should be given to safety issues. According to the neighbourhood Action Programme, inconvenience in the neighbourhood is controllable³. According to the newsletter Kreekhuizen is: “a neighbourhood without amenities, without dramatic problems as well, to put it briefly, a forgotten corner of the city of Rotterdam.” Though, changes are taking place such as the disproportional increase of the ageing population and the arrival of newcomers from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. At the same time, the community spirit, social cohesion, was considered simmering.

The project group ‘Meeting in Kreekhuizen’ was called into life in 2006. The initiative to set up the project was taken by different partners who later would become the project group. The central goal of the project is to prevent possible problems to rise in this neighbourhood with the ageing of groups and the influx of new inhabitants.

In the project group different organisations cooperate: the commercial enterprise New Care Administration (Nieuw Zorg Beheer), the Housing Association ‘Woonbron’, care organisation ‘De Stroom Opmaat Group’, and Inholland University of Applied Sciences. Also students of middle professional education institutes (ROC Albeda and Wellant) are involved, though these institutions are not project partners. The project ‘Meeting in Kreekhuizen’ is supported and subsidized by the Borough of IJsselmonde and the Province of South-Holland. The Centre of Expertise *Urban Dynamics* of Inholland University has been asked to reflect on the start of the project and on the further development of the project and its methodology itself, too. Periodically, some fellows of *Urban Dynamics* provide support and monitors the activities of the project.

The main purpose of the activities developed in the project is the increase of social cohesion in the neighbourhood. The starting point is the empowerment and enrichment of the own strengths of the population. The support and participation of the inhabitants have been of decisive importance. There are two leading principles. The first leading principle is the positive approach. Attention is not focused on problems. Instead, attention is given to the prospects and the aspiration of creating short lines between organizations to implement good ideas as quickly as possible. To find out the ideas and wishes of the population upon which the content and goals of the possible activities would be based, various meetings have been held with residents’ associations and liveability committees. Also individuals were questioned about their ideas and wishes for

³ www.Cos.Rotterdam.nl; www.Rotterdam.nl

the future of the neighbourhood. Moreover, during the first year of existence of the project, these meetings have been the forums in which ideas and plans of the project group were tested and enriched with the input of active citizens. The immediacy of actions should overcome the early resistance of the inhabitants and acted as positive incentives for further participation. Instead of the usual bureaucracy the population had been confronted with, the immediacy of activities fulfilled the wishes and herewith the trust of the population in the future of the project: "There is really something happening; there is something going on; they are really listening to us." The activities such as the regular citizens' meetings, consultaion hours for tax problems, computer lessons, debate & dinner parties, and outdoor music festivals have generated public interest and initiated a bond between people.

An important result of the project's efforts is the foundation up of Care Watch (Zorgwacht), a central point where, first, citizens can pose questions about personal problems, where people are invited to manage these problems with informal help of other people close by or can be referred to a professional when the problems are too complicated to be solved by themselves. Secondly, people can be asked what they have to offer in return when they have been helped by non-professionals. Thirdly, citizens can come in with any idea about neighbourhood improvement. So, at Zorgwacht it is about offers and demands. Employees of Zorgwacht do not to offer immediate solutions to the questions but help to clarify them and to think along with the people posing questions or suggestions themselves. So, sometimes volunteers are sought at individual's request by Zorgwacht for a musical project and for a future project to meet Islamic and non-Islamic groups. At other times people are sent in for professional help to a social work office.

The second leading principle is the meeting of old and young people. The use of students of the ROC and of Inholland to meet and to explore concrete activities for the elderly has been highly appreciated by the older inhabitants of the neighbourhood. In the terms of neighbourhood investigations, students have interviewed inhabitants about their wishes about welfare and care and general wishes about the future of Kreekhuizen. They have set up computer lessons and consultation hours for older people with tax problems, but also for other age groups in the community. They have interviewed older people about their life history. The stories will be published in a nice booklet that will be handed out in the future. The ROC Wellant Agricultural College is preparing a plan now to improve the neglected green spots in Kreekhuizen. According to the elderly young people bring something extra: meeting young people with their spontaneity, their open-mindedness and enthusiasm are of considerate importance. For students as well it was interesting working with the community and experiencing the favourable and positive results of their activities. To see the pleasure in the faces of the

inhabitants during the activities have strengthened the beliefs in their own competences. So the cooperation between old and young has provided positive, satisfactory results for both groups.

Though in the eyes of the project group the results of the start of the project had been favourable in terms of the leading principles mentioned above, there of course are some wishes for the future to be realised.

One of the plans for the second year of existence of the project is to gain more input from the community itself, instead of the ideas coming from the project group's mind. A more active role should be played by active inhabitants to commit themselves to the community. Until now, the opinions were presented largely by representatives of inhabitants and or housing committees. Individual citizens should become the owners of the activities and should only be helped by professionals in case of obstacles, limitations and 'real' problems. The organisation Zorgwacht plays a central role to collect citizens' initiatives. Moreover, a more steady financial basis is required to reach continuity of the programme. The dependence on rather short time project based provincial and local subsidies provide uncertainties on the continuity of the project, which eventually could threaten the project as a whole.

Identification with the Netherlands

During the last ten years quite a few research reports about multicultural society, and/or multicultural related problems have been published. Most of the researches had been carried out on government order by organizations such as the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR), the Council for Social Development (RMO), the Verwey-Jonker Foundation and the Social Cultural Planning Bureau (SCP), research projects by the way, in which leading social scientists were involved. Especially *Identification with the Netherlands* is interesting for professionals like social workers working in the, almost by definition, multicultural working field. The *Identification with the Netherlands* report is critical of the changed discourse of integration. Questions of integration have changed into identity questions. To be included or excluded is no longer a matter of integration but a matter of an almost unchangeable identity often related to nationality and ethnic background, not to speak about the complex discourse as the Dutch sociologist Schinkel (2007) describes.⁴

The report states that identity is a dynamic concept. It can never be the planned outcome of a process of pure adaptation to a fixed view of often a (re)invented one

⁴ See also Schinkel 2005, 2008, J.W. Duyvendak et al, *The elite frightens people* in de Volkskrant 28 oktober 2008.

dimensional Dutch identity, history and tradition. Instead, identity is considered a hybrid and multidimensional phenomenon per definition. In the report identity development and the identification processes involved is based on a more modern social psychological interpretation of the phenomenon. The formation of identity is no longer considered as the further development of isolated inborn characteristics. Identity formation is based on the outcome of the complex interaction between inner characteristics and environmental circumstances. With respect to the development of multicultural identity a distinction is made between primary and secondary identification. This approach is in line with the cultural anthropological viewpoint about identity formation.

Attention is focused on the primary identification processes. The culture one originates from plays an important part in the forming of identity which cannot be ignored. These primary identifications form the first so-called 'footprints' of an individual. These footprints, these 'primal' identifications, cannot be ignored, cannot be renounced. 'Blood will show'. The first cultural experiences cannot be switched off. Next to the primary identification processes secondary processes occur in which the culture of the other host country(ies) influences individual identity as well. So in the modern globalized world identity is formed by both primary and secondary processes, in which neither of them is decisive. They are both equally important, although this is not widely acknowledged by policy makers and citizens.

Oldham, Burnley and Bradford showed for example how in Britain the ignorance of each others' ethnic communities leads to inter-ethnic violence. As said in *Community Cohesion* (2001) '[...] little attempt [has been made] to develop clear values which focus on what it means to be a citizen of a modern multi-racial Britain and many still look backwards to some supposedly halcyon of a mono-cultural society, or alternatively look to their country of origin for some form of identity.' (p. 9). This citation presents the burning question about identity that holds for Dutch multicultural society as well. Promoting of cross cultural contact by breaking down barriers, fostering understanding and respect between ethnic groups, and busting the myth on the existence of a one dimensional view on identity might lead to community cohesion. Most of the times this is easily said, but hard to reach.

According to *Identification with the Netherlands* identification processes offer possibilities to reinforce an identity that will suit modern multicultural citizenship. The goal of the report is to answer the question which identification processes contribute to a re-imagined Dutch nationality. Identity is a paradoxical concept. Identity defines the uniqueness of people that separates us from others (individual identity), but at the same time defines what we have in common with other people, social identity as the binding element between people. It's about the fragile boundary between inclusion and exclusion. It defines what *we* are and what *they* are. In other words, identification offers

orientation points to understand the thoughts, feelings, expectations and behaviour of ourselves and others. Social identity provides social recognition and self-confidence.

Globalization should reinforce the development of transnational identities, identities which include two or more multicultural settings. In modern times identifications should be plural and multi-layered, instead of identity as the expression of a romantic, halcyon, one-dimensional often reinvented historical illusion. The South African writer Breyten Breytenbach talks about '*mengelmensen*', mixed people. People with these mixed identities would have bonding functions within their own group and simultaneously possess unique bridging functions with other groups (Cf. Putnam 2000).

In *Identification with the Netherlands* three analytical forms of identification are distinguished. In real life these identification processes are closely intertwined. Functional identification is about membership of different groups expressed by institutional rules and procedures and in practical circumstances of daily life in which people perform certain functions to reach goals. They meet each other in reaching common interests and goals. People can be workers, students, colleagues, family members, mosque visitors in different social settings in which they perform different aspects of their identity, constantly relating themselves to other groups

Normative identification contains judicial, social and moral norms that give direction to the behaviour of its group members. It offers a system of orientation which offers structure and provides grip to daily living. Normative identification encloses the so-called hard formal codes. It is also about shared habits, customs and traditions and more or less hidden soft informal codes of conduct.

Emotional identification is about the emotional feelings of solidarity with the group or the community. It offers a sense of belonging and loyalty and it provides feelings of pride of and care for the community you are involved in.

When there is lack of these different modes of identification anxiety and fear, social unrest between groups, social collisions and straight violence might take place. Retreat and rebellion could be either the course or the result of this so-called 'desidentification'. When people don't feel welcome or appreciated by their environment they would focus themselves just at their own cultural of ethnic group or rebel against society. Moreover, multicultural dissatisfaction is a multilateral problem for both 'autochthones' and 'allochthones'. This means literally 'from this (Dutch) soil' and 'not from this soil', respectively, in which the first represents the dominant group and the last the immigrants, mostly limited to non-western origin. According to Schinkel's discourse analysis, integration means the adaptation of non-western newcomers to the dominant Dutch society, while some social psychologists, looking at the behaviour of citizens,

would like to hold a different viewpoint on this issue. In their viewpoint integration would mean, the preservation of the own cultural background (primary identification) mixed with contact with the Dutch life.

They are still considered the outsiders even when they are the third generation of the original guest labourers and born and bred in the Netherlands. In the discourse about multiculturalism and integration this is still a persistent distinction. Constantly, allochthones have to live up to the high demands of the dominant group which are almost impossible to comply with. The dominant group has so-called articulation power. This group determines what is normal, what is mainstream. The so-called allochthones are often subjected to all kinds of paradoxical ideas: They don't work: they are not integrated: that is bad. They have work: they have taken our jobs. They are married to a Dutch woman: they pinched our women. They are not participating in the neighbourhood community: they do not integrate. No question is asked when I as an autochthone am not participating in neighbourhood festivities, but when my Angolian neighbour is not there, ...she is not integrated.

They will never be able to live up to the expectations of the dominant group, whatever they'll do. Even the nth generation would be considered different from their 'Dutch' counterparts. When there is trouble in the neighbourhood, the allochthones are pointed out as a group responsible of mischief. The fact that they are descended from for instance Moroccan origin is considered more important than the fact that they have a mixed identity, or that they are adolescents, just acting angrily.

In the last few years, cities and neighbourhoods are the outstanding examples of places in which problems arose with the development of multicultural society such as degeneration and corruption, dilapidation, anonymity, unsafety and insecurity, the struggle about the use of public space, interethnic tension, 'white flight' or retreat as an answer to the emerging multicultural society, and resentment of autochthone stay-behinds. At the other side neighbourhoods are able to offer opportunities for our modern multicultural society. First, they are potential frames of functional, but also of normative and emotional identification. It is possible to organize functional relationships within the neighbourhood that exceed the ethnic issue. Measures can be taken to tackle problems such as unsafety, dilapidation, street litter, and inconveniences every citizen can be bothered with. According to *Identification with the Netherlands* mutual trust and public familiarity is the key-issue here that would hamper the development of mistrust. From social psychological Summer Camp research by Muzaffer Sherif the condition is known that to overcome problems and tensions between different groups first people would be made interdependent of each other. Mere exposure would not help and in some conditions would even worsen the relations between groups. Without the help of every single person a solution would be impossible to reach. Moreover, especially when

citizens commit themselves to improve the neighbourhood and when these initiatives are supported by the borough council the chances for integration would be enhanced.

Brilliants and Kreekhuisen revisited

Both the Brilliant Project and the Kreekhuisen Project are trying to improve the social climate in their respective neighbourhoods, each in their own way with their own characteristics.

Project Brilliants addresses the different forms of identification. The starting point is the positive approach: the opportunities of the participants themselves. In the project they have learned to play different roles and could be observed doing so. It gave participants the possibility to realize their potential and to develop themselves as future professionals, according to their own wishes. It offered the youths the opportunity of acquiring a sense of belonging. They felt the obligation of being a role model for other youngsters and played that part convincingly. In the project they were seen as individuals with unique characteristics, opportunities and possibilities and indeed not as typical representatives of their ethnic group, one of the leading social psychological principles of creating positive internal attributions by breaking up prejudice between groups. To be taken seriously as an individual with certain personal characteristics by positive internal attribution of the participants themselves lead to self confidence and positive self esteem. It can be argued from secondary analysis that this principle was one of the reasons that participation was also soon opened up to other youths than Antilleans. The project has created herewith presumably another image of certain groups of youngsters, youngsters no longer being a nuisance to the neighbourhood, but individual human beings showing their good will by working for the community, to mean something to the community. Participants were held to the formal codes of the project. Moreover, youngsters got involved with all kinds of informal codes of conduct in their contact with other organizations which enabled them to experiment with these codes, get used to and learn to play with them. So, participation offered the youths different modes of identification, functionally, normatively and emotionally. Though it was not the direct aim of the project these identification processes can be identified studying the project. According to *Identification with the Netherlands* together with the positive internal attributions involved the complex demands of the multilayered identity of 'Dutch nationality' can be met.

Project Kreekhuisen, mentioned above, is different in character. Kreekhuisen tries to activate its citizens to (re)vitalize the neighbourhood. After the first experimental year plans are made to commit citizens more to the activities of the neighbourhood.

Zorgwacht will play an important role in binding the initiatives of individuals to other persons. The positive approach to problems and initiatives and, speaking within the behaviouristic tradition the direct results of suggestions are important incentives for further cooperation. This cooperative viewpoint is the crux of the identification processes and herewith the development of social cohesion within the neighbourhood. Each initiative, each question is taken seriously. It is not directed towards the development of a unrealistic one-dimensional Dutch identity. Sharing, the binding between individuals, the exchange of individual qualities are, reading behind the lines, important goals of the project. People begin to realize that individual interdependence within Kreekhuizen is an important mode of identification. It would not make a difference that people descend from different ethnic backgrounds or are from different age. When we try to make a connection between the project Kreekhuizen with *Identification with the Netherlands* I think that the character of the identification processes is more in the emotional mode. It is about feeling good and safe in the neighbourhood, being a citizen, and about creating a sense of belonging and mutual loyalty. When returns are asked in Zorgwacht perhaps identification is in a functional mode. Sometimes citizens are asked to help other people as amateur counselors having some 'common sense' expertise in a particular field, are asked to give computer lessons for clients or try to raise a musical group, herewith fulfilling some wishes of citizens. People play different parts, practicing different roles. A youngster becomes a computer teacher, a musician a community worker. To be active is very practical and people act different roles depending on the situational settings involved. Identification is not centered around the judicial aspects of conduct.

Conclusion and discussion

In this paper two case studies are presented. They could be characterized as promising social work practices. Moreover, the possibility to relate the social psychological content of the important report *Identification in the Netherlands* and the approach of the two projects was investigated. The tentative conclusion is that these projects, each within its own right concerning target group and purposes fit the ideas of *Identification in the Netherlands*.

First, within social work it is of utmost importance to take the problems, questions and wishes of clients or groups seriously. The projects offer participants all kinds of opportunities for empowerment and self development or to become active in the community. The tenor of the report is that people experiencing difficulties living in the Netherlands are taken seriously, whatever their background might be, either autochthone or allochthone. It offers also conceptual opportunities. Especially the idea

of the dynamics of a concept like cultural identity and the social psychological background of its development collaborates the Brilliant and the Kreekhuizen project, though instigators of the projects were probably unaware of this conceptualization. Participants are not considered as typical representatives of ethnic, cultural groups but as individuals with their own personal characteristics and, most important, with personal qualities and aspirations.

From our investigation it has become clear that the report and the projects use the neighbourhood as a possibility to functional identification. It combined individual living with the immediate surroundings of the individual, herewith trying to create community spirit, trying to attain a communal identity. In the Brilliants project one tried to reach this goal by 'in return activities', in the Kreekhuizen project by neighbourhood activities and in the future, though first steps are taken now, by the exchange of voluntary, mutual individual services and activities. Eventually one hopes for a more sustainable social climate in the respective neighbourhood. For the Brilliant project this is, by the way, not the ultimate goal. The question is that when the participants have ended their attendance to the project they stop with the communal activities for their Hoogvliet neighbourhood and go on with their individual lives. The reaching of individual goals was at stake, not the community itself. A prolonged effort to support the community is hardly undertaken. Sometimes former participants could not even spare any time for an interview about their experiences. In the Kreekhuizen project the idea of individuals relating to the community and herewith creating a sense of belonging is the central focus. Having started last year it is now too soon to provide definitive results, but the first results on the satisfaction of the neighbourhood and the aspirations of the project's stakeholders seem to be promising.

Some last remarks. As said earlier, the two projects differ a lot from each other. The character of the respective neighbourhoods, the goals and methods used can hardly be compared. It is difficult to say that these projects can be transferred unchanged to other neighbourhoods in the future. A thorough investigation of these neighbourhoods is necessary. Though one can say that a positive approach carry positive results.

Identification in the Netherlands criticises the one-dimensional conceptualization of identity and provides at the same time useful insights into the intricate, multi-layered concept of identity. To appreciate this conceptual mode an open attitude by both scholars and citizens is required.

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