

# Lend Them Your Ears

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**An Inclusive Research Activity to Co-Create with our Participants**

## Adım

Ben üç şey biliyorum;  
Dinlemekle dört kılana  
anlatacağım.

Özdemir Asaf

## Step

I know three things;  
I will tell them to the  
one who makes it four  
by listening.

Özdemir Asaf

(Translation: Ayhan Kaya)

[Lend Them Your Ears](#) is one of the initiatives we started to share our research participants' unfiltered experiences.

We designed our research project to understand how European youths, native or migrant-origin, respond to the flows of globalization resulting in de-industrialization, unemployment, depopulation, geographical mobility, social-economic deprivation, spatial deprivation, and nostalgic deprivation. Our participants rely on diverse and occasionally clashing repertoires to express their discontent with the current social, economic, political, and spatial conditions. So far, however, we observed that they do not necessarily speak their minds in mutually exclusive terms.

In our interviews, we frequently come across profound and nuanced expressions that, we believe, are worthy of being shared widely outside of our academic publications. The quotes presented in this section make us think, even though we do not always agree with their content, rhetoric, or the terminology on which they rely. While processing their arguments in various ways in our research, we aim to keep our interlocutors' voices as they want them to be heard as we believe we should be opening up conversations, not closing them down.

As Robert Young pointed out earlier in his seminal work, *White Mythologies* (London: Routledge, 2004: 5), it is not that *they* do not know how to speak, "but rather that the dominant would not listen." In that spirit, we are very excited to introduce this new series where we share excerpts from our in-depth interviews. Listening and learning should be a staple of public debate. Therefore, we lend our ears to the often overlooked, ignored, unheard, or politically corrected voices. At the same time, this will serve as a platform for students, experts, and stakeholders who seek ways to make our societies more equal. DOI: [10.5281/zenodo.7442541](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7442541)

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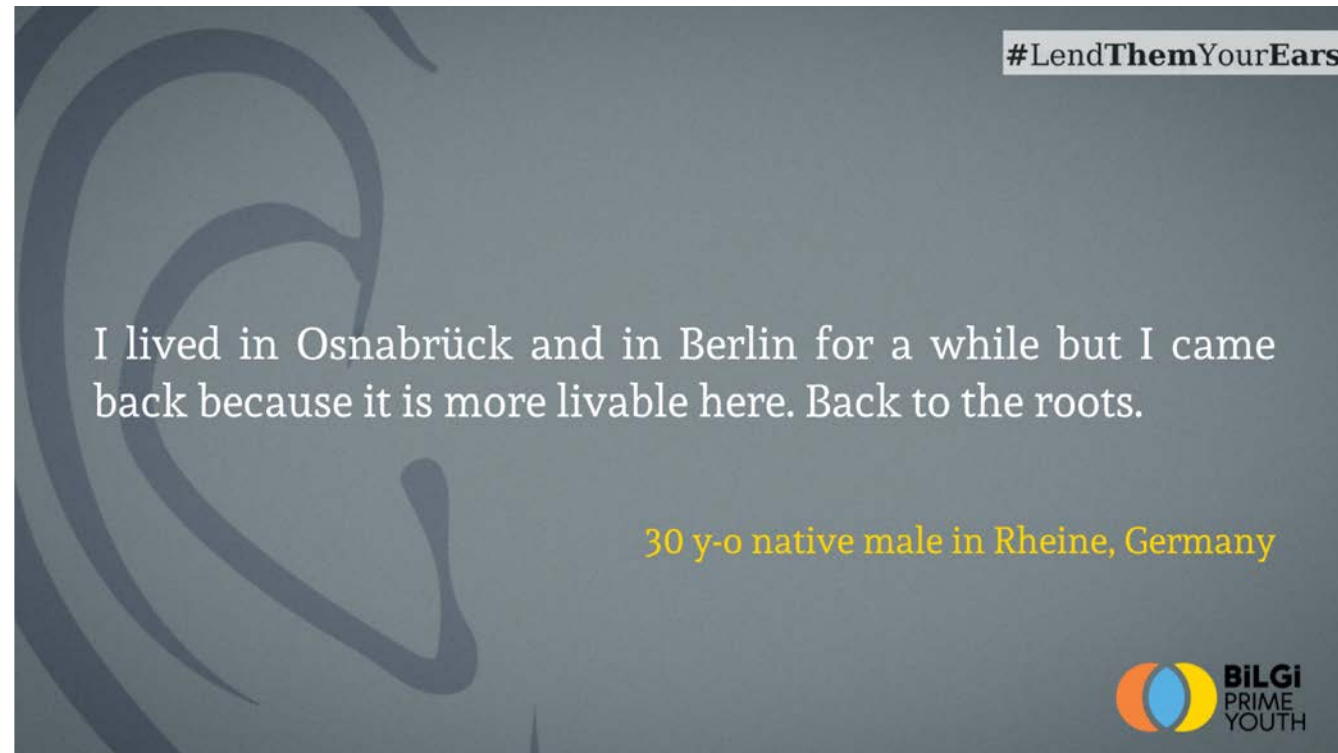
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The term “radical” comes from the Latin word of radix (root) and radicalization literally means the process of going back to the roots.


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#LendThemYourEars

I lived in Osnabrück and in Berlin for a while but I came back because it is more livable here. Back to the roots.

30 y-o native male in Rheine, Germany

 **BILGI**  
PRIME  
YOUTH

White people are very easily upset about certain issues, and migrants and minorities are also hypersensitive. This results in a sort of culture war. I am afraid because we live in a time of fast changes and I think this will be a very important period in history in which political extremes are popular.

18 y-o Male Native in Aalst

"Empathy is about finding echoes of another person in yourself." Mohsin Hamid



# Critical Interpretations of Identities and Pushing Factors of Radicalization

Testimonies from youth

Young members of far-right organizations, who are outspoken about their political affiliations, feel as they are vulnerable to negative reactions, humiliation and hatred.

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#LendThemYourEars

I'm always open about my political leanings. My manager at work even encouraged me to enter politics. I'm very lucky in that sense that I feel fine and accepted at work. I know many others belonging to Vlaams Belang (VB), who get bullied at work, are afraid to speak out and feel that they better hide their opinions. As a VB member, you are often not welcome.

30 y-o Native male in Aalst, Belgium







European youths affiliated with movements labelled as far-right find it appealing that there exist organizations that accept them despite their marginal characteristics or radical opinions.

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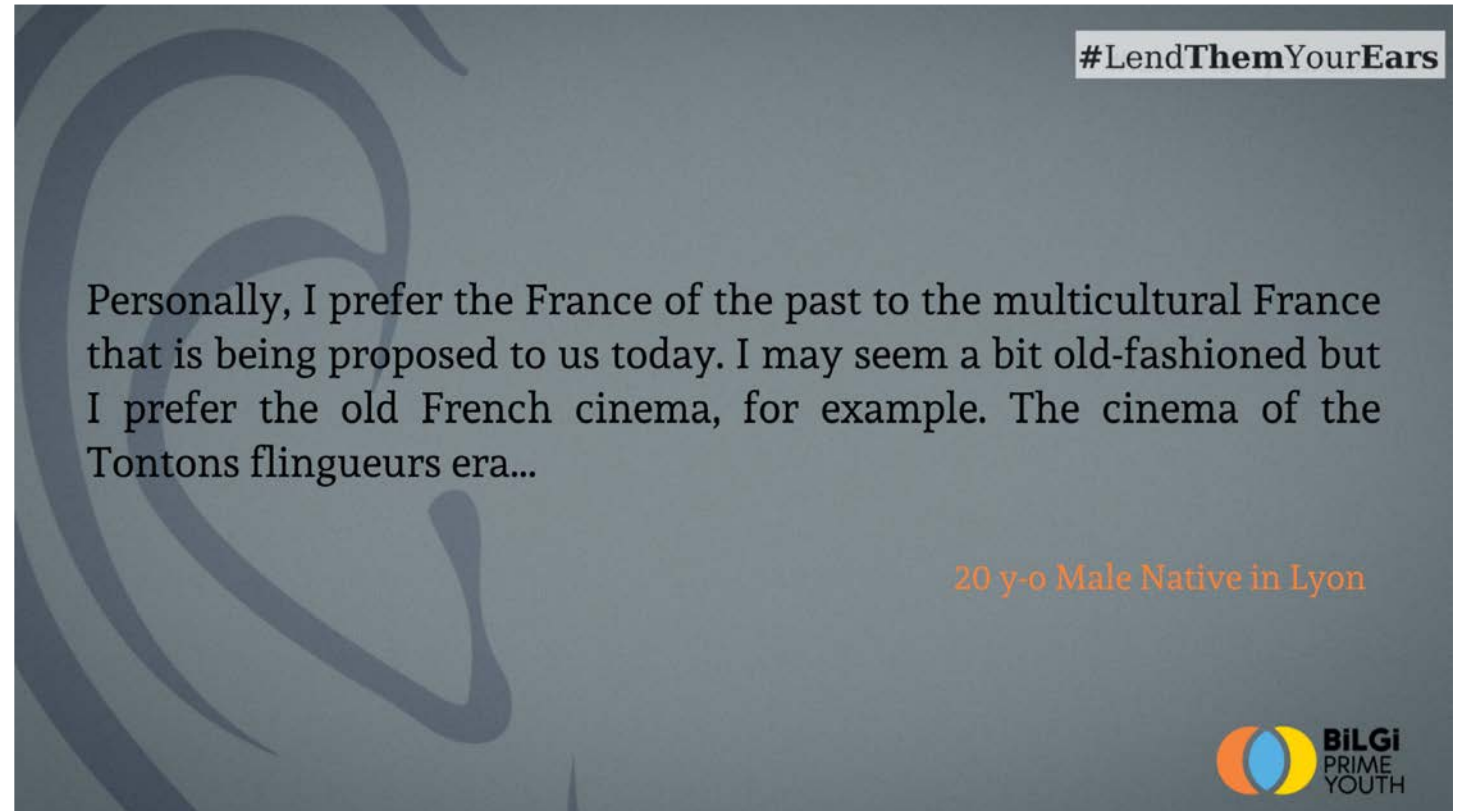
#Lend**Them**Your**Ears**

In the French Action, I am sometimes teased about my origins [his mother is of Algerian origin] but it's just little jokes. It's nothing bad. They immediately accepted me as I was, without judging my personality, words, political past, or ideas.

25 y-o male in Lyon, France



Native youngsters labelled as far-right emphasize the cultural elements to distinguish their national identity from the rest. Nostalgia for the past is widespread among native youths residing in remote places.



Not compromising any aspects of their nativist identity, many native youngsters labelled as far-right portray themselves as patriotic citizens of their nations and demand minority groups to oppress their differences.

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#LendThemYourEars

Muslims are too different, and it does not work to squeeze us all together in a small country. They have different mentalities, norms, and values. Thus, we clash. Living here might work for those who adjust themselves, but most do not do it. Neither do we adapt to them, nor do they try to adapt to us.

...

I find it pleasant that things are different everywhere. With globalization, you see less authenticity. Take the example of Zwarte Piet and Sinterklaas (Black Pete). Resisting this tradition means compromising on your authenticity. You can no longer be your unique self. I think it is nice that everyone is different and special in their own ways. Smoothing all differences is a loss.

18 y-o native male in Lanaken-Bilzen, Belgium



The native youth in remote places enjoy living far from big capital cities despite lacking access to youth-friendly facilities, employment and well transportation options. Their distance protects them from a competition they might lose in the free market.

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#LendThemYourEars

I like living in this village. I call it “this small holy collective.” You can compare it to the villages where I used to live. The villages of my youth... There are many single-family houses, only two new buildings, and many fields. I like the remoteness, the recreation. For an outsider, it lasts 30 years to find a friend here. But that person will be a friend for the rest of your life. When you are native everyone helps you. People’s restraint, reticence towards new people. Sometimes I also think it’s in people’s blood. This Prussian stubbornness- staying among one another and not letting anything inside from the outside... That is not always a bad thing.

29 y-o native male in a small town in Brandenburg, Germany



The scale of a place and one's sense of belongingness to a place seem to have a negative relationship for some native youngsters labelled as far-right. The smaller the place they felt they belong to, the stronger their belongingness appeared to be.

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#LendThemYourEars

I don't particularly feel Flemish, Belgian or European. I would be able to leave here immediately if it were necessary. If we'd have an authoritarian regime, for instance... If I need to take on some identity, then I prefer to have it as locally defined as possible. The greater the scale of identity, the more abstract and the harder it is for me to identify with it.

30 y-o native male in Aarschot, in Belgium





"Between stimulus and response, there is a space. In that space lies our freedom and power to choose our response. In our response lies our growth and freedom."

Viktor E. Frankl

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#LendThemYourEars

We have this saying in Islam "find first 70 excuses for the other before accusing them of something." I try to practice this and find more ways to excuse the other. Perhaps they honestly do not know anything about Muslims or Islam, etc. It is something I am learning because in the past, I would be much faster to judge and speak out.

30 y-o Moroccan origin female in Mechelen, Belgium



For self-identified Muslims with migration backgrounds, navigating business often becomes a way of knowing, thinking critically, and gaining familiarity beyond generating economic income.

#LendThemYourEars

In our supermarket, in the white neighborhood, we have a lot of people working for us with a migration background, mainly Muslims, most of them come from the Schilderswijk. The reason for this is that the children who grow up in this rich neighborhood don't have to work, so our supermarket has to get their employees from elsewhere. It is a contrast, and a lot of times I receive e-mails from customers that they want to get rid of the girls in the supermarket who wear a headscarf

30 y-o Moroccan origin male in the Hague, the Netherlands



For self-identified Muslim youngsters with migrant origins in Europe, the task of reconciling their Islamic and cultural heritage with their identity constitutes a central issue.

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#LendThemYourEars

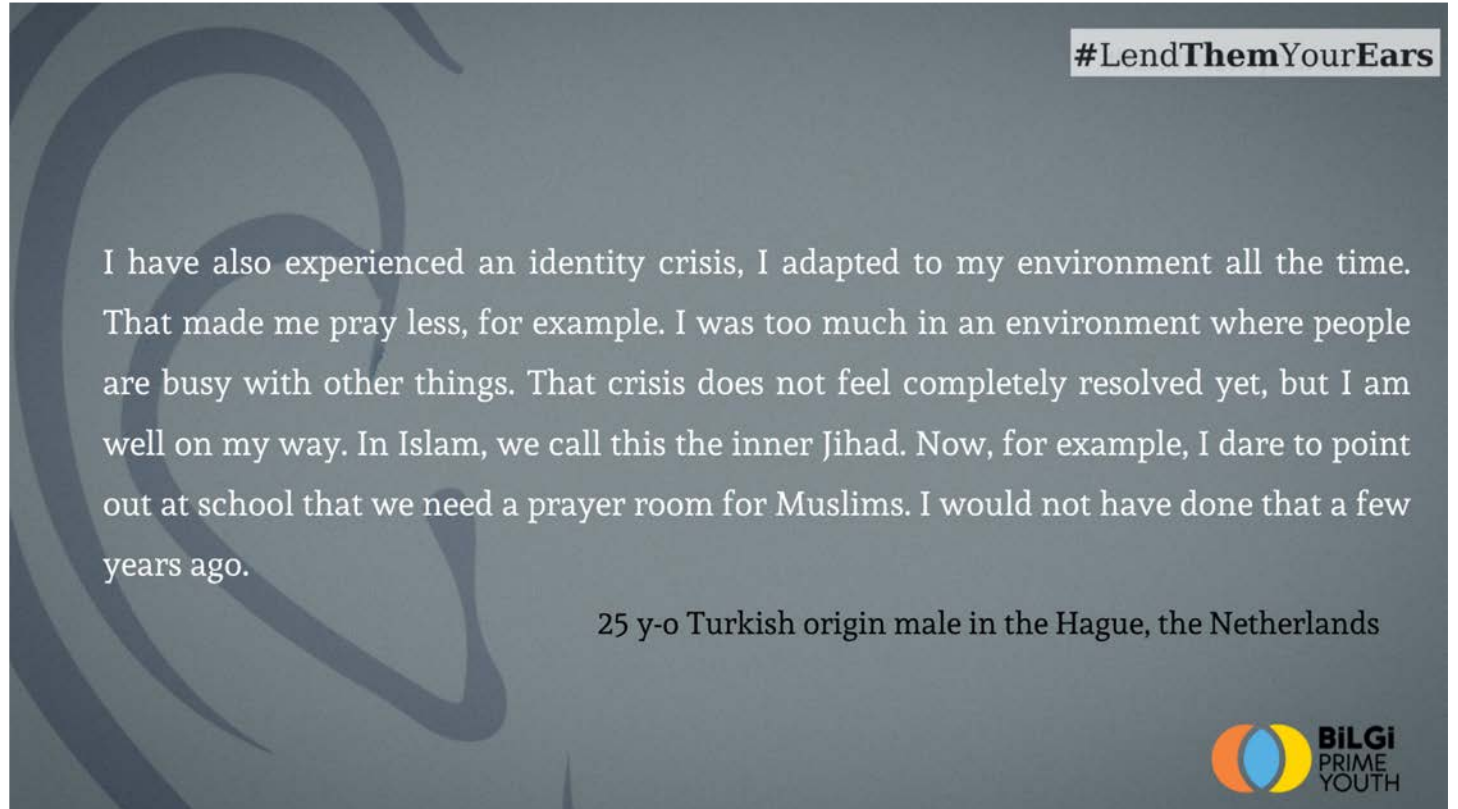
At the age of 16, I started to deepen my religious knowledge. My uncle, who was just 27 years old, died in a car accident, which made me look for answers. I think that this started my religious journey. I also realized that that the generation of my parents were 'cultural believers', their Islam was interwoven with culture. Youngsters nowadays are way more aware of this and they are looking for a 'pure' Islam. Islam answers all the important questions in life, why are we here? Islam made me feel complete, something I longed for as an adolescent. You are struggling with your identity: what is my identity? Islam gave me a goal.

27 y-o Moroccan origin female in Veenendaal, the Netherlands






Some self-identified Muslim youths, who feel they do not fit in the majority society, emphasize the discovery of self as the true purpose of religion.



#Lend**Them**YourEars

I have also experienced an identity crisis, I adapted to my environment all the time. That made me pray less, for example. I was too much in an environment where people are busy with other things. That crisis does not feel completely resolved yet, but I am well on my way. In Islam, we call this the inner Jihad. Now, for example, I dare to point out at school that we need a prayer room for Muslims. I would not have done that a few years ago.

25 y-o Turkish origin male in the Hague, the Netherlands



**BILGI**  
PRIME  
YOUTH

While heavily criticizing patriarchal parents, many self-identified Muslim youngsters praised their parents who allowed them to begin their own religious journey.

#LendThemYourEars

The book by Lale Gül [the author of an autobiography that criticizes the Islamic community, her family, and the Milli Görüş movement] is about her difficult upbringing; it is not about Islam. I also come from an Islamic family, but I can do everything, watch Netflix, travel. Lale Gül has learned that Islam means oppression. Her parents have said to her: "you are going to hell." They cannot say that at all. They are not God. And you are not necessarily a bad person if you do not wear a headscarf. It is about your own path, your own intention. As parents, you have limited power in that regard.

26 y-o Turkish origin female in Amsterdam



Our self-identified Muslim interlocutors' religious notions and practices evoke them to navigate the complexities of life: the social relations, the responsibilities, the desires.

#LendThemYourEars

Muslims are really busy in general. My friendships now are less close and less warm than they used to be with this previous group. Before I actually broke up with them, they were mad at me because I didn't congratulate them on their birthdays, or visit them on birthdays or holidays. Then I honestly told them that I was struggling with the combination of their behavior and my religion. I did this all in a formal manner; they didn't appreciate it at all. I hurt them and they called me a hypocrite. They told me I was only thinking about myself. I only used religious arguments. Now that we talk about it, I feel that I really miss them, I miss our intellectual talks (everyone was highly educated). But now, at my job, I did learn how to combine religion and my job; maybe I can manage it the same way and hang out with them again?

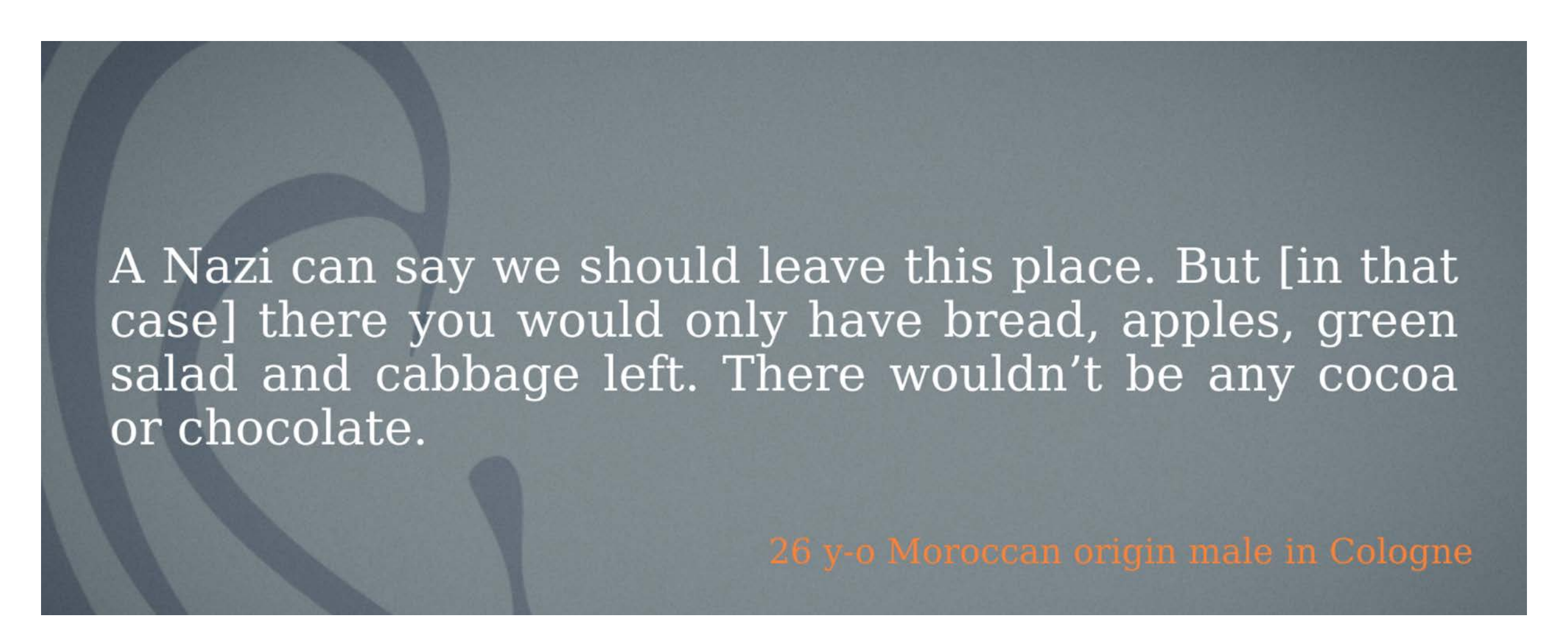
28 y-o Moroccan origin male in the Hague, The Netherlands





# Sources of Discontent

Testimonies from youth



A Nazi can say we should leave this place. But [in that case] there you would only have bread, apples, green salad and cabbage left. There wouldn't be any cocoa or chocolate.

26 y-o Moroccan origin male in Cologne

As Octavio Paz once said in his poem Sunstone: "... in order to be, I must be another, leave myself, search for myself in the others..."



Native youngsters  
residing in remote  
places in Europe  
feel insignificant  
in the eyes of  
European Union.

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#LendThemYourEars

The EU should value the social market economy and social justice in Europe more. The EU treats people like capital, considers only how much money a person brings about, and acts like a commercial enterprise. I think that we will soon have the United States of Europe.

30 y-o Male Native in Dresden





#LendThemYourEars

The news that we receive from the whole world, is that needed? Do we need to know about all that? I think it's better to focus on our own situation and our own street. Show also the poor white people, those who have become victim of the economic crisis. That is what we need to see. We need to live more in our own street than in the world.

29 y-o Native female in Sint-Niklaas, Belgium



Native youngsters resent against global cultural flows, especially mediascapes - the flow of far-reaching images of the world created by the media. For them, European countries should embrace an isolationist approach and retreat from the dangerous world.

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Most of the native European youths who are labelled as far-right blame globalization for being associated with income convergence across the European Union countries.

#LendThemYourEars

There is a falsely nice dimension of globalism. We are supposedly "all buddies." In reality, with this project of destroying all borders, we will not all become buddies, but all slaves. Even professions such as lawyers or doctors are losing prestige. We can also talk about certain disastrous economic tendencies that are part of the globalist project, such as offshoring and deindustrialization. And within this general framework, the European Union is a vector and facilitator of globalization. The European Union is a mini-globalization: it reproduces and accentuates the effects of globalization.

30 y-o native male in Lyon





"The logic of globalisation contrasts markedly with that of internationalism. The latter, with its intrinsically democratic foundation, [...] is embedded in accountability." Phillip W. Jones

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#LendThemYourEars

I would rather describe myself as an opponent of globalization but not as an opponent of internationalism. The way globalization occurs is problematic with respect to the distribution of resources and power, which is in the hands of the few.

25 y-o Turkish origin male in Berlin



Native European youth labelled as far-right generate a local protectionist reaction against the search of renewable energy investments that do not address unemployment anxieties and create new environmental concerns.

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#LendThemYourEars

The biggest investor for wind power plants wanted to build an industrial park in the size of 10 hectares with hydrogen power plants [here]. We have too much renewable energy that are not consumed here in the Uckermark region. The local representatives said that it would create employment opportunities. I was the only one who said, 'I live here because there is nothing going on.' The plant doesn't bring us work. It is remote-controlled. In my opinion this is greenwashing. They want to put an 80 hectares industrial estate into the green and they want to attract green companies, for example a company that produces lithium batteries for TESLA. Today those global companies are supported by left-wing people. We (AfD) organized a signature campaign. The representatives of the company were nearly chased out of the village. Criticism addressing globalization and society no longer comes from the left wing but from the right wing. The Left Party has arrived in the establishment.

29 y-o native male in a small town in Branderburg, Germany



With some non-European migrants, I would feel a sense of alienation and a stronger sense of difference than with others. But this sense of alienation I can also feel with white Belgians. At the Faculty of Philosophy, I noticed that the general atmosphere was very leftist, and I felt culturally not familiar. There was a big political and cultural distance between me and the other students, but this difference is cultural, not racial. I have received insults that I am racist and I received comments on Facebook that our organization is racist.

21 y-o Native male in Aalst, Belgium



Native youngsters with far-right ideologies refuse being called racist and object to being alienated from the rest of the society because of their strong belief in "leitkultur" (leading culture).

Acknowledging the personal sacrifices made by their hard-working ancestors, some native youth justify their privileged status in society and express great desire to keep this position by opposing welfare support.

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#LendThemYourEars

My grandfather really worked himself to death. He came up with an integrated model of bathrooms very early on, when this idea was still fresh. Anyway, he made a lot of money and today we still pick the fruits of his life work. This has also served as a good backup for our family. This also explains why I lean toward liberalism and how I ended up with The New Flemish Alliance. I appreciate and admire people who have such strength to build up something by their own work. They show that it can all really be done. This is why I have issues with migrants, who seem to take an easy road to come here and then rely on our social security system and benefit. I have a hard dislike of any form of free riders in any kind of way.

25 y-o native male in Grobbendonk (Antwerp), Belgium





Two quotations reflect on the existing contradictions that our interlocutors grapple with. "I have never agreed with my other self wholly. The truth of the matter seems to lie between us." Khalil Gibran.

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#LendThemYourEars

When you come from an immigrant background, you see the situation of your parents and other parents, and you tell yourself that you have a revenge to take on society. Our fuel is patience and desire to go all the way.

30 y-o Moroccan origin male in Lyon



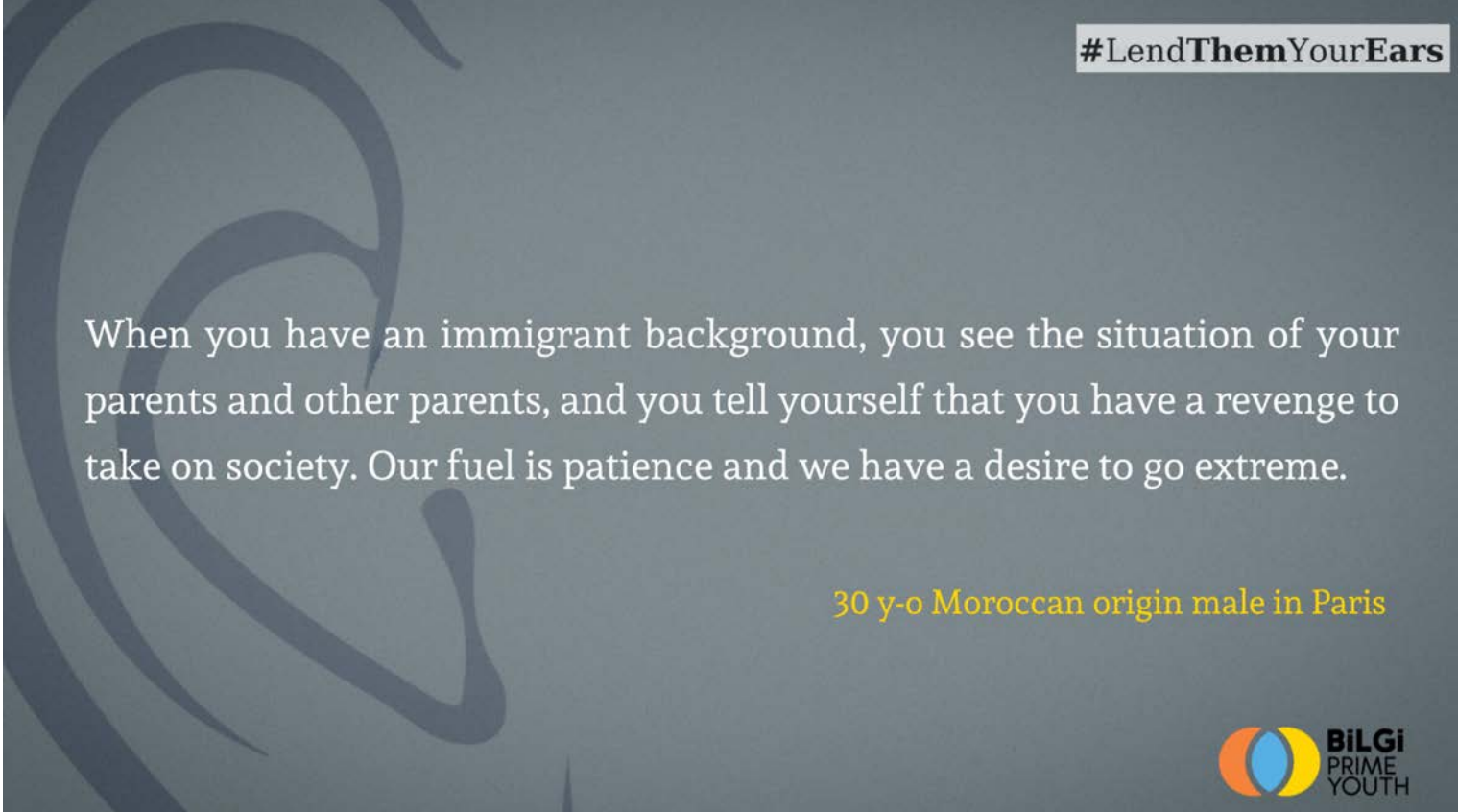
#LendThemYourEars

I am third generation and yet, I am still considered a migrant. That is not right. Most non-whites are simply considered migrants by definition, no matter how long they and their families have been living here. There is no nuance in speech. Only whites are considered as real Belgians.

23 y-o Moroccan origin female in Brussels




The excerpt on the right demonstrates how past grievances and memory act as a catalyst for social mobilization and potential future conflict.



#Lend**Them**YourEars

When you have an immigrant background, you see the situation of your parents and other parents, and you tell yourself that you have a revenge to take on society. Our fuel is patience and we have a desire to go extreme.

30 y-o Moroccan origin male in Paris



BILGI  
PRIME  
YOUTH

Experiences of discrimination in educational settings appear to be very prevalent in the narratives of self-identified Muslim youth with migration background.

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#LendThemYourEars

At some point, a teacher slapped a Muslim girl in my class and then when her parents came to complain, the teacher said that it was me who had slapped her, acting as if slapping each other is just something we do to each other.

23 y-o Moroccan origin female in Brussels



#LendThemYourEars

In high school, I was very pious and I wore a headscarf from the age of thirteen. My parents never obliged me to do so. But the older I got, the more I started to wonder; I became more and more critical, and then I started to distance myself from my parents. The piety has faded away a bit. I never actually visit a mosque. I have a very hard time with how women are treated within Islam. I think Islam has missed the enlightenment. I find that hard to admit because I am also a proud Muslim, but I refuse to go to the mosque where I have to enter through a back entrance and then pray in the basement while the men are allowed to pray under the chandeliers. I also don't want to go to Mecca. I don't want to go to a country where they think that you can get pregnant from driving as a woman.

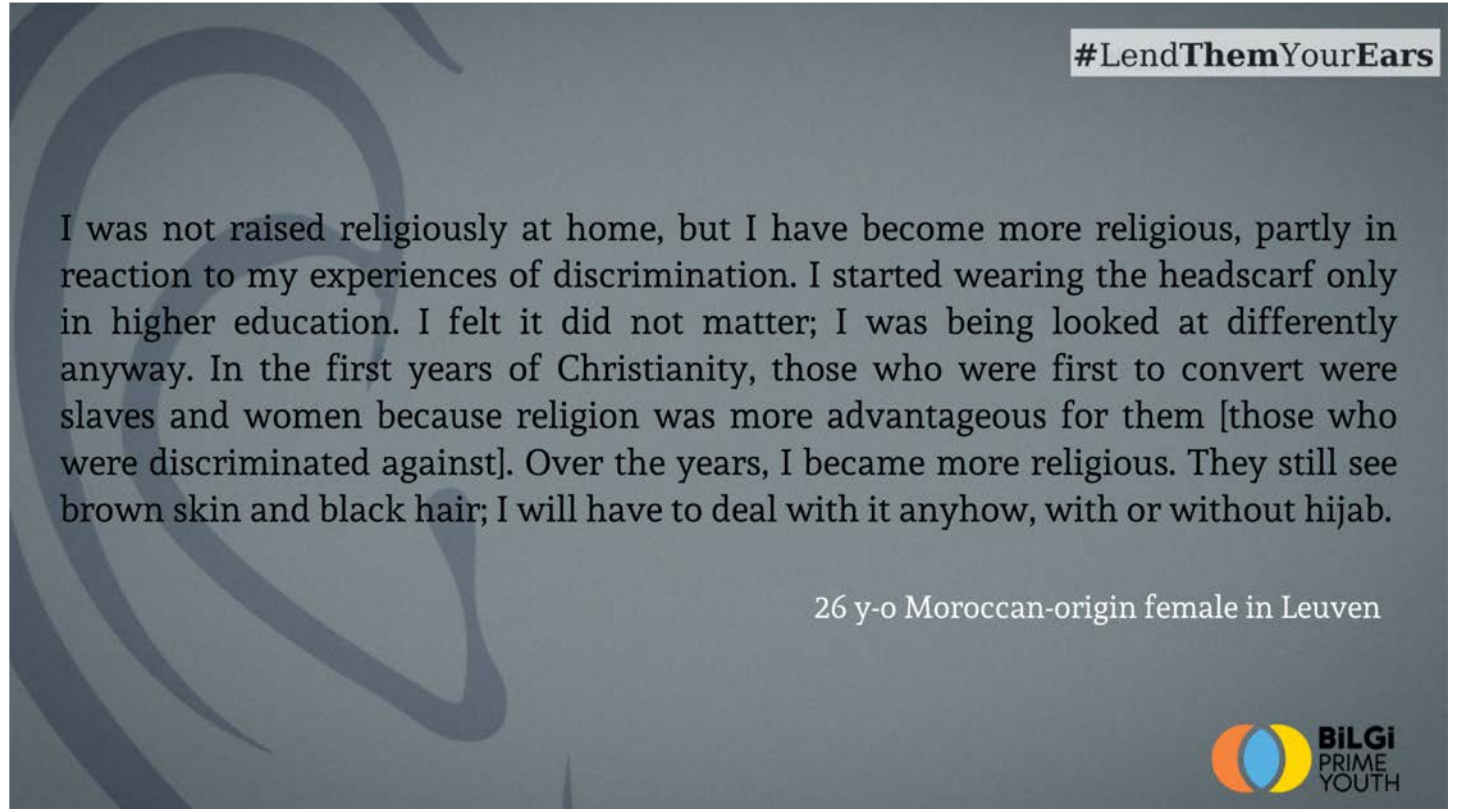
26 y-o Turkish origin female in Apeldoorn, the Netherlands



While most self-identified Muslim women living in Europe highlighted the importance of living by their religious principles, some engaged in critical discussions of uneven gender and religious structures.




Many self-identified Muslim youngsters see a direct relationship between their religiosity and experiences of discrimination in Europe.



#LendThemYourEars

I was not raised religiously at home, but I have become more religious, partly in reaction to my experiences of discrimination. I started wearing the headscarf only in higher education. I felt it did not matter; I was being looked at differently anyway. In the first years of Christianity, those who were first to convert were slaves and women because religion was more advantageous for them [those who were discriminated against]. Over the years, I became more religious. They still see brown skin and black hair; I will have to deal with it anyhow, with or without hijab.

26 y-o Moroccan-origin female in Leuven



**BiLGi**  
PRIME  
YOUTH

While navigating between the clashes amongst nationalities, religiosities, communities and ideologies, self-identified Muslim women wish for a world where no women feel any pressure to make any choice.

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#LendThemYourEars

I see wearing the veil as really a great responsibility. It is not something easy. From the Flemish side, you get a lot of interrogative looks as if you are thought of being oppressed. From the Muslim side, you feel pressure and get shamed if you would do something wrong. My sister loves to wear the veil. It is her identity and it feels good the way it is, but it requires a lot of courage. I think that women should be let free to decide what they want. They should not be made uncomfortable for their decision.

29 y-o Turkish origin Muslim female in Gent



In rare cases, self-identified Muslims recognized their political and ethnic identities rather than religious identities as the sources of conflict between majority societies and themselves.

#LendThemYourEars

I never had problems because of my religion. Because of my origin a couple of times... but not because of my religion. It's not written on my forehead that I'm a Muslim. Whenever I don't fit into a stereotype, or into expectations people have, they are surprised. A man told me 'I wouldn't have thought that [you are Muslim].' I often get into an argument because of my political views but less because of my religion.

28 y-o Turkish origin female in Berlin



Our young female self-identified Muslim interlocutors make a clear distinction between religion, culture and ethnicity. They see religion as a source of emancipation rather than parental ethno-cultural repression.

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#LendThemYourEars

I'm very happy to be born in France. I think I know my religion better by having grown up in France than the ones living in Morocco. Over there, they just follow customs and traditions. They are not on a spiritual quest. Women go out with the veil to avoid shame. It's not something intimate, it's not something spiritual.

29 y-o Moroccan origin female in Paris





Rather than an unquestioned ideological commitment, interest in the right-wing movements may stem from a desire to find unorthodox solutions to chronic problems.

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#LendThemYourEars

I was a member of the NPD and active in the neo-Nazi networks. I once suggested that the right-wing and the left-wing could come to an agreement because they are not that different. When I made that suggestion, they gave me a warning. The second time, I really had to suffer. I was attacked with a knife. But I was still standing up for the cause, not for the party. It was like in the movies, "Der Untergang"/"Aufstieg des Bösen." I wanted to do my own thing. That's what I thought. In my active times, I was also smoking weed and listening to Bob Marley, not Lanza (right-wing rock band).

30 y-o Native male in Dresden



The quotation exemplifies the growing resentment among the European youth against the mainstream political parties that are not communicative enough.

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#LendThemYourEars

The closer an election date gets, political parties try to involve us [Muslim people]. For four years, up until the general election takes place, they act as if we don't exist. Then, all of a sudden there is one bullet point [section] in the party programme. But they don't talk to us, but about us.


29 y-o Turkish origin Female in Berlin





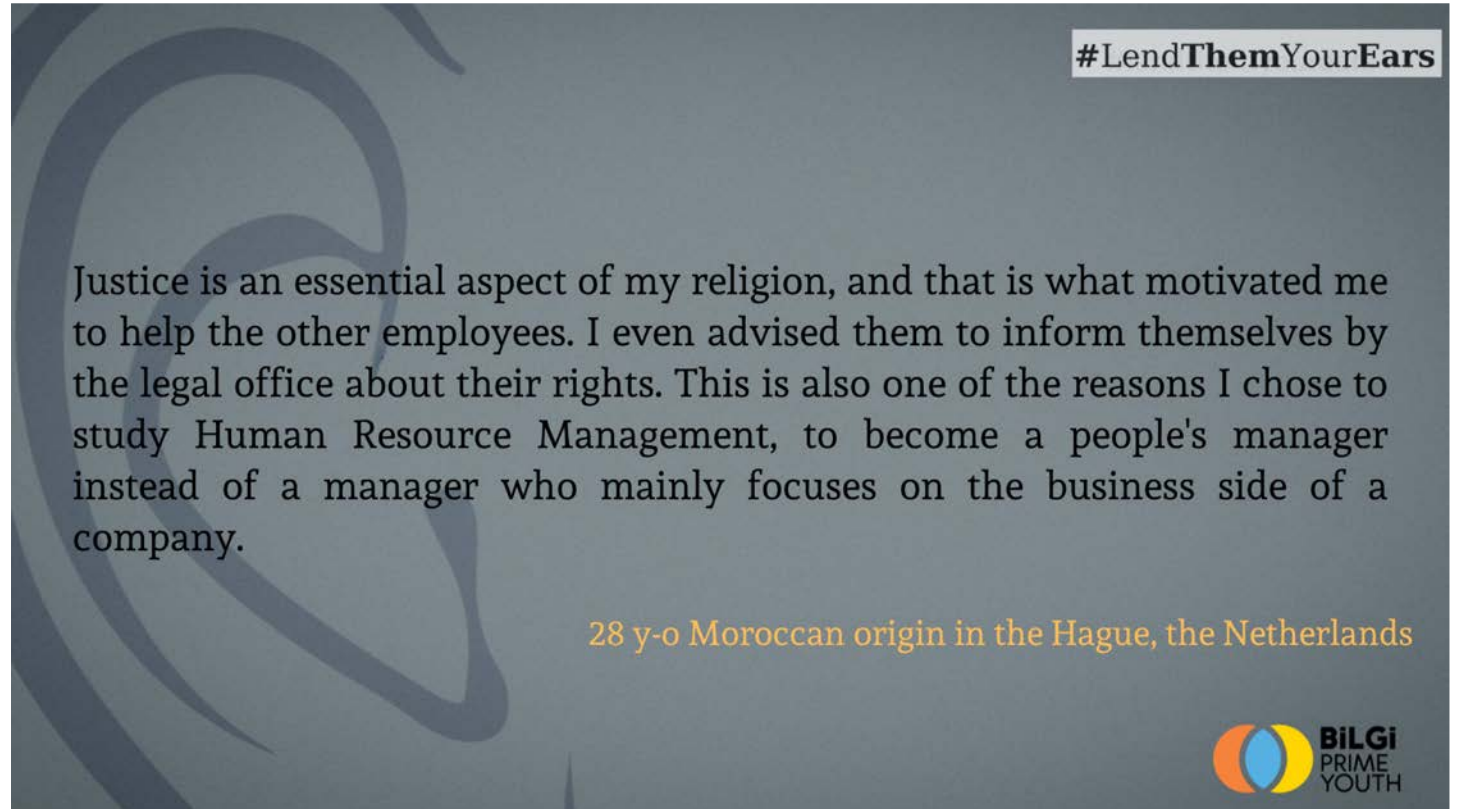
# Country Specific Sources of Discontent

Testimonies from youth



Many self-identified Muslim youngsters in the Netherlands are aware of their rights and the mechanisms they can use to seek justice when faced with discrimination.


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#LendThemYourEars

Justice is an essential aspect of my religion, and that is what motivated me to help the other employees. I even advised them to inform themselves by the legal office about their rights. This is also one of the reasons I chose to study Human Resource Management, to become a people's manager instead of a manager who mainly focuses on the business side of a company.

28 y-o Moroccan origin in the Hague, the Netherlands



**BILGI**  
PRIME  
YOUTH



# Dutch native youngsters fear that long-standing multiculturalist policies in the Netherlands are a threat to the Dutch culture.

#LendThemYourEars

Tolerant cultures such as the Dutch culture will be the first to lose their authenticity. For example, this is less likely to happen in Hungary because they do not let Muslim refugees in.

21 y-o Native male in Roosendaal, Netherlands



#LendThemYourEars

I once read a study, which indicated that the more heterogeneous a society, the worse the mutual relations and the worse the prosperity. If I argue for one dominant culture, I will immediately be called a racist. I respect others. I think that people can speak Turkish or Moroccan at home or in a mosque, I think that's fine. But they must endorse the dominant Dutch norms and values.

25 y-o Native male in Rotterdam, Netherlands



Emmanuel Macron disappoints self-identified French-Muslims, who underlined the success of right-wing populist parties' communication strategies.

#LendThemYourEars

At least, the National Rally is frank. They are racist, but their program is clear. They announce their project precisely and list what they want to do. The left side, however, is less clear.

25 y-o Turkish origin female in Lyon



#LendThemYourEars

I sometimes think it would have been good if Marine Le Pen had been elected. I don't want to shock you, but I think, at least she makes her ideas clear. She doesn't play the hypocrite. She thinks what she says.

29 y-o Moroccan origin female in Paris



Just as Le Pen has put forward the “European Union of Nations”, some native youngsters labeled as far-right have proposals about transforming the EU with a nationalistic vision rather than exiting it.

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#LendThemYourEars

Sovereignists are in favor of leaving the European Union. I don't necessarily agree with that, even if I think that France must fight to remain independent. Europe should be reoriented towards a Europe of nations. I am not shocked by the idea of a Frexit, but I find it better to work together.

18 y-o native male in Lyon, France



Many German native youth with involvement in right-wing movements highlighted the importance of disobeying the law in street protests to pursue political objectives.

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#LendThemYourEars

Demonstrations belong to the mosaic of the New Right that wants to take the discontent of the streets to parliament. To translate the discontent of the streets into political action... The fact that demonstrations can happen is a basic element of the liberal state.

29 y-o native male in a small village in Brandenburg, Germany





# Noticeable Similarities

Testimonies from youth



Regardless of their background, European youngsters are reflecting a view of civic identity separate from one's racial and ethnic background.

I always try to keep people positive, if you let racism determine your life too much you will end up in a victim role. I hardly experience any racism myself, but I mostly hear it around me. I believe that we Muslims are part of the Dutch society and we should be accepted as such.

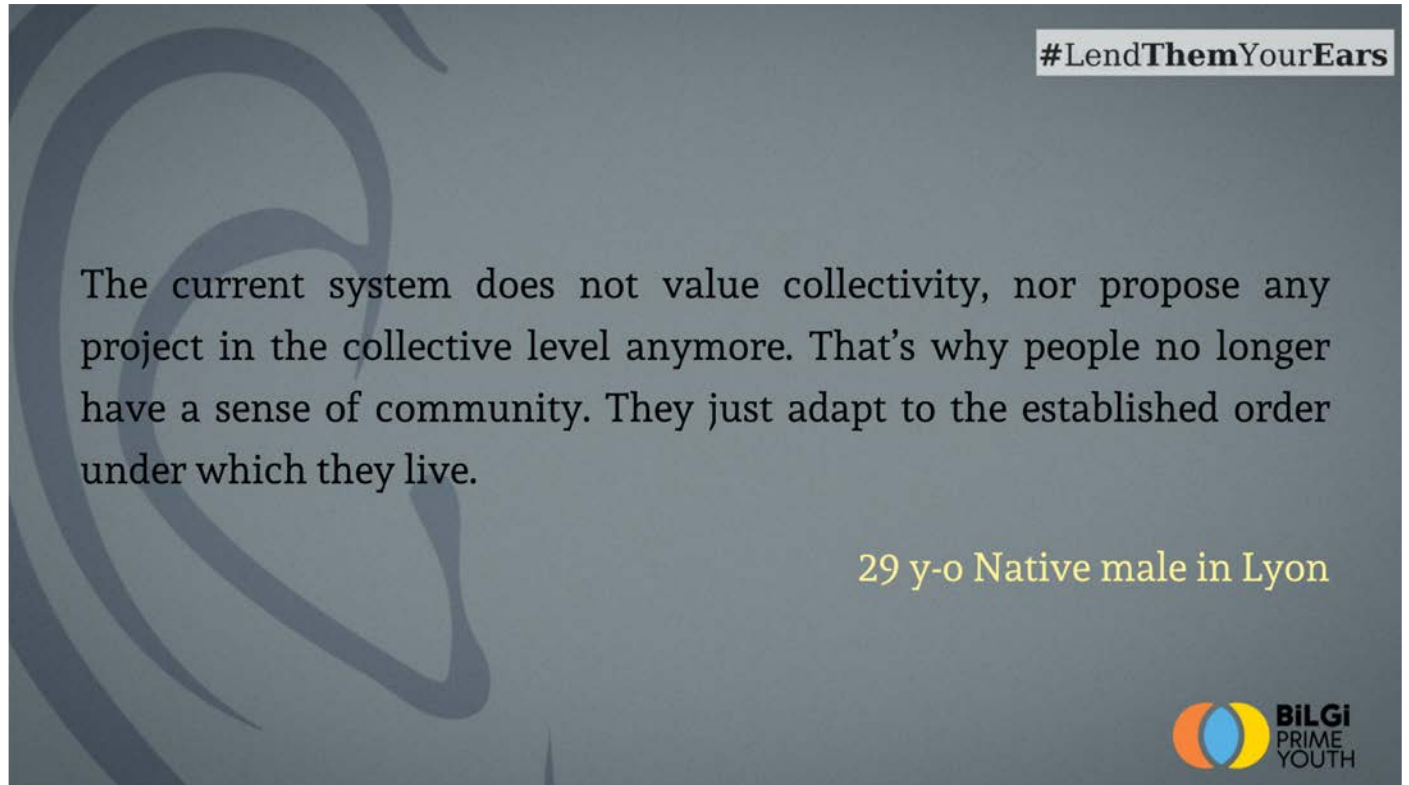
18 y-o Turkish origin male in Arnhem



My point is about the importance of identity, really. Don't degrade the discussion to skin color or race. You deviate the discussion when you claim that it is about those things. What really matters is identity and the choices you make, and your behavior.

30 y-o Native male in Aalst


Many youth recognizes the power of small communities and are critical of ruling authorities. The excerpt below illustrates the value and the potential of grass-root collectives.



#LendThemYourEars

The current system does not value collectivity, nor propose any project in the collective level anymore. That's why people no longer have a sense of community. They just adapt to the established order under which they live.

29 y-o Native male in Lyon



Political participation can be dissuaded or instigated by feelings of efficacy, everyday life responsibilities, and political distrust. Our work indicates empirical patterns that underlie the value of elections, organizational membership & street demonstrations.

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#LendThemYourEars

I strongly believe that the elections are rigged, manipulated and adapted to personal preferences. There is the nice saying: If elections could change something they would be forbidden... I often wanted to join a political organization but then I didn't. The problem is the shift at work... Demonstrations are first and foremost always a good thing, no matter which topic they address.

24 y-o native male in Kempen, Germany



Among both self-identified Muslim and native youths labelled as far-right, many share negative experiences with the police and its excessive power.

#LendThemYourEars


What I get is that the right-wing radical scene has infiltrated the police and the armed forces. Politicians turned a blind eye, concealed it. That's alarming. It is dangerous, when these institutions are corrupted. That attracts my attention.

22 y-o Turkish origin Muslim youth in Berlin

Corona demonstrations were cancelled because the rules were broken. Now, compare that to the Christopher Street Day where 65,000-80,000 people partied. And the police tweets that people abided the rules but the images deviate from this statement. One day later there was a Nena concert. Nena is critical towards Corona. The fans stood by barriers like cages. Many broke out of these barriers and went to the stage. The police threatened them to cancel the event. This fucked up double standard pisses me off.

30 y-o native male in Münster, Germany





The distribution of wealth is commonly problematized by both self-identified Muslim youth and native youth labelled as far-right.

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#Lend**Them**YourEars

I think that people with money should show more solidarity and pay more taxes. We need a stronger redistribution of money and resources. We need to offer support to those who are in need.

19 y-o Moroccan origin male in Schaarbeek, Brussels

Nothing will ever happen concerning poverty, this topic will never be tackled efficiently because capital rules the world. As long as we have this system, poverty will not be touched. I am anti-capitalist. It is not right that 1 % owns so much more than all others.

30 y-o native male in Ghent, Belgium





Regardless of their ideological, religious and ethnic backgrounds, many young Europeans lack trust in politicians. Although we are cautious with regard to causal inference, many of them appeared to live in small rural areas.

#LendThemYourEars

Politicians always break contracts. They adhere to nothing. They preach water, but they drink wine. How can they be an example?

26 y-o native female in Wuppertal, Germany

I do not trust politics 100%. Look at all the money they put in social media campaigns to gain more votes. This (pragmatism) influences my trust.

24 y-o Moroccan origin female in Antwerp (Hoboken), Belgium



Native European youth labelled as far-right need to be heard since they are not any different from others in terms of their expectations in everyday life.

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#LendThemYourEars

No other party could tempt me or interest me apart from Vlaams Belang. I want to help and advance the cause of our own people. I want to raise the number of social housing. I am interested in careers and life-long learning and animal welfare. Overall, I'm interested in making a system fair and transparent. I have a strong sense of justice and I'm actually a small idealist who wants to make the world a better place.

29 y-o Native female in Sint-Niklaas, Belgium



Feeling silenced for their political thoughts, the self-identified Muslim youths and the native youths labelled as far-right complain about social media companies' immense power to restrict communication online.

#LendThemYourEars

Multinationals have too much power. Twitter and Facebook, for example, censor people. It's dangerous when companies like Twitter and Facebook wield almost more power than some governments.

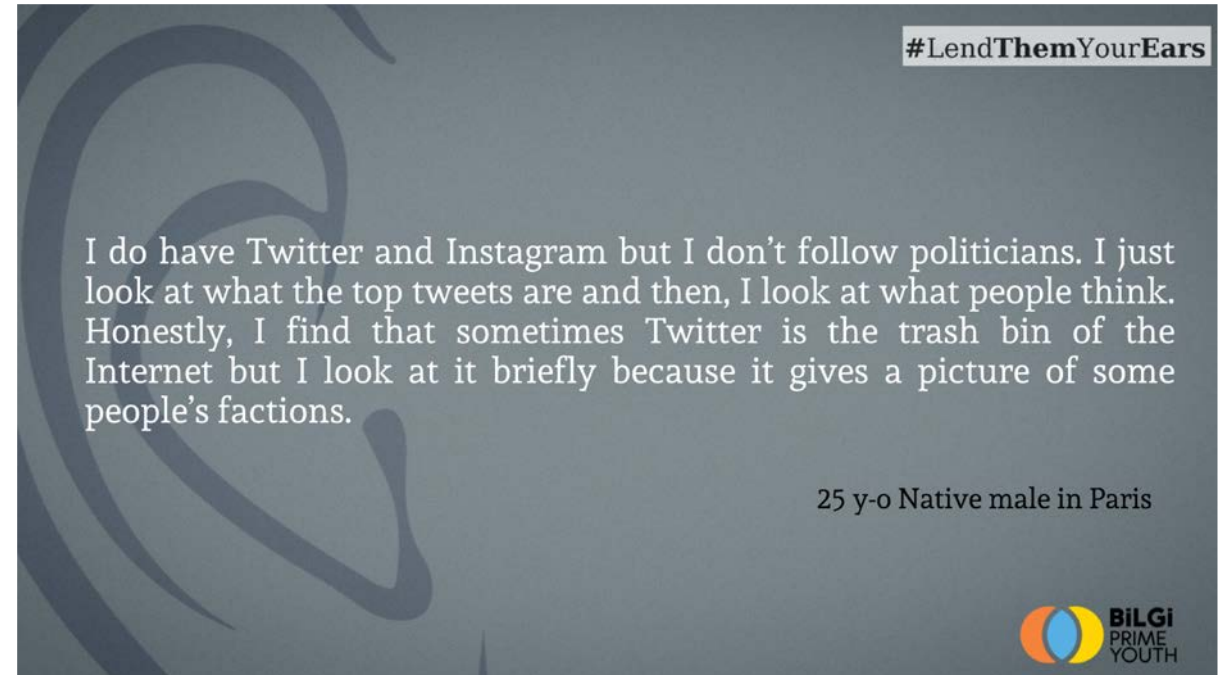
19 y-o Turkish origin male in Ghent, Belgium

Using social media is more difficult lately because of leftist censorship and political correctness. My posts are easily criticized and deleted by FB. I'm allowed to say more on Twitter. On FB, freedom of speech is severely limited. So now we are moving to new platforms like Mewe.

30 y-o native male in Ghent, Belgium



Youngsters use social media platforms, specifically Twitter, to follow political and social issues while also showing healthy skepticism towards the quality and the authenticity of the content.



Many self-identified young Muslims in Europe are similar to native youth in regard to the ways in which they perceive the mass migration of refugees.

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#LendThemYourEars

In the past, I have helped Syrians find their way in the Netherlands but now, I believe the Netherlands is not capable of handling so many refugees. Leftist people in the Netherlands are not rational. They live in some sort of utopia... The way I think about the current state of migration is an Islamic way of thinking. "Own people first." People with a Dutch passport should come first.

30 y-o Turkish origin male in Amsterdam





Both the right-wing native and the self-identified Muslim youngsters we spoke to had limited opportunity to benefit from the mobility aspect of globalization.

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#LendThemYourEars

If I go for a holiday it is for a maximum of a week. People always say to me: you really live in a bubble.

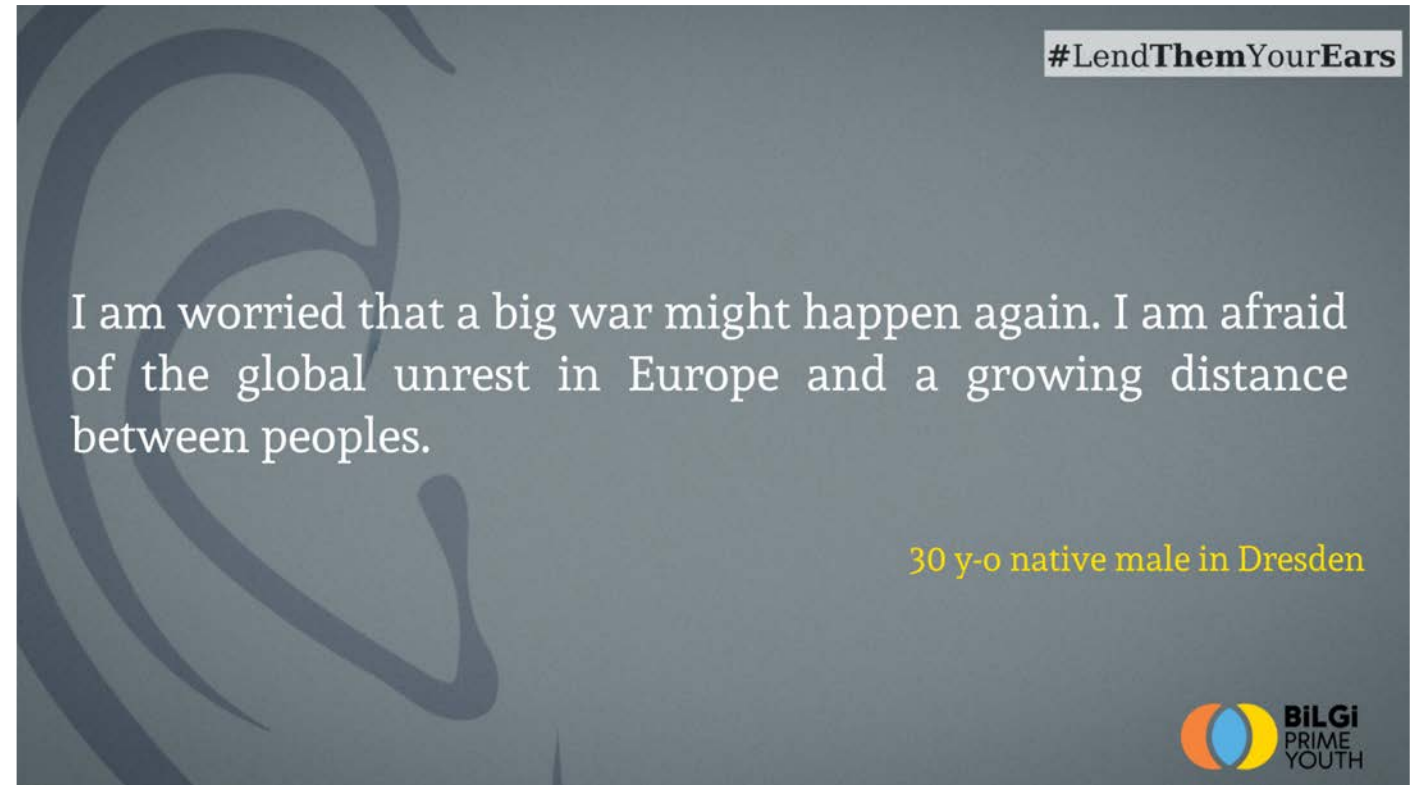
18 y-o Native female in Rijssen, the Netherlands

I went to Turkey only for holiday for two months.

26 y-o Turkish origin female in Vijfhuzen, the Netherlands



Our young interlocutors' anxious expressions about future made us ponder about Maya Angelou's words: "There is nothing quite so tragic as a young cynic, because it means the person has gone from knowing nothing to believing nothing."

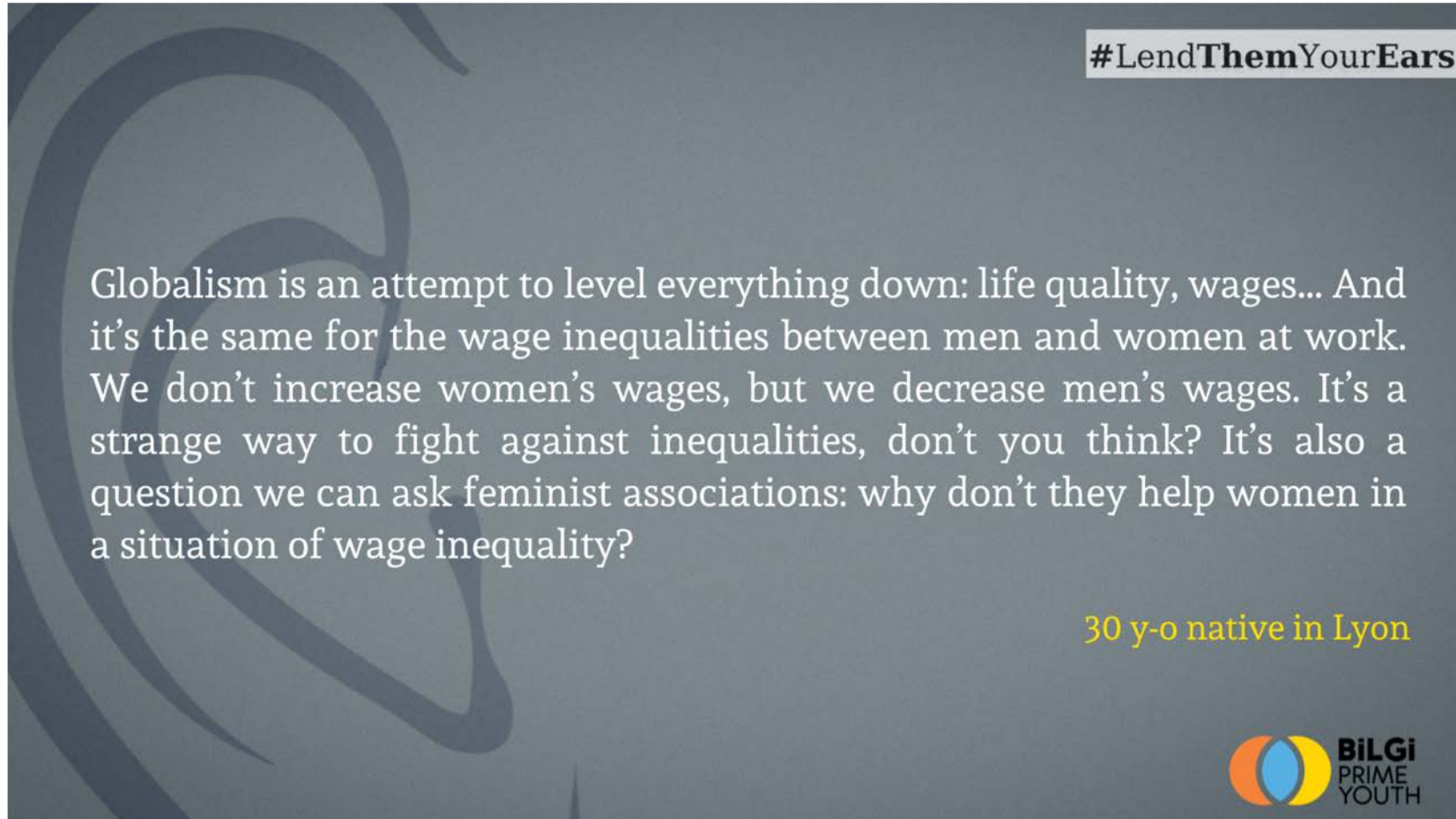




# Personal Management of Grievances or Joint Solutions?

Testimonies from youth


While assessing the detrimental effects of globalism, many native youngsters who are labelled as far-right pointed at the importance of mutual support amongst the ones who are treated unfairly.



**#LendThemYourEars**

Globalism is an attempt to level everything down: life quality, wages... And it's the same for the wage inequalities between men and women at work. We don't increase women's wages, but we decrease men's wages. It's a strange way to fight against inequalities, don't you think? It's also a question we can ask feminist associations: why don't they help women in a situation of wage inequality?

30 y-o native in Lyon



Many self-identified Muslim youngsters who feel marginalized by the majority society also acknowledged the importance of showing solidarity with Black people beyond their country of residence.


#LendThemYourEars

I attended one of the BLM demonstrations. I took part in it because I have friends who are black, who face discrimination on a daily basis, and myself too of course. Of course, the Netherlands is not America but there is institutional racism and black people are faced with police brutality here as well. And you see that less in the news here as well.

20 y-o Moroccan origin female in Amsterdam







Some of our self-identified Muslim interlocutors of migrant origin acknowledge their duty in raising well-mannered Muslim children by serving as role models.

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#LendThemYourEars

I want to give my children a good Islamic upbringing. I want to teach them what it means to be a good Muslim so they can be a role model to others.

27 y-o Moroccan-origin female in Veenendaal, the Netherlands

I had an Islamic upbringing, learning about the norms and values of Islam. I also want to give my children an Islamic upbringing.

23 y-o Moroccan origin male in Utrecht, the Netherlands



Self-identified Muslim youngsters with migrant origin sometimes appeared sympathetic towards their native counterparts, who feel trivial in a diverse society.

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#LendThemYourEars

I have the feeling that it is rather the French who see immigration badly, but that France is very generous. In France, there are plenty of reception facilities, much help... But the French don't like that their country is being taken over by us. As we participate more and more in the country's economy and are in a phase of social ascension, the French are afraid that we will become "true" French and replace them. I think that the true French people need to be highlighted positively and valued... They often feel forgotten or abandoned, and I can understand them. A French person without origins is immediately perceived as classic, banal, uninteresting.

25 y-o Moroccan origin female in Lyon



Irrespective of their ethno-cultural differences, some European youngsters with both migration and native backgrounds who are imprisoned in their distinct cultural clusters are trying to find ways and channels to communicate with each other.

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#LendThemYourEars

Every year the youngsters of all the political parties come together and pretend to be MPs in a national simulation. During those sessions, you can see how much we are alike with the leftist parties in terms of our ideas and visions for the Netherlands. I remember one night when other DENK members [a political party established by immigrant origin people] and I were playing card games in the hotel lobby, and one guy from the FvD [Forum for Democracy, a right-wing populist party], he was the only one in a suit of our group, joined us and played cards with us. He told us he missed the diversity of people. He enjoyed sitting with us, but the other members from the FvD tried to persuade him to stop playing with us. But as youngsters, we can make chances to talk to each other. We have so many similarities; we are all youngsters, we all face the same problems.

21 y-o Turkish origin female in Schiedam, the Netherlands



“Doing and making are acts of hope, and as that hope grows, we stop feeling overwhelmed by the troubles of the world. We remember that we — as individuals and groups — can do something about those troubles.” Corita Kent

#LendThemYourEars

In the current political climate, people don't feel heard: Not just Muslims but everyone. The 'weak' and 'vulnerable' people speak out because they are having the most difficult times economically and socially. You don't hear the rich. Our society is very individualistic and that causes problems. A lot of the elderly feel lonely, but they don't receive any help. The elderly of the Moroccan community has less difficult times because their families take care of them. Sometimes my mother and I visit older people in a nursing home because many of those people never get visitors. I lived with my grandparents for a year to take care of them; that is a normal thing to do.

25 y-o Moroccan origin female in the Hague, the Netherlands

