

ANNEX II: The social ecology of Verviers—Hodimont

Introduction

How are young people in Verviers equipped to face radicalisation discourse? What are their resources that allow them to be resilient and what are the vulnerabilities that can lead them to engage in violent radicalisation trajectories? It is in particular to try to answer these questions that the CONRAD project was imagined. The Verviers group within the CONRAD project is a research-action community that aims to better understand the issue of youth resilience in the face of radicalisation discourses.

To this end, she set herself the task of investigating Verviers on the broader social context within which these issues arose. More specifically, the objective is to study the urban environment in which young people live. To study the context, to analyze the resources and the fragilities of the social actors, it consists in conducting an analysis of urban and social ecology. In the manner of American urban sociology schools, we start from the premise that the city must be analyzed as a space that, through the opportunities and challenges that it generates, also determines the relations of cooperation, competition or conflict between communities. social groups.

We also postulate that the keys to understanding the city must be sought both synchronically and diachronically. In the particular case of Verviers, it quickly became necessary and relevant to give historical depth to our research. Our goal is to identify the elements of continuity and rupture in the history of the city. The question is: how can the history of Verviers enlighten us today on issues such as radicalism, the difference of class, culture or religion?

Methodologically, two options were open to us in the choice of the presentation of our arguments. A classical exhibition method that starts from the historical to the contemporary and from the general to the particular or a more dynamic method that allows the specific and the general to intersect. It is in this second way that we engage ourselves.

1. Adventure can be found on any street corner

1.A. From waste ground to youth centre

The Adventure Field is the privileged field of observation of the CONRAD-Verviers research community [1]. The TAH is a youth hostel founded in 1976. Its creation was aimed at responding to a lack of knowledge, that of the lack of youth supervision structures in the district of Hodimont and that of the lack of green spaces. When it was created, the TAH aimed to offer a space that is open to all, where the reception of young people is done in a way that is universal. This philosophy is quickly translated into three lines of forces: "Greet each other, all the others. Live with each other, all others. Share with each other, all others. "

This philosophy owes a lot to the long-term investment of Mr. LJ, deacon, founder and still today president of TAH. The neighborhood newspaper 'Hodimont Zine' presents LJ as a "tireless fighter against poverty". He is an emblematic personality of the district whose engagements go far beyond the TAH. It is indeed also the basis of the creation of many other associations and initiatives in the district of Hodimont.

The team of social workers who is gradually being put in place often calls on former young people who have been to the field. This will also be the case for the current coordinator involved in Conrad research, who joins the professional team and stands out as a key personality in the association. His personal story is closely related to the TAH. He attended the space during his youth before becoming the coordinator today. The neighborhood newspaper describes it as

"the quiet strength of the association, the oak that bends but does not break". He is at the head of a team of professional social workers of nearly 8 employees and several dozens of volunteers. This team, he coaches, advises, encourages. It is made up of workers belonging to new generations and who themselves have often known the field as young people.

In its daily action, ADHD is addressed today to both children and adults. Young people between the ages of 6 and 15 can receive school help, take part in sports or creative activities (theater, videos, etc.), enjoy an outdoor play area or take part in excursions. The work done for adults reflects the reality of the needs of a multicultural neighborhood. It offers courses in French as a foreign language, social assistance, knowledge exchange workshops, training courses, etc.

1.B. The TAH, a practical wisdom of positive treatment

Although not profiled as a militancy-driven advocacy association, equality and non-discrimination are both explicit and obvious benchmarks in the TAH approach. The multicultural composition of the public and supervisors

In the minds of the founders, the structure must not simply fulfill a social role from above or be part of a paternalistic logic but must, on the contrary, involve young people in the construction of their projects. For AZ: "I insist a lot with my young colleagues to always be in full listening to young people. It is very important to be able to capture the moments when young people want to express and share things that they feel are important. These are sometimes fleeting moments but can be decisive in their career. I knew that myself as a young man.

The speech of the TAH team avoids the clichés in vogue on "young people lacking landmarks" or "resigning families". On the contrary, it is a practical wisdom of well-being that inspires TAH in its social work. It is a notion that is developed in the work of the French psychosociologist Jean Epstein and has influenced AZ. The idea is related to the competence of the social workers and the nature of their perception as representatives of institutions on young people and their families. As a former TAH youth puts it, the question is not whether young people turn into delinquency but why they are led to deviant behavior, not why they are radicalized but rather to know why they are radicalized?

1.C. A not classifiable space

At the institutional level, the institutional work in the direction of youth responds to codified schemes that determine multiple recognition and recognition processes according to the power levels concerned. The city of Verviers, the Walloon Region, the Wallonia-Brussels Federation and the European Union all intervene to varying degrees in the construction of a social work offer for young people. In this web of complex structures, the TAH is found in atypical situation. Neither youth home nor duty school, the TAH is in a way a somewhat unclassifiable structure.

2. Hodimont

2.A. Hodimont, outside the walls

To evoke the history of Hodimont is to evoke a history of extraterritoriality. For a long time, Hodimont existed outside the urban entity of Verviers. The border between Hodimont and the rest of the city dates back to the time of the Ancien Régime, in the 18th century, when the border between the Principality of Liège (Verviers) and the Duchy of Limburg (Hodimont) stood in the middle of the rue de Hodimont. The customs tax imposed on the goods on the side of the Principality was quite high, many veterinarians then passed the other side of the Vesdre to

avoid these expenses. At that time, there really existed a physical demarcation composed of a door that closed every evening. Then, in the 19th century, because there are too many people in the city center, politicians decide to create new neighborhoods. All business then leaves the city center to settle on the heights around. At the same time, 600 workers' factories are being created (which currently includes rue 600 Franchimontois and rue des Fabriques). The border between Hodimont and the rest of the city will therefore persist with this urban change. Since then, the socio-economic gap has been maintained between people living in Hodimont and those who live in and around the city.

There is a continuity between the physical frontier and the symbolic boundary which is maintained between the heart of Verviers and Hodimont. Extraterritoriality no longer fits just in the corner, like this device of the street of commerce, but in a corner of the head of all the inhabitants.

The symbolic construction of Hodimont as a differentiated space, as an out-of-the-wall area, as a place of diversity that one would like to be invisible, is rather paradoxical. Indeed, Hodimont also appears in the analysis as a neighborhood of great economic, cultural and social vitality. Perhaps it is already right to make the assumption that the line separating Verviers and Hodimont is not only border but also front line, front line of a social conflict. And in this conflict, Hodimont is far from being disarmed. Nearly 40% of the cases opened for insalubrity in Verviers are for property Hodimontoises.

2.B. Hodimont, far from the eyes far from the heart?

Hodimont's externality status is reflected in the Verviers speech. A RTBF report conducted as part of the Noir Jaune Blues survey clearly identified him. The testimony of a neighborhood merchant illustrates this perfectly:

"I am the last Belgian shopkeeper on the street. Which is not necessarily an evil, huh, just an evolution. The neighborhood has always been in transformation. Today, while politicians "have killed downtown," he appreciates that Hodimont has remained alive and vibrant.

"What is dramatic is the image that the media gives. Hodimont has been given a reputation for totally unjustified insecurity. "It tells the story of this beautiful neighborhood client who came to buy a pair of hiking shoes -" I'm famous in the region "- You realize the efforts I make to come to your home, she said panicked. She was afraid. Even just to drive. I told her that she had no idea that the last time I had even seen a head roll in the channel in front of the store. She believed me !!!!"

This fear of frequenting the neighborhood or simply crossing it is present in many Verviers. The urban legend of Hodimont is, in a way, that of the cursed quarter where everything can happen to who would walk there without being part of it. Its relative social and geographical isolation, induced by this border, both perceptible and invisible, generates its share of stereotypes and prejudices.

The neighborhood is densely populated. Its total population is 4379 inhabitants spread over 30 hectares, or 149 inhabitants / ha. By the operation of the rental housing market which concentrates many small and cheap housing, the neighborhood is the place where many newcomers settle while waiting for a better situation. It is a transit district.

Hodimont is separated from the city center by Spintay Street, currently almost abandoned due to a real estate development project. Because of its geographical location, Hodimont does not

have an urban development that would connect and sew the neighborhood to downtown. This configuration reinforces the fantasized representations of an isolated, separate, even impervious to central dynamic community in Hamilton. In addition, the state of the habitat also plays a role in the subjective perceptions of insecurity. The building is old, has many unhealthy or unoccupied properties and buildings often poorly maintained. This situation is combined with a visible lack of public parks. With the exception of the banks of the Vesdre and the piece of greenery that represents the TAH, green spaces are almost nonexistent in the neighborhood.

While Hodimont is perceived as the space of cultural diversity par excellence, the outlying districts of Stembert and Heusy perched on a hill to the east of the city host a wealthy and ethnoculturally diverse population. The city center is seen as an intermediary space generating competition between, on the one hand, the inhabitants who live as "old verviers" and "newcomers", on the other hand.

Several respondents put forward the idea that Verviers finally offers few public spaces for intercultural, inter-class and intergenerational encounters and exchanges. This lack of brewing is perceived as promoting a lack of dialogue, trust and a deteriorating factor of social relations between the different groups that make up the city. As this social worker points out: "The only cultural initiative where we can see people living in the beautiful neighborhoods of Verviers in Hodimont is the Apéros Verviétois. It is an entertainment that buzzes a huge audience but unfortunately, it is not a unifying project for the inhabitants of the district who do not drink alcohol by religious conviction. "

The territorial competition of the groups in the space of the city center finds an extension in a metaphor which is expressed in connection with the political life verviétoise. Indeed, it is notable that the district of Hodimont is relatively dominated in the political dynamics. If in the past, the voice of the neighborhood on the communal scene was carried by elected representatives of the working class, Hasan Aydin, an elected representative of Turkish origin and current alderman of the works, seems today to be the only identified as Hodimontois. Our ethnographic survey as well as interviews with experts converge on Hasan Aydin as the only person symbolizing the district [4] in communal life. He is also known by the animators of the TAH who see him as a potential future mayor of the city [5].

Hasan Aydin could already have been the mayor of Verviers thanks to the electoral rule applicable in Wallonia which provides that the mayor is the candidate who obtained the highest number of votes of preference on the list which obtained the most votes. voice among those who make up the communal majority. However, during the 2012 communal elections, Hasan Aydin had obtained the second result of the Socialist Party list after outgoing mayor Claude Desama who announced that he would no longer sit. But after the elections, the Socialist Party will be returned to the opposition depriving Hasan Aydin of the prospect of becoming burgomaster. In 2015, the majority cdH-MR is torn apart and the PS is reminded of business as part of a cdH-PS majority. While Hassan Aydin could claim the highest responsibility, he will finally choose to cede the position of mayor to the candidate who came in 3rd position in a voice preferably in a desire to appease the hate speech mobilized against the principle of city led by a second-generation Belgian of Turkish origin.

Hasan Aydin, who is recognized as a discreet and hardworking man, is to the political life of Verviers what the district of Hodimont he represents is the city of Verviers: a focal point, resilient despite the discourse of rejection. The expression "far from the eyes away from the heart" means that one moves away from the heart by the simple consequence of the distance

of the eyes. In the case of Mr. Aydin as in the case of Hodimont, it is a little the opposite that is at work, in a logic of invisibilisation of what is unloved [6].

2.C. Hodimont a resilient space

The district of Hodimont is the place of a paradox. Victim of both the discourse that builds it as an extraterritorial space in relation to the city and as a place of foreignness by the population it shelters, Hodimont is also a place endowed with important resources. The district hosts two museums and a significant number of associations (Data to be provided by the CRVI).

The neighborhood is also home to an important minority religious life, both Muslim and evangelical Christian. Muslim places of worship, for example, maintain an important social life notably around the Verviers Islamic Educational and Cultural Complex (CECIV) which houses the Assahaba mosque or the Cultural and Social Islamic Center of the rue des Fabriques which houses the Kobaa mosque. . Alongside these mosques, there is also the presence of a Somali mosque - repeatedly pointed out in the press as a potential source of radicalisation [7] - and a Turkish mosque (Correkens and Privot 2017).

Main Muslim mosques in Hodimont

Name	Predominant nationality	Address
CECIV – Arrahma	Maroc/multiculturel	Rue de Hodimont 244
CICS - Kobaa	Maroc	Rue des Fabriques, 28
Mosquée Bilal	Somalienne	Rue de Hodimont, 47-49
Mosquée Orhan Gazi	Turque	Rue des Messieurs

The commercial life of the neighborhood is also dynamic around the rue de Dison and rue de Hodimont. It develops a set of niche shops, which offer the population a variety of local or ethnic consumer products. Their radiance goes beyond the neighborhood.

This commercial activity combined with the presence of places of worship, which also attract an outside population, gives the district a function of immigrant centrality comparable to that found in other European cities (Toubon, Messamah, 1990). In other words, both commercial and religious activities do not operate solely on the basis of neighborhood demand, but thanks to its attractiveness throughout the administrative district of Verviers.

3. Verviers : the quest for renewal

3.A. Historical continuity and transitions

Verviers is etymologically the place on the water but also the anagram of reliving. This anecdotal observation nevertheless offers a good gateway to what the city of Verviers is today:

an urban space structured around a water course that has brought prosperity and a city in search of renewal. From the first steps of our research on the ground, it seemed useful and relevant to question the long-term trends of the long history to try to extract some keys of interpretation of the contemporary reality. In what way can the history of Verviers shed light on the social dynamics affecting the youth of Verviers today?

For centuries, the history of Verviers is linked to textiles and Vesdre. It is the water quality of this river that has allowed the city to become, as time goes by, one of the most important wool production centers in the region. It is also this production and processing of wool that has allowed Verviers to be one of the first Belgian cities to embark on the industrial revolution. Corollary of its industrial history, Verviers was built in the social struggles between workers and employers. Only a few things remain of this flourishing past. The city has been hit hard by the effects of de-industrialization and is struggling to recover economically.

History never repeats itself in the same way and it would not be very fertile to mobilize naive conceptions of history over-valuing the determinisms of the past. Nevertheless, we have been led to question ourselves through our research on a specific point: why is the rich history of innovation and avant-gardism on the social level so little known? We have highlighted an innovative capacity that characterizes Verviers. There is a tradition in Verviers of struggles by social or avant-garde movements that have been regularly dominated. There is a progressive dynamic that is systematically stifled or not recognized by a political elite that does not see any interest in it. We will find this dynamic at the social, economic but also cultural level.

First, at the cultural level, Verviers is known for its Grand Theater, but also for its many theaters and cinemas (22 in total) that have all but disappeared today. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the Verviers were known to move in large numbers as soon as a performance or projection took place. In addition, the Royal Society of Harmony founded in the 19th century, which has hosted the Royal family several times, still works today. Its Museum of Fine Arts and the other municipal museums that have collections of great wealth still remain. We can also mention men who have made the cultural fame of Verviers such as Pierre Rapsat, Andre Blavier, Roger Leloup, René Hausman, ... However, the elites do not seem to take the measure of the importance of cultural in the economic functioning and social of the city. However, culture and commerce are closely linked: a whole series of mechanisms are put in place before and after having attended or participated in a cultural activity and which make the city live. These are restaurants, bars, but also ready-to-wear stores, etc. who benefit from the consumption generated by the tourist attraction. However, it remains difficult for all politicians to understand and nurture this link.

Then, at the social level, the first modern union was created in Verviers in 1759. The first internationalist logic was born in the form of a solidarity between Eupen, Hodimont and Verviers: their objective was to fight against the relocation of the shearers of Eupen. They will then sign in 1759 a confraternity to help each other. In 1789, the Verviers, via the Marquisate of Franchimont, drafted and adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen for the Franchimont Polleur Congress. The latter was more radical and progressive than her French neighbor. Another revealing event is the Place du Martyr in Verviers, formerly Place des Récollets. Grégoire-Joseph Chapuis, a doctor who was the first to perform a cesarean in Belgium but also a politician who promoted civil marriage, was executed in this place. He became the symbol of free thought. In the mid-1870s, the local federation of Verviers was the center of the anti-authoritarian International of Belgium. It is an anarchist current that promotes a decentralized economic system where local power is autonomous and independent of state

power. This anarchist Verviers group wanted to turn into a neutral union, but never succeeded. On the employers' side, it is the Biolley and Simonis who really hold the city economically, politically and socially: they marry each other with each generation. It is against them that we find the first class struggle around 1844: between the oligarchy and the Democrats. For 5, 6 years, we have a real class struggle to the point that the radicals manage to bring in 7 elected officials. It is a part of the petty bourgeoisie which declares itself radical against the big bourgeoisie. At the beginning of the 20th century, the collective agreement of 1906 was signed. A Frenchman who followed the evolution of the labor movement observes at the time that one of the assets of the working class at that time is its wealth. The unions had managed to accumulate a fortune in 5 years and the workers put out of their pocket to help: they were petty bourgeois, well dressed and often owners.

At the economic level, Verviers will become a leading economic power through the textile industry but the crisis will strike the full force of the city that will struggle to recover. The seeds of the textile crisis lie before 1914, when the big bosses stop innovating and move on to wool speculation. It is from this time that the social, economic and political history of Verviers will slowly find itself stuck in an elitist and speculative short-term logic. This is the starting point for a problem that will heavily settle in Verviers until now: the economic decline of the city.

Alongside this avant-garde logic, we have also been able to detect a logic of attraction / repulsion present in the history of Verviers. It was during the Industrial Revolution that rural inhabitants settled in the city. Before that, there was only the finalization that was done in the city, the rest was realized in the rural dwellings of the region. Once the mechanization appeared, it was homestay work that was killed. The energy then grew along the Vesdre. We thus witness the first immigration: the inhabitants of the villages around arrive in town. The development of the city at this time is due to a near immigration, it will be along the Vesdre but also along the stream of Dison. The population is piling up and the employers live near the factories. Then, this first movement of attraction begins and gives way to a new wave of immigration.

In the middle of the 19th century, the city absorbed a lot of rural population and this movement is coming to an end. Some go back to the countryside because they realize that life in the city is miserable even if they have work. This is where the first foreign immigration arrives, mainly German (they come from the border, not far away). Later, in the 1930s, some bosses began to invest in Flanders. In the 1950s, as the fall of the textile, the employers left the city, to join Brussels in particular. Many Verviers families leave and desertification is also marked politically. In the early 1960s, the political class switches and will renew itself: major industrialists, we move to a clueless political class who does not know how to go about it and embarks on projects that do not allow the city to resume breath (Ex: City Mall, Crescend'eau, Besix, etc.).

At present, this movement is maintained and it is the generations from the Turkish and Moroccan immigration of the 1960s who take the step and invest in politics. There is thus a movement of perpetual return and return of the different populations that form Verviers.

3.B. Societal transitions and the urban question

Verviers is today a city of 56,000 inhabitants that tries to remobilize around some projects of urban development and rehabilitation of old brownfields. In the space of a generation, Verviers has been transformed by brutally experiencing social dualisation dynamics. 25% of the city's

workforce is unemployed. Trade in the city center has become weakened and rarefied in the face of the development of large commercial complexes.

Through meetings with various Verviers stakeholders, it appears that the merger of the municipalities of 1977 was partly missed. It seems that policy makers have paid less attention to the socio-economic logic of the urban and rural space than to the interests of the various mayors in place at the time. This is how Dison, although close to Verviers at the socio-economic level, was not integrated into the Verviers district in order to reinforce the power of the PSC in place at the time. By way of example, Petit-Rechain, voting rather to the right, was taken back within the commune of Verviers, yet closer to Dison or Herve. Some argue at the moment that an enlarged merger would have allowed Verviers to better absorb the socio-economic difficulties that followed.

However, the past can not be changed, what interests us is the impact of this merger today. Verviers seems to have difficulties in establishing a collective and unifying dynamic encompassing the old communes. One of the visible consequences is the inability of Verviers to claim a positive collective identity. We are often referred Verviers to a glorious industrial past that is no more, it is a feeling of nostalgia that takes over. There remains a village logic where each district operates more or less independently of the others. The result is a lack of social cohesion and a lack of communication between different populations and communities. This analysis may seem simple, but they are words that come directly from discussions with Verviers stakeholders. By pushing the reflection further, we could link this lack of exchange and cohesion with an increase of a communitarianism, see a withdrawal.

More than elsewhere in Wallonia, these transitions have brought the issue of immigration and integration to the heart of public and political debates. This situation is closer to what is observable in Molenbeek but deviates strongly from the example of a city like Liège where the issue is relatively secondary in the communal political debate (Bousetta, Lafleur, Stangherlin 2018). In Verviers, the communal election of 2012 was an illustration of the political centrality of the issue.

It is not so trivial to look at the difficulty of bringing neighborhoods together around the same logic and cohesion. In the 80s, a name was given to the process creating lack of coherence and communication between different parts of the same city: social fragmentation. The city no longer succeeds in carrying a positive collective identity, it is urban fragments that develop then without real connection between them. This has the effect of increasing the existing social and economic imbalance between the different populations. We then obtain a paradox reflected in our cities: although they are more and more globalized and open to the outside, urban spaces are fragmenting and populations tend to fall back on themselves. Fragmentation can be analyzed at different levels.

From a geographical point of view, it is possible to define the neighborhoods according to their socio-economic level but also according to the origin of the inhabitants. When statistics on nationalities are compared with data on socio-economic resources, it appears that foreigners are overrepresented in neighborhoods facing socio-economic problems. The district of Hodimont in particular is one of the neighborhoods with the most job seekers and where the foreign population has the average income among the lowest. The opposite pattern is to be done for neighborhoods in the periphery: the latter are characterized by a low presence of foreign population and a better socio-economic situation. This disparity is also visible in the urban space: the Vesdre really separates the district of Hodimont from the rest of the city whereas Heusy, which is at the beginning a peripheral district, has today, all that it is necessary

to allow residents do not go down to the city.

Beyond geography, many people told us that he has been missing for years, a strong political figure who can regain control of the city and gain unanimity. If we retrace the political history of Verviers over the last decade, we can notice that it is strewn with social and economic scandals (for example the theater, the project of the shopping center, change of mayor in 2015, etc.). . Recurrently, policy makers seem to have difficulties in agreeing and moving forward together. Neighborhoods are not all equally represented in politics. For example, the district of Hodimont is not worn by a political figure while the district of Heusy seems, on the contrary, provide in number the political class.

At the social level, associations operate with almost the same logic: there are many common projects but they are not very common. The associations deplore a lack of coordination and cooperation, but when some push for collaboration, others do not move. Each one of them works in a more or less relevant way but there is little initiative for collaborative projects and when they exist, it is rarely in a full cooperation format.

3.C. Verviers and its religious and cultural diversity

Verviers is an entire city constituted by immigration. These changes are reflected in the changing profiles of young people who attend youth structures such as the TAH. The children of workers of Moroccan and Turkish origins, who formed the bulk of the TAH cohorts in the 1980s and 1990s, are now replacing children from Central Europe, West Africa, Syria, etc. The profile of young people reflects this profound diversity that characterizes contemporary migration. The challenges in terms of strengthening the resilience of young people to the temptations of withdrawal or radicalisation are all the greater because they refer to personal, family, cultural, ethnic situations that can be radically distant from each other.

4. The resilience of youngsters in Verviers to radicalisation discourses

4.A. Verviers facing radicalisation

Some business was enough to establish the reputation of Verviers as a city, more than others, facing radicalisation. The controversy around a radical imam and the shooting of the rue de la colline in January 2015, a few days after the attacks of January 2015 in Paris, is undeniably part of it. To circumscribe the phenomenon, one must actually go back in history earlier.

Since the mid-70s, Verviers is a city where a small Salafist pietistic current develops. Very active in the Kobaa mosque in the rue des Fabriques, it is not the subject of much attention from the media until the mid-2000s. The weekly Le Vif-L'Express, in particular, will start from this time to publish reports and analyzes on the particular situation of Verviers [8].

One of the elements that is needed quickly in the analysis of the first phenomena of local radicalisation lies less in the particular history of the city than in its geography of border city. Verviers is distant from Aachen just 35 km. However, it is in this city that in 1978, the Syrian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood in exile will develop a very active Islamic center around the personality of Issam Al Attar. A number of Arabic-speaking Muslim executives regularly attend this center and develop network activities of relationship closely associated with this current fiercely opposed to the regime of Hafez El Assad and then his son Bachar.

Here is how the weekly Le Vif L'express summarizes the multiple locations of groups:

More than 100 different nationalities are represented in Verviers. Precisely because of its open and social character, but also because of its proximity to the German and Dutch borders, Verviers has always been the laboratory for many rebel movements, beginning in the 19th century with Marxism. PKK Kurds, Turkish Gray Wolves, Algerian FIS (Islamic Salvation Front) and GIA (Islamic Armed Groups), Moroccans from GICM (Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group), Muslim Brotherhood (which has the largest mosque in Wallonia), Chechens fleeing Russian repression, Somalis trafficking khat (drug) and maintaining foreign relations with Somali pirates (it is a Verviétois who served as "fixeur" to the journalists of *Envoyé spécial*, France 2, in 2008); Salafists of the strictest observance, who do not hesitate to give to one of their future cultural center the name of the medieval theologian Ibn Taymiyya, ideological reference of the Islamic State, in whose name we must kill the Shiites and Alawites Syrian ...

If Verviers is far from being the only city in Belgium confronted with the phenomena described below, the Rue de la colline affair in January 2015 will definitively validate the idea that Verviers is confronted with a specific problem of radicalisation of her youth. This case is read in connection with the few young people (less than a dozen) fighting in Syria and Iraq in the ranks of the Islamic State or other fighting organizations. It is also related to the controversy over the personality of the Imam of the Somali mosque on rue de Hodimont. According to the national press, the imam, whose son was also arrested for threatening words spoken in public, spread a radical Islam that would have encouraged several young verviers to engage in jihad and to go to war zones.

After the attacks of Charlie Hebdo and the Hyper Cacher of January 7 and 9, 2015, this is a new event that will shake Belgium, and more widely the world. On January 15, in Verviers, a special unit chartered by the federal police went to rue de la Colline for a search on suspicion of preparing for a terrorist attack. The suspected individuals had been tapped. Upon returning, the police quickly fired shots and fired back, killing two of the three individuals there. The last one tries to escape, but he is caught by the police. Weapons and explosives are actually found in the house. Twelve other searches are carried out parallel to this operation in different districts of Brussels and Verviers. This event will largely contribute to label Verviers as a "nest of radicals" even if the three suspects do not come from Verviers, but from Brussels. In the newspapers and media, many articles have been written about the event. The titles are evocative: "stronghold of jihadism", "radicalism fought since 2007" or "tired of having radicals in Verviers" reinforce the idea of a dangerous city of lawlessness. Even now, we can find an article in *L'Avenir* interviewing the mayor on the state of the city "3 years later".

Beyond this event that has helped to stigmatize a whole city on the national and even international scene, it is a feeling of indignation that was born among the verviétois in relation to the magnitude that took the events rather minimal facts that happened in Verviers. One could even argue that this event is seen by several local actors as was the trigger for a desire to change and improve their city. A collective conscience slowly began to build to try to improve the image of the city. It was not long after these events that the Family and Entourage Accompaniment Service for Radicalism (SAFER) was set up.

4.B. Djihadi radicalisation, a radicalisation among many others

The Verviers social workers express a great exasperation when they are asked about the phenomenon of radicalisation in their city. A social worker explains: "I am almost in denial when I hear about radicalisation. When I am interviewed by journalists, I want to tell them: go your way, there is nothing to see! Verviers is no more radical than another city, and jihadist

radicalisation is only one radical among others. "

Many of our respondents have personal knowledge of young parties in Syria and Iraq. One of them explains: "Very few of those who have gone to Syria come from the district of Hodimont. They come from other parts of the city. They left for reasons very different from each other. "

Alongside the Islamist radicalisation that has been strongly linked to the city of Verviers, we have also been able to detect other radical movements. Present in Verviers for years, we must return to the 1930s with the creation of the Rex party by Leon Degrelle to understand the emergence of the extreme right in Verviers. Originally linked to the Catholic world, the party became more radical in the second half of the 1930s and Fascist ideology was felt. He then experienced a fall in the legislative elections of 1939, but still managed to get four elected, including one of the Verviers district. Subsequently, the supporters of Degrelle's party will really collaborate with the Nazis during the 2nd World War. Subsequently, it is under the aegis of AGIR that we find the extreme right movement in Verviers. In 1994, a particularly serious event caught our attention. During the Belgium-Morocco match, shots were fired from the local AGIR, located in the district of Hodimont, and hit a young Moroccan. Several hundred people were involved in this incident and two police officers were injured. A few days later, it is even an important police device that squared around the headquarters of AGIR in Verviers, following a rumor involving the arrival of troublemakers. Besides AGIR, we also find the New Front of Belgium (FNB) in the list of extreme right parties. The latter will be present in Verviers until the elections of 2006. At present, the Popular Party managed to get 6% of the votes in the municipal elections of 2012 in Verviers and 7% in those of 2018.

This inventory of the far-right movement in Verviers allows us to get away from the Islamist focus and to highlight the existence of other radical movements in Verviers. Moreover, through the interviews we have been able to identify another movement that can also be described as radical but less visible for those who are outside the Turkish community. In view of current events, one might think that it is the Maghreb young people who are the most affected by Islamist-type speeches. However, some of our interlocutors tell us the opposite. Some young Turks would also be tempted by radical speeches oriented towards the Turkish nationalist movement.

5. Understanding the departure of young people in Verviers towards Syria and Irak

There is probably no single key to understanding the radicalisation of young verviers and the engagement of some of them in violent actions abroad. These individual cases mobilize various personal determinants, family, relational, religious, ideological or sometimes simply accidental (to be continued).

Youth and TAH workers are confronted with the phenomenon of radicalisation from both a theoretical and a practical point of view. If from a theoretical point of view, all are wondering about the motivations of young people to break with their family environment to go into deadly adventures in the heart of the Syrian-Iraqi conflict, they are also confronted in a practical way through of their young people.

6. Conclusion

This research of social ecology devoted to Verviers allowed us to carry out a broad overview. Given the participative dimension of this action research, we began this journey by concentrating in concentric circles on the Adventure Field, the district of Hodimont and the city

of Verviers.

We have been able to observe the powerful societal transitions that have transformed Verviers into a generation of a rich woolen city into a dual postindustrial city faced with the growing diversity of its population. In the Verviers area, Hodimont appears as the symbolization of what does not work in the processes of integration in the city.

Looking closer, it seems that Hodimont is a neighborhood more and no less resilient than other comparable neighborhoods.

