CARING IS SHARING

How neighbourhood processes among parents can strengthen an educative civil society in the public domain

A study on The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0

Maartje van Dijken

Caring is sharing.

How neighbourhood processes among parents can strengthen
an educative civil society in the public domain:
A study on The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0

Maartje van Dijken

Caring is sharing

How neighbourhood processes among parents can strengthen an educative civil society in the public domain:
A study on The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0

Zorgen is delen

Hoe buurtprocessen onder ouders een pedagogische civil society in het publieke domein kunnen versterken: Een onderzoek naar De Vreedzame Wijk 2.0 (met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Utrecht
op gezag van de rector magnificus, prof. dr. H.R.B.M. Kummeling, ingevolge het besluit van het college voor promoties in het openbaar te verdedigen op dinsdag 5 maart 2024 des middags te 12.15 uur

door

Martha Wandrina van Dijken

geboren op 27 september 1985
te Groningen

Promotoren:
  Prof. dr. M. de Winter
  Prof. dr. G.J.J.M. Stams

Beoordelingscommissie:
  Prof. dr. M.J. de Haan
  Prof. dr. G.H.P. van der Helm
  Prof. dr. P.P.M. Leseman
  Prof. dr. J.W.F. van Tartwijk
  Dr. S.A.M. Wijsbroek

Contents

1

General introduction

This dissertation describes a study into The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0; a community-based program that aims to empower parents and increase a safe and peaceable environment in the neighbourhood by creating or strengthen an educative civil society[1], which can be considered as an ongoing process where adults within a community share the responsibility for the upbringing of children (De Winter 2008; Kesselring 2016). Unlike previous research into the educative civil society (Kesselring, 2016), current research focuses on shared responsibility in the public domain.

In this first chapter the background and motivation of The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0 program is described, followed by a theoretical framework for current research, the research aims and an outline of this dissertation.

Background

The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0 program knows a history of developments since 1999, and finds its roots in a program designed for primary education, known as The Peaceable School. After an initial translation from a school-based program to a community-focused context, the program was evaluated from 2009-2014 by Horjus, van Dijken and de Winter (Horjus et al., 2012; Horjus, 2021; Van Dijken et al., 2013) whereby recommendations in 2012 (Horjus et al., 2012) led to further development into The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0.

From The Peaceable School to The Peaceable Neighbourhood

Since 1999, an increasing number of primary education institutions have adopted The Peaceable School methodology to substantiate citizenship education and foster the socio-emotional development of children. At the core of this program lies the objective of granting children a platform for expression and enabling the practical enactment of societal participation. A central component of the program, through which children engage in

---

[1] *Educative civil society* is a translation of the Dutch concept *Pedagogische civil society* (De Winter 2008; Kesselring 2016). Besides *educative* other terms in English literature are *pedagogical* or *educational*.

participatory experiences, is achieved via conflict management and peer mediation strategies (Pauw, 2013).

Because of the success of The Peaceable School (Verhoeven, 2012; Pauw, 2013), interest in this method arose in several organizations nearby the schools located in a neighbourhood within Utrecht. Professionals, such as social workers in recreational areas and local community centers, recognized the affirmative impact of the school-based approach on children within their community. Notably, they observed the development of constructive conflict resolution abilities and heightened levels of involvement. Concurrently, these professionals also noted instances where children struggled when confronted with disparities between the acquired social norms and their learned behaviors, or when other children did not possess comparable skills. Thus, a demand arose among social workers to integrate the Peaceable methodology, thereby bridging the different domains in which children grow up. In 2008 the opportunity was created to develop a community-based variant of this method, culminating in what is now referred to as The Peaceable Neighbourhood approach.

The Peaceable Neighbourhood

The Peaceable Neighbourhood program represents a constructive community-based initiative with the objective of fostering a nurturing network of parents and co-educators around all children and adolescents within a given neighbourhood. The aim is to strengthen the citizenship education of children in diverse educational contexts (Pauw, 2016). Hereby the school is supported in its citizenship mission, while children are afforded the opportunity to apply and reinforce their acquired citizenship skills beyond the school's confines. This is achieved through the training of professionals and volunteers operating within other educational contexts within the neighbourhood, such as playgrounds, sports clubs, and day care centers. This interconnection of varied educational contexts fosters a congruent 'Peaceable' ethos and skillset among children throughout the neighbourhood. For instance, neighbourhood professionals or volunteers can prompt children to employ constructive conflict resolution techniques outside the school environment.

Additionally, children themselves receive supplementary training to engage in public domain mediation (neighbourhood mediation).

The Peaceable Neighbourhood is characterized by its dynamic and evolving nature; it is not a fixed, predefined program but one that continuously evolves. Implementation strategies vary according to context, as each situation and neighbourhood is distinct. However, in most instances, a substantial proportion of professionals and volunteers in the neighbourhood undergo training in the methodology. In the training, skills are taught around the core principles of the Peaceable methodology, encompassing conflict management, fostering children's assumption of responsibilities, collaboration with others, cultivation of a positive social norm (group dynamics), and the exemplification of positive social conduct (e.g., openness to diversity).

An integral aspect of the implementation strategy involves fostering ownership. Children's ownership is facilitated through the establishment of a Peaceable Children's Council, where representatives from all schools collaborate to formulate a 'neighbourhood manifesto.' This document delineates plans and initiatives aimed at enhancing the neighbourhood's 'peaceability.' Within professional organizations, this entails the establishment of a steering committee and the coaching and training of key figures in the neighbourhood to become trainers themselves (train-the-trainer model). Subsequently, these trainers can impart knowledge to parents, volunteers, or professional educators within their respective organizations or domains.

The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0

Since 2008, the Peaceable Neighbourhood program has been implemented across an expanding array of neighbourhoods within the Netherlands. Research into the implementation of the method in Utrecht and Amsterdam showed that children in a 'Peaceable' neighbourhood do indeed demonstrate heightened utilization of their constructive conflict resolution skills beyond the school context. Furthermore, social workers made use of the educational competencies acquired through training and reported observable transformations: children were more constructive in conflict resolution and their level of participation was higher (Horjus, 2021). However, the manifestation of

'Peaceable' attitudes and behaviors is not automatic within public spaces and The Peaceable Neighbourhood among parents and local residents was still relatively unknown. Effectively reaching and engaging them in the program proved to be insufficient (Horjus, 2021). For that reason, initiatives were undertaken to experiment with program components geared toward enhancing parental ownership within the program, and increasing shared parenting responsibility. Between 2013 and 2017 program developers experimented with the role of parents in their neighbourhood, with the main aim of contributing to the body of knowledge on shared parenting responsibilities in the neighbourhood.

When the implementation plan of the program was undergoing further development, parents from four primary schools in Utrecht and Groningen were explicitly invited as co-owners to participate in the development. To foster ownership within the community and to increase the likelihood that The Peaceable Neighbourhood can achieve positive outcomes in the public domain, parents were asked to join parent steering groups. In each school a parent steering group of four to eight parents was installed. The description of the assignment to the parent steering group was deliberately somewhat vague: *"do you as parents want to think about the educational climate in and around the school, based on the Peaceable program, and if possible, play a role in and to the parent community of this school?"* There was no set agenda for the parent steering groups: the aim was to see what would happen if parents were allowed to decide for themselves, what their role would be in school and/or neighbourhood, and which activities would fit in with it (Verhoeff et al., 2017).

During the research period, the program developed slightly differently in each school, but roughly the following implementation emerged. Firstly, at their own request, parents received information about the program from a professional 'Peaceable trainer' during the first meetings. After some meetings – varying from four meetings to eight meetings -, the steering group organized activities for a larger group of parents in each school to increase parent involvement in the school and to inform the parent community about the Peaceable method. In one of the schools, after being informed about the role of child mediators within the Peaceable School program, the need arose among members

from the parent steering group to also receive training in the field of mediation. Program developers therefore subsequently offered a parent mediation training at each of the participating schools. In this dissertation, the emerging intervention received extra attention, because it appeared to be the most concrete interpretation of the objectives of the Peaceable method. The aim of the intervention was to shape parental involvement in the public domain, and to provide parents with tools to take an active role.

Parent mediation

The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0 method is not primarily about transforming a negative situation, but a vision of how communities have potential to develop in a positive direction. The program assumes that in a democracy conflicts between people (citizens with different values, norms and views) are unavoidable. The aim is always to deal with these differences in a constructive way and resolve conflicts. Parents and co-educators play an important role in decreasing violence among children, and more importantly model constructive ways of solving conflicts in the public domain. For constructive ways of intervening in a conflict, conflict resolution skills are necessary (Pauw, 2016). Parental mediation training can therefore be helpful and empower parents to approach children on the street. Therefore, parents were trained to be parent-mediators, who constructively resolve conflicts between children on the streets and promote positive interaction among children. In chapter 5 the parent mediation training is described and in chapters 3 and 5 children's, parents' and neighbourhood professionals' experiences with parent mediation are described.

Objectives of The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0

Between 2013 and 2017 program developers experimented with the role of parents in their neighbourhood with the aim to enable parents to become co-owners of The Peaceable Neighbourhood. This trajectory was followed by independent research with the main aim of contributing to the body of knowledge on shared parenting responsibilities in the neighbourhood, resulting in this dissertation. The program development trajectory focused on the *process objectives* and implementation conditions, that is, what happens when parents become the owner of the implementation, and how alliances in the neighbourhood

can be formed. The present dissertation examined the *program objectives* and necessary conditions to promote public shared parenting responsibility.

The aim of this joint effort was that the development and research trajectory would reinforce each other. Therefore, the practical implications of this dissertation can contribute to the improvement of the implementation process of The Peaceable Neighbourhood. Insights were also gained in the program development trajectory, which will be discussed in more detail in the general discussion of this dissertation, providing an exploration of parents as co-owner of the program. In 2013 program developers formulated the following program objectives; 1) Strengthening shared public parenting responsibility by increasing collective socialization and informal social control in the public domain and 2) Promoting a safe and peaceable climate in the neighbourhood by increasing parents' structural social capital and informal social support (Verhoeff, et al., 2017). These objectives can be summarized in one overarching goal, namely; strengthening the educative civil society in the neighbourhood.

Educative civil society

The transition within Dutch healthcare, with the gradual shift of political responsibilities to local authorities and citizens, has been a much-discussed theme in politics and public debate for decades (Kelders et al., 2016), which has affected every aspect of the social domain. The aim was to eliminate waiting lists and improve quality of healthcare, but pressure on youth care is still increasing (Social and Economic Council, 2021). Care responsibilities of the government, municipalities and citizens must be divided differently as a result of the transition. Whether or not resulting from government financial cuts, there is a call for more mutual support in local communities (Reform agenda Youth, 2023) and a promise that this creates opportunities for a greater sense of democracy among individuals in local communities (Hofman, 2020). The Peaceable Neighbourhood offers opportunities to fulfill this 'assignment', and it becomes increasingly important to identify necessary conditions for successful shared public youth care responsibility in the neighbourhood.

The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0 aims to create or strengthen a 'supportive shell of people' around families and children by initiating social relationships and connections in

their living environment. By strengthening the social networks around families and children, on the one hand, favorable - protective - conditions are created that support upbringing and development. On the other hand, this reduces the risks of problems in children's social development (Curran 2007; De Winter, 2012; Li et al. 2011; Lieberman 2013). The emphasis is on the importance of providing a safe environment, with compatible or mutual accepted norms and values so that both parents and children can feel connected to this group and thus be able to participate in it (Fonseca et al, 2019; Pauw, 2016). Creating or strengthening a supportive shell around children is an ongoing process in changing contexts. Members of social networks differ over time and, especially in highly diverse neighbourhoods, shared norms and values continuously need adjustment or transformation among the members of these networks.

In the Netherlands the process of developing this supportive shell by increasing shared responsibilities among parents and other adults is mostly referred to as the educative civil society. The term was introduced by De Winter (2008) and defined by Kesselring as *the readiness of citizens to share the responsibility for the upbringing of children and adolescents within their own social networks and in the public domain, in the form of mutual support and informal social control* (Kesselring, p46, 2016).

Building on the definition of Kesselring (2016), but with respect to the dynamic aspect that evolves from highly diverse neighbourhoods and by adding an aspect that fits the Peaceable Neighbourhood ideology [democratic citizenship], the definition of an educative civil society in this dissertation is as follows;

The ongoing process of informal social control and informal social support, where adults share the responsibility within their own social networks and in the public domain for the upbringing of children and adolescents to grow up as caring democratic citizens.

Neighbourhood processes

There is strong evidence to suggest that characteristics of children's neighbourhoods form an important part of the foundation of their development (Minh et al., 2017). Empirical research has led to the identification of environmental factors that contribute to positive child development and explains main characteristics or working mechanisms underlying

community-based interventions through which they are expected to have an effect. In this dissertation I divide these environmental factors in structural factors and neighbourhood processes (Coulton et al., 2007). The most consistent results across studies involved structural factors: indicators of economic status or resources, poverty rate and residential instability (Leventhal & Dupéré, 2019; Strickhouser & Sutin, 2020). These studies provide support for a link between neighbourhood structure and child development. However, they provide little information on neighbourhood processes through which neighbourhood characteristics may affect child development. Although less often a subject of empirical research, there are indications that neighbourhood processes can be seen as protective factors; informal social control and collective efficacy (Sabol et al., 2004; Smith et al, 2013), both formal and informal social support (Martin et al., 2011; Radey, 2018) and social capital (Murray et al., 2020).

Based on the set objectives, the current dissertation examined neighbourhood processes that may contribute to strengthening the educative civil society. These processes are; 1) shared public parenting responsibilities 2) informal social control 3) collective socialization and 4) informal social support. These concepts are widely described and connected concepts in literature, with a wide range of definitions. In the following the concepts are defined and the assumed connection between the concepts is explained.

Shared public parenting responsibilities [parents attitude]; In this dissertation I am interested in parents' propensity to share childrearing responsibilities within the public domain, not only with family members but also friends, neighbors or other parents they meet in schools or in the street (Kesselring et al., 2013). In this dissertation I examined parents' attitude to share these responsibilities. Actively sharing parenting responsibility within the community entails both accepting another's parenting role and the exemplary role for one's own child, as well as feeling responsible for other people's children. Parenting in the public domain entails both taking responsibility in normal day to day situations as in conflict situations. According to The Peaceable Neighbourhood, responsibilities of adults in the public domain are, on the one hand, 'being there' for children, saying hello, or fulfill a role as natural mentor. On the other hand, it is about living up to rules of conduct, dealing with conflicts and monitoring. Parents thus have both a controlling and socializing role.

Descriptions of these roles in academic literature are found in the concepts of informal social control, collective socialization and informal social support. *Informal social control* is mostly defined as shared expectations that residents will respond to local problems if and when they arise (Hipp, 2016) and monitor children's behavior (De Marco & Vernon-Feagans, 2013; Delany-Brumsey et al., 2014). *Collective socialization* refers to the process where adults can positively influence young people in their neighbourhood and act as role models, but also monitor children's behavior and intervene if necessary (De Marco & Vernon-Feagans, 2013; Delany-Brumsey et al, 2014). And *informal social support* captures whether parents have others who can help them out to meet a basic need in the form of advice, practical help or providing a sympathetic ear (Attree, 2005). It includes support from family, friends, neighbors and other informal groups of people.

In the current dissertation, the idea is that strengthening informal social control, collective socialization and informal social support will increase shared parenting responsibilities, which in turn contributes to strengthening the educative civil society in the neighbourhood. Although there is an assumed direction in the correlations between the concepts, it is expected that the different concepts function in a transactional process. I elaborate on this in chapter 5.

Research design

Pawson and Tilley (1997) stated that evaluating community-based interventions is difficult due to the many factors that are involved, and the long-term goals these interventions have. Kubisch et al. (1995) concluded that these types of interventions are difficult to evaluate, partly because in many cases their program plans are underspecified at the outset of the initiative. As a consequence, most evaluators specify an impact theory underlying the interventions and do not focus on –collective– outcomes. As a result, little is known about the efficacy of community-based interventions, which could impede their use. Also, most interventions, but community-based interventions in particular, depend on several 'real-world' factors that cannot be controlled experimentally (Weisz et al., 2013).

Rather than solely evaluating if a program works, evaluations need to identify 'what works under which circumstances and for whom', searching for the best available evidence. To answer that question, evaluators aim to identify the underlying mechanisms

that explain 'how' the outcomes were caused and what role the context played in this. An intervention works - or not – because actors make particular decisions and their interpretations have an effect on the outcomes (Pawson & Tilley, 1997). It is therefore possible that effects of interventions differ per context. For this reason they argue that evaluating community-based program should be practice-based and realistic in nature.

It was essential for The Peaceable Neighbourhood project that the interventions should not be devised in advance and then tried out, but that the devising of interventions would take place bottom-up. Parents and residents (and professionals from the field) were asked to contribute ideas from the central objective of the project, and interventions were devised and developed from this. This dissertation explores and describes the experiences of those involved with several implemented interventions, as well as insights gained during the development process. Children's, parents' and neighbourhood professionals' experiences in the study areas were investigated through participating observations, interviews and focus group discussions. Questionnaires were administered to examine the associations between the concepts or neighbourhood processes described above. No causal effects are described, although sometimes causality may be inferred from the available empirical evidence from various sources of information.

Study areas

Data collection took place in two neighbourhoods in two of the six major cities in The Netherlands; Kanaleneiland, Utrecht and Selwerd/Paddepoel, Groningen. Both neighbourhoods are highly diverse with a high level of deprivation as compared to other neighbourhoods in these cities. In Kanaleneiland in Utrecht more than 40% of all residents are younger than 24 years. In 2016, at the time of this study, 75% of the population were of non-native Dutch descent, with the largest part of Moroccan origin (Utrecht, WistUdata, 2016). Selwerd/Paddepoel is also characterized by a diverse resident composition in terms of age and migration background. This context is important, because in diverse communities arriving at compatible or mutual accepted norms and values seems to be a greater challenge than in more homogeneous communities (Fonseca et al, 2019; Helbing et al, 2014).

Aim and outline of this dissertation

This dissertation comprises four studies that aim to contribute to the current knowledge on the educative civil society, focusing on shared public parenting responsibilities in the Peaceable Neighbourhood. The studies aim to answer the following mean research question: *What are the necessary conditions for successful shared public parenting responsibility in the neighbourhood.*

Firstly the aim to gain more insight into the conditions for shared public parenting responsibilities asked for a literature study into potentially effective processes of the Peaceable program. A description of potentially effective processes can be find in all chapters, with a summary in the general discussion.

Secondly, because the target group in the Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0 project focused on parents, new questions surfaced, namely; does the implementation of The Peaceable Neighbourhood influences the upbringing 'behind the front door'? Although the program does not explicitly focus on the prevention of child maltreatment, it is plausible to suggest that the program can have indirect effects in this area too. For this reason a review study was conducted. **Chapter 2** discusses the potential of community-based approaches for the prevention of child maltreatment and reflects on the findings of the literature review.

Thirdly, the concept of shared public parenting responsibilities has not yet been described comprehensively in scientific literature (Kesselring et al, 2016). Extensive research shows that social support is related to a more positive parenting experience and greater self-confidence, a warmer parenting style and more authoritative parenting. However, to our knowledge it has not been studied whether social support also contributes to a more positive perception of shared parenting. To fill this gap a quantitative study was conducted among 268 parents. **Chapter 3** examined associations between informal social support, social isolation and shared public parenting responsibility.

Lastly, during the process program developers and parents initiated the implementation of an intervention that focuses directly on increasing shared parenting in the public domain; the parent mediation training. To our knowledge no empirical study has been conducted on this or comparable interventions. **Chapter 4**, therefore, explores what

children think of the assumption that parents have an important role on the street, what their expectations are, and necessary conditions for an active role of parents on the streets are discussed. The purpose of **chapter 5** was to gain insight into parent's and neighbourhood professional's expectations of parents' role in the public domain, and to gain insight into conditions for successful parental involvement in the public domain.

To sum up, chapter 2 discusses a literature study into the potential of community-based approaches to the prevention of child maltreatment, chapter 3 is a quantitative study that examined the correlation between informal social support, social isolation and shared public parenting responsibility, chapter 4 and 5 are qualitative studies on the potential of parental involvement and parent mediation in the neighbourhoods, and in chapter 6 conclusions and practical implications are described in a general discussion.

2

Can community-based interventions prevent child maltreatment?

Abstract

Despite the many efforts taken to prevent child maltreatment, it still is a worldwide significant problem. Interventions predominantly focus on 'at risk' populations and individual characteristics of the victim or abuser, but is that enough? The present review was designed to examine the potential of community-based programs, those that target the problem solving and helping processes in the community, and thereby aim to prevent child maltreatment. We searched for theoretical and empirical indications and searched for available programs that focus on neighbourhood processes, based on the assumption that positive outcomes may not just be changes in individual behaviors, but may also include changes in community capacity. We conclude there is strong theoretical evidence that, for stable and long-term behavioral changes, it seems necessary to also develop activities aimed at changing distal determinants, that is, determinants further away from the microsystem (child or parent characteristics) such as contextual factors. We believe community-based interventions can strengthen the socializing quality of this social environment. Scientific literature generally shows that community-based interventions that target neighbourhood processes are promising, although effectiveness should still be established.

Introduction

Even though Dutch children are among the happiest children in western society (UNICEF, 2013), child maltreatment remains a significant problem in The Netherlands (Health Council of the Netherlands, 2011; Stagner & Lansing, 2009). Due to the complexity of determining the occurrence of child maltreatment, studies report different prevalence rates; estimates in The Netherlands and other Western countries vary between 10 and 40% of all children (Health Council of the Netherlands, 2011; Sethi et al., 2013, Stoltenborgh et al., 2012; 2013). Too many children suffer from physical, psychological and sexual abuse and neglect[2] (Alink et al., 2010). Fortunately, the topic is high on the agenda of policy makers and many interventions exist (Mikton & Butchard, 2009). These interventions predominantly focus on 'at risk' populations and individual characteristics of the victim or abuser (Klevens & Whitaker, 2007).

Scientific literature generally accepts that the etiology of child maltreatment has evolved from individual characteristics of children or their parents to ecological models, which emphasize interactions among individuals, families and social networks around the family (Belsky, 1980, 1993; Coulton et al., 2007; Freisthler et al., 2006; Franco et al., 2010; Jack, 2004; Tan et al., 1991). Despite the many efforts taken to prevent child maltreatment, the prevalence of child abuse and neglect remains high. It therefore seems valuable to have a closer look at the fruitfulness of the application of this ecological model of child maltreatment.

Ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) states that different types of environmental systems influence human development and therefore also play a role in the etiology of child maltreatment. These systems include the microsystem (direct social interactions), the mesosystem (interactions between microsystems), the exosystem (context that indirectly influences the child), the macrosystem (cultural setting), and the chronosystem (transitions and shifts during life). Within the exosystem, the neighbourhood has received increased attention in recent years (Coulton et al., 2007; Franco et al., 2010;

---

[2] In this article no distinction has been made between the different types of abuse. The term child maltreatment is used as a collective term for physical, psychological and sexual abuse as well as neglect.

Freisthler et al., 2006). Nonetheless, despite the increased attention paid to neighbourhood factors in the etiology of child maltreatment, most practitioners or policymakers still view child maltreatment as a problem of individual parents (Stagner & Lansing, 2009; Tan et al., 1991). As a result, most interventions aim at parents and use educational strategies, therapeutic models or support parents in childrearing practices (FRIENDS, 2009; Stagner & Lansing, 2009; Tomison & Wise, 1999). A number of interventions also target neighbourhood factors (Coulton et al., 2007), such as collective efficacy[3] (Sabol et al., 2004) and community social support[4] (Gracia & Musitu, 2003). These interventions are called *community-based programs*. The question arises whether these programs, while focusing on domains outside the family, can also address problems within the family. Are community-based programs that focus on the neighbourhood promising in preventing child maltreatment?

The purpose of this study was to examine the potential of community-based programs that aim to prevent child maltreatment. We searched for theoretical and empirical indications and searched for available programs that focus on neighbourhood factors. After providing more background on the ecological model, we start by outlining the main characteristics, or working mechanisms, underlying the types of interventions that focus on neighbourhood factors through which they are expected to have an effect. Then we provide an overview of community-based interventions, and where possible we substantiate these interventions with available research outcomes.

Theoretical exploration

Based on the social-ecological perspective of Bronfenbrenner (1979), Belsky (1980) laid down an ecological integrated model of the etiology of child maltreatment. Belsky outlined four causes of child maltreatment; ontogenic development (the history of abusive parents), the microsystem (child characteristics, parent-child interaction and sibling relationships),

---

[3] A form of social organization that unites social cohesion and trust with shared expectations for social control (Ansari, 2013, p 82).
[4] The capacity of a community to realize shared goals of its members and regulate their behavior in accordance with the desired and established norms as well as protect the general well-being of the community (Ansari, 2013, p 83).

the exosystem (parent's work, the neighbourhood and social support) and the macrosystem (society's attitude towards children, and maltreatment). Belsky viewed maltreatment as a result of social-environmental influences.

Following Belsky, the review by Stith (2009) shows that different factors contribute to the risk for child maltreatment. It mostly is a combination of individual, relational, community and societal factors that can be associated with child maltreatment, both as risk or protective factors (e.g., Dixon et al., 2009). Risk factors are characteristics or conditions in individuals, families of communities that make a child more likely to get maltreated. Risk factors may (or may not) be direct causes. Protective factors buffer children from being abused or neglected. When these factors are present they can mitigate or eliminate risk within the family (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2014). Protective factors have not been studied as extensively as risk factors. However, much scientific literature endorses the value of identifying and understanding protective factors (Emery et al., 2013; Fromm, 2004; Sabol et al., 2004). Specifically related to maltreatment, Garbarino emphasized the important role of the exosystem, or more specifically, what role the neighbourhood plays in the likelihood of child maltreatment (Garbarino, 1977; Garbarino & Kostelny, 1992). Contextual risk or protective factors (in the neighbourhood) include socioeconomic factors (income or education) and demographic factors (family structure), but also ideological factors (shared values among neighbors) and the availability of a social support system. It is hypothesized that maltreatment occurs when there is ideological support for the use of physical force within the neighbourhood, and when support systems fail to encourage effective parenting (Durrant, 1999; Garbarino & Kostelny, 1992).

Main characteristics community-based interventions

Empirical research has led to the identification of environmental factors that contribute to child maltreatment. We start by outlining these main characteristics or working mechanisms underlying community-based interventions through which they expect to exert effect on preventing child maltreatment. The most consistent results across studies involve structural factors: indicators of economic status or resources; income level (Garbarino & Crouter, 1978; Garbarino & Kostelny, 1992; Zielinski & Bradshaw, 2006), residential housing

(Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000) unemployment rate (Freisthler, 2004; Freisthler et al., 2005; Krishnan & Morrison, 1994) and poverty rate (Ernst, 2001; Garbarino & Kostelny, 1992; Freisthler, 2004; Tan et al., 1991). Other structural factors include residential instability (Coulton et al., 1995; Ernst 2001) and increased child-care burden (Coulton et al., 1995). These studies provide support for a link between neighbourhood structure and child maltreatment. However, according to Coulton et al. (2007), they provide little information on neighbourhood processes through which neighbourhood characteristics may affect child maltreatment. After all most parents do not maltreat their children as compared to the smaller number of parents that do, while living under the same conditions (De Winter, 2012).

Although less often a subject of empirical research, a few studies indicated that the following neighbourhood processes can be seen as protective factors; level of social cohesion (Ernst, 2001; Franco et al., 2010), social networks (Molnar et al., 2003), informal social control and collective efficacy (Fromm, 2004; Sabol et al., 2004) and both formal and informal social support (Ernst, 2001; Martin et al., 2011; Zolotor & Runyan, 2006).

To conclude, this outline shows that community-based interventions mostly focus on structural factors (poverty, SES, etc.) and less on neighbourhood processes (for instance, informal social support). However, poor, dangerous neighbourhoods, characterized by low levels of social trust and cohesion, produce high degrees of familial isolation and stress. This, in turn, increases the risk for child maltreatment. From this perspective, an effective way to reduce social isolation is by strengthening the social cohesiveness of a neighbourhood, or by strengthening families' social capital. Social capital currently is a popular concept in community research (Ansari, 2013). The neighbourhood processes mentioned above seem to all play a role in this concept. It therefore seems useful to focus a bit more on this concept.

Social capital has been defined in numerous ways (Morrow, 1999), but can be described using two components: structural social capital and cognitive social capital (Harpham, 2008). With structural social capital we mean the connectedness of individuals within a community (social networks), whereas cognitive social capital is a psychological sense of community (perceptions of reciprocity, norms, and trust). Within the social

network component we can divide social capital in *bonding* (connections within the (ethnic) community) and *bridging* social capital (representing outside community links). In general; the more people you know, and the more you share a common perspective with them, the richer you are in social capital (Field, 2008). A definition of social capital that incorporates all important features is the one provided by OECD (Brian, 2001, p41): *"Social networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or among groups"*.

Categories of ´community-based´ prevention

Based on Belsky's ecological model we can assume that all systems – although in different ways – matter in the etiology of child maltreatment. In the exosystem we can divide factors in neighbourhood *structures* and *processes*. Within early secondary and primary prevention this has led to the development of different types of interventions that target different systems and different factors. All these different types of interventions seem to fall under the same heading; 'community based' and have been defined by Klassen et al. (2000, p. 84) as follows; 'community-based interventions are those that target a group of individuals or a geographic community, but are not aimed at a single individual'. The question arises if 'community' means the same in every of these interventions, and what role the community (commonalty – burgerij) really plays. The term has a wide range of meanings (McLorey et al., 2003). It is therefore necessary to further clarify the meaning of community-based in this review.

Community based health interventions have been categorized by McLorey et al. (2003) for the public health field and apply well for the subject of child maltreatment. The four categories are; community as a setting, community as target, community as agent and community as resource.

Most common are interventions in which community-based refers to community as *setting*. Such interventions use the community as a geographic setting and may take place in neighbourhoods, churches, schools or other organizations. The focus of these projects, using mostly educational strategies, is on behavioral changes in individuals living in these geographic communities, as a method to reduce risks for problems, such as child

maltreatment. *As a result, the target of change may be populations, but population change is defined as the aggregate of individual changes* (McLorey et al., 2003, p530).

A different meaning is that of the community serving as the *target* of change. The goal is to reduce risk or create healthy environments through <u>systemic changes</u> in community services and public policy. An intervention's goal may be to reform the existing neighbourhood policy and strengthen cooperation between community organizations. *Strategies are tied to selected indicators, and success is defined as improvement in the indicators over time* (McLorey et al., 2003, p530).

Other community based interventions use community as *resource*. These programs 'use' community members or residents to plan and/or implement activities in a community. Within this definition it is assumed that <u>community ownership and participation</u> is a condition for achieving positive outcomes at a population level. *These kinds of interventions involve external resources and some degree of actors external to the community that aim to achieve health outcomes by working through a wide array of community institutions and resources* (McLorey et al., 2003, p530).

The fourth and least utilized category is community as *agent*. Although closely linked to interventions using the community as resource, the emphasis in this category is on reinforcing the natural capacities of communities and strengthening social capital. Resources are provided through community institutions and can be both formal, such as schools or daycare centers, and informal, such as informal social networks, families and the neighbourhood. Interventions in this category strengthen naturally occurring units of solutions, such as ties between individuals living in the same neighbourhood; *These natural occurring units of solution meet the needs of many, if not most, community members without the benefit of direct professional intervention (*McLorey et al., 2003, p530)*.

The latter three categories suggest that appropriate outcomes may not just be changes in individual behaviors, but may also include changes in community capacity. Moreover, the latter two focus more on community processes, where programs in the target category focus more on structures (see Figure 1). It is hypothesized that interventions rarely fit in one of these categories and probably combine two or more categories. The present study provides an overview of community-based interventions that fit the latter

two categories (community as resource and community as agent) where the focus is on social capital or community processes that play a role in this concept. We also provide a review of the empirical evidence for the effects of these interventions on child maltreatment.

Figure 1: Categorization of community-based interventions
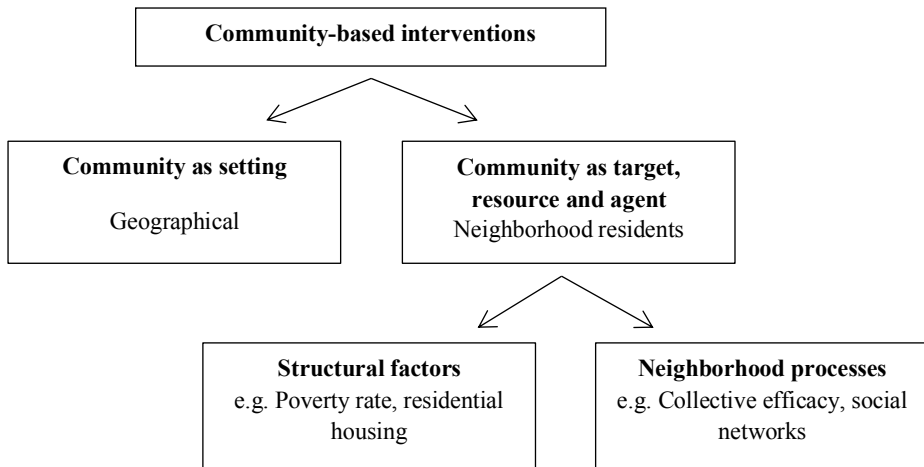
Methods

Search strategy. A literature search was conducted using three electronic databases; ERIC, PsycINFO, PubMed and specific journals including; Child Maltreatment, Child Abuse & Neglect, Child Abuse Review, Journal of Community Psychology, American Journal of Community Psychology. Publications included journals, books and reports by research institutions or governments. Secondary or 'grey' research was also consulted, such as review and opinion articles, theses and working papers. Search terms included combinations of the following words: social capital, child maltreatment, abuse, community-based, interventions, strategies, approaches, prevention, (informal) social support, collective efficacy, shared parenting, social cohesion, neighbourhood, ecological. All literature was in English and published between 1995 and 2014.

Selection and review process. Once the list of potentially relevant studies was compiled, titles and abstracts were reviewed to determine if the articles met the following four

inclusion criteria: 1) focus on prevention of child maltreatment; 2) contain or describe an intervention; 3) the intervention is community-based; 4) includes any kind of evaluation research. Publications that met the inclusion criteria were thoroughly read and descriptive information, intervention strategies and effectiveness were extracted. Even though search terms focused on finding interventions in the resource and agent category, interventions in de first two categories were also found. Therefore, a second selection process was conducted, and all interventions were grouped into the four categories mentioned above; community as a setting, target, resource or agent. In order to describe the interventions in the latter two categories in more detail it was required to collect additional information. This was found on the intervention's website or by using Google Scholar.

During an additional Google Scholar search several examples of community-based interventions in humanitarian and development settings were found (Wessels, 2009). However, due to significant differences in context we cannot expect that the same child protection mechanisms used in these interventions apply for Western society. Therefore, we chose to exclude interventions in humanitarian and development settings.

Results

Study selection. The electronic search produced 683 publications derived from three electronic databases and specific journals. From these 683 publications, 63 articles were identified for consideration based on a review of titles and abstracts. A total of 42 articles were excluded because the article did not contain or describe an intervention; 21 publications contained one or multiple interventions and were therefore reviewed. Some publications describe multiple interventions and some publications overlap in describing the same intervention. A total of 34 interventions were described in these publications. In the second selection process the described interventions were grouped into the four categories mentioned above; community as a setting, target, resource or agent. A total of 29 interventions were excluded because these did not fit the resource and/or agent category; 5 interventions were included. In an additional search using Google and the interventions websites 31 publications were added.

Figure 2: Flowchart literature review process (note the difference between article and intervention)

Chapter 2
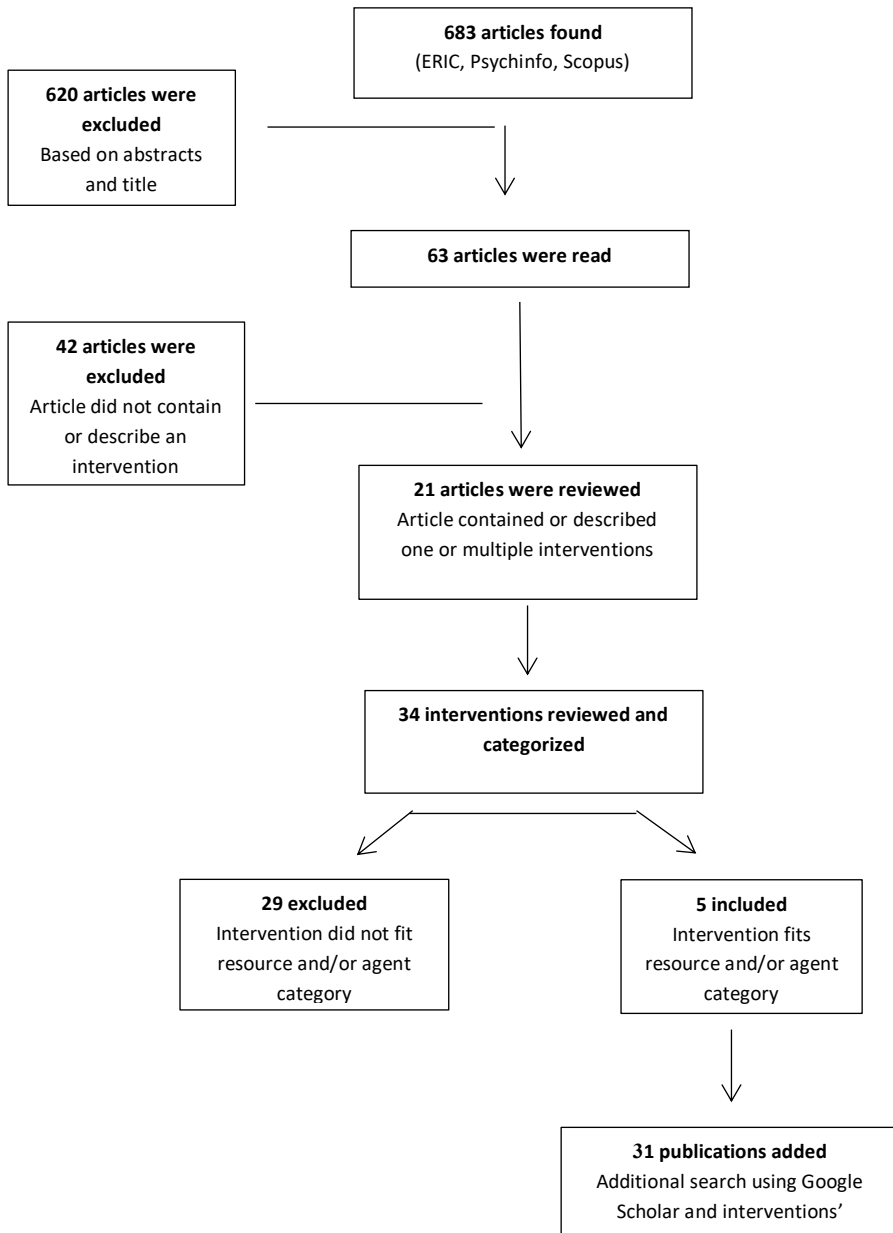
Overview of interventions

Table 1: Overview and common strategies of five community-based interventions

	Strengthening Families Initiative	Community Partnerships	Strong Communities for Children	Communities NOW	PIDP
Developed by	The Center for the study of social policy	The Center for the study of social policy	Clemson University	Butler institute for families	Casey Family Programs
Evaluated by	Social entrepreneurs, inc	Chapin Hall University of Chicago	Clemson University	American Humane Association	Casey Family Programs / University of Southern California
Publications used for review	Horton, 2003 Social Entrepreneurs, 2012 Ahsan, 2007	Daro et al., 2005 The Center for the study of social policy, 1997,2005	Melton, 2014 Melton & Anderson, 2008 Kimbrough-Melton & Campbell, 2008	American Humane Association, 2011 The Butler Institute	McCroskey et al, 2009 ; 2010 ; 2012
Intervention strategies:					
Practice reform Providing training for professionals or community members	**X**	X		**X**	
Reforming child welfare Reinforce collaboration between community organizations and/or community members	X	**X**			**X**
Alter normative standards Changing norms, changing sense of community			**X**	X	
Community used as:					
Setting (geographic)	X	X	X	X	X
Target (systemic change)	**X**	X			**X**
Resource (ownership)	X	**X**	X		X
Agent (no direct professionals)		X	**X**	**X**	X

Areas of primary emphasis for each initiative are indicated in bold.

Table 2: Overview and designs of evaluation studies

	Strengthening Families Initiative	Community Partnerships	Strong Communities for Children	Communities NOW	PIDP
Evaluated by	Social entrepreneurs, inc	Chapin Hall University of Chicago	Clemson University	American Humane Association	Casey Family Programs / University of Southern California
Years	2011-2012	1996-2004	2004-2013	2009-2011	2008-2010
Design	Interrupted time series design with a single group	6-month longitudinal study with a single group	Time series post-test only with non-randomly assigned control groups	Pre- and post-test with a single group	Pre- and post-test with non-randomly assigned control groups
Methods	Process evaluation: site visits, key informants interviews, network meetings. Outcome evaluation: archival research, survey and questionnaire	Assessment 1: documentation of implementation levels, impact theory. A 2: 6-months study of 331 families, surveys and key informants interviews	Process evaluation: interviews with volunteers, archival study, assessments. Outcome evaluation: surveys, interviews and a collecting of data on the physical and social characteristics of neighbourhoods.	Survey after training and 3 follow-up surveys with participants. Observations and assessment of trainee skill and performance.	Archival research, surveys, network mapping, focus groups and interviews.
Main results	Significant improvement on families' self-help skills and decreasing social isolation. Networks partners begin to promote parent involvement, but can expand their reach.	Few positive effects on four core outcomes (e.g. child safety). Small positive effect on shared decision making at the community level.	Parents in SC areas reported less parental stress, greater social support, greater sense of community, less frequent disengaged parenting, less frequent neglect. Cases of maltreatment declined.	95% of 263 participants learned intervening strategies from training, after six weeks all participants (N=89) still used their skills.	Parents in PIDP areas reported less parental stress, more connections to the community, more family support and less social isolation.
Direct effect on child maltreatment	N/A	No effect found at either individual and population level.	Cases declined in SC areas and increased in comparison areas.	N/A	Decreased re-refferals in one of the three areas tested

We describe the programs in general, but provide more detailed information on the aspects where community serves as a resource or an agent. We describe not only the content of the intervention and how it is delivered, but also focus on the underlying theory of change – why could this work? – (see also Table 1). These theoretical elements are important to understand the relation between neighbourhood factors and the prevalence of child maltreatment and the well-being of families. We copied references used by program developers or program evaluators to find similarities between interventions' theories of change. We also present the main results of the evaluation studies conducted (see also Table 2)

Strengthening Families Initiative

The Strengthening Families Initiative (SFI) is a preventive intervention to reduce child maltreatment by mobilizing protective factors around all families in a community. SFI was developed by The Center for the Study of Social Policy. SFI seeks to affect parent behavior by using an existing service delivery system and promoting five protective factors. These factors are conditions that, when present in communities, increase the wellbeing of children and their families. The protective factors are parental resilience, social connections, knowledge of parenting and child development, concrete support in times of need and social and emotional competence of children. Child and family serving professionals receive training to fulfill their important role in supporting all families increasing these factors and in recognizing signs of stress to help parents in an early phase. SFI is being implemented in a variety of sectors, including early childhood home visiting, child welfare, child abuse and neglect prevention and family support. The only aspect of this program that addresses neighbourhood processes is the 'social connections' factor. The activities supporting this factor are based on the assumption that parents with a high level of social capital (a network of emotionally supportive friends, family and neighbors) have healthier relationships with their children. Creating opportunities for parents to meet, in schools, faith-based organizations or other places, can encourage isolated parents to ask for help. This assumption is based on a study that states that social disorganization was the key factor that explained why different neighbourhoods with equivalent socioeconomic profiles

had different rates of child maltreatment; the primary difference was their level of social capital (Garbarino & Kostelny, 1992).

Evaluation design and outcomes

Literature research shows Strengthening Families is theoretically grounded (Horton, 2003), there is enough empirical support to assume that parents with knowledge of child development, a strong social network and a sense of efficacy have healthier relationships with their children. A combination of process- and outcome-evaluation approaches was employed with a mix of qualitative and quantitative data. The evaluation shows that SFI networks increase the protective factors within the families that they serve. For the second factor, 'social connections', a significant change was found. For each of the following questions, participants reported stronger agreement with the statement on the survey after than before they received services; I have relationships with people who provide me with support when I need it, I know who to contact in the community when I need help, When I am worried about my child I have someone to talk to. A t-test confirmed that the change on items 1-7 was significant at a p <.10. Families reported improved self-help skills and network partners were beginning to change systems by promoting parent involvement in planning and decision-making. However, evaluators state that the networks' reach can expand to develop parent partnerships and provide professional development. The evaluation provides no (direct) evidence that child maltreatment is decreased.

Community Partnerships for the Protecting of Children

Another initiative from The Center for the Study of Social Policy is Community Partnerships for the Protection of Children (CPPC). This approach is built on the assumption that child maltreatment is caused by a combination of factors, implicating that there is no single community partner or public agency which itself can provide sufficient protection for children. Besides, it seeks a combination between the formal child welfare response, and community based prevention efforts. CPPC therefore incorporates family support principles into the public child welfare system. Next to individualized practice for families at risk and changing policies to enhance improved connections between the formal institutions and the neighbourhood, CPPC creates a neighbourhood network that includes both formal and

informal support. CPPC assumes that factors, which distinguish parents who maltreat their children from those who don't, are their higher levels of social capital and their connection to a variety of social supports, especially friends and family (Garbarino, 1987; Crittenden, 1992). The long-term goal of these partnerships is to protect children by changing the culture to improve child welfare processes, practices, and policies. Professionals, community members and parents form partnerships, which involve shared decision-making and policy and practice change. The network-building activities include creating a neighbourhood team in which professionals and residents work together to develop and implement family action and safety plans. It is assumed that community ownership and participation is a condition for achieving positive outcomes at a population level (community as resource). CPPC has four goals; child safety, parental capacity and access to both formal and informal support, child welfare agency and network efficiency and community responsibility for child protection (The Center for the study of Social Policy, 1997; 2005).

Evaluation design and outcomes

A comprehensive evaluation was conducted with two assessments, with the first focusing on the impact theory and the second focusing on the impacts and program effects of CPPC. The research yielded few positive effects on the initiative's four core outcomes—child safety, parental capacity and access to support, child welfare agency and network efficiency, and community responsibility for child protection—at either the individual or population level. Some positive effects were found when families were actively involved in their care-plan, such as less stress, but these effects were not positively correlated with a reduction in the likelihood of subsequent maltreatment reports or out of home placements. The evaluation was not able to directly measure changes in resident behavior in responding to families at risk for maltreatment or acting to improve child protection, nor did the partnership sites develop and sustain far-reaching recruitment efforts to educate and engage residents in providing informal support to families within the child welfare system. CPPC leadership and local agency representatives reported that placing child welfare workers in community settings helped reduce the negative perceptions residents had of the

local child welfare agencies and enabled the workers to draw on neighbourhood resources more effectively. Although not universal, the evaluation also found some evidence that the CPPC partnerships contributed to a similar sense of shared decision-making at the community level (Daro et al., 2005)

Strong Communities for Children

Strong Communities for Children (SCC), implemented through the Clemson University Research Foundation (Melton et al., 2008), can be placed in the fourth category, where community is seen as agent. This is reflected in the program's core message; *"raising a sense of collective responsibility among all community members to keep children safe"* (Daro & Dodge, 2009, p82; Melton et al., 2008). This program differs from the other interventions in that it mobilizes not only professionals and service providers, but also residents themselves. SCC helps all community members to understand how their efforts can directly affect the prevention of child maltreatment in the neighbourhood. Once residents feel they are themselves responsible to ask and offer help, this can also stimulate system improvement. SSC's goal is *'to keep kids safe'* (Melton et al., 2008, p86), there always is someone who will notice and can help when parents are in need, professional, volunteer, or resident. This has been summarized in a slogan; *"People shouldn't have to ask!"* (p85). This community mobilization is led by outreach workers and has four phases; 1. Spreading the word to raise awareness. 2. Mobilizing the community to participate. 3. Increasing the resources for families to obtain help. 4. Institutionalizing the provision of resources to assure support over the long-term. Examples of activities that can arise after mobilizing residents to participate are; family activities, support groups and counseling services (McDonell & Melton, 2008).

Evaluation design and outcomes

The Clemson University started a comprehensive, multifocus program of research to examine the process and impact of SCC. The Strong Communities evaluation has process and outcome components, each consisting of several related studies and started in 2004, two years after the implementation started (McDonell & Melton, 2008). The evaluation

approaches were employed with a mix of qualitative and quantitative data. Process evaluation provides an idea of how the initiative evolved and what worked. Outcome evaluation focused on the results of the program. More than 5000 people volunteered their time for Strong Communities (SF) in less than five years in an area with about 90000 adults. Parents in the SF area reported less parental stress; greater social support; more frequent help from others; greater sense of community and personal efficacy; more frequent positive parental behavior; more frequent use of household safety devices; less frequent disengaged (inattentive) parenting; less frequent neglect (Melton, 2014). Melton presents evidence that SF changed communities and that by doing so, they made children safer. For example, positive changes were seen in referrals of young children to Child Protective Services as a result of suspected child maltreatment. Officially substantiated cases of maltreatment among children declined in SF areas and increased in the comparison area. For children aged 9 and under, founded maltreatment decreased by 8 % in the service area but increased by 30 % in the comparison area (Melton, 2014).

Communities NOW

Communities NOW (before 'Front porch project') is a training program developed by the American Humane Association to *"Give people the tools and confidence to help their neighbors"* (Anderson, 2001, p13). Under its new name it is now part of The Butler Institute for Families at the University of Denver. The program's goal is to affect large-scale enduring systemic change by teaching concerned individuals, neighbors, friends and families basic skills, techniques and tools to feel effective to act when they are concerned about struggling parents, or families. Although project developers value the public system of child protection in the US, they argue that professionals already work at full capacity. Responding to families in trouble must combine the provision of formal government child protective services with the commitment from the broader community. By empowering everyone to get involved early, they see the community as both resource and agent. The program brings *"Americans back to "their front porches"— to bring about the return of neighborly problem-solving and community compassion and caring"* (American Human Association, 2011, p2). This capacity-building approach involves training, implementation support, ongoing technical assistance,

and evaluation to help implement and sustain the program in local communities. Communities NOW is implemented in existing organizations, which they call 'sustainer' organizations, such as parent and child centers or organizations for family support and prevention. A theory of chance was described, but no references to scientific literature were found.

Evaluation design and outcomes

Each sustainer organization receives an evaluation plan and technical assistance to collect data in their local community. Self-report questionnaires and focus groups were used to measure effect indications in each site. Site specific data summaries are provided to all local sustainer organizations, including cross-site evaluations to compare their results with other local sites (Anderson, 2001; American Human Association, 2011). Results from the cross-site evaluation in 2011 show that after completing the training, 95% of participants agreed that they felt more comfortable and confident in their ability to act when they are concerned about parents or families. The majority of participants who completed the six-month follow up survey reported feeling very (30%) or somewhat (31%) comfortable intervening in situations involving children or families since they participated in training (American Human Association, 2011). Changes on a community level and changes in administrative data regarding child maltreatment were not included in the evaluation design. No references to independent research was found.

Prevention Initiative Demonstration Project

The Prevention Initiative Demonstration Project (PIDP) is an approach delivered through eight PIDP community-based networks that work closely with the 18 local DCFS (Department of Children and Family Services) offices in Los Angeles to strengthen the relations between these partners and to fill gaps in local family support and service delivery systems. PIDP networks were asked to develop primary prevention approaches directed to the entire community, along with secondary and tertiary approaches that would help families already engaged with the public child welfare system. Projects goals are to ensure child safety and support families, hereby preventing child maltreatment by demonstrating

effective approaches and reinforce collaboration between community-based organizations. PIDP-approaches where the community serves as a resource or agent are, for instance, neighbourhood action councils and family resource centers. The initiative is based on the hypothesis that child abuse and neglect can be reduced if families are less isolated and able to access the support they need; have higher levels of social capital; if families are economically stable and if activities and resources are integrated in communities and accessible to families. The PIDP networks build social networks to help people overcome isolation, instilling confidence and self-worth by broadening the personal, material, and informational resources that individuals and families can rely on (Bailey, 2006).

Evaluation design and outcomes

PIDP is evaluated by McCroskey et al (2010) in cooperation between Casey Family Programs and the University of Southern California. Key elements of the evaluation plan include; a survey to measure protective factors: social support, personal empowerment, economic stability/economic optimism, and quality of life; data from participating families; test outcomes for children and assess network development. The eight PIDP networks served 17965 people. Parents reported significant positive change in family support, connections to the community, and less parenting stress and feeling less lonely or isolated after 6 months of participating in social networking groups. Evaluators state that this pattern of findings is particularly important because such protective factors have been linked to long-term strengthening of families (Center for the Study of Social Policy, 2009) and significant reductions in substantiated reports of child maltreatment (Reynolds & Robertson, 2003). Findings also show that the family economic empowerment strategies used by the PIDP networks produced positive results in terms of employment training, job placement and income. In one of the three areas tested, findings show decreased re-referrals to child protective services (McCroskey et al, 2010).

Excluded interventions – a few examples

The categorization of community-based interventions suggests a ranking from interventions that are individual-based to a category that includes changes in community

capacity or societal factors. Without giving a value judgment, we excluded interventions that did not fit the last categories where community serves as an resource or agent. To illustrate, we discuss three examples; The Durham Family Initiative, Triple P, and Communities that Care.

The *Durham Family Initiative (DFI)* is a public health approach to prevent child maltreatment in the entire community of Durham, North Carolina (Dodge et al., 2004). The DFI is an example of a comprehensive preventive system of care in a community. The initiative focuses on collaboration and capacity building, early identification and reforming policies affecting child welfare. Therefore, it seems that the focus in this intervention is on the community as target and as setting. However, the initiative also had aspects that fit the other two categories, but these were not as widely propagated. One aspect was the enhancement of social capital through the use of outreach workers and community engagement activities. In 2006 the neighbourhood development strategy was phased out because of disappointing effects (Daro et al., 2009). Evaluators assume that the outreach workers' impact was limited due to a small number of families and did not reach enough families to yield population change. The program now concentrates on professional-led assistance in at-risk families and was therefore excluded.

Communities that Care (CtC) provides a structure to create a comprehensive, communitywide prevention program to reduce risks among youth. CtC guides the community stakeholders and decision makers to create a prevention plan designed to address the community's profile of risk and protection with effective programs. The profile is based on youth self-report questionnaires. Besides the fact that CtC does not specifically focus on the prevention of child maltreatment it also does not address community processes. The goal seems to reduce risk or create healthy environments through systemic changes in community services and public policy. Community is seen as the target of change and not the agent establishing change (Steketee et al., 2006).

Triple P (TP) is increasingly viewed as a promising community-based program to prevent child maltreatment (Daro & Dodge, 2009). It is, however, above all a behavioral family intervention. TP is designed to improve parenting skills and behaviors by changing how parents view and react to their children (Nowak & Heinrichs, 2008). The program can

be called community-based because of its – optional – media-based and social marketing strategy (Universal Triple P) designed to educate parents, but the community is only seen as a target; the goal is to inform all parents on good parenting. Triple P is a professional based behavioral intervention with educational aspects. The program's goals are not to improve community processes and no aspects were found in which the community acts as an agent of change. It was therefore excluded.

Conclusion and discussion

Child maltreatment still is a worldwide significant problem. Interventions predominantly focus on 'at risk' populations and individual characteristics of the victim or abuser, but is that enough? The present review was designed to examine the potential of community-based programs that aim to prevent child maltreatment. In our theoretical exploration we conclude that different types of interventions seem to fall under the same heading; 'community-based', but it is unclear what role the community really plays. Community-based interventions can be categorized as follows; 1) community is either translated as geographical setting or as neighbourhood residents - the people living in that setting; 2) when community refers to neighbourhood residents the intervention can either focus on structural factors (poverty, SES, etc.) or neighbourhood processes (for instance, social capital). In the present study we searched for interventions based on the theoretical notion that positive outcomes may not just be changes in individual behaviors, but may also include changes in community capacity. Therefore, we searched for interventions that aim to increase social capital or target elements of this concept; neighbourhood processes, such as collective efficacy, shared responsibility and informal social support. We conclude there are few interventions in the Western world that target processes as such. We could therefore describe only five interventions that aim to prevent child maltreatment and target at least one of these neighbourhood processes.

The described interventions all target neighbourhood processes that fit in the concept of social capital. Some interventions combine individual and community approaches (Strengthening Families), other interventions emphasize natural capacities of communities by strengthening collective efficacy, shared responsibility and shared

community values (Communities NOW). We excluded interventions that focused more on individual changes than community changes (Triple P and The Durham Family Initiative) or when community was seen mostly as a geographical setting (Communities that Care).

We conclude that, while scientific literature on this subject emphasizes the importance of the community, this general acceptation appears to have had minimal effect on professional practice. Although a range of interventions exists, they were either not described in scientific literature, or the effectiveness of most of the interventions was not studied. Finding studies that met the criteria using well-established standards for robust scientific evaluation research was therefore difficult.

Pawson and Tilley (1997) state that evaluating community-based interventions is difficult due to the many factors that are involved and the long-term goals these interventions have. Kubisch et al. (1995) conclude that these type of interventions are difficult to evaluate, partly because in many cases their program plans are underspecified at the outset of the initiative. As a consequence, most evaluators specify an impact theory underlying the interventions and do not focus on –collective– outcomes. As a result, little is known about the efficacy of community-based interventions, which could impede the use of it. Also, most interventions, but community-based interventions in particular, depend on several 'real-world' factors that cannot be controlled experimentally (Weisz et al., 2013). Rather than solely evaluating if a program works, evaluations need to identify 'what works in which circumstances and for whom'. To answer that question, evaluators aim to identify the underlying mechanisms that explain 'how' the outcomes were caused and what role context played. An intervention works - or not - because actors make particular decisions in response to the intervention and their reasoning or interpretation causes the outcomes (Pawson & Tilley, 1997). It is therefore very well possible that effects of interventions differ per context. For this reason they argue that evaluating community-based programs should be practice-based and realistic in nature.

The interventions that were included in this review had all been examined in evaluation studies. These studies described an impact theory ('why could this work') and conducted outcome evaluation, but some focused more on individual outcomes (Strengthening Families Initiative) and some did not measure the effects on child

maltreatment (Strengthening Families Initiative & Communities Now). The interventions that evaluated both individual and collective outcomes and also evaluated effects on child maltreatment were; Community Partnerships, Strong Communities and Prevention Initiative Demonstration Project. From these three Community Partnerships found no effects on child maltreatment, the other two found small positive effects; child maltreatment decreased or re-referrals declined. We conclude this is ambiguous and says too little about the effectiveness of this type of interventions. More empirical evidence is necessary to further develop promising community-based approaches for the prevention of child maltreatment.

Aside from the lack of empirical evidence, other factors might explain why effective community-based interventions are hard to find. In social or behavioral sciences, interventions are traditionally developed within the individual-focused and problem-centered, medical or (psycho)pathological, intervention model (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Sousa et al., 2006; Mikton & Butchard, 2009). Within this model it is assumed that reducing risk directly affects behavioral change. However, this would mean that everyone who is exposed to the same risks shows the same (negative) behavior. Even though every maltreating parent is one to many, fortunately, only a minority of parents in high-risk neighbourhoods maltreats their children, as opposed to the majority of parents who do not. It therefore seems useful to also focus on increasing protective factors that will keep the majority of parents from maltreating their children, even though they are exposed to risk factors, like poverty.

The problem-centered view seems embedded in our social, cultural and professional context (De Winter, 2012; Sousa et al., 2006) and could impede the formation of a frame of reference that also includes social factors. Therefore, policymakers and scientists should investigate ways to strengthening positive neighbourhood processes in a community. Focusing solely on problems or risks reduces the possibilities to activate individual, family or community capacities (Kim-Cohen, 2007). Risk factors are important predictors of child maltreatment. However, we should acknowledge that preventing child maltreatment also needs a strong social environment where children grow up; the school, friends, the neighbourhood and the public domain. We believe community-based

interventions can strengthen the socializing quality of this social environment.

In this study we focus on the community-based approach in preventing child maltreatment as an expansion of the existing range of (mostly individual) interventions. There are individual approaches, which have proved their effectiveness, for example; Triple P, Home-Start, Durham Family Initiative, The Nurse Home Visitation Program (Daro et al., 2009; Hermanns et al., 2013; Nowak & Heinrichs 2008; Coalition for Evidence-Based Policy, 2012). However, despite their effectiveness, prevalence rates of child maltreatment remain high. The individual approaches all focus on proximal factors, here, child and parent characteristics and family factors. However, it seems that there are other (contextual or collective) factors that exceed these individual factors and sustain child maltreatment. There is strong theoretical evidence that, for stable and long-term behavioral changes, it is necessary to also develop activities aimed at changing the distal determinants that complement the individual approach. To conclude, since child maltreatment still remains a significant problem at the population level, despite some successful prevention programs that target individual families, we believe it seems valuable to incorporate contextual or collective factors in the preventing strategies - for instance neighbourhood factors – to decrease the high prevalence rates of child maltreatment. Scientific literature generally shows that community-based interventions that target neighbourhood processes are promising, although effectiveness should still be established. We hope this review will lead to more practice-based evaluation research in the growing field of community-based interventions that target neighbourhood processes, in particular because targeting groups in their natural living environment is thought to yield high impacts at the population level (Brand et al., 2014). A limitation of this study is that we searched for community-based interventions that were described only in scientific literature. We assume more interventions exist that were not evaluated, or not yet published in scientific literature. Although not the scope of this article, community-based programs in humanitarian and development settings are also worth further study. It could be valuable to determine what child protection mechanisms are and how they can be used in Western society.

3

Sharing is caring? A study on parents' level of informal support, their degree of social isolation, and attitudes towards sharing parenting responsibilities in the neighbourhood.

Abstract

A strong social environment, where parents together with other adults, such as neighbors, have important influence on the socialization process of the child, is a necessary condition for children's wellbeing and development. This study explored parents' attitude towards actively sharing parenting responsibilities in their neighbourhood. Parents in two deprived urban areas in The Netherlands completed a questionnaire that included measures of social isolation, informal support and shared parenting responsibilities (N=268). Results show that a high level of received informal support was significantly associated with a more positive attitude towards sharing responsibilities. We expect that experiencing informal support can lower the threshold to share parenting responsibilities in the neighbourhood, thereby strengthening the social networks around families and children to support education and child development. This study contributes to a further interpretation and creation of the civic engagement movement, and the self-reliance of neighbourhoods.

Introduction

Extensive empirical research confirms that children face life challenges more successfully with the support of others, not just their parents or other family members (Radey 2018; Southwick et al, 2016; Taylor, 2011). Children grow up in a social environment where parents together with other adults, such as teachers and neighbors, all have important influence on the socialization process of the child (Garbarino & Kostelney, 1992; Moritsugu et al, 2019; Putnam, 2000). Researchers have examined that a stable social network, including strong and reciprocal relationships between children and community members, contributes to resilience of young people and to the prevention of problems in later adulthood (Norris et al, 2008; Werner, 1993; Zautra et al, 2008). Parents with a strong social network have more self-confidence and develop a more positive relationship with their children (Vreugdenhil, 2012). Also, when the majority of parents in a neighbourhood actively share parenting responsibilities this may serve as a protective factor and support the capacity for community resilience to cope with disadvantages (Davis et al., 2005; Norris et al., 2008).

However, child-rearing and education in Western society are based on the idea that raising children is primarily the responsibility of the parents (McKnight, 2017), and that professionals intervene when problems exceed the capacity of parents (Batstra & Frances, 2012; Hermanns, 2009; RMO, 2008, 2009; Scales, 2003; Van Daalen 2010), which is legally warranted if the child's well-being or development is seriously threatened by the parents (Archard, 2014). Families are expected to be self-dependent, and it is not "normal" for most adults to be engaged with young people outside their own family (Kesselring, 2016). Several social developments in the last decades like globalization, post-industrialism and detraditionalization are contributing to the growth of individualism in most Western countries and make it even more difficult for families to maintain a well-functioning social network (Hopper, 2017). Membership and active involvement in a church or association is less obvious than it was before (Mur & De Groot, 2003; RMO, 2008). Moreover, family and friends often live further away, and are therefore less available when someone needs help (Suanet et al, 2013).

Sharing parenting responsibilities with professionals in formal settings, such as schools and child-care centers, is generally accepted, and scientific literature supports the positive effects of sharing this responsibility (McCarthey, 2000; Thompson, 2015; Windhorst et al, 2019). Also, strengthening and collaborating with the social network of the family has acquired an increasingly prominent role in the implementation of youth care in recent decades (Ince & Schmidt, 2017). However, actively sharing responsibilities with other parents or in the public domain is less common; child-rearing and education are thought to be largely the domain of families and schools, and to a lesser extent extrafamilial and extra-curricular facilities, such as sports clubs (McKnight, 2017; Scales, 2003).

Although parenting is mostly seen as an individual matter, Western societies are in transition (Fisher & Gruescu, 2011). In particular the last decade, a civic engagement movement has emerged, where communities have or should have more responsibilities, whether or not resulting from government financial cuts. Great Britain's Big Society is one of many examples that aims to empower communities, redistribute power from the state to citizens and to promote a culture of volunteering (Kisby, 2010). In The Netherlands, the transition within Dutch healthcare, with the gradual shift of political responsibilities to local authorities and citizens, has been a much-discussed theme in politics and public debate for decades (Kelders et al., 2016) and has affected every aspect of the social domain. The aim was to eliminate waiting lists and improve quality, however, pressure on youth care is still increasing (Social and Economic Council, 2021). Care responsibilities of the government, municipalities and citizens must be divided differently as a result of the transition. Whether or not resulting from government financial cuts, there is a call for more mutual support in local communities (Reform agenda Youth, 2023) and a promise that this creates opportunities for a greater sense of democracy among individuals in local communities (Hofman, 2020). Citizens need to make a switch to turn self-reliance from "take care of yourself by utilizing the right public facilities" to "take care of yourself by knowing how to organize the right support within your own social network" (Vreugdenhil, 2012, p. 130). From an ecological perspective, it seems useful to further explore the profits of actively sharing parenting responsibility among parents in their neighbourhood.

In this study we explore the concept of actively shared parenting responsibilities in

correlation with two other concepts, namely: 1) the degree of social isolation and 2) the perceived level of informal social support. We assume that by strengthening the social networks around families and children, conditions can be created that support education and child development, thereby reducing risks for youth problems (De Winter, 2011; Pauw, 2016). By decreasing citizens' degree of social isolation and increasing their level of informal support, it is expected this will consecutively decrease parenting stress and increase a positive educational climate in the public domain where parenting responsibilities are actively shared (Pauw, 2016). In short, we hypothesize that for parents to be of value as co-educator in their neighbourhood, they must not be socially isolated, and should have some kind of network of informal supportive relationships with other adults – such as other parents, caregivers, extended family members and neighbours – before they can actually have responsibility for children in their community.

Social isolation and informal social support are widely described and connected concepts in literature, with a wide range of definitions, and together with concepts such as social capital, social bonds, social networks, they share the idea of the importance of "connection to others". Put simply, informal social support captures whether parents have others who can help them out to meet a basic need in the form of advice, practical help or providing a sympathetic ear (Attree, 2005). By contrast, social isolation is defined as having little or no interactions with others or the wider community (Leigh-Hunt et al., 2017). Social isolation involves isolation from social structures and networks, which leaves parents with few buffers against life stress, little socialization of healthy parenting practices, and few people to call on when needed (Garbarino, 2017; Limber & Hashima, 2002).

As opposed to social isolation and informal social support, the third (dependent) variable in this study – the attitude towards actively sharing parenting responsibilities – is not described as comprehensively in scientific literature (Kesselring et al., 2016). In this study we are interested in parents' attitudes towards sharing their parenting with others in their community, not only family members but also friends, neighbours or other parents they meet in schools or the public domain. A positive attitude is characterized by parents' propensity to share childrearing responsibilities within their own social networks and in the public domain (Kesselring et al., 2013). Actively sharing parenting responsibility within the

community entails both accepting another's parenting role and their exemplary role for one's own child, as well as feeling responsible for other people's children.

We explored whether parents' degree of social isolation and their perceived informal support network correlate with a positive attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities in their neighbourhood. Actively sharing parenting responsibilities as a concept overlaps with the concept of informal social support, with two important differences. Shared parenting responsibility is an attitude concerned with the direct influence of others in the education of the child, whereas informal support concerns the factual, more general, availability of supporting parents, which is indirectly related to the education of the child. The purpose of the present study is to explore the association between perceived informal support and the attitude to share parenting responsibilities, not their causal relation. We hypothesize that parents have a positive attitude to share parenting responsibilities when their degree of social isolation is low, and their perceived level of informal social support is high.

Methods

Sample and procedure. The current study is embedded in a larger evaluation project on a community-based program - The Peaceable Neighbourhood - which is aimed at promoting democratic citizenship among children and their parents, stimulating active participation of children and their parents and increasing social cohesion around the upbringing of children. The program aims to increase citizens' degree of informal support and decrease their degree of social isolation, and it is expected this will consecutively decrease parenting stress and increase a positive educational climate in the public domain where parenting responsibilities are shared (Pauw, 2016). The purpose of this evaluation project is to examine whether this assumption is true.

Participants. Participants in the current study were 268 Dutch parents (80% mothers and 20% fathers) having at least one child under the age of 12 years. A majority of the sample was born in Morocco or had parents who were born in Morocco (first- and second-generation migrants) (44%), the second largest group was born in the Netherlands without a migration background (24%). Participants lived in two neighbourhoods, Kanaleneiland in

Utrecht (59%) or Selwerd/Paddepoel in Groningen (41%). The two neighbourhoods participated in a pilot study on The Peaceable Neighbourhood.

Data collection. Data were obtained by means of a questionnaire that was administered by the researchers in primary school locations. Participants could fill in the self-report paper version (93%) or the questionnaires were taken by the researchers face-to-face or by telephone (7%). The subsamples did not substantially differ on background characteristics and other variables included in the study and were therefore treated as one group. All questionnaires were treated anonymously, and parents were told that their responses would be confidential. Parents signed an informed consent before completing the questionnaire.

Measures. The respondents completed a questionnaire on 1) sharing parenting responsibilities (dependent variable) as well as on 2) social isolation and 3) informal social support (predictors) and 4) background characteristics.

Shared parenting responsibilities. A 7-item scale was used to assess parents' attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities in their neighbourhood. Items from the scale were derived from an existing instrument (Marketresponse, 2010) and proved to be internally consistent, $\alpha = .72$ All items were rated on a 5-point scale, ranging from 0 (strongly agree) to 4 (strongly disagree). Examples of items are; "Sometimes I would like to encourage other people's children in my environment a little more" and "I feel partly responsible for the wellbeing of children in my street". All items were recoded and summed, a high score for the 7 items is indicative of a positive attitude towards shared parenting responsibilities in their neighbourhood.

Social isolation. A 6-item scale was used to assess parents' social isolation. Items were derived from an existing instrument measuring living situations in neighbourhoods, including the degree of social isolation (Gemeente Utrecht, 2012). Examples of items are: "There are people I feel comfortable talking to" and "My social connections are superficial". The scale was proved to be reliable, with internal consistency reliability of $\alpha = .70$

Informal social support. In this study a distinction was made between received support and given support.

Received informal support; A 5-item scale was used to measure received informal support. An example of an item is: "How often do you receive advice and/or do you talk about parenting with your neighbours". All items were rated on a 6-point scale, ranging from 0 (never) to 5 (daily) Items from the scale were derived from an existing instrument (Bucx, 2011) and proved to be internally consistent, α = .78

Given informal support; The concept of given informal support was measured using 3 items; "Did you help other parents with the upbringing of their children by giving advice in the last 6 months"? "Did you help other parents with the upbringing of their children by providing a listening ear in the last 6 months"? "Did you help other parents with the upbringing of their children by providing practical help (e.g., taking kids from school, babysitting) in the last 6 months"? The items were derived from existing instruments that, amongst other concepts, measure social capital (Bucx,2011; Gemeente Utrecht, 2012; Horjus et al., 2012) and proved to be internally consistent, α = .66.

Background characteristics. Cultural background was based on the country of birth of the respondent and/or their parents. According to Statistics Netherlands [Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek] (2021), someone with a foreign background who is born abroad belongs to the first-generation migrants. Someone with at least one parent who is born abroad belongs to the second-generation migrants. Consistent with these definitions, the current study distinguished between parents with a Moroccan background (first and second generation), parents with a Turkish background (first and second generation), parents with another non-western background (a person with at least one parent born in Africa, Latin-America, Asia or Turkey), parents with a Western background other than Dutch (a person with at least one parent born in Europe (excluding Turkey), North-America, Oceania, Indonesia or Japan) and parents with a Dutch background (a person of whom both parents were born in the Netherlands).

Analyses

We first conduct preliminary analyses, examining the simple correlations among all predictors and the dependent variable. Subsequently, hierarchical multiple regression analysis was used to test whether informal social support was a predictor of a positive

attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities, controlling for background variables (gender and age of parent), level of education of the parents and cultural background. The following predictors were entered in the four steps: (1) background variables, including gender and age of the parent; (2) education, including low and high educational levels as dummy variables; (3) cultural background, including Moroccan, Turkish, Western and Non-western parents; (4) social isolation; (5) informal social support, including received and given support. Finally, we tested whether interactions between informal social support and cultural background could improve model fit. The entry order of the variables permits an examination as to whether the variables of interest account for any additional variance in the criterion variable that is not explained by previously entered predictors.

Study site description

Kanaleneiland is a district within the southwest section of Utrecht, one of the four major cities of the Netherlands. In 2016, at the time of the research, 75% of the population were of non-native Dutch descent, with the largest part of Moroccan origin (almost 38%). The community of Kanaleneiland has to deal with a range of problems, such as unemployed and poverty. On the other hand, there are many programs or interventions that provide social activities and assistance for those in need, from both formal organizations and neighbourhood associations and other nongovernmental organizations (Utrecht, 2014). Selwerd/Paddepoel in Groningen consists of 2 different neighbourhoods. Selwerd is a neighbourhood that faces challenges. Most of the district consists of rental properties. Only one third of the housing stock consists of owner-occupied homes, the district has a diverse resident population with over 40% residents with a migration background. In 2017, the municipality designated Selwerd as a priority neighbourhood (Uyterlinde & van der Velde, 2017). The larger Paddepoel, which is characterized by a diverse resident composition, was set up in the 1960s and is a typical residential area from that time. In recent years, attempts have been made to improve the housing supply (Basismonitor Groningen, 2017).

Results

Preliminary results. Table 1 presents the correlations between all study variables. Younger parents (r = -.19) and parents with a Moroccan cultural background (r = .30) reported receiving somewhat more informal social support than other parents did. Parents with lower levels of education reported slightly more social isolation (r = .25), which also applied for parents with a Turkish cultural background (r = .18). Parents who reported receiving and giving less informal social support, rated somewhat higher on social isolation (r = -.19 and r = -.37). Parents with a Dutch cultural background reported a less positive attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities (r = -.18), whereas parents with a Moroccan cultural background reported a more positive attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities (r = .27). Parents who scored low on social isolation reported a more positive attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities (r = -.19). Parents who reported receiving informal support also reported a more positive attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities (r = .23).

Table 1*: Means, standard deviations, and correlations between study variables*

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Gender	.80	.40	1												
2. Age	38.1	7.4	-.36***	1											
3. Low	.27	.44	.01	.03	1										
4. High	.25	.43	-.11	.11	-.35***	1									
5. Dutch	.24	.43	.17**	.04	-.16**	.17**	1								
6. Moroccan	.44	.50	-.04	-.05	.21***	-.14*	-.50***	1							
7. Turkish	.10	.30	-.02	-.08	.00	-.13*	-.19***	-.30***	1						
8. Western	.06	.24	-.03	.02	-.04	-.23	-.15*	-.23***	-.09	1					
9. Non-western	.15	.36	-.11	.07	-.08	.11	-.24***	-.38***	-.14*	-.11	1				
10. Isolation	1.96	.59	-.12	.06	.25***	-.13	-.10	-.09	.18**	.08	.05	1			
11. Received support	3.1	1.1	.15*	-.19**	-.01	-.01	-.15*	.30**	-.03	.02	-.23***	-.19**	1		
12. Given support	1.5	.38	.24***	-.13*	-.19*	.09	.16*	.12	-.09	-.10	-.22***	.37***	.27***	1	
13. Attitude	3.62	.63	-.00	-.07	-.04	.02	-.18***	.27***	-.11	-.01	-.06	-.19**	.23***	.13	1

*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Multiple Hierarchical Regression Analysis. Table 2 shows the results of the multiple regression analysis of attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities which was proven to be significant (F (11,229) = 3.506, p < .001). On step 3, a Moroccan cultural background contributed significantly to the regression model. Parents with a Moroccan cultural background reported a more positive attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities (β=.32, p = < .001) than did parents with other cultural backgrounds. Cultural background accounted for 7% of the variation in attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities. On step 4, social isolation contributed significantly to the regression model and accounted for 3% of the variation in attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities. Social isolation was inversely related to a positive attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities (β=-.17, p= < .05). On step 5, informal social support contributed significantly to the regression model and accounted for 3% of the variation in attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities. Parents who received informal support reported a more positive attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities (β=.15, p = < .05). Entering interactions in a final step did not further improve model fit.

Table 2: *Multiple Hierarchical Regression Analysis: Attitude towards Sharing Parenting*

Responsibilities

Predictors	R	R²	ΔR²	FCh	B	T
Background variables	.13	.02	.02	2.035		
Gender parent (1 = mothers)					-.09	-1.242
Age parent					-.13	-1.928[+]
Education	.13	.02	.00	0.047		
Low					-.02	-0.305
High					-.01	-0.313
Cultural background	.30	.09	.07	4.483[**]		
Moroccan					.32	3.856[***]
Turkish					.05	0.640
Non-western					.07	0.910
Western					.11	1.604
Social Isolation	.34	.11	.03	6.686[*]	-.17	-2.586[*]
Informal Support	.38	.14	.03	4.116[*]		
Received					.15	2.197[*]
Given					.10	1.495

Note 1: $241 < N < 268$

Note 2: + p < .10 * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

Note 3: F (11,229) = 3.506, p < .001

Discussion

The present study examined whether parents' degree of social isolation and their perceived informal support network were associated with a positive attitude towards actively sharing parenting responsibilities in their neighbourhood. Results partly support the hypothesis that parents are more willing to share these responsibilities when their degree of social isolation is low, and their perceived level of informal social support is high. More specifically, a higher degree of social isolation was significantly associated with a more negative attitude towards sharing responsibilities, and a high level of received informal support was significantly associated with a more positive attitude towards sharing responsibilities. The weak association between given informal support and attitude towards sharing responsibilities was non-significant, but in the expected direction and in line with Kesselring's study (2016), which also found a weak (although significant) association.

Based on these findings, we can cautiously conclude that experiencing informal support, more specifically asking advice from others about parenting issues, can lower the threshold to (also) share parenting responsibilities in the neighbourhood, and thereby strengthening the social networks around families and children to support education and child development.

Sharing responsibilities in the neighbourhood
Previous studies on shared parenting responsibilities (Kesselring, 2016) also show that parents appreciated the involvement of "co-educators", but at the same time were reluctant to share their role as primary educators. Parents were unanimous in their belief that they decide what, how and when their child is taught, and who they mandate to act as a co-educator. The mandate granted is clearly delineated in time, place and subject. Co-educators temporarily take over the responsibilities of parents, in specific settings (such as the school and sports club), and only when it comes to subjects that concern them - from their role as secondary educator. It seems that parents are willing to share parenting responsibilities and emphasize the added and compensatory value and involvement of co-educators, both for their children and for themselves as primary educators.

As compared to Kesselring, the current study explicitly examined parents' attitude on sharing responsibilities <u>in their neighbourhood</u>, asking them about sharing parenting more than with family members or with close friends by using unique characteristics of the neighbourhood, namely, having informal and voluntary contact with adults living close by. The current study indicates that opening the door to shared parenting in the neighbourhood seems possible by starting to ask other adults for parental advice, or otherwise receiving informal social support. It seems likely that by doing this, people will get to know each other and possibly learn that others in their neighbourhood also struggle and cope with the same, or comparable parenting issues. This informal support can in turn function as a mandate to others to act as co-educators, for instance in the public domain. Further, qualitative research seems necessary to examine how this process from informal support to sharing responsibility proceeds.

Actively sharing responsibilities

It is argued that most parents expect other adults to help their child when it is in danger and to correct children for (obviously) bad behavior, because as adults, co-educators must provide safety, which is true for both the public and the private space (Kesselring, 2016). However, in the Dutch Peaceable Neighbourhood program, that is aimed at increasing social cohesion around the upbringing of children, shared parenting behaviors entail more than this. It is about feeling responsible for all children, about active participation in the neighbourhood to increase social cohesion around the upbringing of children and about being co-educators in everyday situations (Pauw, 2018). Moreover, in this study we did not examine actual 'shared parenting' behavior. Therefore, the question remains whether there is a difference in attitude and actual behavior. In another study we found, for instance, that children reported that parents mostly do not intervene when there are conflicts on the street (van Dijken et al., 2016), even though parents were trained as "Peaceable Neighbourhood parent mediators", and thereby skilled to intervene in socializing practices in the neighbourhood when it comes to conflict situations. Perhaps in this population there are hesitations among parents about "actually" actively sharing responsibilities, despite their tendency to do so. Further studies could explore whether shared parenting remains

an attitude, or whether active sharing in the neighbourhood actually occurs.

Cultural background

Data collection took place in two urban neighbourhoods of high ethnic diversity. We therefore took cultural differences into account and found that Moroccan-Dutch parents, even without experiencing informal support, had a more positive attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities in their neighbourhood as compared to their Turkish-Dutch and Dutch neighbors. We could argue that their collectivistic tradition influences this attitude, since these cultural traditions and orientations foster greater development of and reliance on support systems. For instance, in families with a Moroccan background, members of the extended family, older siblings and social networks of friends or neighbors play a more important socializing role than in Dutch families (Pels & Distelbrink, 2000). Moroccan-Dutch parents develop new hybrid parenting practices in which they combine traditional parenting values with the demands of Dutch society (De Haan et al., 2013; De Haan, et al., 2020). However, these parents often lack access to resources and both formal and informal social support (Distelbrink & Pels, 2017). Contrary to the current study, studies examining the Turkish community in The Netherlands mostly show high ethnic solidarity, whereas social cohesion among the Moroccan community is less (Crul & Doomernik, 2003; Phalet & Schonpflug, 2001). It could be that the results of the current study are typically for the neighbourhoods studied here. Or it could mean that collectivistic traditions influence attitudes towards shared parenting, but do not imply that social cohesion in general is stronger. In the studied neighbourhoods, Moroccan-Dutch parents were a majority, whereas Turkish-Dutch a minority. It is therefore possible that the Moroccan-Dutch parents simply have more access to a Moroccan network in their neighbourhood, and subsequently experience sharing parenting responsibilities more in the community.

    In this study, no distinction was made between informal support within the ingroup - networks between people who share similar social identity (also bonding relations)- and informal support with the outgroup - networks between people who are socially distant, designated as bridging or linking relations, respectively (Alik & Realo, 2004; Putnam, 2004). A too hasty conclusion would be that social capital increases with collectivist

traditions, because it mainly concerns the sharing of parenting in the in-group. Research has shown that 'individualistic' societies have a larger social capital, because bridging is more common here (Alik & Realo, 2004). Moreover, it is argued that bridging and linking social capital is needed to increase social cohesion at the neighbourhood level (Flora et al., 2016; Walraven, 2012). The question remains if Moroccan-Dutch parents share parenting responsibilities within their own network of bonding relations, or also in bridging and linking relations.

Sharing parenting responsibilities: an underexplored concept

The concept of sharing parenting responsibilities in the neighbourhood seems underexplored in scientific literature. Apart from Kesselring's thesis (2016), no studies exist that specifically examine the need and willingness of parents to share their parenting role with others in their neighbourhood. Much is written about strengthening social cohesion around the parent by increasing collective efficacy - the ability of members of a community to control the behavior of individuals and groups in the community- (Sampson et al., 1997), increasing informal support and reducing social isolation. Much less is written about the direct influence of (informal) co- educators that may affect the child   .

One could argue that the explored concepts in the current study overlap. Receiving informal support can be seen as an aspect of shared parenting, which may decrease parenting stress. However, actively sharing parenting responsibilities can also decrease stress, independent of received social support, and additionally create an educational and safe climate for children in the neighbourhood. Moreover, in our study sharing parenting responsibilities concerns child-directed action, and not (only) indirect action by, for instance, giving advice to other parents. There could, however, be a visa versa effect, sharing parenting responsibilities in the neighbourhood will probably increase parents' informal support network as well.

Practical implication

Little is known about the efficacy of (community-based) interventions that aim to strengthen social cohesion around families, because evaluating these interventions is

difficult due to the many -individual, contextual and societal - factors that are involved, and the long-term goals these interventions have (van Dijken et al. 2016). We expect interventions that aim to increase sharing responsibilities in the neighbourhood to be complex and depend on several 'real-world' factors, such as policy context and trust among community members, which cannot be controlled experimentally (Weisz et al., 2013). Moreover, it seems that increasing shared parenting in the neighbourhood is a long-term goal. We assume that increasing parents' informal support network can function as a 'steppingstone' to increase shared parenting in the neighbourhood. Interventions to increase informal support seem far less encompassing than interventions that target shared parenting, because there are no issues of moral or educational responsibility involved if it comes to interventions that aim to increase informal social support, and there are some indications of their effectiveness (Lyons et al., 2005; Warner, 2015; Van Dam et al., 2021).

Limitations

Some limitations of the present study need to be acknowledged. First, we obtained information from a relatively small number of parents. Moreover, the study took place in two urban neighbourhoods to be considered as deprived areas, where parenting stress is reported more than elsewhere. Therefore, the findings cannot be presumed to be representative for all Dutch parents. Second, the parents who participated in this study have children attending a school that works with the Peaceable School program, and some respondents also participated in one or more activities that were part of the Peaceable Neighbourhood program. Possibly, these parents were already more used to the idea of sharing childrearing responsibilities. Thirdly, the measure for given informal support consisted of only three questions. However, these questions did seem to capture the concept of informal support. We could not test causal relationships, but possible cross-sectional associations among constructs that are underrepresented in scientific literature.

Conclusion

We argue that a strong social environment is a necessary condition for children's wellbeing and development, and for reducing problems like parenting stress (McCloskey, 2019) and

child maltreatment (van Dijken et al., 2015). Moreover, a strong social environment may serve as a protective factor, that is a buffer against -neighbourhood- risk factors, such as poverty (Kesselring, 2016; Pauw, 2018). Families can better cope if there are people who support them practically and emotionally (Bartelink & Verheijden, 2015). The current study makes a start with exploring the relation between the degree of social isolation, the perceived level of informal support and the attitude towards actively sharing parenting responsibilities, because it contributes to a further interpretation and further creation of the civic engagement movement, and the self-reliance of neighbourhoods. We hope this study will lead to more research on shared parenting responsibilities in the neighbourhood, because both parents and children can benefit from having a larger support system than just their immediate family, and we believe it is a shared mission of adults to help children grow up safely and guide them on their path to adulthood.

4

Children's experiences and perceptions of street culture, parental supervision, and parent mediation in an urban neighbourhood.

Abstract

Local street cultures may appear more or less 'extreme', depending on several contextual factors. Using focus groups, the current study aimed to explore what children, aged 7 to 12, think of the assumption that parents play an important role on the street to increase safety in the public domain. Involvement of parents can either be helpful or contribute to escalation of the conflict. Children's biggest concern was that parents are not able to be neutral or that children did not know the parent who intervened. They can imagine intervening being helpful when the intervening parents are known and trusted. We expect that, when the public environment is safe and social cohesion is strong, the amount of conflicts will reduce, and the help of parents will be generally accepted. We expect that increasing public familiarity and strengthening social control in disadvantaged neighbourhoods can further limit the negative influences of street culture.

Introduction

Children growing up in deprived neighbourhoods spend a lot of time on the street. It is expected that this domain has an important socializing influence alongside other domains where children grow up; the family and the school. The socializing aspect of the street is often associated with the existence of street culture (Anderson, 1999; Ilan, 2015; Hadioui, 2010; Sandberg, 2008), where conflict situations and violence are common. There is a great body of literature on street culture in different contexts around the world (Anderson 1999; Briggs, 2010; Hadioui, 2010; Ilan, 2011, 2010; Sandberg, 2008), describing that youngsters adapt to social norms on the street to fit in, and show behavior that is regularly referred to as anti-social in comparison with behavior in 'mainstream' society. Most studies, however, focus on teenagers or adolescents and almost never target children younger than twelve.[5] The current study aims to explore younger children's experiences with street culture from an ecological perspective, exploring the role that parents play on the streets.

The term *street culture* has a wide range of meanings that range from language use (*slang*) and clothing and music choice to codes of behavior and use of violence. In this paper, we focus on the latter two, specifically the conflict situations among children on the streets. In this study, street culture is defined as a subculture that governs behavior, particularly violence, and is an informal system that stresses that youth must gain respect from their peers by establishing a tough image. How hard or severe this culture is differs in different contexts. Ilan (2015) proposes that street culture is best understood in terms of a continuum, spectrum, or scale, on which an individual's *street-behavior* can be seen as more or less extreme. At the weaker end of the spectrum (see Figure 1), street practices are very similar to youth cultural practices in general, whilst, at the strong end, these practices give rise to criminal and/or predatory behaviors and living by 'the code of the street' (Anderson, 1999). Individuals may vary their position on the spectrum depending on the social context. However, in this study, we did not focus on individual factors but, instead, examined the importance of group dynamics in street culture.

---

[5] Most studies on younger children tend to be about homeless children (street children) in the developing world (Watters & O'Callanghan, 2016).
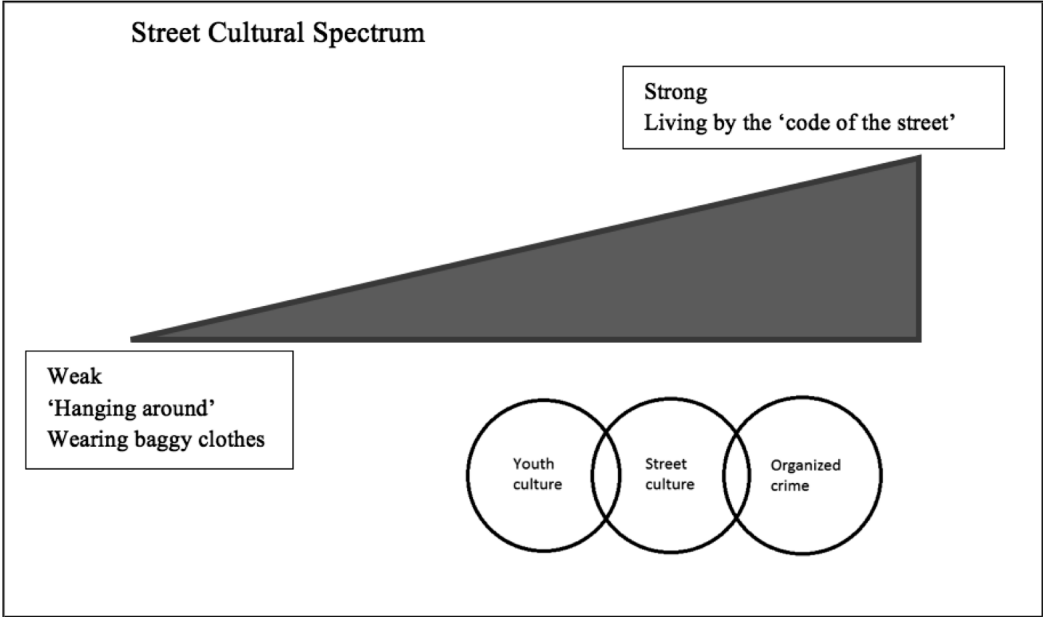
Street culture appears across different countries and, although it differs depending on the social context, it shows many similarities across different contexts. Anderson (1999) was one of the first to describe this phenomenon as a response to the lack of jobs, enduring racism in mainstream society, and to alienation and lack of hope in urban neighbourhoods in America. In a less severe form, it applies to street life in deprived neighbourhoods in Europe as well, for instance in the *banlieue's* in Paris (Kaulingfreks, 2016), inner-city Dublin (Ilan, 2011, 2010), urban neighbourhoods in London (Briggs, 2010), or on the streets of Oslo (Sandberg, 2008). Dutch ethnographic studies show that youth living in urban neighbourhoods in The Netherlands are also often involved in a street culture. The characteristic features of this group are a strong in-group feeling, with a distrustful attitude towards almost everyone outside the group, and an emphasis on tough masculine behavior, where fighting is seen as 'cool' (De Jong, 2007; Hadioui 2010; Van Strijen, 2009). Anderson (1994) argued that the source of violence is not only an individual-level process in which one adopts the street code, but also an ecological one that is embedded in the broader social context. Therefore, it seems logical to also find solutions in the broader social context. The overall character of local street cultures may appear more or less 'extreme', depending

on several contextual factors, such as neighbourhood context, available resources, social control, and formal and informal supervision (Auspos & Fulbright-Anderson, 2006; Odgers et al., 2009; Warner, 2014).

Most insights or empirical studies across countries concern adolescents or young adults, and there is little literature on younger children in relation to street culture. It is expected that parents still have an important role at this age, both at home and on the streets. There is much literature on parental influences on street behavior (Esbensen & Weerman, 2005; Odgers et al., 2012; Vuchinich et al, 1992). For instance, Esbensen and Weerman (2005) provide evidence that poor attachment to parents and poor parental monitoring—not knowing where your child is when he is outside—is a risk factor for gang membership. However, there is little research on the influences of parents who are present on the street themselves. This study will, therefore, address the following research questions: 1) how do children, aged between seven and twelve, experience street culture in a Dutch urban neighbourhood? And 2) how do they perceive parents' role on the streets—both in terms of presence and availability and in terms of taking a more active role (i.e., interfering in conflict situations)?

The basis for the study presented in this paper is a larger evaluation project on a community-based program—The Peaceable Neighbourhood—that promotes democratic citizenship among children and their parents, stimulates active participation of children and their parents, and increases social cohesion around the upbringing of children. To foster ownership within the community and to increase the likelihood that The Peaceable Neighbourhood can achieve positive outcomes in the public domain, parents were trained to be *parent-mediators*, who constructively resolve conflicts between children on the streets and promote positive interaction among children (Pauw, 2016). Moreover, The Peaceable Neighbourhood aims to increase child participation by *giving them a voice* (Pauw, 2016). The current study connects to this goal and supports the rights of children to be heard (Lansdown, 2011). Moreover, it seemed relevant to start with the children, as they are at the heart of street culture. The current study, therefore, explores what children think of the assumption that parents have an important role on the street.

The purpose of this study was to gain insight into children's experiences with

street culture and their perceptions and expectations of parental supervision and parent mediation on the streets. It is expected that parents can be involved in different ways, from non-appearance—which is often seen in extreme forms of street culture (Anderson, 1999)—to an active role, where parents exert social control, for instance, as a member of *Neighbourhood Watch* (Greene et al., 2014) or in a more specific role as *parent-mediator* (Pauw, 2016). We examine whether parents or other adults can play an important role in preventing the use of violence among children and in providing a safe public environment for children to play or hang around, from children's perspectives. In the following, we present the findings from focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with children aged between seven and twelve.

Methods

Participants. The current study is part of a larger evaluation project of The Peaceable Neighbourhood in two Dutch cities; Utrecht and Groningen. Four schools for primary education participate in the program, three in an urban neighbourhood in Utrecht (Kanaleneiland) and one in Groningen. For the current, qualitative part of the study, students from the three schools in Utrecht were approached over a period of three months to participate in semi-structured interviews and focus groups.

A total of 63 students participated in 12 focus group sessions. (35 boys, 28 girls; 7–12 years). Additionally, 12 interviews were conducted with students aged 12 and 13 (6 boys and 6 girls). Almost all participants lived in Kanaleneiland, and almost all participants were Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch.

Data collection.

Focus groups. We held 12 focus group sessions, with 5 or 6 participants each. The sessions were facilitated by two skilled moderators, lasted about one hour, and took place inside the school. The aim of the focus groups was to describe the experiences and the needs of children in their street culture, their own and their parents conflict resolution skills, and the role adults play on the streets in which they live and play. Different techniques were used

during the focus group sessions. Additionally to the discussion guide, where questions were divided in themes, the moderator showed cards with words on them (such as: *fighting*, *giving your opinion*, *scared*) and asked the participants which domain (school, street or home) they associated the word with. This was helpful in starting the discussion. A vignette about a situation on the street was also used. All sessions were audiotaped.

Interviews. The 12 semi-structured interviews lasted about one hour and were conducted by one researcher. The topic list was divided in three sections that correspond with the themes from the focus groups; 1) experiences with street culture, 2) conflict resolution at home, and 3) conflict resolution on the streets and the role that adults play. Examples of questions are: What do you see when you are on the street? Do parents normally interfere with you or other children on the streets? What would happen if a parent offered a group of children in conflict help as a parent-mediator? All Interviews were audiotaped.

Analysis. Both focus group discussions and interviews were transcribed verbatim. The data were imported into QSR NVivo 10 Software for Windows and analyzed using open and axial coding strategies, focusing on the organization/categorization of the data into concepts. Four members of the research team were involved in the coding and analytical phase and contributed to the interpretation in debriefing sessions to evaluate the research process.

Study area. Kanaleneiland is a district within the southwest section of Utrecht, one of the four major cities of the Netherlands. It was created in a large-scale expansion of the city in the 1960s, however, it quickly became less desirable to the autochthonous, middle-class population of Utrecht. More low-income families, mostly with an immigrant background, moved to Kanaleneiland. Today it is listed as one of 38 "problem neighbourhoods" in The Netherlands (Rijksoverheid, 2016). Although the neighbourhood does not look like a ghetto, it has a bad reputation and is associated with violence, crime, youth nuisance, and failed integration. In 2015, Kanaleneiland was ranked one of the two least safe areas of the city (Utrecht, WistUdata, 2015). In 2016, at the time of the research, 75% of the population were of non-native Dutch descent, with the largest part of Moroccan origin (almost 38%). The community of Kanaleneiland has to deal with a range of problems. In

2016, 14% of the adult population in Kanaleneiland was unemployed, compared to 9% in Utrecht as a whole. A total of 15% of the population struggle with poverty and 37% are low-skilled; 66% live in social housing and 27% of the population in Kanaleneiland were in bad health (Utrecht, WistUdata, 2016). On the other hand, there are many programs or interventions to provide social activities and assistance for those in need, from both formal organisations and neighbourhood associations, as well as other non-governmental organisations (Utrecht, 2014). This includes many activities for youngsters. Almost 40% of the population in Kanaleneiland are under 24 years old, which makes it a 'young neighbourhood'. All of the schools in the neighbourhood are so-called "black schools" (Paulle, 2007), with 98% of the primary and secondary school population of non-native Dutch descent (Utrecht, 2007). Some 89% of the school population have learning disabilities, and cases of school dropout are very common (Utrecht, 2007).

Findings

Street life and street culture in Kanaleneiland. Respondents describe the street as a place where children play with their friends or just 'hang around'. It is mostly other children or older youth who surround them. Parents or other residents sometimes walk by and, in summertime, respondents see mothers picnicking and chitchatting near squares or parks, however, in general, parents do not meddle with what children do. *Some just go walking with their small kids, some go to the shopping centre, some visit others, some parents say hi or hello and in Moroccan they say selem aleikum* (girl, 10 years).

Besides playing or hanging around, the street is also a place where you must show strength, and where everyone has to behave 'tough'. Children indicated there is a high amount of (physical) violence on the streets, and they described Kanaleneiland as an environment with 'many flats and many people on the streets'. There are also a lot of people who they fear, for instance, bullies, child molesters, thieves, or 'scary men in a van'. Even though it seems, from this description, that the public domain is an unsafe environment, the older respondents (11 and 12 year olds) say they feel safe. Younger children report they do not always feel safe.

Conflicts on the street. As expected, respondents say that there are more conflicts on the street than in other domains where children grow up (school, home, organized leisure activities). Children state that conflicts are very normal on the streets. Respondents indicate different ways in which they react in a conflict situation. Roughly divided into three categories, the reactions are; ignoring, solving the conflict, or getting help.

A few respondents choose to ignore other children when they were looking for a fight, but they say ignoring could be difficult when you are still in the conflict situation. Respondents say it takes strength to choose not to fight. Some respondents said that it would be better if all children either just went home when they were feeling angry or chose to 'cool down' before they reacted.

I would rather go home when I want to 'cool down', because when I'm still outside they will say; "Show me, show me"! That won't help, it will make me even more angry. I have anger attacks sometimes, so it is better to walk away and visit a friend or just go home (boy, 12 years)

Solving a conflict can either be achieved aggressively or constructively. When solving a conflict constructively, children refer to the skills they learnt in school. They say they "talk things out", or search for a "win-win-solution"[6]. However, this is mostly the case with smaller conflicts or conflicts with or between younger children (>9 year olds). In other cases, children chose to react aggressively. Most respondents say they do this because everybody does it and you have to be tough and show strength. They also say they do this because 'you have to get even'.

Yeah, I mean if they fight, you fight! I mean, you have to, some children or people say; 'yes, fight fight fight, let's see who is stronger'. It gives them energy and sometimes even the police show up. You know, sometimes you just have to fight, you have to show them you're stronger (boy, 11 years).

---

[6] In the Peaceable School method children learn to search for a win-win solution when having a conflict. This means finding a solution in which both parties benefit (Pauw, 2013).

In some cases, children/youth will get help from their parents, however, in most cases, they ask friends or older brothers and cousins to help them. The help of brothers, cousins, or friends sometimes reduces the conflict, but it can also contribute to escalation when they help in a conflict by scolding, fighting, or threatening. *Maybe those boys (who are in a fight) will get their brothers, then the fight continues and it gets really big (boy, 10 years)*. Getting help from friends or brothers and cousins is called; 'standing up for each other'.

Respondents described the culture on the streets of Kanaleneiland as a culture where they have to act tough to fit in, and where the use of violence is common. The problems that occur on the streets of Kanaleneiland—in this age category—do not often result in criminal activities. Kanaleneiland is described as mildly disadvantaged and children's street-behavior there can be placed in the lower half of the street cultural continuum (Ilan, 2015) (see

Figure 1).

Brothers and cousins. Older youth—mostly brothers or cousins from the respondents— seem to play an important role on the street. Respondents observe that, in the streets, older youth (age 16-19) teach younger children (age 8-12) how to be 'tough', how to fight, and how to 'fit in'. *Here on the streets, you learn to be tough, I think… Especially from the older boys, they don't respect each other; they call names instead of just saying something* (*girl, 12 years*).

Respondents often say they look up to older youth and they talked a lot about 'belonging' with the group of older youth. *Yeah, sometimes they beat them up. They'll say: "if you can win, then maybe you belong with us". So, uhm yeah, that… (girl, 12 years).*

Having older brothers or cousins also helps children to feel safe, as one girl illustrated as follows*; I don't have an older brother, but I have big cousins, for instance, when one of them joins me outside and a boy who bullies me is there, then I'm not afraid anymore, my big cousin will say; he "stop that" or something, not that he hits him, but even then the boy won't bully me because I have a big cousin (boy, 9 years)*

In a few cases, the older boys and girls try to intervene without violence when younger children have conflicts, but in most times the conflict continues when they leave, as one boy illustrated as follows; *they think, yeah now he's gone we can just do our thing (boy, 12 years).*

From these findings it seems older youth in most cases have an escalating influence in scaring children, fighting and setting the wrong example.

Parent's role in the street domain. As described above, respondents say that, in general, parents do not meddle with what children do on the streets. However, respondents talked about numerous incidents where parents did have a role, or where parents' influence was important. At home, parents disagree about the way in which children should resolve conflicts on the streets. Fathers think that their children should always strike back, *'to stand up for themselves'*, or ask for help from their older brother or cousin. A girl tells us what her father told her; *when a boy hits me I should get one of my cousins, but if a girl hits me I must hit her back, you know!* Mothers are more likely to say that a child should leave the situation or ask for help from an adult, *my mother always says to ignore that and to stop spending time with them for a while* (girl, 11 years). If a child is being bullied for a longer time, all parents agree that the child should engage in physical violence on the street in order to protect themselves. Respondents indicate that, despite the parental advice, children generally go along with the social norm that prevails on the street, which means that they often choose physical and/or verbal violence to resolve conflict situations.

Parent's role / presence. In the focus group discussions, children talked about the times when parents did intervene, and also discussed their expectations about the consequences of parents playing a more active role on the street. The presence of parents differs in different streets or sub-neighbourhoods; in some streets, parents or other adults are absent, while, in others, they walk by or keep an eye on the children. If children do not know the adult who walks by well, they will not behave differently, 'they just don't care'; *I don't care if my neighbor walks by. What should I do? I won't stand still all of a sudden, then I will get hit very hard (boy, 11 years).* However, when familiar parents or residents are around,

most children will not show behavior that their parents would disapprove of, such as using verbal or physical violence, bullying, and tough behavior. Respondents indicate they are afraid of the parents of children that they bully, or of punishments from their own parents. They also are afraid that friends of their parents will tell their parents how they behaved.

Once the parents are away, children revert to their 'street' behavior. Children will often wait until parents leave and continue a fight or quarrel. When there are parents around you act all kind and sweet, and when they're not, yeah then, then you suddenly behave tough, then you want to fight (girl, 11 years).

Some respondents say it is disrespectful to their parents or other adults to behave badly in their presence, and some say it is better if adults are around so you do not have to fight or behave tough, '*you can just play'*.

Overall the presence from familiar parents seems to protect children from using violence.

Parent's role / approach and intervene. In a few cases, respondents mention that parents sometimes address children in both an encouraging (greeting or giving a compliment) and correcting way. Children state that it is important that they know the parent or adult, otherwise it will not have an impact on them. Overall, respondents say they do not like adults meddling 'too much' with what children do.

I like my neighbors, they are nice, but they must not intrude my life too much, sometimes it's ok, but like a said, I don't want them to go to my home and say that I had a fight or something (girl, 11 years)

When a familiar adult approaches a child on the street who is engaged in undesirable behavior, the child is stimulated to play 'in a normal way' with the other, to say sorry and to resolve a conflict by talking to the other and not by fighting. *They come to you and say; do not fight, but try to solve this with words* (boy, 10 years). In other situations, parents are actively engaged in conflict resolution. They separate fighting children and, if the children are having a dispute, they approach them to resolve the conflict. *Yes them, they separate*

them and then they talk to each other, sometimes they don't talk to each other, then they just send them home (boy, 12 years). It also occurs that, in case of a quarrel, the parents of a child take the initiative to talk to the parents of the other child in order to resolve the conflict situation. *Some children go to their parents and those parents go to the parents of the other child, then they try to resolve the situation together* (boy, 12 years).

However, a conflict can also escalate when the children involve their parents and the parents get in a quarrel themselves or when they intervene heavy-handedly, to the detriment of the other child. Examples are given in which the parents get into quarrels themselves, resulting in two parties that are in a fight. In one of the focus groups, the children talked about this as follows:

R1: imagine, there are parents, and one child from the one parent and the other child from the other parent get in a quarrel. Then the one parent would say; 'yeah your child started it' and the other parent says; 'no your child started it' and then the quarrel gets worse, and bigger, and bigger, and bigger […]
R2: before you know the whole family is involved, my dad, and their two dads, and then us, and my mother.

Examples are given in which the parents of one child threaten the other child. Respondents often say that the parent (father) hits the other child with a flat hand.

When Moroccan guys are in a fight, their fathers walk towards them and hit them here (respondent shows backside of his head) and then he hits the other guy here, with his flat hand, and then he runs home crying (boy, 10 years).

Sometimes the parent is looking for revenge, and does the thing that happened to his own child to the other child. The help of parents can be both constructive or escalating. Most of the time, the father is the linchpin in the escalation of a conflict.

Parent's role / mediation. Parent-mediation is an important intervention in The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0. However, at the time of the research, only a few respondents had experienced parent mediation on the street. These respondents had a parent who was a

mediator and had positive experiences with mediation from their parents in small conflicts with friends. We asked the other respondents for their expectations and thoughts about what would happen if an adult offered to help solve conflicts on the street as a mediator. Almost all respondents had low expectations. They thought it was a bad idea and believed it would not work. Two girls talked about this as follows; R1: *They would all run away or they'll just continue the fight. R2: Or they'll harass the person, for instance say; go away, yeah go away, we don't want peace here, that is never gonna happen.* Respondents claim mediation will be experienced as 'meddling' and *none of their business*. Because children have not experienced this, they believe everyone would be surprised; *I would be surprised, well you know, that never happens on the streets!*

Another explanation as to why children have doubts is because they suppose that parents are unable to be neutral. They are afraid the parent will favor their own child or the child they like most. They also indicate that it is important to know the parent who wants to intervene.

I think I would let them help me. Well, actually I'm caught between the two, if it is someone I don't know, or don't trust, then I would say no. But with people I do know, then it's ok. In the end it's better to solve the conflict rather than staying in quarrel (girl, 11 years).

Most respondents indicate that parents—either through their presence, intervention, or mediation—can have a positive influence, on the condition that they are known and trusted by the children on the streets. The children who had experienced mediation were positive about the intervention, it is expected this is because they knew and trusted the mediator.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to gain insight into children's experiences with street culture and their perceptions, experiences with and expectations of parents' role on the streets. More specifically we asked children what they expect of *parent mediation*, an intervention where parents have an active role in reducing violence on the streets. It seemed relevant to ask children what their thoughts on this topic are, as they are at the heart of street culture.

The basis for the study presented in this paper is a larger evaluation project on a community-based program; The Peaceable Neighbourhood. According to this program it is expected that in a mildly disadvantaged neighbourhood parents play an important role in decreasing violence among children. This role can be both passive—by being present and available—or active, for instance, as a parent mediator. In (mildly) disadvantaged neighbourhoods with a street culture, state actors are often absent (Anderson, 1999). Therefore, groups of youth become socialized by a subculture of opposition and violence. Although behavior in this subculture is uncivil or anti-social compared to mainstream society, alienated groups of youngsters are also looking for recognition, justice, and equal opportunities (Kaulingfreks, 2015). It could therefore be effective to increase the proximity with other residents and increase the availability of resources in order to let the youth know that they matter. Besides formal control, informal control is found to be a promising way of reducing crime and violent behavior on the street (Groff, 2014).

The respondents described that, when parents are around, most children show pro-social behavior and there is less fighting and bullying, especially when the children know the available adult. However, when parents become more actively involved with the children it can either be helpful or contribute to escalation of a conflict. Children report in most cases that the help of parents is not constructive and that they sometimes use violence or get in a fight themselves. When parents intervene in a conflict, the fighting normally continues when parents have gone. Furthermore, the findings suggest that, instead of reaching out to a parent, children rather turn to older youth on the street. Respondents remark that brothers or cousins teach younger children the values of street culture and sometimes intervene in a conflict. They believe these older youths can have a role as mediator on the streets. Their expectation was that this could work well, because adolescents have more affinity with the younger children than parents have. However, the examples given by respondents of older youths' involvement in conflicts were not encouraging. Conflicts often escalate and are not resolved constructively. It is debatable whether older youth can be positive role models for children and if they have the 'right' intentions, that is, to solve problems in a constructive way. Youth mediation is, according to the respondents, promising. However, future research seems necessary to further

explore the advantages and disadvantages of youth mediation.

The Peaceable Neighbourhood program assumes that, for constructive ways of intervening in a conflict, conflict resolution skills are necessary. Parent mediation training can therefore be helpful and empower parents to approach children on the street. However, the children in this study did not expect much of it. Their biggest concern was that parents would not be neutral or that children would not know the parent mediator. They can imagine it could work if the parents are known and trusted. Blokland (2008) addresses this as 'public familiarity'. Being familiar with each other in the neighbourhood renders social space as a comfort zone for both children and parents (Blokland & Nast, 2014). We expect this to be an important condition to increase safety before introducing an active role of parents, for instance, as a parent mediator. However, initially, children said that most parents did not meddle with children's street life. Therefore, apart from the conditions that the parents are known and trusted and have conflict resolution skills, we expect that an active role of parents on the streets also needs some time to get used to. From observations during parent mediator training and short interviews with the participating parents, we learnt that, at home, their children responded the same way as our (child) respondents predicted. Parents reported that at first children thought what their parents did was ridiculous. However, after a while, they got used to it, and the constructive way of solving conflicts at home became normal. It is plausible to suggest that this might also apply to the street domain.

The current study underlines the importance of several neighbourhood factors, such as social control and public familiarity. From an ecological perspective, it is expected that these contextual factors can have a positive influence on decreasing negative street cultural behavior (Auspos & Fulbright-Anderson, 2006; Odgers et al., 2009; Warner, 2014). According to children, parents' presence and availability on the streets can prevent the use of violence among children, and social control from parents seems most effective when the children know the parents or adults who are present. It seems important to invest in public familiarity in order to increase social cohesion within the neighbourhood. This seems an important condition to increase safety and to make the street a 'comfort zone' (Blokland & Nast, 2014) before introducing the active involvement of parents, for instance, as a parent

mediator. It is expected that, when the environment is safe and social cohesion is strong, the amount of conflicts will reduce, but that, in case of conflicts, the help of parents will be generally accepted. We expect increasing public familiarity and strengthening social control and informal supervision in mildly disadvantaged neighbourhoods can further limit the negative influences of street culture.

Some limitations of the present study need to be acknowledged. First, we obtained information from a group of children in Kanaleneiland and talked with them about their neighbourhood; therefore, the findings cannot be presumed to be representative for all Dutch children. Second, the focus group discussions took place inside schools that worked with the Peaceable School method[7], which may have triggered socially desirable answers. However, to avoid socially desirable responding, the children were told that there were no right or wrong answers to our questions, because we were interested in their opinion. Moreover, both moderators told opposite stories about what their parents used to say about the use of violence when they were young. This helped creating a safe and convenient interviewing condition where respondents could express their opinion or 'tell the truth'. Third, we did not ask for detailed demographic information from the respondents other than the information given by the school; ethnicity, school name, and neighbourhood they lived in. Therefore, it was not possible to relate the findings to other demographic variables.

We need to acknowledge that the purpose of this study was to describe children's perspective on street culture. We asked children what they expected from an active role of parents in the street domain, which probably differs from expectations that state actors or policy-makers may have. However, we expect it to be valuable to involve youth in the development of solutions to the problems that young people face (Alder & Sandor, 1990). Besides the fact that children have the right to be heard (Lansdown, 2011), when children are involved in research leading to policy recommendations, it is expected that policy is better suited to children, and that there will be greater support for change among children (Checkoway & Richard-Schuster, 2003). However, we believe it is also important to analyze barriers that parents may experience in approaching children or intervening in conflicts in

---

[7] A central assumption within this method is that conflicts are normal, but should be solved with words, not violence.

the public domain. Future research is needed to examine parents' experiences with street culture and their attitudes towards parental supervision and informal control. We believe that combining children's perspectives with parents' experiences can lead to better suited interventions in the public domain.

5

Conditions for successful parental involvement and conflict mediation among children in the public domain of urban deprived neighbourhoods in The Netherlands.

Abstract

There is strong evidence to suggest that parents play an important role in learning their and other peoples' children constructive ways of solving conflicts in their neighbourhood. The current qualitative study explores experiences with parents' involvement and conflict mediation to acquire knowledge on the development of social cohesion and safety in their neighbourhood. We present the findings from observations, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with parents and neighbourhood professionals. Results show that most respondents see potential in parent mediation to create positive change in their community, and to increase a safe and peaceable environment for children to grow up. However, respondents worry that their communities are not ready for an active role of parents in conflict situations both at the individual and neighbourhood level. We expect that parents need a mandate from the community to approach other people's children, and they need to gain trust amongst each other and at the society's level. Moreover, embedding an intervention like parent mediation is a transactional process in which social control, collective socialization and individual processes mutually influence each other. Implementation attempts of parent mediation should take account of such transactional process in order to be successful.

Introduction

There is strong evidence to suggest that social characteristics of children's neighbourhoods form an important part of the foundation of their development (Minh et al., 2017). Those neighbourhood characteristics include the degree and nature of social connections between neighbours, social norms and trust, and levels of safety and violence (Diez Roux & Mair, 2010). A supportive social environment, where parents together with other adults have a positive influence on the socialization process of the child, is assumed to be a necessary condition for children's wellbeing and development (Karriker-Jaffe et al., 2013; Prince et al; 2019). This concerns environments in which young people feel welcome, respected and not discriminated, in which they notice that there are positive expectations about them and in which they experience that they 'matter' (Pauw, 2016).

Within a supportive social environment (i.e., a caring community) children develop social skills, such as sharing and cooperation, and they learn how to successfully solve conflict situations, reducing the risk for antisocial behaviour (Jones, 2004; Nicotera et al., 2013). There is empirical evidence to suggest that parents play an important role in learning their and other peoples' children constructive ways of solving conflicts in their neighbourhood (Groff, 2014, Johnson et al., 2011). The purpose of the present study was to gain insight into parents' and neighbourhood professionals' perceptions and expectations of parental involvement in conflict mediation among children in their neighbourhood (i.e., the public domain). We explore what conditions are needed for parents to successfully prevent the use of violence among children, model a constructive way of conflict resolution, and to provide a safe public environment for children. It is expected that parents can be involved in the lives of all children in their neighbourhood in different ways, from being present – walking by, saying hello – to an active role, where parents exert social control and model positive behaviour, for instance in a specific role as parent-mediator (Pauw, 2016).

The Peaceable Neighbourhood
The current study is embedded in a larger evaluation project on a community-based program - The Peaceable Neighbourhood - which is aimed at promoting democratic

citizenship among children and their parents, stimulating active participation of children and their parents and increasing social cohesion around the upbringing of children (Horjus, 2021; Pauw, 2016). The Peaceable Neighbourhood aims to create 'an educational village' by equipping adults - professionals, parents and volunteers or citizens in general - to take up their parenting responsibility for all children and young people.

At the heart of the program is the assumption that where people live together, conflicts occur, but that children (or citizens in general) need to learn how to solve conflicts constructively to be able to live together in a pleasant way in a neighbourhood. The program's philosophy is that all involved have interests in these conflicts and the way in which they are handled. For constructive ways of intervening in or solving a conflict, conflict resolution skills are necessary for both parents and children. Within The Peaceable Neighbourhood program children, youngsters, parents and professionals are therefore trained as 'mediators' so that everyone in the neighbourhood can become more skilled in dealing with conflict both through training and being an example for others.

Parent Mediation

The parent mediation training consists of three meetings in which a script is followed. In the first meeting participants get acquainted and learn about the Peaceable method. Information on conflict resolution is provided and a step-by-step mediation plan is introduced. This plan consists of four steps; 1) introduce yourself as mediator, 2) listen to both sides of the conflict, 3) look for solutions with the participants and 4) find a solution together that works for both parties (Pauw, 2016; Pauw & Verhoeff, 2012). Participants learn that in a Peaceable Neighbourhood it is expected that parents, and all educators, approach conflicts in a constructive way, and see a conflict as an opportunity for development. This means that the mediator is able to react non-judgmentally to a conflict and gives children the opportunity to resolve their conflict themselves (Pauw, 2016). The second meeting focuses on listening skills, discussing different forms of conflicts and solutions and practicing and analyzing mediation. Finally, in the third meeting participants evaluate the training, practice their mediation-skills and discuss how parents intend to apply mediation after the training (Pauw & Verhoeff, 2012).

Collective efficacy and collective socialization

Mediation training within The Peaceable Neighbourhood aims to strengthen both collective efficacy (e.g., informal control actions) and collective socialization (e.g., modelling constructive conflict resolution skills). Collective efficacy (Sampson et al., 1997) aims to unlock communities' self-regulations, and has been found to mediate the relation between disadvantage in the neighbourhood and social disorder and crime (Higgins & Hunt, 2016; Hipp, 2016), specifically for children and youngsters (Junger-Tas, 2008). The literature on collective efficacy shows that the aspect of mutual trust in particular has a major influence on informal social control. In neighbourhoods where residents share educational norms and values, and where they work towards common goals, residents are often rich in social capital (Hoogerbrugge & Burger, 2018), and they support and monitor the children in the neighbourhood more often (Froiland et al., 2014; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000). Collective prosocial norms can develop when parents in a neighbourhood share similar parenting practices and responsibilities. This way, adults can positively influence young people in their neighbourhood and act as role models, but also monitor children's behavior and intervene when necessary (De Marco & Vernon-Feagans, 2013; Delany-Brumsey et al., 2014).

Sampson et al. (1997) provide various examples of informal social control actions, such as keeping an eye on groups of children playing and addressing children or youngsters who cause nuisance in public space. However, informal social control as captured in the collective efficacy concept is mostly measured as shared expectations that residents will respond to local problems if and when they arise (Hipp, 2016). Social disorganization theory assumes that expectations for action and a positive attitude towards informal social control will lead to actually doing something to exert social control, but this association has hardly been empirically investigated (Carbone & McMillin, 2018; Wickes et al., 2017). Moreover 'doing something' (to exert social control) is not necessarily educationally responsible. It seems relevant to examine residents' actual informal social control actions, and more importantly to explore conditions for residents to take action and share parenting responsibilities.

Current study

The current qualitative study aims to explore experiences of parents and neighbourhood professionals with informal social control and collective socialization to acquire knowledge on the development of social cohesion and safety in their neighbourhood. This study will address the following research questions; 1) What are parents' and neighbourhoods professionals' experiences with a) parental involvement in general and b) parent mediation specifically, 2) What conditions are needed for executing parent mediation in the public domain, according to parents and neighbourhood professionals.

In the following, we present the findings from observations, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with parents and neighbourhood professionals.

Methods

Participants. A total of 66 adults participated in 8 focus groups sessions, 2 duo-interviews and 23 in-depth interviews. Participants were 51 parents with children in primary school (39 mothers, 12 fathers) for whom 21 parents completed the parent mediation training. Almost all parents had a migrant background and a below-average socio-economic status. Moreover, 15 neighbourhood professionals participated: they were teachers (n =3), a municipal official (n=1) and community social workers working with children/youngsters (n=4) or adults (n=7). Participants lived or worked in Groningen, Selwerd/Paddepoel (13 parents and 6 professionals) and Utrecht, Kanaleneiland (38 parents and 9 professionals).

Study setting. Four schools for primary education participated in the current study, three in an urban neighbourhood in Utrecht (Kanaleneiland) and one in Groningen (Selwerd/Paddepoel). Groups of parents from the participating schools were trained to be parent-mediators, who acquire skills to constructively resolve conflicts between children in the public domain and promote positive interaction among children. For the current study, explorative, qualitative field research was conducted over a period of 14 months. Parents, both with and without mediation training, from all participating schools and neighbourhood professionals in both research areas were approached took part in semi-structured

interviews and participated in focus groups. Additionally, researchers conducted participatory observations during training sessions, parent group meetings and other relevant activities in and around the participating schools.

Study areas. Utrecht and Groningen are two of the largest cities in the Netherlands. All studied areas: Kanaleneiland (KE) in Utrecht, Selwerd/Paddepoel (SP) in Groningen, are neighbourhoods where the community must deal with a range of problems, such as unemployment and poverty (Basismonitor Groningen, 2019; Municipality of Utrecht 2019). In 2016, at the time of this study, 75% of the population in Kanaleneiland were of non-native Dutch descent, with the largest part of Moroccan origin (Municipality of Utrecht 2019). In Selwerd 40% of the population were of non-native Dutch descent and had a migration background (Uyterlinde & van der Velden, 2017). Paddepoel is also characterized by a diverse resident composition in terms of age and ethnicity. All studied areas are alike in terms of quality of life, available facilities, level of social cohesion, perceived safety and physical living environment (Basismonitor Groningen, 2017; Municipality of Utrecht 2019).

Data collection

Focus groups and duo-interviews We held 8 focus group sessions with parents, with three to eight participants each. All sessions were facilitated by two or three skilled moderators, lasted about one hour, and took place inside the school of parents' children or in a neighbourhood center. Additionally, we held 2 duo-interviews that had the same discussion guide as the focus group sessions. Both parents with and without a mediation training participated in the focus groups and duo-interviews.

 The aim of the focus groups and duo-interviews was to describe parents' perspectives on their role in the public domain and describe their experiences with conflict situations and describe their use of conflict resolution skills. A discussion guide and a vignette about a conflict situation on the street were used. All sessions were audiotaped.

Interviews parents. We held 8 in-depth semi-structured interviews with parent mediators that lasted about one hour and were conducted by one researcher. The topic list was divided in two sections asking participants general questions about the role parents have

on the street and specific questions about the experiences with (their own or others) mediation on the street. Examples of questions are as follows: 'Do you approach other people's children and why'? 'Do you use the conflict resolution skills you learned in the training, and what makes you do this'? 'Can you explain why your interference was successful'? All interviews were audiotaped.

Interviews neighbourhood professionals. We held 15 in-depth semi-structured interviews with neighbourhood professionals that lasted about one hour, and which were conducted by one or two researchers. The topic list was divided in two sections asking participants general questions about the role parents have on the street, and specific questions about the experiences with mediation on the street. Examples of questions are: 'Do children ask for help from their parent(s) in resolving a conflict in their neighbourhood'? and 'Do you think the people in the neighbourhood generally get along well'? All interviews were audiotaped.

Participatory observations. Additionally, we participated in three parent mediation training sessions, observed parent reactions, and had around 20 short informal talks with the participants. The sessions were not audiotaped, but we wrote field notes during and immediately after the training sessions.

Ethical considerations.

Parents signed an informed consent prior to the focus group discussion or interview. During observations, participating parents gave oral consent before the activity started. Participation was voluntarily. Participants were told they could withdraw their consent at any time during or after the study, and that the protection of their privacy was ensured.

Analysis.

Both focus group discussions and interviews were transcribed verbatim. The data were imported into QSR NVivo 12 and analyzed using open, axial and selective coding strategies, focusing on the organization and categorization of the data into concepts. Four members of the research team were involved in the coding and analytical phase and contributed to the interpretation in debriefing sessions to evaluate the research process. We used our field

notes from the training sessions observations alongside the general analyses of focus groups and interviews.

Findings

Experiences with parental involvement

The Peaceable Neighbourhood is a program that focuses on 'small concrete' interventions such as the parent mediation training on the one hand, but also on larger scale interventions, including the improvement of social cohesion in the neighbourhood. Therefore, before discussing experiences with parent mediation, both parents and professionals were asked to describe their perceived level of social cohesion in their neighbourhood.

Perspectives on social cohesion

Parents reported that there is quite good contact with local residents on a small scale, which concerns few neighbors in a street, a block or an apartment. With these neighbors, parents also feel a mutual involvement in the upbringing.

'Well, if my daughter is playing outside or my son. And my neighbor who lives near the street and she sees my daughter on the street she says: "HEY.. GET BACK"! [...] I can't see everything, so that's handy' (Mother, SP, focus group).

This does not apply to all respondents, but in general the respondents always have one or two neighbors they can turn to. Respondents indicated that this does not apply to all local residents, and certainly not on a large scale.

Mother; 'Yes, we have three neighbors, we watch each other's children. The rest have no children'. Interviewer: 'Do they pay attention to the children in the neighbourhood'? Mother: 'No, you don't see them very often outside, they are older people' (SP, focus group).

In general, parents felt that Dutch society is an individualistic one, where many parents stay indoors. Respondents stated that '*unknown makes unloved*' and they feel that, in general, groups of residents are segregated and live alongside each other. Parents indicated that

they only feel involvement in the upbringing of families they *'really'* know, which often consist of people who belong to their own (bonding) community. Reference was also made regularly to characteristics of a joint upbringing or parental involvement in the country of origin, for example Morocco, '*Educating there is more together, but also harder than here in the Netherlands' (Father, KE, focus group).*

Some fathers in Utrecht indicated that there are regular initiatives in which fathers work in the neighbourhood for more safety and stronger social cohesion, but that this is often short-lived and requires a lot of effort for too little result. Especially fathers, but also mothers, seem to be giving up hope for major changes in the social climate in the neighbourhood, and there is little or no trust in the government to do so. They noticed a hardening of society, in which, especially in Groningen, many people 'are cheeky' and are not always able to reason. However, parents generally felt safe in their neighbourhood and did enjoy living there.

Professionals working in these neighbourhoods were not very satisfied with the social cohesion. A few described situations where parents were at odds with each other, and they indicated that many parents '*have turned inwards*' and do not show themselves much. Some professionals also noticed that people in general are not tolerant, especially if they do not know each other or each other's cultural background. Increasing collective socialization is, according to most professionals, a very lengthy process, but not impossible. Some professionals gave examples where parents made a difference together, for example in tackling loitering youth in a certain neighbourhood.

Parent's role on the street

We asked parents and professionals about the role parents have in the public domain before the parent mediation training was given. Parents thought very differently about their parenting role on the street. About half of the respondents were not appealed to approach other people's children, because they did not dare to do so, did not know how, did not consider this their task, or did not know the children in question or their parents.

Some said conflicts would escalate if you got involved, which was expressed by a father in the following quote.

… no, no, we have a problem, first with children, you get quarrels with the children, yelling this and that from all sides, if they pass it on to parents, I also get a problem with the parents. That's really going to happen (Father, KE, duo-interview).

The other half would approach other people's children and say they do so because it is simply *'in their nature'*. Especially migrant parents emphasized that parents should be able to address other people's children, referring to Moroccan traditions they know from their youth. However, they also mentioned that they did not feel comfortable with this role here, because children nowadays often do not listen and have a big mouth.

'Like he says, we were raised in a different society, different community […] if my neighbor says I'm doing something bad, he can slap me and take me to my parents, I'll get a second blow, you shouldn't try this, with the children of today (Father, KE, focus group).

Professionals painted a similar picture, indicating that some parents do care about other people's children, but they find it difficult to '*find the right way to share responsibility'*. The ways parents address children are often rude and not '*Peaceable'*. Many parents favor their own child or simply stay indoors. Professionals were concerned that parents may find sharing parenting responsibilities '*dangerous territory',* and they therefore recommended using the school or a professional as an intermediary. That way there is less chance that conflicts can escalate. Moreover, some respondents stated that professionals had a little more authority.

Experiences with parent mediation
Respondents who participated in de parent mediation training were asked what they learned from the training, and subsequently what their experiences with mediation in practice were. Neighbourhood professionals who know or work with parent mediators were also asked about their experiences and perspectives.

The parent mediation training

All participating parents were enthusiastic about the training sessions, and indicated that they learned a lot, and are now much more aware of their actions and attitude towards children in the public domain. They learned to remain neutral and calm in conflict situations, and to give children the opportunity to resolve the conflict on their own. A mother in Kanaleneiland said; '*a child is allowed to be angry, and it is good if a child cools down before they continue solving*'. Half of the parents also indicated that using a step-by-step plan gives them something to hold on to. Some parents still found it difficult to put all the theory they learned into practice. The training was quite intensive, and in a short time parent did receive a lot of information about conflicts and conflict resolution.

Several parents mentioned they were afraid that they themselves and others would '*lose what they have learned*' if they do not continue to practice. However, parents felt they did lack '*a playing field*' for this practice and needed a little more guided reflection on their actions. Although parents indicated that they also got to know the other participants a little better during the training, the training did not provide a sufficient mandate to actually address each other's children from the completion of the training. From observations we know that the idea was to practice the learned skills in the schoolyard, but that in most cases this did not happen at the time of data collection.

A few parents indicated that they became aware of the exemplary role they have towards all children on the street. The mothers who were sometimes afraid of the reaction of other parents prior to the training indicated that this had decreased slightly, but they still carefully considered the consequences of their intervention.

'Sometimes you just have to take a step back […]Not all parents are the same, react the same, or have the same norms and values, you also have to take that into account because if not, you will get those parents on your head again' (Mother, KE, interview).

However, the vast majority maintained that the appeal should be within the person themselves, but that training can support them and give them tools to intervene in a constructive manner. Several mothers referred to another training they participated in that was more extensive and more in-depth, with more attention to *'the awareness process and*

reflecting on your role as a parent in the neighbourhood'. The mothers who participated in both training programs gave advice to parent mediators to also participate in the latter one *'to feel it even more'.*

Parent mediation in practice

About a third of the respondents (all mothers) indicated that they '*do something with the training*', that is, they apply what they have learned and actively intervene in the public domain. However, most of these mothers indicated that this was something they already did, but now in a more constructive way. They gained more conflict resolution skills, such as maintaining neutrality and encouraging children to solve the conflict themselves. One mother mentioned she was surprised that children suggest better solutions than a parent could have come up with. Two fathers remarked that children they know respect them and accept help because they know their parents, '*oh, that's his-or-her father'*. Parents with positive experiences indicated that it is a lengthy process and that children need time to get used to the fact that other people's parents can also address them. From observations during parent mediator training and short interviews with the participating parents, we learnt that, at home, their children responded dismissive at first. However, after a while, they got used to it, and the constructive way of solving conflicts at home became normal. Parents suggest that this might also apply to the street domain.

Unfortunately, positive experiences were scarce. Most parents had negative experiences in the months after the training. The majority of parent mediators said they were (still) afraid that parents or children would retaliate, especially if 'the other' parent is unwilling to cooperate. A father indicated that someone smashed a car window after a mediation attempt, while other parents indicated that teenagers mostly do not look at them or say, *'what are you doing' or 'why do you care'*? The times that children do listen, the parents notice that they simply continue undesired behavior as soon as the parent has left the scene, which was experienced as a disappointment by some parents.

Professionals noticed that parents sometimes apply the learned skills within a small circle, often the family, and remarked that it helps if the parents are known, and if they maintain their neutrality while mediating. A professional also noticed that he sees a

little more awareness among parents about the positive role they can play in the street, for example by saying hello and giving a compliment. However, most neighbourhood professionals indicated that the threshold is still too high and that parents are waiting for each other until someone takes responsibility. They also did believe that it is not yet entirely clear to parents which conflicts they can and cannot handle. A professional noticed that some parents think they should take over the task of the police. Another professional mentioned that there is a need for aftercare, someone who makes a schedule for the neighbourhood or for the school yard so that parents can practice, and someone who stirs everything up once every six weeks. Finally, all professionals reported that parent mediators were not yet known in the neighbourhood, which seems necessary to them in order to be accepted as a mediator by children and their parents.

'…it's important to make this known to everyone […] because the moment it is announced; "Dear people we have parent mediators" then those parent mediators will feel safe again and think "oh it has been announced, we are known" (Professional, KE, interview).

Overall, most parents indicated that they were still hesitant to apply the skills. Some said they felt the need to practice more often, others still missed '*some self-confidence and guts'* and about half of the respondents are still afraid of the reaction of the other, especially when they did not know the other child or parent. All parents were amazed that so few parents applied it after the training, but a few indicated that we should be happy at least with the small group that does, '*that's where change – on a community level – starts'*, one mother said.

Conditions for executing parent mediation

We asked parents and professionals what promoting factors and impediments there were for parents to address other people's children and/or their parents in conflict situations. Respondents indicated that factors of importance are; age of children, location of conflict situation, estimated response of the child or their parent, knowing the other, the mediator's status or appearance and lack of trust.

Age and location.

Except for a few parents, everyone indicated that age matters. Most parents did not want to address teenagers from 13 years or older. Children aged 12 and under *'are easier to control and still have respect for adults'*, respondents say.

'Once they start high school, they get a bigger mouth and an attitude that shows that they are big enough and they say; "what are you interfering with"? (Mother, KE, interview)

In the case of older teens, there is also the fear of revenge. One mother said that she mainly addressed children aged 11 and 12, because these children must set a good example to the even younger children on the street. An exception, according to one of the fathers, is if you address a group of youngsters with a group of involved adults, that way age no longer matters. Another important factor is location. Parents said they felt more comfortable to address children nearby their house. Several mothers also indicated that there are fewer possibilities where mediation can take place, and they referred to school, where there are possibilities, for example, to find a quiet place. The only exception that applies to almost all respondents is if there is a danger to the child; then (almost) everyone intervenes everywhere.

Estimated response and knowing the other

Another important condition mentioned by almost all respondents is the estimation that the other parent would react positively to mediation. If they do not know the other parent or if the other parent is present, they do not intervene, because *'upbringing is sensitive'*. Parents who have had successful experiences addressing other people's children said it helps if you really make the effort to get to know children and radiate to the child that you are there for him and really want to help.

'Uhm, I always say with what intention do you address a child. Because it bothers you? Or because you are genuinely concerned that the child is doing something that is not right for him? There is a difference' (Professional, KE, interview).

Professionals agreed with parents and did believe it is important that parents get to know each other and the children first before interfering in each other's upbringing. They specifically mentioned it is important to get to know each other's living situation and background through neighbourhood activities.

'…so, a fun activity where you have a nice meal with each other […] than conversations between parents arise and it can go more in depth than those five minutes in the schoolyard. […] I would like to see more situations like that' (Professional, SP, interview).

Several mothers indicate that there is a lack of 'sense of community' on the street, and not all neighbors know about this way of conflict resolution. Some fathers said they need a bigger support network to put their learned mediation skills into practice.

Appearance and status

Some parent mediators made use of their appearance, if they were tall or large, they felt they naturally had the upper hand. Some mothers found it especially important that they radiate tranquility. Professionals added to this that parents who have a certain status in the neighbourhood were more likely to be accepted as mediator.

Lack of trust

An impeding factor seems the lack of trust in formal partners. Parents, especially fathers, expressed concerns about their role as '*educators in society*', expressing fear that if they do intervene, they will do it too hard, but if they do not intervene, society will see them as weak. They and some mothers indicated that they had no confidence in the government, the police and youth care organizations. Several fathers did refer to an incident where a professional organization took over their '*neighbourhood father duties*' and when the budget went short asked the same fathers to take over again voluntarily. Other parents often made negative statements about formal organizations, as can be seen in the following quote.

'I happen to know someone with problems, and I thought Youth Care plays a part in this, so I addressed her; "listen do you need help, because I know a good place where you can go,

so that your children are also safe, they can help you, so that Youth Care can't take your children". Luckily, she's at that place now, so she has help' (Mother, KE, focus group).

Professionals also perceived a lack of trust in society and felt mutual trust is needed before an intervention like parent mediation can be successful in a neighbourhood.

From observations and several interviews with parents from a parent steering group and two professionals we also noticed some 'trust-issues' within three of the four schools. These issues did show overlap in the fact that there were 'hiccups' in the relationship between school management, and parent steering group or parent mediators that hindered the execution of the program.

Conclusion and discussion

The purpose of this study was to gain insight into parent's and neighbourhood professional's expectations of parents' role in their neighbourhood, and to gain insight into conditions for successful parental involvement in the public domain. The basis for the study presented in this article is a larger evaluation project on The Peaceable Neighbourhood; A positive educational community-based program that aims to create a protective shell of parent and co-educators around all children and youngsters in a neighbourhood (Pauw, 2016). Parents and co-educators play an important role in decreasing violence among children, and more importantly model constructive ways of solving conflicts in the public domain. For constructive ways of intervening in a conflict, conflict resolution skills are necessary (Pauw, 2016; Turk, 2018). Parental mediation training can therefore be helpful and empower parents to approach children on the street. We asked parents and neighbourhood professionals what their experiences were with parental mediation, and what conditions may be needed for executing parent mediation in the public domain.

Almost all respondents were enthusiastic about the training sessions, and reported they learned useful constructive conflict resolution and communication skills. About a third of the parents had positive experiences with mediation in the months after the training, but the majority was still hesitant to apply the learned skills in practice. Most parents did have trouble estimating the reactions of other parents or children, and were afraid of reprisals

or escalation, especially if they did not know the children, young people or their parents in question. Best practices of parental involvement and parent mediation in the neighbourhood were mentioned only sparsely, and respondents showed disappointment about the lack of effect in practice.

The narratives in this study paint a picture in which doubts dominate, in particular about the proper embedding of the training. Even though the training provides most parents with a more constructive approach to conflict resolution than they previously used, there are concerns about the practical translation of what has been learned. Parents feel the need to practice first and miss some guidance to do so. From observations we learned that within The Peaceable Neighbourhood the idea was to practice parenting mediation in the school yard, but due to several hick ups in de participating schools this never happened. All respondents consider this as a missed opportunity.

Even when training opportunities and aftercare are available, respondents worried that their neighbourhood simply was not ready for an active role of parents in conflict situations. From a previous study on parent mediation in The Peaceable Neighbourhood (Van Dijken et al., 2017) it can be derived that children in the studied areas were concerned that parents would not be neutral or that children did not know or trust the parent mediator. Parents in the current study recognized children' worries and noticed that this also applies to other parents or residents, and sometimes even fellow mediators who adopt a 'wait-and-see' attitude. Moreover, parents acknowledged they got to know more neighbors through the Peaceable Neighbourhood activities, but also experienced hesitations or worries when it comes to addressing the children whose parents they got to know a bit better.

Although public familiarity, in other words knowing or recognizing each other in the neighbourhood, contributes to creating a comfort zone (Blokland & Nast, 2014), it seems not sufficient to address other people's children. Chicago et al. (1999) showed that intergenerational closure, in other words that parents know their children's friends and also the parents of those friends, in no way means that parents also dare or want to address other people's children about 'annoying' behavior. Parents in the current study did not always feel accepted as mediator by other residents. We therefore assume that the problem

lies in a lack of mandate from fellow residents in the neighbourhood. Parents feel the need to be accepted as parent mediator and need to hear from other parents that it is okay to approach their children.

Respondents regularly referred to traditions in their - or their parents - country of origin, in this case Morocco, where sharing parenting responsibilities is more common and highly valued. The finding that Moroccan parents in this study had a more positive attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities was also confirmed in a previous quantitative study of The Peaceable Neighbourhood research project (Van Dijken et al., in press). In many countries of origin of Dutch migrant parents with a predominantly non-western cultural background, there is a stronger sense of community than in the Netherlands (Voorwinden & Sondeijker, 2021). However, respondents also mentioned that the 'traditional Moroccan way' of solving conflicts was not a constructive way, because for instance use of physical force (e.g., hitting a child) was considered to be 'normal' or accepted under certain conditions. According to respondents in the current study, addressing other people's children in Morocco does not correspond to the 'democratic upbringing' in The Peaceable Neighbourhood, where physical force should not be used and where the parent is more a conversation partner you respect than an authoritarian educator you must obey. There is a need, among parents of non-western descent, to find a hybrid form of upbringing (De Haan et al., 2020; Kâgitçibaşi; 1990) where neighbors care about other people's children, but involve or co-educate these children in a democratic way. Parent mediation seems to fill this need for a hybrid form, as it is a constructive way of resolving conflict and taking children seriously, which is consistent with a democratic upbringing. Yet for a large part of the sample in the current study, including migrant parents from non-western descent, they do not dare to apply their skills, or are afraid of the reaction of the other.

We can conclude from various statements by respondents that their self-image influences whether they approach other people's children. Most parents indicated that 'others who do' meet a certain status or have an appearance that radiates authority and power. The respondents who felt comfortable in the role of mediator often attributed this to their own characteristics, such as radiating calm and by saying 'it is in my nature'. Most

parents, however, do not dare to approach other people's children, because they are either afraid of the reaction or have doubts about their own abilities. Respondents in the current study indicated that they valued training by a Moroccan self-organization more than the parent-mediation training, because there was more room for deepening and self-reflection.

A study (Kullberg et al., 2021) among the same target group as the present study specifically asked about the self-image and self-esteem of parents. Various professionals and youngsters in that study observed low self-esteem among parents in their neighbourhood, which seems one of the reasons (besides fear of reprisals) that parents find it very difficult to correct other people's children. Other recent research (De Roos et al., 2021) shows that there is inequality in the extent to which parents can obtain support in raising their children. Low-educated parents receive informal, practical parenting help less often than higher-educated parents. The same applies to formal support by, for example, the general practitioner, usually for older children with behavioral or psychological problems (De Roos et al., 2021). It is possible that lower educated parents are less likely to recognize a need for such help, that they have less confidence in the help or that they are more hesitant to ask for help. Moreover, perceived rejection by society further feeds the low self-esteem of migrant parents or parents with lower social economic status (Kullberg et al., 2021). It emerges from the findings of the current study and from the study by Kullberg et al (2021) that uncertainty and low self-esteem of the parents can be an alternative explanation for the had trouble in successfully approaching other people's children. Thus, social processes like public familiarity and intergenerational closure say not all about how effective children are raised by the community.

Although this study did not explicitly investigate trust issues, it was a spontaneously emerging theme in many of the (group) conversations. Parents reported to have little faith in the Dutch government or its agencies and did not feel valued in society. Additionally in these neighbourhoods there is mistrust of the police due to the control exercised by police officers, such as regular ID checks among migrant youngsters (Kullberg et al., 2021). Research by Sampson et al. (1997) shows that collective efficacy strongly depends on the social cohesion in a neighbourhood. If residents do not trust each other, and do not show solidarity with each other, they are also unwilling to uphold norms on the

street. The overall lack of trust seems to act as an impeding factor for successfully practicing mediation in the public domain. When there is a relationship of trust between neighbourhood residents and formal educators, residents are more likely to exercise informal social control (Rinehart et al., 2019; Sampson et al, 1997). Moreover, it seems that an increase of neighbourhood police presence also promotes informal social control in the neighbourhood (Rinehart et al., 2019).

Professionals in the current study note that they themselves are likely to have more authority than the parent mediators, and thus can be more successful in intervening in conflict situations, which could mean that some formal educators have low expectations of parent mediators in these neighbourhoods. Moreover, incidents where professional educators exclude parents from the community partnerships that were growing, could decrease the self-confidence of parents. Further research can explore whether the expectations of neighbourhood professionals influence the willingness of parents to be actively involved as a co-educator.

The context in which the Peaceable Neighbourhood program and parent mediation training take place can be considered as a challenging environment. The respondents described their neighbourhood environment as an individualistic one with a high degree of segregation and no strong sense of community, except for small groups of neighbors who know and trust each other. This is in line with recent research in Kanaleneiland, Selwerd and Paddepoel, which paints a picture of neighbourhoods where residents must deal with many challenges like poverty, and where people worry about nuisance and crime on the streets (Basismonitor Groningen, 2019; Kullberg et al., 2021). It can be questioned whether an active role of parents in solving conflicts in their community is not too much to ask in a neighbourhood where parents already face so many challenges. The great advantage parents themselves see is that they feel seen and supported by people close by when the upbringing is shared, for example when other parents address their child's behavior. However, further embedding of the principles of the Peaceable Neighbourhood is needed.

Both the theoretical underpinning of The Peaceable Neighbourhood program and the findings in this study show that an intervention benefits from focusing on both the individual (empowerment, self-esteem) and multiple levels of the ecological model

(Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Increasing social cohesion is thus both a goal and a means to achieve social control and collective socialization, where collective action is also an important tool for empowering individuals to create positive changes in their communities (Drury et al., 2005). This interaction can be seen as a transactional process in which several neighbourhood and individual processes mutually influence each other. The Peaceable Neighbourhood program and other neighbourhood interventions benefit from targeting different processes simultaneously (Van Dijken et al., 2015). Obviously, a focus on the individual will fall short of the importance of this transactional process, and therefore of the importance of neighbourhood processes. However, the investment in individual-oriented interventions in the field of health, wellness and safety is still disproportionate (Van Dijken et al., 2015; Mikton & Butchart, 2009; Sousa et al., 2006, Ungar, 2011), and could impede a thorough inventory of interventions that do take community factors into account (Van Dam et al., 2021).

Limitations

Some limitations of the present study need to be acknowledged. First, we obtained information from parents and professionals in two Dutch urban Neighbourhoods and interviewed them about their experiences; therefore, the findings cannot be presumed to be representative for all Dutch parents and professionals. However, the similarities between the two neighbourhoods in the current study are so high that similar experiences are expected in other neighbourhoods with similar demographic characteristics. Moreover, we expect that also neighbourhoods with a different population composition can benefit from the gained knowledge on social cohesion and shared parenting behaviors, which is not limited to so-called deprived areas. Second, the focus group discussions and interviews with parents took place inside schools that worked with the Peaceable School method. We therefore expect this group of parents to already have a positive attitude towards sharing parenting responsibilities, which may not generalize to all parents in the neighbourhoods that were part of our study.

Notwithstanding the limitations, the current study shows that most of the respondents see potential in parent mediation to create positive change in their

community, and to increase a safe and peaceable environment for children to grow up. However, respondents worry that their communities are not ready yet for an active role of parents in conflict situations both at the individual and neighbourhood level. We can conclude that parents need a mandate from the community to approach other people's children, and they need to gain trust amongst each other and at the society's level. Moreover, imbedding an intervention like parent mediation is a transactional process in which social control, collective socialization and individual processes mutually influence each other. Implementation attempts of parent mediation should take account of such transactional process in order to be successful.

6

General discussion

This dissertation describes a study into The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0, aiming to gain more insight in how parents and other adults in the neighbourhood can be involved to share parenting responsibilities. This dissertation contributes to our knowledge on the educative civil society. The central question in this dissertation was; w*hat are the necessary conditions for successful shared public parenting responsibility in the neighbourhood.* This final chapter summarizes the main findings of this dissertation, describing some dilemmas that were encountered during the process, and discusses the scientific and practical implications of the research findings. Furthermore limitations and recommendations are discussed.

Main findings

To answer the central question, the main findings are described in two parts; 1) *potentially effective processes*, where I describe the outcome of the literature search and 2) *empirical findings*, where I describe the outcome of the quantitative study on *shared public parenting responsibilities,* and the qualitative studies on *conditions for parent mediation* among children, parents and neighbourhood professionals.

Potentially effective processes

A growing body of recent studies show that neighbourhoods are important for the socialization of children and adolescents (e.g., Junger-Tas et al. 2008; Foell, 2021; Maguire-Jack, Yoon, & Hong, 2021), but reveal little about how neighbourhood socialization processes operate. The aim to gain more insight into the conditions for shared public parenting responsibility asked for an ongoing literature study into potentially effective processes of The Peaceable Neighbourhood. In general, the literature study examined the potential of community-based programs, those that target the problem solving and helping processes in the community. In **chapter 2** the literature search was conducted around a specific topic, namely, child maltreatment. However, insights from the review apply to a broader range of topics. We searched for available programs that focus on neighbourhood processes, where the community itself is a resource or agent of change, based on the assumption that positive outcomes may not just involve changes in individual behaviors, but may also include changes in community capacity. We found strong theoretical evidence

that for stable and long-term behavioral changes it seems necessary to develop activities aimed at changing distal social contexts surrounding the family, where the community itself is the agent of change. Concepts contributing to this include: level of social cohesion (Franco et al., 2010), social networks or social capital (Ansari, 2013), informal social control and collective efficacy (Delany-Brumsey et al., 2014; Hipp, 2016) and both formal and informal social support (Attree, 2005; Martin et al., 2011). Scientific literature generally showed that community-based interventions targeting neighbourhood processes are promising, although effectiveness should still be established.

In **chapter 3** we searched for theoretical and empirical indications for the positive effects of shared public parenting responsibilities and parents' informal social support on child development. Extensive empirical research confirms that children face life challenges more successfully with the support of others, not just their parents or other family members (Radey 2018; Southwick et al, 2016; Taylor, 2011). A stable social network, including strong and reciprocal relationships between children and community members, contributes to resilience of young people and to the prevention of problems in later adulthood (Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008; Werner, 1993; Zautra, Hall, & Murray, 2008). Also, when the majority of parents in a neighbourhood actively share parenting responsibilities this may serve as a protective factor, and support the capacity for community resilience to cope with disadvantages (Davis et al., 2005; Norris et al., 2008).

In **chapter 4** the attention shifts to the direct environment of the child in the neighbourhood, focusing on the concept of street culture. The overall character of local street cultures may appear more or less "extreme," depending on several contextual factors, such as neighbourhood context, available resources, social control, and formal and informal supervision (Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2006; Odgers et al., 2009;Warner, 2014). Parental influences on street behavior has been examined extensively (e.g., Esbensen &Weerman, 2005; Odgers et al., 2012; Vuchinich, Bank, & Patterson, 1992). For instance, Esbensen and Weerman (2005) provide evidence that weak attachment to parents and poor parental monitoring—not knowing where your child is when it is outside—is a risk factor for gang membership. It could be effective to increase the proximity with other residents and increase the availability of resources in order to let youth know that they matter. Besides

formal control, informal control is found to be promising in reducing crime and violent behavior on the street (Groff, 2014).

In **chapter 5** the focus was on collective socialization and informal social control in terms of collective efficacy. Collective efficacy (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997) aims to unlock communities' self-regulations, and has been found to mediate the relation between disadvantage in the neighbourhood and social disorder and crime (Higgins & Hunt, 2016; Hipp, 2016), specifically for children and adolescents (Junger-Tas, 2008). The literature on collective efficacy shows that in particular mutual trust has a major influence on informal social control. In neighbourhoods where residents share educational norms and values and where they work towards common goals, they are often rich in social capital (Hoogerbrugge & Burger, 2018), and adults support and monitor children in their neighbourhood more often (Froiland, Powell, & Diamond, 2014; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000).

Collective prosocial norms can develop when parents in a neighbourhood share similar parenting practices and responsibilities. This way, adults can positively influence young people in their neighbourhood and act as role models, but also monitor children's behavior and intervene if necessary (De Marco & Vernon-Feagans, 2013; Delany-Brumsey et al., 2014). Sampson et al. (1997) mention various examples of informal social control, such as keeping an eye on groups of children who are playing, and addressing youth who cause nuisance in public space. Nonetheless, informal social control, as captured within the framework of collective efficacy, is predominantly quantified through the assessment of shared expectations concerning residents' readiness to proactively address local issues as they manifest (Hipp, 2016). It is assumed that expectations for action and a positive attitude towards informal social control will lead to actually doing something to exert social control, but this association has hardly been empirically investigated (Carbone & McMillin, 2018; Wickes et al., 2017).

In summary, based on the literature search, we found five overarching potentially effective neighbourhood processes; 1) The availability of resources and/or networks (social and physical) for children and parents, where they can turn to for any form of support. 2) Participation of children and their parents, whereby parents actively share their

responsibility and children are heard. 3) Strong reciprocal relationships between all community members that provide them with formal and informal support. 4) Working towards common goals and sharing of educational norms and values in the neighbourhood community. 5) Parental involvement with children in the community through social control, where parents act as role models and monitor children in the public domain. These neighbourhood processes can serve as a starting point for further research and development of community based programs like The Peaceable Neighbourhood.

In addition to the ongoing literature search aimed at identifying potentially effective processes, some of these processes have also been subjected to empirical investigation. This includes, notably, shared public parenting responsibilities, informal social support, social isolation and informal social control. These findings will now be elaborated upon.

Empirical findings

The central targeted concept in The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0 is shared public parenting responsibilities. In this dissertation a positive attitude towards sharing public parenting is characterized by parents' propensity to share childrearing responsibilities within their own social networks and in the public domain at large (Kesselring et al., 2013). Actively sharing parenting responsibility within the community entails both accepting another's parenting role and the exemplary role of one's own child as well as feeling responsible for other people's children. Chapter 3 examined the correlations between informal social support, social isolation and shared public parenting responsibilities to gain a better understanding of the ways in which neighbourhood processes can increase an active, educational and socializing role of parents in their community. Results show that a high level of received informal support was significantly associated with a more positive attitude towards sharing responsibilities. We expect that experiencing informal support can lower the threshold to share parenting responsibilities in the neighbourhood. The expectation is that in a transactional process, informal support is one of the processes that strengthens the social networks around families and children to support education and child development. To further examine the concept of shared public parenting responsibilities

this research focused on the most 'concrete form' of shared public parenting responsibilities in The Peaceable Neighbourhood, that is, parent mediation.

In the parent mediation training, parents acquired skills to constructively resolve conflicts between children in the public domain and promote positive interaction among children. In **chapter 4** the findings of a focus group study among children aged 10-12 in one of the neighbourhoods, Kanaleneiland, are presented. Children describe the streets as a place where youth, besides playing or hanging around, must show strength, and where everyone has to behave tough. It was found that from a child's perspective involvement of parents in this 'street culture' can either be helpful or contribute to escalation of the conflict. When parents intervene in a conflict, the fighting normally continues when parents have gone. Children's greatest concern was that parents would not be able to be neutral or that children did not know the parent who intervened. They can imagine intervening being helpful when the intervening parents are known and trusted.

In the qualitative study among parents and neighbourhood professionals in both neighbourhoods, presented in **chapter 5**, respondents recognized children's concern and mentioned that a lack of trust also applies to other parents or residents, and sometimes even fellow mediators who adopt a 'wait-and-see' attitude. Parents acknowledged they got to know more neighbors through the Peaceable Neighbourhood-activities, but also experienced hesitations or worries when it comes to addressing the children whose parents they got to know a bit better. Although public familiarity, in other words knowing or recognizing each other in the neighbourhood, contributes to creating a comfort zone (Blokland & Nast, 2014), it seems not sufficient to address other people's children. It emerges from the findings that parents feel the need to be accepted as a parent mediator, and need to hear from other parents that it is okay to approach their children. Also, uncertainty and low self-esteem on the part of the parents can be an alternative explanation for the difficulty of approaching other people's children. Moreover, parents feel the need to practice more and miss some guidance to do so.

Conclusions and implications

In summary, based on the empirical studies, in addition to the potentially effective

processes from the literature search, I found four conditions for successful shared public parenting responsibility - in The Peaceable Neighbourhood - according to children, parents and neighbourhood professionals; 1) meeting opportunities to get to know each other and increase public familiarity in the neighbourhood 2) mutual trust among parents, children, neighbourhood professionals and society as a whole 3) support and mandate from other residents for an active parenting role in the public domain 4) facilitating and supporting professionals, especially in the early phases of implementing The Peaceable Neighbourhood among parents. I will elaborate on this findings and provide some additional data from observations to clarify the context in which the data was obtained.

Meeting to get to know each other

Meeting to get to know each other is an important condition and a first step working towards shared public parenting responsibilities. The neighbourhood should have a 'social infrastructure' that enables residents to meet each other (Klinenberg, 2018). Even if you do not really get to know each other or contact stays superficial, when meeting regularly in public space neighbors become 'known strangers' to each other (Duyvendak & Wekker, 2015). Public familiarity, in other words knowing or recognizing each other in the neighbourhood, contributes to creating a comfort zone (Blokland & Nast, 2014), which makes it easier to share parenting in the public domain. Moreover, social contact with people who are different may ensure mutual understanding and solidarity, and can lead to higher levels of bridging social capital; the connections, relationships, and networks individuals have with people from different social groups or backgrounds. It is argued that bridging social capital is needed to increase social cohesion at the neighbourhood level (Flora et al., 2016; Walraven, 2012).

Notably, in current research parents acknowledged they got to know more neighbors through the Peaceable Neighbourhood-activities, but also experienced hesitations or worries when it comes to addressing the children whose parents they got to know a bit better. Knowing each other seems not enough (Sampson et al., 1999). It nevertheless is likely to be a first important step to working towards shared public parenting responsibilities.

Mutual trust

Children report that trusting a parent is necessary before parent-mediation on the street can be successful. Parents and professionals confirm this, and report that trusting relationships between parent and child or among parents is a necessary condition for sharing public parenting responsibilities. They also report other levels of trust issues that prevents them from taking responsibility. Some parents reported to have little faith in the Dutch government or its agencies and the professionals working there, and did not feel valued in society. Anticipatedly, this issue transcends the scope of the Peaceable Neighbourhood program; nevertheless, it is beneficial to explore its macro-level implications. Several examples are given in chapter 5; fathers who were disappointed when a professional organization took over their 'neighbourhood father duties; mothers who made negative statements about Youth Care organizations, parents who felt abandoned by school management, professionals who state they are more likely to succeed as mediators and parents who did not feel valued by society. At the time of the study, citizens' trust in the Dutch government and its institutions was no lower than the years before, or in comparison with neighboring countries. However, this does not apply to citizens with a lower socio-economic status, to which the majority of the target group of this research belongs, for this group of citizens, trust in the government and its institutions was diminishing (WRR, 2017). Shortly after the research period, in September 2018 the so called Dutch childcare benefits scandal was brought to public attention; a political scandal in the Netherlands concerning false allegations of fraud made by the Tax and Customs Administration while attempting to regulate the distribution of childcare benefits (Pasman, 2021). Between 2004 and 2019, authorities wrongly accused an estimated 26,000 parents of making fraudulent benefit claims, requiring them to pay back the allowances they had received in their entirety. In many cases, this sum amounted to tens of thousands of euros, driving families into severe financial hardship. Investigators have subsequently described the working procedure of the Tax and Customs Administration as "discriminatory" and filled with "institutional bias". Notably, the Dutch childcare benefits scandal did increase feelings of distrust in government and politics among the Dutch population (Den Ridder et al., 2022)

There seems to be growing inequality in Dutch society, these inequalities can be

individual-specific (e.g., health or self-confidence), social (e.g., informal support), and cultural (e.g., digital skills) (Vrooman et al., 2023). This inequality undermines trust in society (Peeters, 2020). However, concurrently, there is a growing demand for individual responsibilities from citizens. As an illustration, for the reform of the youth law, politicians are once again calling on citizens to joint efforts; *"Difficulties in upbringing and growing up are part of normal life and should therefore be dealt with as a matter of priority in their own circle within strong social ties."* (Van Ooijen & Weerwind, 2022, p3). The current study indicates, however, that commitment of citizens is likely to increase when their sense of belonging is high, and when trust is restored both at a neighbourhood- and at the society's level.

Support and mandate

Through mediation training, groups of parents can possibly acquire the skills to actively contribute to the constructive resolution of conflicts involving children or other residents, fostering positive interactions among children. However, the training did not provide a sufficient mandate to actually address each other's children. Parents felt the need to be accepted as parent mediator, and sought reassurance from fellow parents that approaching their children was acceptable. This suggests that mediation is not only a skill that can be applied, but also requires a culture transformation in the neighbourhood, namely, one in which parents are 'allowed' to interfere in the upbringing of other people's children.

The concept of instructing parents in conflict resolution techniques addressed a necessity according to parents and neighbourhood professionals. However, it appears that by narrowing the intervention down to skill acquisition, the embedding of this intervention at the neighbourhood level, which seems essential for effective parent mediation, was disregarded. As a step towards embedding this at the neighbourhood level it is suggested to involve a representative group of engaged residents and to discuss the role that parent mediators can have, whether this role is desirable, and to agree on shared parenting practices. Entering into these conversations is a joint task of professionals and parents, in which professionals play a guiding and facilitating role. Moreover, agreements about what role parents can play in the neighbourhood must also be made with children. Especially

because they are used to a street culture where parents have little or no role. It is expected that support from the majority of residents will contribute to the establishment of a social norm where an active role of parents on the streets is embedded.

Facilitating and supporting professionals

In addition to the mandate of other residents, the data show that the mandate of neighbourhood professionals can be propagated and made more explicitly. Neighbourhood professionals can be important contributors to the development of a strong educative civil society, because they can elicit the willingness in parents to share responsibilities for childrearing (Kesselring, 2016) and support them when needed.

The context in which The Peaceable Neighbourhood and parent mediation training take place can be considered as a challenging environment. The respondents described their neighbourhood environment as an individualistic one with a high degree of segregation and no strong sense of community, except for small groups of neighbors who know and trust each other. It can be questioned whether an active role of parents in solving conflicts in their community is not too much to ask in a neighbourhood where parents already face so many challenges? The great advantage parents themselves see is that they feel seen and supported by people close by when the upbringing is shared, for example when other parents address their child's behavior.

Parents valued the mediation training and learned constructive ways of solving conflicts. However, they felt the need to practice their mediation skills first and did miss some guidance to do so. Neighbourhood professionals can create room to fulfill this need and facilitate parents in embedding the training in practice. The art of supporting lies in being able to properly assess when strong support is needed, and when a small push or just letting go is required - and then to deal with this very flexibly (Tonkens & Verhoeven, 2011).

Two dilemmas

During the research period, many activities, meetings and trainings were observed that are not explicitly described as data in the chapters of this dissertation. Nevertheless, these observations provided important information on the implementation of the program and the progress made. Both during these observations and analysis of the empirical data, two

issues emerged that sometimes presented the Peaceable Neighbourhood-developers with a dilemma. I describe these dilemmas, and a further exploration of them before moving on to recommendations of my dissertation.

Dilemma 1; what is a suitable role for the professional in partnerships with parents?

As previously described, obstacles faced by parent groups, for example in the implementation of interventions or activities, were often caused by an unstable relationship between the parent group and the involved professional. In a report that encompasses the findings of the developmental process of The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0, several examples were given (Verhoeff et al., 2017). At one of the schools, the steering committee operated quite independently with success. However, due to an upcoming visit from the education inspectorate, the school management temporarily decided not to allow parents to gather at the school, as it would divert attention from the necessary investment the team had to make to address some issues the school was dealing with. The parents felt unheard, considered it ungrateful, and their ambitious plans did not come to fruition. At another school, during an introductory meeting the Peaceable trainer began the conversation by stating there was no agenda, but then proceeded to deliver a presentation about the Peaceable methodology that lasted almost the entire meeting. However, the parents paid close attention to it. This start proved to be emblematic of later meetings where the professional, unconsciously assumed the role of sender, and the parents, unconsciously, assumed the role of receivers. Activities organized by parents hardly took off here, parents displayed little initiative, and the professional was visibly struggling in a role that fell somewhere between catalyzing, encouraging, and guiding.

The endeavor to find the suitable role as a professional in collaborating with parents is not singular for The Peaceable Neighbourhood. During the research period, but also in recent years social workers' efforts to strengthen social cohesion seem to have been insufficient (Hilhorst & van der Lans, 2016; Hofman, 2020). An annual progress survey on social neighbourhood teams by Movisie (2020) indicates the top five bottlenecks in tasks of these teams: neighbourhood teams get too little time for preventive work and early detection, outreach work, the further development of individual offerings to collective

facilities, supporting and facilitating general neighbourhood facilities and strengthening informal networks and neighbourhood help. These are all issues that concern the relationship between institutions, professionals and the community. According to Hilhorst and van der Lans (2016), an underlying problem is that professionals have sufficient knowledge to meet individual requests for help, but do not think in collective terms, and do not know enough what is needed to organize involvement in the neighbourhood.

In literature, we find examples of successful partnerships and co-productions of professionals and parents. An important condition is the engagement of professionals who stimulate citizens to feel trusted and valued by their co-producing partner (Fledderus 2015; Van Eijk & Steen, 2016). Feelings of appreciation are important; especially for citizens but also for professionals. When actors get the impression their efforts are not valued or no useful output is provided they might feel less inspired and thus motivated to actively contribute to co-production (van Eijk, 2017).

Dilemma 2; can we combine a top down strategy with bottom up initiatives?

In 2010 there was a discussion among program developers about whether The Peaceable Neighbourhood should become a program with a standardized approach, training and certification, or whether it should develop as a bottom-up movement (Horjus, 2021). The latter was chosen, and was reinforced by changes in welfare work (Gemeente Utrecht, 2012) where citizens' personal responsibility should be stimulated, and that institutions would play a supporting role. Before the 2.0 project, The Peaceable Neighbourhood was mainly focused on organized leisure organizations. The same strategy was applied almost everywhere; a festive starting moment, training sessions for professionals from participating organizations, information meetings for parents, (other) professionals and volunteers, followed by train-the-trainer sessions for enthusiastic and skilled people involved (Horjus, 2021).

In the further development of The Peaceable Neighbourhood from 2013 onwards, the standardized approach was abandoned even more, and a choice was made to allow further implementation among parents to arise bottom-up (Verhoeff et al., 2017). Parents were asked to join parent steering groups, to foster ownership within the community.

Program developers were curious to explore what would happen if parents were allowed to decide for themselves. The question arises whether this initiative from program developers to 'make the program bottom-up' is somewhat contradictory? An example that reflects this was the creation and roll-out of the parent mediation training. Although a question arose from one parent steering group - bottom-up - , existing methods and step-by-step plans were used almost immediately, and the parent mediation training was not offered in that one school, but at all participating schools simultaneously. As a result, the training quickly became 'from professionals for parents'. Parents valued the training, but had no say in the content whatsoever.

I assume this to be a dilemma in The Peaceable Neighbourhood. The program has a normative framework, promoting democratic citizenship among children; it aims to educate children to be responsible and active members of 'their' community. The program aims to instill a sense of responsibility in children and learn them to be open to the differences between people (gender, cultural background, religion, sexual orientation and politics). Furthermore, the program wants to involve parents in this shared childrearing with the school and within the neighbourhood. The program therefore aims to empower people to be involved and make a change. On the one hand, the program provides a clear interpretation of "good democratic citizenship", and on the other hand, it promotes that children and parents in the context of democracy are themselves responsible for creating their society. A democratic society exists by the grace of recognizing pluralism, but one can critically question the extent to which the so-called involvement of parents is a genuinely democratic practice. Nonetheless, in the absence of a normative framework, how do you navigate conflicting norms, desires, or concepts concerning childrearing and parenting? Is a clear vision on childrearing, parenting and citizenship a powerful way to make the Peaceable Neighbourhood program a success or is it an impeding factor if you want to empower parents to take responsibility?

Several other community-based programs appeared successful in reaching and involving parents, as described in Chapter 2 (Strong Communities for Children and the Prevention Initiative Demonstration Project), and as outlined in a study by Horjus (2021), who compares The Peaceable Neighbourhood with other community-based interventions

(e.g., Austin Voices for Education and Youth and Healthy Communities • Healthy Youth). These programs achieve strong partnerships between parents and professionals, among other strategies, by aligning with the needs of parents and by involving them as co-owners and co-developers of the program. An effective element appears to be aligning with the urgency felt by parents. Furthermore, the strategy is involving parents and the community by recognizing the challenges and obstacles faced by this group, which are then collectively tackled through collaborative efforts between parents and professionals.

Recommendations

In light of the described findings, the implications and an exploration of two dilemma's, several recommendations manifest themselves. Firstly, I suggest a deliberate emphasis on strengthening support and mandate for the active role of parents within the community and in shared parenting responsibilities. It could be beneficial for professionals within The Peaceable Neighbourhood to more explicitly consider the question; Is the Peaceable Neighbourhood-method known among the majority of residents in the neighbourhood, and are parents in the community mutually aware of the presence of parent mediators? Furthermore, within schools and neighbourhood organizations considerable emphasis is placed on the visibility of the Peaceable Neighbourhood-approach, which partly aids in the implementation of Peaceable Neighbourhood-techniques among users (Horjus, 2021), whereas this visibility is not evident within the public domain of a neighbourhood. Nevertheless, on a small scale, there exists potential. Approaches such as posters, introductory sessions featuring the mediators, and fostering opportunities for acquaintance with the mediators may increase visibility. Initiatives of this nature can be orchestrated by neighbourhood professionals on a limited scale, such as within a few streets, a courtyard, or an apartment complex.

Secondly involving a neighbourhood professional from the start - such as a social worker or outreach worker- is recommended. Implementation of The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0 mainly took place at and around school, since the Peaceable School was considered as the heart of The Peaceable Neighbourhood (Pauw, 2016). I am not implying that the school and the neighbourhood should not be connected, on the contrary, however,

co-production of neighbourhood interventions is perhaps more likely to succeed if professionals and parents can prioritize strengthening neighbourhood processes (Noguera, 2003). The question remains, however, if these neighbourhood professionals are adequately equipped to work with residents in equal partnerships, since the Peaceable Neighbourhood-training does not explicitly focus on how to achieve equal partnerships (Pauw & Verhoeff, 2012). Moreover, shifting the discourse from 'involving parents' to 'collaborating together' carries a distinct connotation (Hofman, 2020). Therefore a third recommendation concerns investing in equal, trusting partnerships between parents and professionals by devoting more attention to fostering collaboration across diverse backgrounds, norms and values, and citizen's needs, all while maintaining a shared objective and collective responsibility. Fostering familiarity amongst each other can be facilitated by consciously and mandatorily organizing integrated Peaceable Neighbourhood training sessions, where parents/citizens and professionals are mixed. In this way, the training could become a practice ground and a firsthand experience of collaborative teamwork.

Furthermore, coexisting amidst diversity does not originate from a common history or shared sets of values and norms. Rather, it commences with the intention to collectively assume responsibility for the spaces (public areas, living surroundings, educational institutions, etc.) where individuals coexist, often involuntarily, within diverse settings (Oosterlynck et al., 2016). Therefore, when initiating collaborations between parents, as well as between parents and professionals, I assume the focal point should not be shared norms and values, but rather a collective sense of responsibility. Further research is needed to substantiate this hypothesis. This dissertation has generated some implications and recommendations for both the practical implementation and the further advancement of The Peaceable Neighbourhood. These recommendations hold the potential to strengthen the program and bring its goals even closer. However, this dissertation also seeks to contribute to the understanding of the educative civil society and the concept of shared parenting responsibilities, irrespective of The Peaceable Neighbourhood. It is anticipated that some implications and recommendations may transcend the program itself or be more generally applicable to scenarios where the aim is to empower citizens, acting as agents of change.

Furthermore, there is a possibility that certain solutions might only come to light when considered independently from the program. It piques curiosity to imagine the outcomes if parents were invited to deliberate about 'shared parenting' without the Peaceable Neighbourhood- framework. Foremost, among the conditions extrapolated from the data (knowing each other, mutual trust, support, mandate, and equal and trusting relationships with professionals) is the call for recognition and serious consideration of the citizen. Acknowledging their contribution and genuinely valuing their role in the collective nurturing of our children is of paramount importance. The recommendation than becomes two-fold: a call to the Peaceable Neighbourhood-developers to dedicate greater attention to the prerequisites for embedding an intervention such as mediation, and a call to local authorities or social work organizations - independent of The Peaceable Neighbourhood - to engage in conversations with parents in a neighbourhood about the question of how to foster a healthy and save environment for children to grow up in; who assumes what responsibilities and what prerequisites are necessary for that endeavor?

Research limitations

Some limitations need to be acknowledged. First, the present study took place in two urban neighbourhoods to be considered as deprived areas, where parenting stress is reported more than elsewhere. Therefore, the findings cannot be presumed to be representative for all Dutch children, parents and neighbourhood professionals. However, the similarities between the two neighbourhoods in the current study are so high that similar experiences are expected in other neighbourhoods with similar demographic characteristics. Moreover, we expect that also neighbourhoods with a different population composition can benefit from the gained knowledge on shared parenting behaviors, which is not limited to so-called deprived areas.

Second, the parents who participated in this study have children attending a school that works with The Peaceable School, and some respondents also participated in one or more activities that were part of The Peaceable Neighbourhood. Possibly, these parents were already more used to the idea of sharing parenting responsibilities.

Third, we did not ask for detailed demographic information from the child and

parent respondents other than the school name and neighbourhood they lived in. Therefore, it was not possible to relate the findings to other demographic variables.

Lastly, based on these findings, I cannot ascertain the effectiveness of The Peaceable Neighbourhood, nor can I conclusively judge its success. This dissertation aimed to discern the necessary conditions for possible success, not to establish the efficacy of the program. Nevertheless, the data illustrated a panorama wherein successes coexisted with persistent barriers to effectively integrating peace within the community. Thus, what seems evident, is the absence of the necessary conditions in the studied areas or broader in Dutch society.

Notwithstanding the limitations this dissertation shows that a comprehensive exploration of the educative civil society was undertaken through the utilization of mixed methods, encompassing both qualitative and quantitative research approaches. The research findings represent a significant advancement in our understanding of effective strategies for engaging and cooperating with parents in community-based programs. By examining the collaborative efforts within the context of The Peaceable Neighbourhood, this dissertation has not only identified necessary conditions but has also uncovered potential pitfalls in parent involvement initiatives. Moreover, this study draws upon a multitude of data sources and perspectives, capturing the insights and experiences of various stakeholders invested in The Peaceable Neighbourhood, thereby ensuring a robust examination of the subject matter.

Toward the future development of The Peaceable Neighbourhood

The Peaceable Neighbourhood has existed for several years and boasts numerous accomplishments (Horjus, 2021), but collaboratively shaping a shared parenting model with parents might necessitate relinquishing even more of the program's established strategies and rigid implementations. I would propose experimenting with a more open-ended role for the citizen, facilitated by a professional from a standpoint of parity, while acknowledging the uncertainty of the outcome. To reiterate, I am not advocating for the abandonment of normative frameworks, but rather a less rigid strategy, or the courage to relinquish established norms. The normative framework from The Peaceable Neighbourhood stems

from an ideal of democracy, while the framework need not be discarded, the extensive 'gray area' within and the precise manner of implementation, ought to be determined by parents/citizens themselves. Allowing the citizen to express their vision is facilitated by deviating from the strategies that professionals are accustomed to. This necessitates professionals to embrace vulnerability and accommodate uncertainty.

In my perspective, this dissertation underscores the necessity for responsible citizens to be acknowledged and heard, wherein governments and their institutions should take citizens even more seriously, thereby working towards a restoration of trust (Peeters, 2020). In the context of The Peaceable Neighbourhood, I believe that this entails having the courage to depart from conventional practices and to disregard the familiar strategies proven effective within professional organizations. This can be actualized through the steadfast dedication of committed professionals also when they uphold an ideal vision of democracy, one in which parents and other residents share parenting responsibility for children to grow up happy and healthy as responsible citizens now and in the future. This dissertation demonstrates that most children, parents, and professionals are inclined to assist one another and collaboratively foster a neighbourhood environment wherein children can grow up healthy and safe. Nevertheless, achieving this, necessitates a supportive milieu that transcends the immediate neighbourhood.

References

Ahsan, N. (2007). Building Resilient Families: Issues Around Child Abuse Prevention. *Exchange Press, 175*, 38/40.

Aisenberg, E., & Ell, K. (2005). Contextualizing community violence and its effects: An ecological model of parent-child interdependent coping. Journal of Interpersonal violence, 20(7), 855-871.

Alder, C., & Sandor, D. (1990). Youth researching youth. *Youth Studies, 9(4)*, 38-42.

Alink, L., IJzendoorn, R. van., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M., Pannebakker, F., Vogels, T., & Euser, S. (2011). *Kindermishandeling in Nederland anno 2010: De Tweede Nationale Prevalentiestudie Mishandeling van Kinderen en Jeugdigen* (NPM-2010). [Child Maltreatment in The Netherlands in the year 2010]. Retrieved from http://media.leidenuniv.nl/legacy/rapportnpm-2010-screen.pdf

American Humane Association. (2011). The front porch project. Cross-site evaluation data report. Retrieved from http://www.americanhumane.org/assets/pdfs/children/2011-fpp-cross-site.pdf

Anderson, E. (1994). The code of the streets. *Atlantic Monthly, 273(5),* 81-94.

Anderson, E (1999). *The code of the street. Decency, violence, and the moral life of the inner city*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Archard, D. (2014). Children: Rights and Childhood. Routledge.

Attree, P. (2005). Parenting support in the context of poverty: a meta-synthesis of the qualitative evidence. Health & social care in the community, 13(4), 330-337.

Auspos, P., & Fulbright-Anderson, K. (Eds.). (2006). *Community change: Theories, practice, and evidence.* Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change.

Basismonitor Groningen (2017) Wijkkompas [Neighbourhood compass] retrieved from: https://basismonitor-groningen.nl/kompasvangroningen/

Basismonitor Groningen (2019). Retrieved from: https://basismonitor-   groningen.nl/kompasvangroningen/

Batstra, L., & Frances, A. (2012). Diagnostic inflation: Causes and a suggested cure. The Journal of nervous and mental disease, 200(6), 474-479.

Belsky, J. (1980). Child maltreatment: An ecological integration. *American Psychologist*, *35*, 320–355.

Belsky, J. (1993). Etiology of child maltreatment: A developmental-ecological analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 114 (3),* 413-434.

Blokland, T. (2008). *Ontmoeten doet ertoe.* (*Meeting Matters*). Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Vestia.

Blokland, T., & Nast, J. (2014). From public familiarity to comfort zone: the relevance of absent ties for belonging in Berlin's mixed neighbourhoods. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 38(4),* 1142-11.

Brian, K. (2007). *OECD Insights Human Capital How what you know shapes your life: How what you know shapes your life.* OECD Publishing.

Briggs, D. (2010). 'True stories from bare times on road': Developing empowerment, identity and social capital among urban minority ethnic young people in London, UK. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(5), 851-871.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Brownell, M.D., Ekuma, O., Nickel, N.C., Chartier, M., Koseva, I., & Santos, R.G. (2016) A population-based analysis of factors that predict early language and cognitive development *Early Child. Res. Q., 35*, pp. 6-18

Butler Institute for Families. (undated). *Bringing communities NOW to your area.* Retrieved from www.thebutlerinstitute.org/CommunitiesNOW

Bucx, F. (Ed.) (2011). Gezinsrapport 2011. Een portret van het gezinsleven in Nederland [Family Report 2011. A portrait of family life in the Netherlands]. Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau [The Netherlands Institute for Social Research].

Carbone, J. T., & McMillin, S. E. (2019). Neighbourhood collective efficacy and collective action: The role of civic engagement. Journal of community psychology, 47(2), 311-326.

Checkoway, B. & Richards-Schuster, K. (2003). Youth participation in community evaluation research. *American Journal of Evaluation, 24(1*), 21-33.

Child Welfare Information Gateway. (2014). *Protective factors approaches in child welfare*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Coalition for Evidence-Based Policy, (2012). *Social Programs That Work: Full list of programs*. Retrieved from: http://evidencebasedprograms.org/about/full-list-of-programs

Coulton, C. J., Crampton, D. S., Irwin, M., Spilsbury, J. C., & Korbin, J. E. (2007). How neighbourhoods influence child maltreatment: A review of the literature and alternative pathways. *Child abuse & neglect, 31(11),* 1117-1142.

Coulton, C.J., Korbin, J.E., Su. M., & Chow, J. (1995). Community level factors and child maltreatment rates. *Child Development*, *66*, 1262-1276.

Curran, E. (2007). The relationship between social capital and substance use by high school students. Journal of Alcohol & Drug Education, 51, 59–73.

Daro, D., Budde, S., Baker, S., Nesmith, A., & Harden, A. (2005). *Community partnerships for protecting children: phase II outcome evaluation*. Chicago, Illinois: Chapin Hall Center for Children.

Daro, D., & Dodge, K. A. (2009). Creating community responsibility for child protection: Possibilities and challenges. *The Future of children/Center for the Future of Children, the David and Lucile Packard Foundation, 19(2),* 67-93.

Daro, D., Huang, L. A., & English, B. (2009). *The Duke Endowment Child Abuse Prevention Initiative: Durham Family Initiative Implementation Report.* Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago.

Davis, R., Cook, D., & Cohen, L. (2005). A community resilience approach to reducing ethnic and racial disparities in health. *American Journal of Public Health*, *95*(12), 2168-2173.

Delany-Brumsey, A., Mays, V. M., & Cochran, S. D. (2014). Does neighbourhood social capital buffer the effects of maternal depression on adolescent behavior problems? American journal of community psychology, 53(3-4), 275-285.

De Haan, M., Koeman, M., & de Winter, M. (2020). Reshaping Parental Ethnotheories of Dutch Moroccan Immigrant Parents in the Netherlands: Networking in Multiple Worlds. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, 2020(170),* 171-193.

De Jong, J. D. (2007). Kapot moeilijk. Een etnografisch onderzoek naar opvallend delinquent groepsgedrag van 'Marokkaanse' jongens. (An ethnographic study on striking delinquent group behaviour of 'Moroccan' boys). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Aksant Academic Publishers.

De Marco, A., & Vernon-Feagans, L. (2013). Rural neighbourhood context, childcare quality, and relationship to early language development. *Early Education & Development, 24(6)*, 792-812.

De Roos, S., Bucx, F., & van den Berg, E. (2021). Sociale netwerken van ouders. [Parents' social networks]. The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

De Winter, M. (2008). Het moderne van kindermishandeling. In: Koops, W., Levering, B., Winter, M. de (red.) Opvoeding als spiegel van de beschaving. Een moderne antropologie van de opvoeding. Amsterdam: SWP.

De Winter, M. (2012). *Socialization and Civil Society: How parents, teachers and others could foster a democratic way of life*. Rotterdam. Sense Publishers.

Diez Roux, A. V., & Mair, C. (2010). Neighbourhoods and health. Annals of the New York academy of sciences.

Drury, J., Cocking, C., Beale, J., Hanson, C., & Rapley, F. (2005). The phenomenology of empowerment in collective action. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 44*, 309–328. https://doi.org/10.1348/014466604XI8523

Dodge, K. A., Berlin, L. J., Epstein, M., Spitz-Roth, A., O'Donnell, K., Kaufman, M., ... & Christopoulos, C. (2004). The Durham Family Initiative: A preventive system of care. *Child Welfare, 83(2)*, 109-128.

Dixon, L., Browne, K., & Hamilton-Giachritsis, C. (2009). Patterns of risk and protective factors in the intergenerational cycle of maltreatment. *Journal of family Violence, 24(2),* 111-122.

Durrant, J. E. (1999). Evaluating the success of Sweden's corporal punishment ban. *Child abuse & neglect, 23(5)*, 435-448.

Emery, C. R., Trung, H. N., & Wu, S. (2013). Neighbourhood informal social control and child maltreatment: A comparison of protective and punitive approaches. *Child abuse & neglect*, *41,* 158-169. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2013.05.002

Esbensen, F. A., & Weerman, F. M. (2005). Youth gangs and troublesome youth groups in the United States and the Netherlands a cross-national comparison. *European Journal of Criminology, 2(1)*, 5-37.

Ernst, J.S. (2001). Community-level factors and child maltreatment in a suburban county. *Social Work Research*, *25(3),* 133-142.

Field, J. (2008). *Social capital*. New York: Routledge.

Fisher, D., & Gruescu, S. (2011). Children and the Big Society. Backing communities to keep the next generation safe and happy. ResPublica.

Foell, A., Pitzer, K.A., Nebbitt, V., Lombe, M., Yu, M., Villodas, M.L. and Newransky, C., 2021. Exposure to community violence and depressive symptoms: examining community, family, and peer effects among public housing youth. *Health & Place, 69,* p.102579.

Fonseca, X., Lukosch, S., & Brazier, F. (2019). Social cohesion revisited: a new definition and how to characterize it. Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research, 32(2), 231-253.

Flora C. B., Flora J. L., & Gasteyer S. P. (2016). Rural communities: Legacy + change (5th ed.). Westview Press.

Franco, L.M., Pottick, K.J. & Huang, C. (2010). Early parenthood in a community context: neighbourhood conditions, race-ethnicity, and parenting stress. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 38, 574-590.

Freisthler, B. (2004). A spatial analysis of social disorganization, alcohol access, and rates of child maltreatment in neighbourhoods. *Children and Youth Services Review, 26(9),* 803-819.

Freisthler, B., Needell, B., & Gruenewald, P. J. (2005). Is the physical availability of alcohol and illicit drugs related to neighbourhood rates of child maltreatment?. *Child abuse & neglect, 29(9),* 1049-1060.

Freisthler, B., Merritt, D. H., & LaScala, E. A. (2006). Understanding the ecology of child maltreatment: A review of the literature and directions for future research. *Child Maltreatment, 11(3)*, 263-280.

FRIENDS National Resource Center for Community-Based Child Abuse Prevention. (2009). *Evidence Based and Evidence Informed Programs: Prevention program descriptions classified by CBCAP evidence based and evidence informed categories*. Retrieved from: http://friendsnrc.org/joomdocs/eb_prog_direct.pdf

Froiland, J. M., Powell, D. R., & Diamond, K. E. (2014). Relations among neighbourhood social networks, home literacy environments, and children's expressive vocabulary in suburban at-risk families. *School Psychology International, 35(4)*, 429-444.

Fromm, S. J. (2004). The processes that moderate the effect of community structural factors on neighbourhood child maltreatment rates. Retrieved from *Dissertation Abstracts International, 65(04),* 2080B (UMI No. 3128757).

Garbarino, J. (1977). The human ecology of child maltreatment: A conceptual model for research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 39, 721–735.

Garbarino, J. & Kostelny, K. (1992). Child maltreatment as a community problem. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 16, 455-464.

Garbarino, J. & Crouter, A. (1978). Defining the community context for parent-child relations: the correlates of child maltreatment. *Child Development*, 49, 604-616.

Garbarino, J., & Stocking, S. H. (1980). *Protecting children from abuse and neglect: Developing and maintaining effective support systems for families*. Jossey-Bass.

References

Garcia, E., & Musitu, G. (2003). Social isolation from communities and child maltreatment: a cross-cultural comparison. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *27*, 153-168.

Gemeente Utrecht [Municipality of Utrecht] (2012). Monitor Krachtwijken [Monitor deprived area's]. Gemeente Utrecht.

Greene, S., Osterholm, J., Fan, Y., & Stone, J. A. (2014). The effect of neighbourhood watch programs on neighbourhood crime in Medford Oregon.

Groff, E. R. (2014). Informal social control and crime events. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 31(1) 90–106. Doi: 1043986214552619.

Hadioui, I. E. (2010). De Straten-Generaal van Rotterdam. Naar een stadssociologisch perspectief op jeugdculturen. (To an urban sociological perspective on youth culture). *Pedagogiek*, 30(1), 26-42.

Harpham, T. (2008). The measurement of community social capital through surveys. In *Social capital and health* (pp. 51-62). Springer New York.

Health Council of the Netherlands. (2011). *Treating the effects of child abuse.* (Publication No. 2011/11E). Retrieved from http://gr.nl/sites/default/files/201111Echild_abuse.pdf

Helbing D, Yu W, Opp K-D, Rauhut H (2014) Conditions for the Emergence of Shared Norms in Populations with Incompatible Preferences. PLoS ONE 9(8): e104207. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0104207

Hermanns, J. (2009). Het opvoeden verleerd [Childrearing forgotten]. Inaugural lecture on June 9, 2009. Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Vossius Press University of Amsterdam.

Hermanns, J. M., Asscher, J. J., Zijlstra, B. J., Hoffenaar, P. J., & Deković, M. (2013). Long-term changes in parenting and child behavior after the Home-Start family support program. *Children and Youth Services Review, 35(4),* 678-684.

Higgins, B. R., & Hunt, J. (2016). Collective efficacy: Taking action to improve neighbourhoods. *NIJ Journal, 277*, 18-21.

Hipp, J. R. (2016). Collective efficacy: How is it conceptualized, how is it measured, and does it really matter for understanding perceived neighbourhood crime and disorder? *Journal of criminal justice, 46*, 32-44.

Hofman, J. (2020). Wat we kunnen leren van de eikenprocessierups. Sociaal Bestek, 82(4), 51-53.

Hoogerbrugge, M. M., & Burger, M. J. (2018). Neighbourhood-based social capital and life satisfaction: the case of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. *Urban Geography, 39(10),* 1484-1509.

Hopper, P. (2017). Rebuilding communities in an age of individualism. Routledge.

Horjus, B., van Dijken, M.W., De Winter (2012). Van school naar huis door een Vreedzame Wijk. Onderzoek naar Vreedzame Wijk Overvecht. [From school to home through a Peaceable Neighbourhood. Research into Peaceable Neighbourhood Overvecht]. 2010-2011. Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht

Horjus, B. (2021). De Vreedzame Wijk: Verwachtingen en Resultaten [The Peaceable Neighbourhood: Expectations and Results]. Doctoral dissertation, Utrecht University.

Horton, C. (2003). *Protective factors literature review: early care and education programs and the prevention of child abuse and neglect*. The Center for the Study of Social Policy. Retrieved from: http://www.cssp.org/reform/strengthening-families/resources/body/LiteratureReview.pdf

Ilan, J. (2010). 'If you don't let us in, we'll get arrested': Class-cultural dynamics in the provision of, and resistance to, youth justice work. *Youth Justice*, *10*(1), 25-39.

Ilan, J. (2011). Reclaiming respectability? The class-cultural dynamics of crime, community and governance in inner-city Dublin. *Urban studies*, *48*(6), 1137-1155.

Ilan, J. (2015). *Understanding street culture: poverty, crime, youth and cool*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ince, D., & Schmidt A. (2017). Eigen kracht versterken van jeugd en ouders. Wat weten we? Literatuuronderzoek naar de stand van zaken. [Strengthening the own strength of youth and parents. What do we know? Literature research into the state of affairs]. Nederlands Jeugd Instituut.

Jack, G. (2004). Child protection at the community level. *Child Abuse Review, 13(6)*, 368-383.

Johnson, S. R. L., Finigan, N. M., Bradshaw, C. P., Haynie, D. L., & Cheng, T. L. (2011). Examining the link between neighbourhood context and parental messages to their adolescent children about violence. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 49(1*), 58-63.

Jones, T. S. (2004). Conflict Resolution Education: The Field, the Findings, and the Future. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly, 22(1-2)*, 233-267.

References

Junger-Tas, J. (2008). Actuele visies op jeugdcriminaliteit. Opvoeding als Spiegel van de beschaving. Een moderne antropologie van de opvoeding. [Current views on juvenile crime. Education as a Mirror of Civilization. A modern anthropology of education]. Amsterdam: SWP, 102-114.

Kâgitçibaşi, Ç. (1990). Family and socialization in cross-cultural perspective: a model of change.

Karriker-Jaffe, K. J., Foshee, V. A., Ennett, S. T., & Suchindran, C. (2013). Associations of neighbourhood and family factors with trajectories of physical and social aggression during adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 42(6*), 861-877.

Kaulingfreks, F. (2016). *Uncivil engagement and unruly politics: disruptive interventions of urban youth*. London: Palgrave Macmillen.

Kelders, Y., Ten Hoeve, S., Kwekkeboom, R., Schmale, L., Wittenberg, Y., & van Zal, S. (2016). Community care and the care transition in the Netherlands. Journal of Social Intervention: Theory and Practice, 25(4), 27-40.

Kesselring, M., De Winter, M., Horjus, B., & Van Yperen, T.8 (2013). Allemaal opvoeders in de pedagogische civil society. Naar een theoretisch raamwerk van een ander paradigma voor opgroeien en opvoeden [Allemaal opvoeders in the educative civil society. Toward a theoretical framework of an alternative paradigm for childrearing]. Pedagogiek, 33(1), 5-20.

Kesselring, M. C., De Winter, M., Van Yperen, T., & Lecluijze, S. (2016). Partners in parenting: An overview of the literature on parents' and nonparental adults' perspectives on shared responsibilities in childrearing. Issues in Social Science, 4(1), 69-97.

Kesselring, M. C. (2016). Partners in Parenting: A study on shared childrearing responsibilities between parents and nonparental adults (Doctoral dissertation, Utrecht University).

Kimbrough-Melton, R. J., & Campbell, D. (2008). Strong Communities for Children: A Community-wide Approach to Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect. *Family & Community Health, 31(2),* 100-112.

Kim-Cohen, J. (2007). Resilience and developmental psychopathology. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Clinics of North America, 16(2),* 271-283. doi:10.1016/j.chc.2006.11.003

Kisby, B. (2010). The Big Society: power to the people?. The political quarterly, 81(4), 484-491.

Klassen, T. P., MacKay, J. M., Moher, D., Walker, A., & Jones, A. L. (2000). Community-based injury prevention interventions. *The Future of Children*, 83-110.

Klevens, J., & Whitaker D.J. (2007). A review of primary prevention strategies for preventing child maltreatment. *Child Maltreatment, 12,* 364-377.

Krishnan, V. & Morrison, K.B. (1994). An ecological model of child maltreatment in a Canadian province. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 19,* 101-113.

Kubisch, A.C., Weiss, C.H., Schorr, L.B., & Connell, J.P. (1995). *Introduction. New Approaches to Evaluating Community Initiatives: Concepts, Methods, and Contexts*, ed. James Connell et al. Washington, DC: Aspen Institute.

Kullberg, J., Mouktadibillah, R., & de Vries, J. (2021). Opgroeien in een kwetsbare wijk. [Growing up in a vulnerable neighbourhood]. The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

Lansdown, G. (2011). *Every Child's Right to be Heard: A resource guide on the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child General Comment No*. 12. London: Save the Children/United Nations Children's Fund. Retrieved from: https://www.unicef.org/french/adolescence/files/Every_Childs_Right_to_be_Heard.pdf

Leigh-Hunt, N., Bagguley, D., Bash, K., Turner, V., Turnbull, S., Valtorta, N., & Caan, W. (2017). An overview of systematic reviews on the public health consequences of social isolation and loneliness. Public health, 152, 157-171.

Leventhal, T., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2000). The neighbourhoods they live in: the effects of neighbourhood residence on child and adolescent outcomes. *Psychological bulletin, 126(2),* 309.

Leventhal, T., & Dupéré, V. (2019). Neighbourhood effects on children's development in experimental and nonexperimental research. Annual Review of Developmental Psychology, 1, 149-176.

Li, Y., Zhang, W., Lui, J., Arbeit, M. R., Schwartz, S. J., Bowers, E. P., & Lerner, R. M. (2011). The role of school engagement in preventing adolescent delinquency and substance use: A survival analysis. Journal of Adolescence, 34, 1181–1192.

Lieberman, M. (2013). Social. New York, NY: Crown.

Limber, S. P., & Hashima, P. Y. (2002). The social context: What comes naturally in child protection. In G. B. Melton, R. A. Thompson, & M. A. Small (Eds.), Toward a child-centered, neighbourhood-based child protection system: A report of the consortium on children, families, and the law (pp. 41–66). Praeger Publishers/Greenwood Publishing Group.

Lorthridge, J., McCroskey, J., Pecora, P. J., Chambers, R., & Fatemi, M. (2012). Strategies for improving child welfare services for families of color: First findings of a

community-based initiative in Los Angeles. *Children and Youth Services Review, 34(1),* 281-288.

Lyons, S. J., Henly, J. R., & Schuerman, J. R. (2005). Informal support in maltreating families: Its effect on parenting practices. Children and Youth Services Review, 27(1), 21-38.

Maguire-Jack, K., Yoon, S., & Hong, S. (2021). Social cohesion and informal social control as mediators between neighbourhood poverty and child maltreatment. Child maltreatment, 10775595211007566.

Marketresponse (2010). Onderzoek J&G rol; naar de rol bij de opvoeding van kinderen van iemand anders. [Research on the role in educating someone else's children.] Rijksoverheid, Dienst Publiek en Communicatie.

Martin, A., Gardner, M. & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2011). The mediated and moderated effects of family support on child maltreatment. *Journal of Family Issues*, *33(7),* 920-941.

McCarthey, S. J. (2000). Home–school connections: A review of the literature. The Journal of Educational Research, 93(3), 145-153.

McCroskey, J., Christie, C. A., Lorthridge, J., Chambers, R., Pecora, P.J., Azzam, T., Fleischer, D., Rosental, E., Weisbart, A., Custodio, C., Franke, T., Nunn, P., Carter, S., Yoo, J., Bowie, P., & Wold, C. (2009). *Prevention initiative demonstration project (PIDP). Year one evaluation summary report.* Los Angeles, California: Easy Family Programs. Retrieved from http://www.casey.org/media/PIDP_Year1_fr.pdf

McCroskey, J., Lorthridge, J., Kim, J., Chen, G., Fleischer, D., & Pecora, P. J. (2010). *Prevention initiative demonstration project (PIDP): Year two evaluation report. Volume Two. Profiles of PIDP networks.* Los Angeles, California: Easy Family Programs. Retrieved from http://www.shieldsforfamilies.org/download/PIDP_year2_FR_v1.pdf

McCroskey, J., Pecora, P., Franke, T., Christie, C., & Lorthridge, J. (2012). Can public child welfare help to prevent child maltreatment? Promising findings from Los Angeles. *Journal of Family Strengths, 12(1)*, 1- 23.

McLeroy, K. R., Norton, B. L., Kegler, M. C., Burdine, J. N., & Sumaya, C. V. (2003). Community-based interventions. *American Journal of Public Health, 93(4),* 529-533.

McKnight, J. (2017). An Educating Neighbourhood: How Neighbors Create a Village That Raises Their Children. National Civic Review, 106(4), 14-19.

Melton, G. B. (2014). Strong Communities for Children: A community-wide approach to prevention of child maltreatment. In J.E. Korbin, & R. D. Krugman (eds.),

Handbook of child maltreatment. Vol 2. Child maltreatment (pp. 329-339). doi:10.1007/978-94-007-7208-3_17

Melton, G. B., & Anderson, D. (2008). From safe sanctuaries to strong communities: The role of communities of faith in child protection. *Family & Community Health, 31(2*), 173-185.

Meikle-Yaw, P. A. (2006). Democracy satisfaction: The Role of social capital and civic engagement in local communities (Doctoral dissertation, Mississippi State University).

Mikton, C., & Butchart, A. (2009). Child maltreatment prevention: a systematic review of reviews, *Bull World Health Organ, 87*, 353–361.

Minh, A., Muhajarine, N., Janus, M., Brownell, M., & Guhn, M. (2017). A review of neighbourhood effects and early child development: How, where, and for whom, do neighbourhoods matter? Health & place, 46, 155-174.

Molnar, B. E., Buka, S. L., Brennan, R. T., Holton, J. K., & Earls, F. (2003). A multilevel study of neighbourhoods and parent-to-child physical aggression: Results from the project on human development in Chicago neighbourhoods. *Child maltreatment, 8(2),* 84-97.

Moritsugu, J., Vera, E., Wong, F. Y., & Duffy, K. G. (2019). Community psychology. Routledge.

Morrow, V. (1999). Conceptualising social capital in relation to the wellbeing of children and young people: a critical review. *The sociological review, 47(4),* 744-765.

Municipality of Utrecht (2019). Retrieved from; https://utrecht.incijfers.nl/dashboard/monitor-leefbaarheid

Mur, L., & Groot, M. D. (2003). Community support en hulpverlenen. Mogelijkheden voor mensen met beperkingen. Nelissen.

Murray, B., Domina, T., Petts, A., Renzulli, L., & Boylan, R. (2020). "We're in this together": Bridging and bonding social capital in elementary school PTOs. American Educational Research Journal, 57(5), 2210-2244.

Nicotera, N., Williams, L. R., & Anthony, E. (2013). Ecology of youth collective socialization. Social work research, 37(3), 227-236.

Noguera, P. A. (2003). The Trouble with Black Boys:: The Role and Influence of Environmental and Cultural Factors on the Academic Performance of African American Males. *Urban Education*, 38(4), 431–459.

References

Norris, F. H., Stevens, S. P., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K. F., & Pfefferbaum, R. L. (2008). Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities, and strategy for disaster readiness. American journal of community psychology, 41(1), 127-150.

Nowak, C., & Heinrichs, N. (2008). A comprehensive meta-analysis of Triple P-Positive Parenting Program using hierarchical linear modeling: Effectiveness and moderating variables. *Clinical child and family psychology review, 11(3),* 114-144.

Odgers, C. L., Moffitt, T. E., Tach, L. M., Sampson, R. J., Taylor, A., Matthews, C. L., & Caspi, A. (2009). The protective effects of neighbourhood collective efficacy on British children growing up in deprivation: a developmental analysis. *Developmental Psychology*, *45*(4), 942.

Odgers, C. L., Caspi, A., Russell, M. A., Sampson, R. J., Arseneault, L., & Moffitt, T. E. (2012). Supportive parenting mediates neighbourhood socioeconomic disparities in children's antisocial behavior from ages 5 to 12. *Development and psychopathology*, *24*(03), 705-721.

Paulle, B. (2007). Van kleur naar klasse: desegregatie in het onderwijs. (From color to class: desegregation in education). In L. Veldboer, J.W. Duyvendak & C. Bouw (Eds.) *De mixfactor: integratie en segregatie in Nederland (The mixfactor: integration and segregation in The Netherlands),* Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Boom.

Pauw, L. M. J. (2013). Onderwijs en burgerschap. Wat vermag de basisschool. Onderzoek naar de Vreedzame School. *(Education and citizenship: what is primary education capable of? Research on The Peaceable School*). (Doctoral Dissertation). Utrecht University. Retrieved from: http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/dissertations/2013-0528-203012/Pauw.pdf

Pauw, L.M.J. (2016). *De Vreedzame Wijk. Een praktische gids voor een samenhangend opvoedklimaat in de wijk. (The Peaceable Neighbourhood. A practical guide to a coherent educational climate in the neighbourhood*). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Uitgeverij SWP

Pauw, L., & Verhoeff, C. (2012) Handboek De Vreedzame Wijk [The Peaceable Neighbourhood manual]. Retrieved from; https://docplayer.nl/7074713-Leo-pauw-caroline-verhoeff.html

Pawson, R., & Tilley, N. (1997). *Realistic evaluation*. London: Sage.

Prince, D. M., Hohl, B., Hunter, B. A., Thompson, A. B., Matlin, S. L., Hausman, A. J., & Tebes, J. K. (2019). Collective efficacy as a key context in neighbourhood support for urban youth. *American journal of community psychology*, 63(1-2), 179-189.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. In Culture and politics (pp. 223-234). Palgrave Macmillan.

Radey, M. (2018). Informal support among low-income mothers post welfare reform: A systematic review. *Journal of child and family studies*, 27(12), 3782-3805.

Reform Agenda Youth 2023-2028 (2023) retrieved from: https://open.overheid.nl/documenten/addec5d5-279c-40de-b607-7b64e8441602/file

Rijksoverheid (National Government) (2016). Leefbaarheid; aandachtswijken. (Quality of life; disadvantaged neighbourhoods). Retrieved from: https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/leefbaarheid/inhoud/aandachtswijke

Rinehart Kochel, T., & Weisburd, D. (2019). The impact of hot spots policing on collective efficacy: Findings from a randomized field trial. *Justice Quarterly*, 36(5), 900-928.

RMO (Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling) [Dutch Council for Social Development] (2008 I). Versterken van de village. Preadvies over gezinnen en hun sociale omgeving [Strengthening the village. Preliminary report about families and their social environment]. In Versterking voor gezinnen [Strengthening families] (pp. 7-28). RMO/ RVZ.

RMO (Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling) [Dutch Council for Social Development] (2008 II). Tussen Flaneren en schofferen. Een constructieve aanpak van het fenomeen hangjongeren [Between parading and insulting. A constructive approach of the phenomenon 'hanging around youth']. SWP.

RMO (Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling) [Dutch Council for Social Development] (2009). Investeren rondom kinderen [Investing in children]. RMO/ RVZ.

Sabol, W.J., Coulton, C.J., & Korbin, J.E. (2004). Building community capacity for violence prevention. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *19*, 322-340.

Sandberg, S. (2008). Street capital. Ethnicity and violence on the streets of Oslo. *Theoretical Criminology*, *12*(2), 153-171.

Sampson, R. J., Morenoff, J. D., & Earls, F. (1999). Beyond social capital: Spatial dynamics of collective efficacy for children. *American sociological review*, 633-660.

Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W., & Earls, F. (1997). Neighbourhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. science, 277(5328), 918-924.

Scales, P. C. (2003). *Other people's kids: Social expectations and American adults' involvement with children and adolescents*. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

References

Sharkey, P. T. (2006). Navigating dangerous streets: The sources and consequences of street efficacy. *American Sociological Review, 71*(5), 826-846.

Seligman, M. E., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2000). *Positive psychology: An introduction*. American Psychological Association.

Sethi, D., Bellis, M. A., Hughes, K., Gilbert, R., Mitis, F., & Galea, G. (2013). *European report on preventing child maltreatment*. Copenhagen: World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe. Retrieved from http://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0019/217018/European-Report-on-Preventing-Child-Maltreatment.pdf

Smith, E. P., Osgood, D. W., Caldwell, L., Hynes, K., & Perkins, D. F. (2013). Measuring collective efficacy among children in community-based afterschool programs: Exploring pathways toward prevention and positive youth development. American journal of community psychology, 52(1), 27-40.

Social Economic Council (2021). Promising: Young People's Opportunities and Obstacles in 2021, SER advisory report.

Social Entrepreneurs, Inc. (2012). *Strengthening families initiative: Evaluation Report 2011-12. First 5 Butte County Children and Families Commission.* Retrieved from: http://first5butte.org/wp-content/uploads/SFI-_Evaluation-Report_2011-12-Final.pdf

Sousa, L., Ribeiro, C., & Rodrigues, S. (2006). Intervention with multi-problem por clients: towards a strengths-focused perspective. *Journal of Social Work Practice: Psychotherapeutic Approaches in Health, Welfare and the Community, 20 (2),* 189-204, DOI: 10.1080/02650530600776913

Southwick, S. M., Sippel, L., Krystal, J., Charney, D., Mayes, L., & Pietrzak, R. (2016). Why are some individuals more resilient than others: the role of social support. World Psychiatry, 15(1), 77.

Stagner, M.W., & Lansing, J. (2009). Progress toward a prevention perspective. *The Future of Children, 19,* 19-38.

Statistics Netherlands [Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek] (2021). Retrieved from www.cbs.nl

Steketee, M., Mak, J., & Huygen, A. (2006). *Opgroeien in veilige wijken: Communities that Care als instrument voor lokaal preventief jeugdbeleid.* [Growing up in safe neighbourhoods: Communities that care as an instrument for preventive local youth policy] Assen: Uitgeverij Van Gorcum.

Stith, S. M., Liu, T., Davies, L. C., Boykin, E. L., Alder, M. C., Harris, J. M., ... & Dees, J. E. M. E. G. (2009). Risk factors in child maltreatment: A meta-analytic review of the literature. *Aggression and violent behavior, 14(1),* 13-29.

Stoltenborgh, M., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J., Alink, L. R. A., & Van IJzendoorn, M. H. (2012). The Universality of Childhood Emotional Abuse: A Meta-Analysis of Worldwide Prevalence. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma, 21(8),* 870-890. doi: 10.1080/10926771.2012.708014

Stoltenborgh, M., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J., Alink, L. R. A., & Van IJzendoorn, M. H. (2013). Cultural–geographical differences in the occurrence of child physical abuse? A meta-analysis of global prevalence. *International Journal of Psychology, 48(2),* 81-94. doi: 0.1080/00207594.2012.697165

Strickhouser, J. E., & Sutin, A. R. (2020). Family and neighbourhood socioeconomic status and temperament development from childhood to adolescence. *Journal of Personality*, 88(3), 515-529.

Suanet, B., Van Tilburg, T. G., & Broese van Groenou, M. I. (2013). Nonkin in older adults' personal networks: more important among later cohorts? Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 68(4), 633-643.

Tan, G. G., Ray, M. P., & Cate, R. (1991). Migrant farm child abuse and neglect within an ecosystem framework. *Family Relations*, 84-90.

Taylor, S. E. (2011). Social support: A review. In H. S. Friedman (Ed.), The Oxford handbook of health psychology (pp. 189–214). Oxford University Press.

The Center for the Study of Social Policy. (1997). *Strategies to keep safe: Why community partnerships will make a difference*. Retrieved from http://www.cssp.org/publications/child-welfare/community-partnerships-for-the-protection-of-children/community-partnerships-for-the-protection-of-children-strategies-to-keep-children-safe.pdf

The Center for the study of social policy. (2005). *Community Partnerships for Protecting Children. Lessons, Opportunities, and Challenges: A Report to the Field*. Retrieved from: http://www.cssp.org/publications/child-welfare/community-partnerships-for-the-protection-of-children/community-partnerships-for-the-protection-of-children-lessons_opportunities_and-challenges_a-report-to-the-field.pdf

Thompson, R. A. (2015). Social support and child protection: Lessons learned and learning. Child Abuse & Neglect, 41, 19-29.

Tomison, A.M., & Wise, S. (1999). Community-based approaches in preventing child maltreatment. *Issues in Child Abuse Prevention*, *11*, 1-20.

References

Turk, F. (2018). Evaluation of the effects of conflict resolution, peace education and peer mediation: A meta-analysis study. International Education Studies, 11(1), 25-43.

Ungar, M. (2011). Community resilience for youth and families: Facilitative physical and social capital in contexts of adversity. *Children and Youth Services Review, 33(9),* 1742-1748.

UNICEF. (2013). *Child Well-being in Rich Countries: A comparative overview*, Innocenti Report Card 11. Retrieved from http://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/rc11_eng.pdf

Utrecht (2007). *Kanaleneiland Leert! Wijkactieplan Kanaleneiland. (Kanaleneiland is learning! Neighbourhood action plan Kanaleneiland*) retrieved from: http://parlis.nl/blg13849

Utrecht (2014). *Wijkambities Zuidwest 2014 – 2018 (Neighbourhood ambitions South-west*) retrieved from: https://www.utrecht.nl/fileadmin/uploads/documenten/1.concern-bestuur-ontwikkeling/Wijken/Wijkactieprogramma_s/Wijkambities_2014_2018_Zuidwest.pdf

Utrecht, WistuData (2015). *Inwonersenquete: onderdeel 'veiligheid'. (Residents survey: section 'safety'*). Retrieved from: https://utrecht.buurtmonitor.nl/jive

Utrecht, WistUdata (2016). *Inwonersenquete: onderdelen 'werk en inkomen', 'wonen', & 'gezondheid en welbevinden'. (Residents survey: sections 'work en income', 'housing', 'health and wellbeing'*). Retrieved from: https://utrecht.buurtmonitor.nl/jive

Uyterlinde, M., & van der Velde, J. (2017). Kwetsbare wijken in beeld. Den Haag: Platform 3

Van Daalen, R. (2010). Children and childhood in Dutch society and Dutch sociology. *Current Sociology, 58*(2), 351-368.

Van Dam, L., Blom, D., Esma, K., Assink, M., Stams, G.J.J.M., Schwartz, S., & Rhodes, J. (2021). Youth initiated mentoring: A meta-analytic study of a hybrid approach to youth mentoring. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 50 (2), 219-230.

Van Dijken, M.W., Horjus, B. and Day, M. (2013). De Vreedzame wijk Kanaleneiland. De derde meting in het onderzoek naar de Vreedzame Wijk 2012-2013. [The Peaceable Neighbourhood of Kanaleneiland. The third measurement in the research]. Utrecht: Horjus & Partners.

Van Dijken, M. W., Stams, G. J. J.M, & de Winter, M. (2016). Can community-based interventions prevent child maltreatment? *Children and youth services review, 61*, 149-158.

Van Dijken, M.W, Stams, G. J.J.M, & de Winter, M. (2017). Children's experiences and perceptions of street culture, parental supervision, and parental mediation in an urban neighbourhood. *Journal of community psychology, 45(8*), 999-1010.

Van Dijken, M.W, Stams, G. J.J.M, & de Winter, M. (in press). Sharing is caring? A study on parents' level of informal support, their degree of social isolation, and attitudes towards sharing parenting responsibilities in the neighbourhood. *European Journal of Social Work.*

Van Strijen, F. (2009). Van de straat. De straatcultuur van jongeren ontrafeld. (From the streets. Youth street culture unravelled). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Uitgeverij SWP.

Verhoeff, C., van Dijken, M.W., De Winter, M. & Pauw, L. (2017). Inhoudelijk Eindverslag ontwikkel- en onderzoeksproject De Vreedzame Wijk 2.0. [Final report on development- and researchproject The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0]

Verhoeven, S. H. (2012). De school als oefenplaats voor democratie. Een mixed-methods evaluatieonderzoek naar de werkzaamheid van een schoolbreed programma voor democratische burgerschapsvorming in de basisschool. [The school as a training ground for democracy. A mixed methods evaluation study into the effectiveness of a school-wide program for democratic citizenship education in primary school.] *Doctoral dissertation*. Utrecht University.

Voorwinden, T. & Sondeijker, F.E.P.L. (2021) Ondersteuning bij ouderschap en opvoeding voor inburgeringsplichtige ouders [Support with parenting and upbringing for parents who are subject to an integration obligation] Kennisplatform Integratie & Samenleving

Vreugdenhil, M. (2012). Nederland participatieland? De ambitie van de Wet Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning (Wmo) en de praktijk in buurten, mantelzorgrelaties en kerken [The Netherlands, a participation nation? The ambition of the Social Support Act (Wmo) and practices in neighbourhoods, voluntary aid relations and churches]. PhD thesis University of Amsterdam (UvA). Vossius Press UvA.

Vuchinich, S., Bank, L., & Patterson, G. R. (1992). Parenting, peers, and the stability of antisocial behavior in preadolescent boys. *Developmental Psychology*, *28*(3), 510.

Walraven, G. (2012). Hoe verder na de 'pedagogische civil society'? [What next in the educative civil society?] In Jumelet, H., & Wenink, J. (Eds.). (2012). Zorg voor onszelf?: eigen kracht van jeugdigen, opvoeders en omgeving, grenzen en mogelijkheden voor beleid en praktijk [Take care of ourselves? Own strength of young people, educators and environment, limits and possibilities for policy and practice], 46-58.

References

Warner, B. D. (2014). Neighbourhood factors related to the likelihood of successful informal social control efforts. Journal of Criminal Justice, 42(5), 421-430.

Watters, C., & O'Callaghan, P. (2016). Mental health and psychosocial interventions for children and adolescents in street situations in low-and middle-income countries: a systematic review. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *60*, 18-26.

Weisz, J. R., Ugueto, A. M., Cheron, D. M., & Herren, J. (2013). Evidence-based youth psychotherapy in the mental health ecosystem. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology, 42(2*), 274-286.

Werner, E. E. (1993). Risk, resilience, and recovery: Perspectives from the Kauai Longitudinal Study. Development and psychopathology, 5(4), 503-515.

Wessels, M. (2009). *What Are We Learning About Protecting Children in the Community? An inter-agency review of the evidence on community-based child protection mechanisms in humanitarian and development settings.* The Save the Children Fund. Retrieved from:

Wickes, R., Hipp, J., Sargeant, E., & Mazerolle, L. (2017). Neighbourhood social ties and shared expectations for informal social control: Do they influence informal social control actions?. Journal of quantitative criminology, 33(1), 101-129.

Windhorst, D. A., Fang, Y., Fierloos, I. N., Crone, M. R., Van Mourik, K., Jonkman, H., ... & Raat, H. (2019). Evaluation of effectiveness of (elements of) parenting support in daily practice of preventive youth health care; design of a naturalistic effect evaluation in 'CIKEO'(consortium integration knowledge promotion effectiveness of parenting interventions). BMC public health, 19(1), 1-9.

Zautra, A., Hall, J., & Murray, K. (2008). Community development and community resilience: An integrative approach. Community Development, 39(3), 130-147.

Zielinski, D. S., & Bradshaw, C. P. (2006). Ecological influences on the sequelae of child maltreatment: A review of the literature. *Child maltreatment, 11(1),* 49-62.

Zolotor, A.J., & Runyan, D.K. (2006). Social capital, family violence, and neglect. *Pediatrics, 117,* 1124-1131.

Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift beschrijft een onderzoek naar De Vreedzame Wijk 2.0; een sociale wijkaanpak die tot doel heeft ouders te empoweren en de pedagogische civil society te versterken. Het versterken van de pedagogische civil society wordt in dit proefschrift gezien als een doorlopend proces van informele sociale controle en informele sociale steun onder volwassenen in buurten die opvoedverantwoordelijkheid delen in hun eigen sociale netwerken én in de openbare ruimte. Op deze manier bevorderen zij een veilige en vreedzame omgeving in de buurt, zodat kinderen kunnen opgroeien tot zorgzame democratische burgers.

Dit proefschrift bestaat uit vier deelstudies die tot doel hebben bij te dragen aan de huidige kennisbasis over de pedagogische civil society. In tegenstelling tot eerdere onderzoeken naar de pedagogische civil society (Kesselring, 2016), richt dit proefschrift zich op gedeelde opvoedingsverantwoordelijkheid in de openbare ruimte en specifiek op 'Vreedzame' wijken. De hoofdvraag luidt; *Wat zijn de noodzakelijke voorwaarden voor succesvolle gedeelde publieke opvoedingsverantwoordelijkheid in de buurt?* Deze vraag wordt beantwoord middels een literatuurstudie en vanuit het perspectief van kinderen, professionals en ouders. Van maart 2013 tot en met mei 2016 vond een kwalitatieve en kwantitatieve dataverzameling plaats in en rondom vier scholen in Kanaleneiland te Utrecht en Selwerd/Paddepoel te Groningen, bestaande uit participatieve observaties, diepte-interviews, duo-interviews, focusgroepen en het afnemen van vragenlijsten.

In de **inleiding** van dit proefschrift wordt de ontstaansgeschiedenis en de inhoud van het programma De Vreedzame Wijk 2.0 beschreven. De Vreedzame Wijk 2.0 werd in 2013 een *ontwikkel-onderzoeksproject* genoemd. Er was samenhang tussen het ontwikkeltraject onder leiding van de projectontwikkelaars van Stichting Vreedzaam en het onderzoekstraject onder leiding van de Universiteit Utrecht. Het doel van deze gezamenlijke inspanning was dat de ontwikkelings- en onderzoekstrajecten elkaar zouden versterken. Kort gezegd werd in het ontwikkeltraject geëxperimenteerd met een andere implementatiestrategie van het programma dan voorheen, namelijk met een grotere rol voor ouders als mede-eigenaar van het programma, wat een procesdoel is. In het onderzoek lag de focus op de programmadoelen, het vergroten van gedeelde opvoedingsverantwoordelijkheid in de wijk en het versterken van de pedagogische civil

society. De praktische implicaties van dit proefschrift dragen bij aan de verbetering van het implementatieproces van De Vreedzame Wijk. In het discussiehoofdstuk van dit proefschrift gebruik ik inzichten die zijn opgedaan tijdens het implementatieproces om de resultaten van het onderzoek mee te verrijken en verder te duiden.

Omdat De Vreedzame Wijk 2.0 zich, meer dan voorheen, richtte op ouders, kwamen er nieuwe vragen naar voren, namelijk; heeft de implementatie van De Vreedzame Wijk invloed op de opvoeding 'achter de voordeur' en zou het programma kindermishandeling kunnen voorkomen? Hoewel het programma zich niet expliciet richt op de preventie van kindermishandeling, is het aannemelijk dat het programma hierop indirecte effecten kan hebben. **Hoofdstuk 2** is daarom een literatuuronderzoek naar het potentieel van 'community aanpakken' voor de preventie van kindermishandeling. Wetenschappelijke literatuur toont over het algemeen aan dat aanpakken die zich richten op buurtprocessen, zoals informele sociale controle en informele sociale steun, veelbelovend zijn. Hoewel de literatuur over dit onderwerp het belang van de 'community' benadrukt, heeft deze algemene wetenschappelijke acceptatie ogenschijnlijk weinig effect gehad op de praktijk. We concluderen dat er weinig interventies in de westerse wereld zijn die zich specifiek richten op een   buurtgerichte preventieve aanpak van kindermishandeling. Dit kan onder andere verklaard worden door de probleemgerichte individuele benadering van kindermishandeling, die ingebed lijkt te zijn in onze sociale, culturele en professionele context. Uit literatuuronderzoek in hoofdstuk 2 en een doorlopende literatuurstudie blijkt dat   interventies die gedeelde publieke opvoedingsverantwoordelijkheid tot doel hebben complex zijn en afhankelijk zijn van verschillende 'real-world' factoren, zoals beleidskaders en vertrouwen tussen gemeenschapsleden, die experimenteel niet gecontroleerd kunnen worden. Bovendien lijkt het vergroten van gedeelde opvoeding in de buurt een lange termijndoel te zijn en daarom lastiger te onderzoeken. In **hoofdstuk 3** bekijken we hoe verschillende buurtprocessen onderling samenhangen en of de veronderstelling van het Vreedzame Wijk programma klopt dat investeren in informele sociale steun op termijn gedeelde opvoedingsverantwoordelijkheid in de wijk kan vergroten. Hoofdstuk 3 beschrijft een kwantitatieve studie onder 268 ouders die de samenhang onderzoekt tussen informele

sociale steun, sociale isolatie en gedeelde publieke opvoedingsverantwoordelijkheid. De resultaten tonen aan dat een hoog niveau van ontvangen informele steun significant geassocieerd was met een positievere houding ten opzichte van het delen van opvoedingsverantwoordelijkheden. We verwachten dat het ervaren van informele steun de drempel om opvoedverantwoordelijkheden te delen in de buurt kan verlagen, waardoor de sociale netwerken rondom gezinnen en kinderen worden versterkt. Interventies om informele steun te vergroten lijken veel minder omvattend te zijn dan interventies die zich richten op gedeelde opvoeding, doordat er geen kwesties van morele of educatieve verantwoordelijkheid mee gemoeid hoeven te zijn. We concluderen dat het vergroten van het informele ondersteuningsnetwerk van ouders kan fungeren als een eerste stap om gedeelde opvoeding in de buurt te vergroten.

In de hoofdstukken 4 en 5 worden twee kwalitatieve studies beschreven die gaan over het potentieel van ouderbetrokkenheid en ouderbemiddeling in de buurt. In beide studies werd onderzocht wat respondenten vonden van de rol van ouders in het publieke domein in het algemeen en in de rol van oudermediator. Oudermediatie krijgt in dit proefschrift extra aandacht, omdat het de meest concrete interpretatie leek te zijn van de doelstellingen van de Vreedzame methode en de meest tastbare vorm van gedeelde opvoedingsverantwoordelijkheid. In **hoofdstuk 4** starten we met het perspectief van kinderen in de wijk Kanaleneiland vanuit de veronderstelling dat ouders een belangrijke rol spelen op straat om de veiligheid in de openbare ruimte te vergroten, bijvoorbeeld in de rol van oudermediator. We concluderen dat de betrokkenheid van ouders behulpzaam kan zijn, maar ook kan bijdragen aan de escalatie van conflicten. Het grootste zorgpunt van kinderen was dat ouders niet in staat zijn om neutraal te zijn, of dat kinderen de ouder die ingrijpt niet kennen. Ze kunnen zich voorstellen dat ingrijpen behulpzaam is wanneer de interveniërende ouders bekend en vertrouwd zijn. De kinderen in dit onderzoek beschrijven een harde straatcultuur in Kanaleneiland en we verwachten dat het vergroten van de publieke bekendheid van oudermediatoren, het vergroten van wederzijds vertrouwen en het versterken van sociale controle in achtergestelde buurten de negatieve invloeden van de straatcultuur kunnen beperken.

In **hoofdstuk 5** komen de perspectieven van professionals en bovenal ouders aan

bod. De resultaten tonen aan dat de meeste respondenten potentie zien in oudermediatie om positieve verandering te bewerkstelligen in hun buurt en een veilige en vreedzame omgeving te creëren waarin kinderen kunnen opgroeien. Toch maken respondenten zich zorgen dat hun 'community' nog niet klaar is voor een actieve rol van ouders in de openbare ruimte, specifiek in conflictsituaties. Ze sluiten hierbij aan bij het perspectief van kinderen dat men elkaar eerst moet kennen en vertrouwen. Maar ouders voegen hier aan toe dat de drempel om bijvoorbeeld te mediëren op straat niet enkel op dit niveau (tussen kinderen en ouders, en tussen ouders onderling) wordt ervaren, maar ook in de samenleving als geheel. De context waarin deze ouders zich bewegen kan worden beschouwd als een uitdagende omgeving. Respondenten beschreven hun buurtomgeving als individualistisch, met een hoge mate van segregatie en geen sterk gemeenschapsgevoel, behalve voor kleine groepen buren die elkaar kennen en vertrouwen. Uit andere onderzoeken weten we dat de wijken Kanaleneiland en Selwerd/Paddepoel vele uitdagingen kent zoals armoede, overlast en criminaliteit op straat. Het is de vraag of een actieve rol van ouders bij het oplossen van conflicten in hun gemeenschap niet te veel gevraagd is in een buurt waar ouders al met zoveel uitdagingen worden geconfronteerd. Het grote voordeel dat ouders zelf zien, is dat ze zich gezien en gesteund voelen door mensen in de buurt wanneer de opvoeding wordt gedeeld. Niettemin concluderen we in dit hoofdstuk dat verdere inbedding van de principes van De Vreedzame Wijk nodig is.

Het **discussiehoofdstuk** beschrijft op basis van alle deelstudies vier voorwaarden voor een succesvolle gedeelde publieke opvoedingsverantwoordelijkheid in De Vreedzame Wijk; 1) ontmoetingsmogelijkheden om elkaar te leren kennen en de publieke familiariteit in de buurt te vergroten, 2) wederzijds vertrouwen onder ouders, kinderen, buurtprofessionals en de samenleving als geheel, 3) ondersteuning en mandaat van andere bewoners voor een actieve opvoedende rol in de openbare ruimte, 4) faciliterende en ondersteunende professionals, met name in de vroege fasen van de implementatie van De Vreedzame Wijk.

Ik concludeer dat kleine aanpassingen in De Vreedzame Wijk het programma zouden kunnen versterken, waarmee gedeelde opvoedingsverantwoordelijkheid kan worden bevorderd en de pedagogische civil society kan worden versterkt. Echter, het

wegnemen van barrières die ouders ten tijde van het onderzoek ervaarden om opvoeding te delen overstijgt het programma. Onder de voorwaarden die zijn afgeleid uit de gegevens (elkaar kennen, wederzijds vertrouwen, ondersteuning, mandaat en gelijke- en vertrouwensrelaties met professionals), klinkt een roep tot erkenning en het serieus nemen van de burger. Mijn aanbeveling wordt daarom tweeledig; 1) een oproep aan de ontwikkelaars van De Vreedzame Wijk om meer aandacht te besteden aan de voorwaarden voor het inbedden van een interventie zoals oudermediatie, én 2) een oproep aan lokale autoriteiten of maatschappelijke organisaties - los van De Vreedzame Wijk - om in gesprek te gaan met ouders in een buurt over de vraag hoe we een gezonde en veilige omgeving voor kinderen om in op te groeien kunnen bevorderen. De meeste kinderen, ouders en professionals zijn geneigd om elkaar te helpen en om gezamenlijk een buurtomgeving te creëren waarin kinderen gezond en veilig kunnen opgroeien. Maar het succes hiervan vereist ondersteuning die verder reikt dan de directe buurten, en vraagt daarmee iets van de samenleving als geheel.

Dankwoord

Caring is sharing, je leest dit vaker andersom, sharing is caring, maar zou *zorgen* voor onze kinderen, zorgen voor elkaar en zorgdragen voor een leefbare wijk niet altijd gedeeld moeten worden? Op basis van de studies in mijn proefschrift concludeer ik van wel. Of je nou zorg hebt om iemand, of voor iemand zorgt, het is zo fijn om het te kunnen delen.

En nee, zorgen voor een goed proefschrift deed ik dus ook niet alleen.

Micha, in de eerste plaats wil ik jou bedanken voor het aanwakkeren van het vuur in mij tijdens de master Maatschappelijke Opvoedvraagstukken. Pedagogiek was best leuk en aardig, maar al die diagnoses en behandelingen die me om de oren vlogen konden me niet echt raken. Jij bracht de samenlevingspedagogiek in mijn leven, het belang van context, de kracht van de community, hoop en medemenselijkheid. Ik ben je daarvoor eeuwig dankbaar. Micha, ik ben je dankbaar dat je het avontuur met me bent aangegaan in dit promotietraject. Ik bedank je voor je geduld en dat je mij de vrijheid gaf het traject naar eigen inzicht in te richten. Het is mijn zelfstandigheid als onderzoeker alleen maar ten goede gekomen. Verder bedank ik je voor alle inspirerende gesprekken, het bewaken van het verhaal, de discussies (en soms ook meningsverschillen) en 'gewoon' je vriendelijkheid, betrokkenheid en gezelligheid. Ik hoop oprecht dat er nog vele gesprekken zullen volgen.

Geert-Jan, na een opstartende fase met Micha lag de nadruk op 'het verhaal en de rode lijn', met jou erbij kwam er de noodzaak van details, gedegen methodiek, punten en komma's en publiceren! Ik bedank je ontzettend voor het kritische tegenlezen, het actief meedenken en dat je me uitdaagde een tekst elke keer weer een stukje krachtiger te maken. Je enthousiasme over mijn onderwerp en de vele gezellige uitwisselingen (ook in Heerenveen) deden mij beseffen dat ik écht een belangrijk onderzoek deed. Bedankt dat je zo waardeerde wat ik deed.

Bob, stiekem zou ik dit dankwoord met jou willen beginnen, maarja ik kan in dezen denk ik niet om mijn promotoren heen… Nee alle gekheid op een stokje, Bob, bij jou begon mijn carrière als onderzoeker. Ik heb zoveel aan jou te danken. Van jou leerde ik mijn voelsprieten uitzetten. Onderzoek doen volgens het boekje is leuk, maar van jou leerde ik mijn boerenverstand gebruiken, naar mijn onderbuik te luisteren en dus die voelsprieten

uit te zetten. Bob, jij zag mij alles doen. Een eigen zaak, why not? Promoveren, tuurlijk! Hup in de redactie van PiP. Dus ik deed het allemaal maar gewoon. Het overweldigende vertrouwen wat jij in mij had, en hebt, is voor jou ogenschijnlijk vanzelfsprekend, maar resoneert bij mij na tot op de dag van vandaag. Je bent mijn mentor en mijn maatje.

Feestkamergenoten, bedankt voor al het werkplezier wat jullie mij bezorgden. Ik zal al onze interne grapjes tot in den treure proberen uit te leggen aan anderen, die de helft waarschijnlijk niet zullen begrijpen. Bedankt dat ik bij jullie terecht kon, als het goed ging en als het slecht ging. Bedankt voor alle informele steun, voor belletjes naar Peru, voor het bijhouden van de keren dat een bepaalde collega onze kamer binnenviel, voor avocado's, vele liedjes, zitzakken, 90's feesten en vooral onwijs veel lol.

Stagiaires en afstudeerders, zonder al jullie interessante (deel)onderzoeken binnen het project De Vreedzame Wijk 2.0 was dit proefschrift niet geworden wat het nu is. Bedankt voor jullie frisse blikken, kritisch meedenken, goede vragen en waardevolle eindverslagen.

Mariette, bedankt dat je me stimuleerde om door te zetten met het afronden van mijn proefschrift en voor alle 'harten onder de riem'.

Collega's van het NJi, met in het bijzonder Sylvia, bedankt dat jullie mij de ruimte gaven om mijn proefschrift af te ronden. Bedankt voor alle nieuwe inspiratie over de pedagogische basis. Bedankt dat jullie vroegen wat ik van jullie nodig had, voor het meedenken, en, in het bijzonder Mike, voor het kritisch tegenlezen van mijn artikelen. Tot slot Vivian, bedankt voor het ontwerpen van mijn prachtige omslag.

Vrienden, 10 jaar lang vragen hoe het gaat, wanneer het af is, wat ik ook alweer deed, mag ik er eigenlijk wel naar vragen? Hoe gaat het met je studie, o nee sorry, proefschrift? En mijn all time favorite; toch jammer dat ik straks niet meer op verjaardagen kan zeggen dat we een vriendin hebben die promoveert. Bedankt dat jullie er voor mij waren en nooit hebben gezegd dat ik op moet schieten. Bedankt dat jullie trots op me zijn en me een doorzetter noemen. Bedankt dat ik het delen van opvoedingsverantwoordelijkheid met jullie heb kunnen uitproberen in de praktijk.

Familie, bedankt dat jullie er altijd zijn en bleven checken of ik het allemaal nog wel trok. Papa en mama, bedankt dat jullie zo overlopen van trots, bedankt dat jullie me steunden met praktische hulp als ik weer eens moest schrijven, bedankt dat jullie echte mede-opvoeders zijn voor mijn lieve dochters.

Alexander, voor de meeste mensen leek dit traject best aardig te verlopen, lang dat wel, maar best aardig. Jij bent de enige die de echte frustratie van dichtbij heeft meegemaakt. De laatste loodjes die o zo zwaar wogen, het uit het raam gooien van laptops (nou bijna dan), het écht niet meer willen. Jij was er met jouw nuchtere zelf steeds bij, onderging het en steunde me (met of zonder woorden). Dankjewel dat je bij mij hoort.

Kato en Keet, jullie zagen soms ook wat traantjes als ik moe was, bedankt voor jullie handjes op m'n rug, jullie lieve zachte stemmetjes die vroegen 'wat is er mama'? Bedankt dat jullie er zijn, dat jullie die kinderen zijn waar iedereen naar omkijkt, die kinderen die aangesproken worden door de buurman als jullie te hard fietsen, die kinderen die gezien en geliefd worden door de buurt. Ik gun jullie je hele leven lang een stevig sociaal netwerk van lieve mensen die de zorg om jullie delen.

About the author

Maartje van Dijken (1985) was born in Groningen, The Netherlands, and spent her early childhood in Niekerk and from the age of six in Apeldoorn. She obtained her BA in Pedagogical Sciences at Utrecht University in 2008 and her MSc in Youth Education and Society [Maatschappelijke Opvoedvraagstukken] at Utrecht University in 2009.

In September 2009 she started as a freelance researcher into The Peaceable Neighbourhood for Horjus & Partners and from March 2010 as an independent entrepreneur and researcher at MvD-Research in several research projects aimed at improving the quality of methods in development such as The Peaceable School and The Peaceable Neighbourhood. She also participated as a researcher in a European study into the safety perception of young people on the street.

In March 2013 she started her PhD project on The Peaceable Neighbourhood 2.0.

From 2017 to 2021 she continued working for Utrecht University as researcher for several other research projects (UNION, De Stadsschool; a research project into exchange projects in primary and secondary education to promote inclusivity and the Filterbubble-project; a project about young people's awareness of online filter bubbles) and as teacher and internship coordinator for the master Youth Education and Society.

She is currently a senior advisor at Nederlands Jeugdinstituut as portfolio holder on the topic of parenting and shared childrearing responsibility among parents and social professionals. She is also an editorial board member at the magazine Pedagogy in Practice [Pedagogiek in Praktijk].