

CHAPTER 10 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 Inquiry questions

In the various chapters of its report, the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee on Integration Policy tries to answer the inquiry questions formulated by the House of Representatives, namely:

- What was the integration policy pursued by the Netherlands in the past 30 years?
- What were the objectives and results of this policy in important areas such as housing, leisure, income, employment and education?
- Was the integration policy coherent and consistent in its effects on the various sub-areas in question?
- Given the objectives set, can this policy be rated successful?
- Were there experiences made with integration policy in non-urban areas abroad that may be advantageous to the Netherlands?

Based on the findings of a study of original source materials, the inquiry committee concluded that a number of other points needed to be further investigated as well. The committee decided to integrate these points into the structure of the inquiry. The following points were the subject of additional (desk) studies:

- How did the position of immigrants on the labour market and their income develop over the past years?
- How do migrant organisations, welfare organisations and pressure groups - subsidised or not - function, and what is their role? Did (and do) the authorities play an encouraging or a discouraging role here?
- What is the degree and scope of emancipation among the various groups of women and girls? How do this degree and scope compare to that of women and girls of Dutch origin? Has the emancipation of immigrant women and girls been affected by governmental policy? Did the various areas of policy affect each other? To what extent did they reinforce one another?
- Were there relevant experiences made in non-urban areas in the counteracting of language deficits, in preserving the heritage language and in improving the quality of inter-ethnic coexistence? Has there been and is there any cohesion between the socio-economic and the socio-cultural dimensions of the integration policy?
- What perception do the authorities from the countries of origin have of the Dutch integration policy? How is this related to these governments' own policies on matters such as citizenship (dual citizenship for example) and migrant organisations? To what extent does (and did) the role of the authorities in the countries of origin affect the integration of their fellow countrymen in the Netherlands?

10.2 Key aspects of the integration policy 1970–2003

Summary

In the various chapters of its report, the inquiry committee endeavours to answer the inquiry questions formulated by the House of Representatives and the additional inquiry questions formulated by the committee itself.

The nineteen-seventies

In the seventies, the Dutch policy pertaining to immigrant affairs was spread over several ministries, which made it somewhat ambiguous. The policy was aimed at integrating the immigrants, but return migration was a policy objective at the same time as well. The idea that the immigrants' stay in the

Netherlands was only temporary played a key role. The existing policy was characterised as "categorical".

It emerged from the Policy Document on Immigrant Workers (*nota Buitenlandse werknemers*) issued in 1970 that the Netherlands was not an immigration country. A degree of adaptation on the part of the foreign workers was deemed necessary. However, given the supposedly temporary nature of their stay, the policy also needed to enable these people to retain their own culture. The slogan "integrating while retaining one's own identity" soon came into use, based on the assumption that the workers would return to their country of origin at some point.

The memorandum in reply to questions asked by members of parliament relating to the Policy Document on Immigrant Workers dates from 1974. In it, the cabinet called for greater emphasis on managing labour migration and on reinforcing the temporary nature of immigrant work. The cabinet thus opposed the notion of a statutory temporariness -- once settled here, immigrant workers must obtain equal rights -- but at the same time, further immigration was discouraged.

At the time, there was no systematic approach to problems by making use of targets, tools or result monitoring, partly because in the long run, the declared policy objectives (temporariness) were not in keeping with reality. Not until the early eighties did people accept that the reality was in fact different. Only then did a more effective policy become possible.

As from February 1979, the minister of the Interior was put in charge of the coordination of policies on ethnic minorities and caravan dwellers.

The nineteen-eighties

The report on ethnic minorities published in 1979 by the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy (*Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, WRR*) became an important benchmark for the minority policy to be adhered to in the eighties. According to the WRR, the policy followed in the seventies had been too focused on welfare for too long a time. The authors of the WRR report emphasised that the stay of immigrant workers was not temporary after all. At the time, it was assumed that the retaining of one's own identity had to go hand in hand with integration efforts in order to keep open the way back to the country of origin. This idea should be abandoned, according to the WRR.

Instead, policies needed to be focused on the full participation of minorities in Dutch society, with equal opportunities, rights and responsibilities and without discrimination. Members of minority and majority alike must be open to the views of others and realise that each side would have to modify their views.

In its response to the ethnic minorities report, the cabinet partly seconded the WRR. The key assumptions on which the cabinet based its response were: the members of ethnic minorities are here to stay; members of both the minorities and the majority need to adapt in a multicultural society offering equal opportunities to Dutch citizens and immigrants alike, with no compulsory assimilation, no segregation and comparable social and economic positions for all.

All the parties represented in parliament partially agreed with the cabinet response and the organisational structure proposed. The Policy Document(s) on Ethnic Minorities (*Minderhedennota*) issued in 1981 (draft) and 1983 (final version) contained objectives such as the reduction of social and economic disadvantages of members of ethnic minorities and the creation of conditions allowing for their emancipation and participation in society. Additional features were the prevention and counteracting of discrimination as well as improving

the legal position of ethnic minorities. It was stated in both policy document versions that the slogan "integrating while retaining one's own identity" would not be upheld any longer, but in practice little was done about it. There was a shift from retaining one's own identity (in the interest of eventual return migration) towards retaining it in the interest of emancipation within one's own community, which contributes to integration.

In this period, categorial facilities merely supported migrant organisations and regular social work services. To strengthen the legal position of ethnic minorities, immigrants residing in the Netherlands were given the right to vote and to stand for election in municipal elections.

The nineteen-nineties

In the nineties the Netherlands saw a shift from an ethnic-minorities policy towards an integration policy focused on increasing the participation of immigrants in education and the labour market. Whereas the ethnic-minorities policy was aimed at groups of people, the new integration policy focused on individuals in a disadvantaged position. The implementation of the policy was further decentralised. Again, a *WRR* report -- Immigrant Policy (*Allochtonenbeleid*) published in 1989 -- was at the heart of what would become the policy for the years to come. In the application for advice to the *WRR*, the government stated that although considerable progress had been made over previous years on a few points of an immaterial nature mainly, the efforts made did not produce sufficient progress in housing, education and employment, three areas rated of key importance in the Policy Document on Ethnic Minorities. The expectation that migration to the Netherlands and to Western Europe on the whole would continue in the years to come, was seen as a starting point for future government policy by the *WRR*. Not only was the presence of immigrants in the west considered to be permanent, the same applied also to immigration itself. The *WRR* went on to advocate positive action to improve the position of ethnic minorities on the labour market. Employers should be obliged to effect their recruitment in such a way as to arrive at a more balanced composition of their staff. There was a shift from a right to care to an obligation to assume responsibility for oneself. The idea of active citizenship was conceived in this period and soon became the policy's guiding principle. The concept of "active citizenship" focused on the individual citizen with his individual responsibilities, rights and obligations.

The main objectives formulated in the Immigrant Policy Document: Cabinet's Standpoint (*nota Allochtonenbeleid, kabinetsstandpunt*) issued in 1990 were improving the position of ethnic minorities and the swift integration of newcomers. Education and guidance to the labour market were considered of key importance for full participation in Dutch society.

In 1994, a policy document entitled Investing in Integration was issued. It called for specific policy for groups of people who find themselves in the initial phase of the integration process, namely young people and newcomers. Special attention was paid to the weak position of the young in education.

From the publication in 1994 of the Contours Policy Document (*Contourennota*) onwards, the formerly called "ethnic minorities policy" of the Dutch cabinet was referred to as "integration policy". The emphasis was put on citizenship and on the integration of members of minority groups into society, a process in which employment and education are crucial. Social integration was perceived as a mutual process of acceptance. By 1996, all municipalities had to organise themselves in such a way that each newcomer could effectively participate in an integration programme. Preferably, the municipality would make it possible for all the necessary arrangements to be handled at one single counter.

In 1998, Mr. Van Boxtel was installed as minister for Urban Policy and the Integration of Ethnic Minorities. The outlines of his policy were formulated in a policy document entitled Getting Opportunities, Using Opportunities (*nota Kansen krijgen, kansen pakken*, 1998). The primary aim of the integration policy was to achieve active citizenship or in other words: everyone is responsible for his or her own position in society. According to the policy document, progress was particularly needed in the economic infrastructure (emphasis on employment, command of the Dutch language, gearing education to the needs of the labour market, unemployed young people and ethnic entrepreneurship), physical infrastructure (renewal of old neighbourhoods, counteracting segregation and criminality) and social infrastructure (preschool activities, improving educational performance, counteracting absenteeism from school and ensuring compliance with the Compulsory Education Act (*Leerplichtwet*)).

The period 2000 to 2003

The policy document entitled Integration from the Perspective of Immigration (*nota Integratie in het perspectief van immigratie*) issued in 2001 was a retrospective account of what the second 'Purple' coalition government led by Mr. Kok had achieved. Efforts were made towards inter-administrative consultations and the conclusion of covenants between the government and the municipalities. Also, a two-year pr-campaign was launched and a liaison group Muslims and the government was established, as well as an advisory committee on training courses for imams.

These developments were preceded by the so-called "Scheffer debate" in the House of Representatives. Scheffer considered that "being socio-culturally different" is related to socio-economic disadvantage. The debate in the House of Representatives was conducted with the leaders of the parliamentary groups. In short, the debate focused on socio-economic causes of arrears.

The 2002 elections were marked by the rise of Pim Fortuyn. For this reason among others, integration became one of the key issues. In its coalition agreement, the new cabinet stated its belief that integration - meaning integration while retaining multiformity - requires mutual adaptation. Newcomers were offered mandatory integration courses. For oldcomers dependent on benefits, the proposed introduction of such courses was announced, along with more stringent requirements as to the minimum age and income of immigrants coming to the Netherlands for purposes of family formation.

In the 2003 issue of the periodic report on the integration policy of ethnic minorities (*rapportage integratiebeleid minderheden*), the government stated that efforts needed to be intensified in a number of policy fields in order to bridge the gap between immigrants and native Dutch people. Government policy was intended to stimulate both the immigrants and the Dutch to take integration into their own hands. "Shared citizenship" and "participation" became key concepts.

In 1994, legislation was introduced on a new integration system. Integration was henceforth subject to stringent requirements and candidates were required to pass an integration exam. The government proposed that this new system be implemented, but with reduced financial resources.

Conclusions

- The committee concludes that the integration of a large number of immigrants has succeeded entirely or partly, which is a considerable achievement on the part of the immigrants in question and on the part of the receiving society.

- The committee applies the following definition of integration. A person or group is considered integrated in society if their legal position is equal to that of native Dutch people, if they participate on equal terms in the socio-economic field, if they have command of the Dutch language and if they respect the prevailing standards, values and customs. Integration is a two-sided process: newcomers are expected to be prepared to integrate, while the Dutch society has to make integration possible.

Clarification:

An immigrant's command of the Dutch language must be such that participation in society is possible.

The values and standards as laid down in legislation are observed by everyone. In the public domain, the law must be observed as a matter of course. In the private domain there is some room for differentiation and personal interpretation, as long as no breach of the law is involved.

Apart from the values and standards laid down in legislation, societies also have unwritten rules. They make it easier for people to coexist, which is why newcomers should familiarise themselves with these rules.

- The committee concludes that in the nineteen-seventies, the policy pertaining to immigrant workers was based on the assumption that the workers' stay would be temporary. The objectives formulated in the employment contracts were intended to be temporary, but their temporariness was never enforced. The government did not make a clear political choice between facilitating integration or facilitating return migration.
- The committee concludes that since the nineteen-seventies, mention was made in various policy documents of the desirability of a restrictive immigration policy for the benefit of successful integration. In practice, the number of immigrants was continually increasing. At the same time, the number of migrants returning to their country of origin remained limited, due to the lack of support for a specific return migration policy.
- The committee concludes that attention has been drawn to issues related to the changing composition of neighbourhood populations since the early seventies. At the time, government policy made mention of counteracting unfamiliarity and prejudice on the part of the native Dutch. In the seventies and eighties, the task of encouraging immigrants to understand and appreciate Dutch society was left entirely to private initiative. In the nineties, it became subject to government policy and assumed the form of society orientation classes and integration programmes.
- From the seventies to the nineties, a shift in emphasis can be seen in the ethnic-minorities policy. In the seventies, minorities policy fell under the responsibility of the minister of Culture, Leisure and Social Work (later to become the minister of Health, Welfare and Sport), whereas from the eighties onwards, it was part of the responsibility of the minister of the Interior. In practice, the cooperation between the various ministries was inadequate. The committee concludes that the results of such cooperation were varying and lacked conviction.
- In the nineteen-eighties, the government formulated an ethnic-minorities policy with the following objectives: to create the conditions necessary for emancipation and participation, reduce social and economic arrears, prevent and counteract discrimination and improve the legal position of immigrants. Along with the *WRR*, the committee concludes that during this period these objectives were insufficiently met. There was a discrepancy between policy and implementation.
- The Committee concludes that progress has been achieved in the various fields (housing, employment, education and emancipation). With the exception of the improved legal position of immigrants, it is hard to demonstrate a causal connection between the results obtained and the integration policy.

- Even though social/economic factors partly account for the under-representation, in terms of percentage, of immigrants in key areas of social life such as the labour market and education, the committee concludes that unfortunately, discrimination in public life is a fact. Many immigrants feel integrated into Dutch society, but not accepted.

Recommendations

The committee recommends:

- that active efforts be made to combat discrimination and prejudice, regardless of whether they occur on the part of native Dutch people or immigrants. The Netherlands has no grounds for complacency on this issue.
- that the preconditions for a successful integration be met, including the following:
 - sufficient command of the Dutch language to allow for an active participation in society;
 - observance by all members of society of the values and standards laid down in legislation;
 - in the private domain, there should be room for differentiation and personal interpretation, within the limits set by the law;
 - unwritten rules that facilitate the functioning of society are brought to the attention of newcomers;
 - newcomers may be expected to be prepared to integrate in Dutch society and Dutch society must make their integration possible.
- that given the great importance of integration and the limited benefit derived from interdepartmental coordination so far, the cabinet install an integration policy sub-committee and the House of Representatives install a standing committee on integration policy. It is assumed as a starting point of these committees' work that progress in the key areas of employment, housing, education, emancipation and quality of the living environment is crucial for integration.
- that integration policy be based on the acknowledgement of the fact that international migration has become a continuous process⁴.
- that integration policy be binding and mandatory so as to put an end to the mutual non-committal attitude.

10.3 Integration

Summary

Chapter 3 contains a description of how today's integration policy for newcomers and oldcomers was arrived at. This outline shows that the *WRR* pointed out as early as the late seventies that speaking the Dutch language and being familiar with Dutch society were preconditions for the participation of immigrants. Accordingly, the *WRR* proposed that newcomers and immigrants who had been residing in the Netherlands for a number of years already be offered classes introducing them to Dutch society. In response, the cabinet introduced the concept of "citizenship", involving rights and obligations, but it did not adopt the recommendation that courses be offered.

⁴ On 19 December 2003 the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee on Integration Policy concluded its deliberations unanimously. On 23 December 2003, committee-member Varela requested reopening of the deliberations. On 27 December 2003, Mr Varela made the following annotation: "a restrictive immigration policy in the field of family formation is necessary in order to promote integration in the Netherlands."

In 1989, the *WRR* repeated its earlier recommendation. This time, the cabinet recognised the need to make better provisions for the receipt of immigrants, albeit on a modest scale. The resources made available for the purpose were limited and the cabinet was not in favour of imposing obligations. However, the cabinet was prepared to provide funding through the then ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture to a larger number of municipalities offering reception facilities on an experimental basis. In the opinion of the cabinet, the reception of immigrants remained first and foremost a municipal responsibility. The House of Representatives then called for the structural provision of reception facilities in many more municipalities. In 1996, the national integration policy was launched. Initially, it affected newcomers only and the possibility of imposing sanctions was restricted to newcomers entitled to benefits. In late 1998, integration was regulated by law. Sanctioning possibilities were included in the legislation, but in practice, hardly any use was made of them.

By then, newcomers have been facing waiting lists for lessons in Dutch as a second language (*NT2*) for over 15 years. In 1991, members of the House of Representatives demanded more financial resources for basic education in order to eliminate the waiting lists. The cabinet did provide more funding, but the waiting lists still were a bottleneck in 1995. In the year 2000, they were the immediate cause of the appointment of an Integration Task Force.

Conclusions

- The committee concludes that the necessity to learn the Dutch language has been ignored for a long time and that the government failed to act promptly on recommendations made with regard to structuring the integration of both newcomers and oldcomers. It is true that initial steps were taken during the 1994 cabinet formation, but they proved to be insufficient. The committee concludes that both cabinet and House of Representatives have underestimated the need for integration. The committee is of the opinion that finding solutions for the integration of young, less well-educated Antilleans is a matter of urgency.
- Of the eight recommendations the government received from the Integration Task Force in late 2002, the cabinet adopted only one (i.e. to let market mechanisms regulate the supply of language courses for newcomers). The committee notes that the proposals not acted on by the government include the recommendation that the available financial resources be bundled, that quality improvement options be investigated, that visitation and benchmarking be applied and that a critical analysis be made of the need for information on a national level.
- Various evaluations of the Integration of Newcomers Act (*Wet integratie nieuwkomers, WIN*) and the findings of the Integration Task Force show that the yield of the integration courses is low. The lessons offered are not sufficiently customised and few newcomers actually succeed in passing to a higher level within the 600 lessons provided for. It appears from the interviews held by the committee that large numbers of newcomers would not achieve the desirable level even if the integration programme was organised in a different way. The committee observes that the desired level may vary from one person to another.
- Today's cabinet has made a number of proposals pertaining to a revision of the Integration of Newcomers Act (*WIN*). The committee finds it impossible at this stage to assess the practical applicability of these proposals, because the proposals in question -- particularly the role of the municipalities in directing the programmes and the consequences of the cutbacks in spending announced by the government -- have not yet been worked out in enough detail.

Recommendations

The committee recommends:

- that the Integration of Newcomers Act be revised so as to eliminate the bottlenecks identified in practice. The rights that can be derived from completing integration should be included in the legislation. Also, the responsibilities to be met by the integration candidate and the authorities/suppliers of integration programmes should be laid down in a clear way. The committee called for realistic expectations as to the final level to be achieved by candidates. An effective integration programme must include participation in society and it must be 'dual', meaning that it must be possible for the integration programme to be attended in combination with vocational training or a job. This is essential to prevent high drop-out rates.
- that the recommendations of the Integration Task Force pertaining to the financial resources, quality improvement options, visitation and benchmarking and to an analysis of the need for information at national level be implemented by the government.

10.4 Employment and income

Summary

The sixties were a period of economic progress and expansion, marked by almost full employment, except for a short dip from 1966 to 1967. There was a great demand for lower-educated workers, much of which was satisfied by labour immigration. Finding a job was no problem for immigrants at the time. Most of the immigrants came to the Netherlands to work. Exceptions to this rule were the Antilleans, who often come to the Netherlands to study, as well as Moluccans and other fellow-citizens originating from the former overseas territories of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, who come here on political grounds or because of existing ties with the Netherlands.

In the seventies, the government became increasingly aware of the issues surrounding immigrant workers. In the early nineteen-seventies, the government issued the first policy document on immigrant work. In spite of the increasingly stringent policy, there were hardly any real restrictions placed on immigration. The number of incoming immigrants continued to grow. In 1979, the *WRR* issued a report pointing out that immigrant workers were in the Netherlands to stay and that consequently, there was a need for an ethnic-minorities policy aimed at combating educational arrears and discrimination, at helping immigrants solve cultural and identity issues and at addressing problems with the native Dutch population.

The first half of the nineteen-eighties was marked by mass redundancies and widespread unemployment, with at the same time, a massive influx of family reunification candidates. Unemployment among ethnic minorities was three to five times as high as the rates among the native Dutch population.

The first governmental ethnic-minorities policy took shape. In an effort to reduce unemployment amongst immigrants, the government launched the Ethnic Minorities in Government Plan (*Ethnische minderheden bij de overheid, EMO*) and the 1000 Jobs Scheme for Moluccans (*1000-banenplan voor Molukkers*). In the late nineteen-eighties, the *WRR* arrived at the conclusion that not only were immigrants in the Netherlands to stay, but new immigrants would keep on arriving also. The Netherlands was an immigration country. The *WRR* called for the passing of an act to promote the participation of immigrants in the labour market and proposed the introduction of contract compliance [meaning the inclusion in civil contracts of a provision requiring

the contracting company to employ a certain proportion of ethnic minority workers, translator's note]. The government was in favour of passing such an act, but did not see the benefit of contract compliance.

In the eighties, the objectives set out in the Policy Document on Ethnic Minorities were met in a number of fields, including social security and legal position. Making progress appeared to be more difficult in the area of improving the social position of immigrants, i.e. in the policy aimed at combating arrears and promoting integration. A discussion ensued on the diagnosis and on the remedy. A large number of individuals and institutions joined in, whether or not invited by the government. An important aspect of the dispute was whether government policy should be aimed at the supply side only, or at the demand site also. More specifically, the crux of the matter was whether or not the government should adopt a policy of positive action (*Vermeulen en Penninx*, 1994, p. 9).

Looking back on the policies of the eighties, the Temporary Scientific Commission for Minorities Policy Netherlands (*Tijdelijke Wetenschappelijke Commissie Minderhedenbeleid, TWCM*) wrote in 1995: "All these measures could not prevent discrimination from occurring, nor racist incidents from increasing in number recently. The only possible conclusion is that the measures in question are a necessary, but inadequate precondition for eliminating discrimination" (p.22).

It was furthermore established that the share of minorities in government positions increased, but that this had little overall effect, because the free market did not participate. According to the *TWCM*, the participation of minorities in training and employment programmes was growing in this period, but in no single instance was there a proportional participation of minority members (p. 16). It appears, therefore, that the diagnosis of the labour-market problem initially arrived at in the Policy Document on Ethnic Minorities was one-sided and that the measures were too limited. In the meantime, research has increasingly shown that the disproportionate unemployment rates among immigrants was largely due to the -- mostly indirect -- discrimination practised by employers in recruitment and selection procedures and in the over-representation of immigrants in (mass) redundancies. Unemployment remained high in the early nineties, particularly among young people. It became increasingly clear that there was a need for a policy aimed at stimulating members of ethnic minorities to action. As an alternative to contract compliance and the proposed act on promoting the participation of immigrants in the labour market, the Joint Industrial Labour Council (*Stichting van de Arbeid, STAR*) presented the 60,000 Jobs Scheme (*60.000-banenplan*) in 1990, in which employers committed themselves to fill 60,000 vacancies with members of ethnic minorities. By the mid-nineties, this scheme was replaced by the second *STAR*-agreement with employers' organisations and trade unions. Minority policy became the subject of large-scale public debate in 1992. In 1993 the opposition parties (the liberal *VVD* with support from the ecologist party *GroenLinks*) introduced a bill in parliament. The Act on the Promotion of Immigrants' Proportional Participation in the Labour Market (*Wet bevordering evenredige arbeidsdeelname, WBEEA*) was passed and took effect on 1 July 1994. It would later be replaced by the Employment of Minorities (Promotion) Act (*Wet stimulering arbeidsdeelname minderheden, SAMEN*). In the same period, projects were launched on behalf of Antilleans and Arubans.

From the second half of the nineties onwards, unemployment among non-Western immigrants decreased from 22% in 1996 to 11% in 2000. The unemployment rates of native Dutch citizens and Western immigrants were cut in half as well. Among the non-Western immigrants, natives from Turkey saw their unemployment rate drop the most, from 24% in 1996 to 9% in 2000. Among Moroccan natives, the drop was from 28% to 13%. A marked decrease also showed in the rates pertaining to Antilleans and Arubans.

Whereas 21% of them had been unemployed in 1996, that figure was 8% in 2000. The decrease was less marked among people originating from Surinam. However, their share in the overall unemployment was already substantially lower in 1996 (16%) and by 2000, it was even lower than the average rate of non-Western immigrants (source: Statistics Netherlands' publication "Immigrants in the Netherlands 2003 / CBS, *Allochtonen in Nederland*, page 138). It was, however, unclear whether the decrease was due to the prosperity of the economy alone, or whether the measures taken by minister Van Boxtel for Urban Policy and the Integration of Ethnic Minorities and by minister Vermeend of Social Affairs and Employment played a contributing part.

In 1998, minister Van Boxtel had been appointed the first separate minister for Integration, a policy field he was responsible for in combination with Urban Policy. Following his taking office, several programmes were launched for members of ethnic minorities. These included the Immigrant Groups Encouragement Programme (*Stimuleringsprojecten Allochtone Groepen, SPAG*), initially aimed at Antilleans and Arubans, but extended in 1998 to benefit young people from Turkey and Morocco as well; the replacement, in 1998, of the Act on the Promotion of Immigrants' Proportional Participation in the Labour Market (*WBEAA*) by the Employment of Minorities (Promotion) Act (*Wet Samen*); the concluding, in 2000, of a covenant between the government and the association of small- and medium-sized enterprises; the concluding of a framework covenant with large companies pertaining to a multicultural personnel policy and the launch of the so-called *KOM*-projects (*Krachtig ondernemen met minderheden*), a programme aimed at encouraging entrepreneurship among immigrants. The *SPAG*-programme was extended in 2000, followed in 2002 by a third *STAR*-agreement in 2001 and in 2002, the Employment of Minorities (Promotion) Act (*Wet Samen*) was extended.

In comparison with the year 2000, unemployment figures pertaining to non-Western immigrants decreased in 2001, but then increased again in 2002, while unemployment among the native Dutch remained stable at 3% in the same period. It remains to be seen whether ethnic minorities can manage to maintain the progress which they have achieved over recent years.

Conclusions

- In the opinion of the committee, the national authorities have underestimated the strain put on the national welfare state by international migration for too long in the seventies and eighties. As a result, there were too few policies aimed at participation in the labour market. Inactivity among migrants has resulted in a negative image and stigmatisation.
- The committee concludes that for a long time, there was insufficient reliable data available to identify the problems and to respond with adequate policies. Figures are indispensable for gaining insight in integration, but they must not be abused to stigmatise people.
- With regard to policy instruments, the committee concludes that measures to counteract unemployment among immigrants were only taken in the late nineteen-eighties, while it was clear as early as the late seventies that it was incorrect to assume that immigrants would stay in the Netherlands temporarily and that this would have serious consequences. The committee is aware of the fact that policy is often created in response to a particular development and that therefore, some time will pass between the realisation that there is a need for a certain policy and the actual implementation thereof.
- In the late nineteen-eighties, the *WRR* again advised that "everything humanly possible" should be done to get members of the ethnic minorities to participate. Among other things, the *WRR* recommended the introduction of

an act to promote the participation of immigrants in the labour market and contract compliance. The government was in favour of such an act, but postponed the decision pending receipt of an advice requested from the "organised consultations"². It is the opinion of the committee that in doing so, the government displayed insufficient readiness to take responsibility.

- In the mid-nineties, the Act on the Promotion of Immigrants' Proportional Participation in the Labour Market (*WBEAA*) was introduced, followed by the Employment of Minorities (Promotion) Act (*Wet Samen*), which is due to expire shortly. In the late nineties and particularly from the year 2000 onwards, substantial employment programmes were set up by the national authorities and employers' organisations. The committee concludes that a few of these programmes (the *SPAG*-projects, the covenant with the association of small- and medium-sized enterprises, the framework covenant with large companies and the *KOM*-projects) were relatively successful, even though it is not clear whether the decrease in unemployment was a result of the measures taken or simply due to the period of economic prosperity. In any event, the above programmes and projects have either expired already or will be discontinued shortly.
- The committee concludes that the objective set by the Employment Agency (*Arbeidsvoorziening*), i.e. to achieve proportional participation of ethnic minorities in the labour market, was not met. This is due to a combination of internal reorganisations and the unpredictability of the labour market.
- The participation of immigrants is relatively high in subsidised work. For them, it is an important instrument to bridge the gap to the labour market. For some immigrants, subsidised work turns out to be the gateway to a regular job. The committee concludes that the anticipated cut-backs in subsidised work will primarily affect this group.
- The committee concludes that initially, employers benefited the most from immigrant labour. The committee shares the opinion voiced by the *WRR* and the Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis *CPB* that at this point, due to a combination of inadequate integration and follow-on migration from home countries, the economic yield of immigration for society as such is negligible.

Recommendations

The committee recommends:

- that the formation of a negative image be counteracted by strengthening the socio-economic position and (labour market) participation of members of ethnic minorities. In order to prevent the formation of a negative image and stigmatisation, measures are to be taken to highlight successful members of ethnic minorities as role models. Perpetrators of acts of discrimination must be actively prosecuted.
- that in the event of future labour migration, measures be taken to prevent differences in employment conditions of various groups of employees. Employers must be prevented from transferring their burdens on to society, thereby challenging - if not jeopardising - the ability of the welfare state to cope.

² "organised consultations" refers to a series of consultations on e.g. working conditions, imposed by law on competent authorities funded by the government and their employers' organisations [translator's note]

- that as long as proportionality has not been achieved in the participation of immigrants in the labour market, registration of their actual participation is necessary and the government initiates, promotes and supports the conclusion of covenants between the social partners. The objectives formulated in employment policy, too, need to be measurable in time and quantity. It is the role of the government to set an example as a model employer.

10.5 Education

Summary

Educational position

The educational level of ethnic minorities has increased substantially over the past fifteen years. The sharpest increase was observed among young Turkish and Moroccan people aged 15 to 25. However, as compared to the native Dutch population, people of Turkish -- and, even more so -- Moroccan origin still account for a large share of the overall population group with no formal qualification. Women from ethnic minority groups still have a lower level of education than the men, but they appear to be catching up. The educational level of the intermediate generation of Turks and Moroccans is lower, and that of marriage migrants from Turkey and Morocco as well. On average, the educational level of people who completed their entire course of education in their country of origin is substantially lower than that of people educated in the Netherlands. People of Turkish and Moroccan origin experience greater difficulty with the Dutch language than people from Surinam and the Netherlands' Antilles. The Turkish and Moroccan mothers of school-age children have greater difficulty learning Dutch than fathers. The Moroccan and Turkish marriage migrants read and speak Dutch with great difficulty. They make relatively little use of the Dutch language.

Turkish and Moroccan children attending classes in primary education group 2 (i.e. children aged five or six, translator's note) have substantial educational arrears. By the time they reach group 8 (at the age of eleven or twelve, translator's note), some of these arrears appear to have been reduced. Turkish and Moroccan pupils benefit more from educational opportunities than their native Dutch reference group. Among the Moroccans, the number of pupils attending senior general secondary education (*havo*) and pre-university education (*vwo*) has more than doubled. Surinamese pupils have almost reached the level of their native Dutch peers. A striking feature is the weak position of Antilleans in primary education and *havo/vwo* alike.

Research shows that the social origin or environment of children strongly determines their educational success or otherwise. Their non-Dutch origin and their poorer command of the Dutch language appear to be additional factors. The non-Dutch origin is not the key cause of these children's educational arrears; in fact, the socio-economic background, expressed in the educational level of the parents, is the decisive factor.

The nineteen-seventies

The first projects aimed at eliminating educational arrears were focused on the children of immigrant workers. In the Policy Document on Immigrant Workers (*nota Buitenlandse werknemers*, 1970) mention was for the first time made of the schooling of immigrant workers' children. In its memorandum in reply of comments received on the policy document, the cabinet in 1974 laid down a few basic principles regarding the education of immigrant workers' children. These principles also recur in the Policy Plan for the Education of Disadvantaged Groups (*Beleidsplan voor onderwijs aan groepen in achterstandssituaties*). Given the then widespread belief that immigrant

workers would only stay in the Netherlands for a limited period of time, it was remarkable that a distinction was made between children staying in the Netherlands for a short period of time and children expected to stay longer. For the latter group, the emphasis needed to be on integration into the Dutch educational system.

The second half of the seventies was primarily marked by ad-hoc policy making. The major influx of immigrant workers' children into primary schools forced the then ministry of Education and Sciences to provide some sort of support structure for the growing group of children with a mother tongue other than Dutch. By the late seventies, the situation was marked by big differences between the various regions and schools, as well as by policy-makers and education professionals in search of solutions. Traditional attainment levels were made less stringent, there was extra money invested to reduce the size of classes and teachers often lacked knowledge of the disadvantaged situation their pupils lived in.

The nineteen-eighties

In 1981 the Policy Plan on the Education of Cultural Minorities (*Beleidsplan voor onderwijs aan culturele minderheden*) was issued. In it, the then education department was one of the first ministries in the Netherlands to translate into practical policy the transition pointed out in the *WRR* report from a temporary to a permanent stay in the Netherlands of immigrant workers.

With the cultural-minorities policy basically being independent of the policy aimed at immigrant workers' children and with a new act on primary education being in the making at the same time, there was an obvious need to integrate the different policy aspects. In 1982 the first Educational Priority Plan (*Onderwijsvoorrangplan*) was published. Key features of the educational priority policy were the weighting factor scheme (*gewichtenregeling*)³ and the educational priority neighbourhood approach (*gebiedsgewijze aanpak*)⁴. The formalisation of the plans was a laborious process. The Senate and the House of Representatives found it hard to arrive at a consensus and in 1989, the ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs eventually decided to discontinue its participation in the funding of the educational priority programme.

The tendency towards decentralisation and social renewal also had their impact on education. Decentralisation turned out to be a problematic process, because article 23 of the Dutch Constitution refers to education as a responsibility of the national authorities. The fact that local authorities also formed the board of governors of public schools gave rise to fears that there could be a conflict of interests.

³ Primary-school pupils were classified according to their parents' level of education, position in the labour market and/or ethnic origin. A child whose parents' schooling did not extend beyond an intermediate vocational education was assigned a weighting factor of 1.25. A child having a parent with a schooling lower than intermediate vocational education, a weak position on the labour market and/or foreign origin was assigned a weighting factor of 1.90. Pursuant to the weighting factor, government funding for the school was increased by one-quarter up to nearly one hundred percent. [Source: Integration from the perspective of immigration, ministry of Justice; translator's note]

⁴ The educational priority neighbourhood approach provided for the structural cooperation of schools, welfare institutions and social workers in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, with the aim of eliminating the arrears [Source: *Het gemeentelijk onderwijsachter-standenbeleid halverwege de eerste planperiode (1998-2002)*, ministry of OCW; translator's note]

The nineteen-nineties

In 1992 the Van Kemenade committee published its report stating that the policy measures taken to reduce the educational arrears of immigrant children had so far produced little effect. With the knowledge that educational arrears were due to the children's' socio-economic background rather than their ethnic origin, the committee argued in favour of a three-track policy. The administrative reforms were specified in more detail in the "Scheveningen Consultations" (*Schevenings beraad*) and the decentralisation process was resumed. The Education and Social Renewal Cooperation Act (*Wet samenwerking onderwijs en sociale vernieuwing*, 1993) made it possible for municipalities to bring government funding for social renewal and educational priorities together in one local fund. A number of municipalities introduced new structures to replace the educational-priority neighbourhoods scheme. These developments make it necessary to take a close look at the regulations in place with regard to the educational-priority neighbourhoods. A national policy framework was under consideration as well. In advance of this national policy framework and in response to the report issued by the Van Kemenade committee, the cabinet members responsible for Education and Sciences as well as Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs formulated a policy document entitled Educational Priority Policy - Picking up the Thread Together (*nota De OVB-draad samen weer opgepakt*), which became the basis of the renewed cooperation between the two ministries. The document demonstrated that the educational reforms introduced thus far had not managed to redress the balance in the different performance levels of pupils originating from differing socio-economic groups.

The fact that the educational priority policy did not specify tangible, measurable targets, rendered an evaluation of the policy more difficult. Extra funding that became available through the weighting factor scheme appears to have been used primarily to reduce class size. Depending on the local circumstances and the support from local governors, the educational priority neighbourhood approach was put into practice very convincingly in some places and less so in others. It was furthermore concluded that the educational priority policy had not led to a decrease in the language and arithmetics arrears of pupils forming part of the policy's target group.

In the general policy documents addressing minority issues as a whole, such as the Contours Policy Document of 1994 and the policy document entitled Getting Opportunities, Using Opportunities, a number of measures were suggested. However, special attention was demanded for adolescents forming part of ethnic minorities and a continuous course of education.

In 1998, the Municipal Compensatory Education Policy Act (*Wet Gemeentelijke Onderwijsachterstandenbeleid*, GOA) was passed, regulating the decentralisation of policies pertaining to the compensation of educational arrears. The issues to be addressed and the targets to be met over the next four years were stipulated by the national government in a national policy framework. Within this framework, municipalities were free to set their own priorities in their educational arrears compensation plan. In the implementation of the GOA-policy, municipalities were expected to take a strong management role.

The years 2000 to 2003

It can be derived from the WRR-report of 2001, from the policy document entitled Integration from the Perspective of Immigration of 2001 and from developments in society that a good command of the Dutch language was given top priority. In the said policy document it was furthermore stated that genuine improvement presupposed an integrated approach, combining the

making available of suitable educational facilities with the appropriate supplementary care and counselling.

In 2000, the educational-opportunities approach was formulated, aimed at the improvement of schools with a high proportion of children from disadvantaged backgrounds. The scheme provided for both specific measures for individual schools and for measures to be adopted by all schools with a predominantly disadvantaged population of pupils. Also in 2000, the Regulation Pertaining to Preschool and Early Childhood Education (*regeling voor- en vroege schoolse educatie, VVE*) entered into force. The priority given to preschool and early childhood education rose steadily and considerable sums of money were spent on this type of schooling. While the importance of preschool and early childhood education was confirmed in various (international) studies, the effects of *VVE* were not yet entirely clarified. What little effects were found, seemed to wear off gradually as the pupils went on to attend primary school. The concept of the broad school was the subject of considerable attention in the late nineteen-nineties and in the early 21st century. The concept was initially aimed primarily at the elimination of educational arrears. However, as the concept received more and more attention over time, the variety of broad school types grew. There is no evidence so far that these broad schools have produced any effects. One of the major complicating factors of the entire concept appears to lie in the governing structures. Also, it was demonstrated that immigrant children and children from single-parent families participate much more often than native Dutch children and children from families with two parents.

Following the implementation of the first national framework policy for municipal educational arrears, large numbers of municipalities gave priority to preschool and early childhood education and to mastering the Dutch language. The first evaluations show that, in fact, little has changed. The major cities and the largest municipalities in particular make use of the opportunity given to them to set up their own educational arrears policy. The first phase of the Municipal Compensatory Education Policy Act (*GOA*) was primarily used to structure the funding and the proceedings, which led to quality improvements in a limited number of cases. However, the national authorities continued to exert strong influence on the educational arrears policy, regardless of decentralisation: many municipalities perceived the second national policy framework for municipal educational arrears (2002-2006) as much more of an obligation than the first one. Evaluating the results obtained and accounting for them turned out to be difficult elements of the *GOA*-policy. Evaluation was difficult due to technical complications and because of the cost incurred to municipalities and schools. There was as yet no clear division of responsibilities within the *GOA*-policy. In particular, it remained unclear what the responsibilities were of municipalities and of school boards. The greater part of the funds available within the educational arrears policy was expended in the weighting factor scheme, mainly to reduce class size. Recent research confirms the impression that these funds are no longer used exclusively for that end, especially not in schools with a high percentage of pupils with educational arrears. So the tightening up of the weighting factor scheme in fact weakens the position of immigrant children with educational arrears. It is true that the size of this group is shrinking, but the arrears are growing. It also appears that the arrears of this group are hard to influence.

Transition from primary to secondary education

At the end of the primary school period, each pupil is given a recommendation from his or her school as to the most appropriate type of schooling. The school types currently recommended are higher than in past years, particularly as regards children from ethnic minorities. This fact can have positive and negative consequences. While some pupils may perform insufficiently at a higher school level and drop out as a result, others may very

well live up to the expectations and graduate from a higher-level school. Recent research shows that there is no -- or hardly any -- difference between the percentage of ethnic minority pupils and native Dutch pupils transferring from a higher to a lower level school. The role of the municipality in this is primarily to encourage cooperation between institutions of primary and secondary education and to promote a continuous course of education.

Premature school leaving

Leaving school without having obtained a formal qualification is more common among children and adolescents from ethnic minorities than among their native Dutch peer group. Even though premature school leaving (*vroegtijdig schoolverlaten, VSV*) among ethnic-minority youngsters decreased markedly from 1998 to 2002, figures are still relatively high. A low performance level is perceived as one of the key factors leading to premature school leaving. Other factors mentioned include growing up in a single-parent family and attending school in one of the four major cities. Given the fact that schools often lose sight of drop-outs, there is a need for another institution to tackle this problem. According to the action plan issued by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, the municipality should play that role. It can have a part in organising so-called extended care teams (*zorgbreedte-teams*), which involve the student counsellor, the school attendance officer, the school's social worker and the school doctor, as well as representatives of the legal system and/or the police. A coordinating role of the municipalities would furthermore be desirable in regard of the regional registration and coordination centres.

Among the total group of premature school leavers, the so-called high-risk juveniles require particular attention. In their case, leaving school prematurely is just one of a series of problems. A conference organised by then minister Dales of the Interior and the report issued by the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee on Criminal Investigation Methods demonstrated that there is a relation between criminality and ethnic minority youngsters. In 1997, the *CRIEM* Policy Document was published, presenting background information on the nature and causes of criminal behaviour among ethnic minority youngsters. *CRIEM* also provided for a number of preventive measures. Addressing the issue of premature school leaving was one of them. Based on the evaluations of the *CRIEM*-projects, a prevention programme was approved of for the period 2001-2004, focussing on youngsters from ethnic minorities.

Dutch as a second language (NT2)

In the initial period, pupils with a mother tongue other than Dutch used to attend the same classes as native Dutch children, possibly with extra lessons in the Dutch language. In view of the large influx of immigrant children and the fact that their prolonged stay in the Netherlands did not help to eliminate their language difficulties, specific measures were taken in the eighties to counteract the language deficits of ethnic minority children. A good command of the Dutch language -- one of the objectives of the entire *GOA*-policy -- continued to be the subject of considerable attention throughout the nineties. Research showed that, even though municipalities found language very important, there were few language policy plans made at local level. It also appeared that there was no significant relation between the employment of *NT2*-teachers and the progress made in learning Dutch. The same applies to the use of a specific *NT2*-teaching method. Recently, a change has become visible in the attitude towards using *NT2*-methods in addition to regular methods. There is a growing interest in teaching Dutch using integrated methods, in the process of which attention is paid to all pupils with a language problem, regardless of their origin. The trend towards an integrated approach can be seen in education as well. There is a shift from *NT2* as a method to reduce language deficits of pupils from ethnic minority groups to a more

integrated approach (lessons for children with differing mother tongues) and to "made-to-measure schooling".

Education in modern minority culture and language

The concept that immigrant children should be taught about the culture and language of their parents' country of origin (referred to as *OET(C)*, *Onderwijs in Eigen Taal (en Cultuur)* in the Netherlands) was originally developed to facilitate the return of these children to the countries in question. A basic knowledge of the heritage culture and language was believed to make it easier for the children to keep in touch with members of their own ethnic group. When it became increasingly clear, in the early eighties, that the immigrants were in fact in the Netherlands to stay, the *OET(C)* concept was maintained on the assumption that it would contribute to the self-esteem of the pupils and to their self-image. Later on in the eighties, the pedagogic approach promoting the development of self-esteem and self-image became the subject of strong criticism. Instead, *OET(C)* was increasingly perceived as a way to support the learning of the Dutch language. In addition to this language-support function, *OET(C)* kept its emancipation function.

When various scientific studies failed to prove the supporting function of *OET(C)* for the Dutch language, the Van Kemenade committee recommended in 1992 that the link be severed between the policy on educational arrears and heritage language education (referred to as education in modern minority languages or *OALT*, *onderwijs in allochtone levende talen*). A number of key elements of the committee's advice was implemented, but there were no autonomous objectives laid down for language teaching. The term *OALT* was adopted, but education in modern minority languages was still primarily seen as an activity supporting the learning of the Dutch language. In the Minority Language Teaching Act (abbreviated to the *OALT Act*) of 1998, a differentiation was made between *OALT* lessons to provide cultural education, focusing on the mastering of the heritage language and on keeping in touch with the heritage culture, and on *OALT* to provide language-learning support. Contrary to cultural educational *OALT*, it was permissible for *OALT* in support of learning the Dutch language to be taught as part of the regular school curriculum.

Eventually, the second Balkenende cabinet decided to act upon an intention stated earlier by the first Balkenende cabinet, namely to discontinue *OALT* altogether as of 1 august 2004, with the main argument being that the focus must be on mastering the Dutch language.

Intercultural education

The first mention made of intercultural education was in a Policy Plan on Cultural Minorities in Education. This later evolved into a legal provision stating that the acknowledgement that the pupils grow up in a multicultural society was to be the guiding principle of this type of education. This objective was maintained unchanged in the Intercultural Education Memorandum of 1986, in which the acquiring of knowledge about each other's backgrounds was listed as a sub-objective. The intercultural education objective remained unchanged throughout the nineties, but even the installation of an Intercultural Education Project Group could not prevent the interest in the subject from dwindling.

The objectives of intercultural education were broadly formulated. Even within the world of education there was no clear definition of what exactly intercultural education consisted of. Is intercultural education primarily about the acquiring of knowledge about various cultures or should the emphasis be on attitudes, on respecting one another's diversity? Meanwhile, no progress was made at the schools. The few things that did get done appeared to be isolated events rather than activities forming part of the regular curriculum,

and they remained restricted to schools with a multi-ethnic student population. Schools with a predominantly 'white' student population did not attach much importance to intercultural education.

Educational segregation

Until the late seventies, educational segregation in the sense of ethnic segregation was hardly a subject in politics. This changed in the eighties due to the large influx of immigrant children. In a memorandum dating from 1989, attention was paid to so-called high-concentration schools. Improvements in the quality, the accommodation and the appearance of such schools could help improve their image. It was agreed that there would be no attempt to interfere with the freedom of choice of both parents and schools. When mention was made, in a memorandum on Educational Opportunities issued in 2000, of ethnic segregation within the educational system and the consequences of this, the search for policy solutions continued to focus on quality improvements. The causes of educational segregation include residential segregation, the pattern followed by parents in the choices they make and the intentional or unintentional behaviour of the schools themselves. Apparently, the 'black-school' and 'white-school' phenomenon occurred in schools of all denominations. Schools with a particular pedagogic bias, on the contrary, appeared to attract mostly native Dutch children.

The fact that a school was predominantly black would appear to have a negative impact on the school's educational performance, but in reality, this effect was minor. The socio-economic background was of key importance. The perceived poor performance of black schools was mostly due to the fact that children attending such schools often come from disadvantaged neighbourhoods. If the results obtained were adjusted for student characteristics, the 'blackness' of a school turned out to be less relevant for its performance. Schools with high concentrations of immigrant children have built up expertise over the years in handling minority students, which makes them more qualified than other schools to clear the educational arrears of their students. With the exception of a few cities, there was no dispersion policy implemented in the Netherlands to prevent or diminish ethnic segregation in the educational system. The promotion of mixed student populations appears to be a complex matter. The quality of black and/or Islamic schools has been investigated, but the impact of these schools on the integration of their students into Dutch society has not. Less than 4% of the ethnic minority children attend an Islamic school and even though a few disturbing facts emerged from a report issued by the General Intelligence and Security Service (*Algemene Inlichtingen- en Veiligheidsdienst, AIVD*), both the AIVD and the Education Inspectorate found that, in the majority of the Islamic schools, little occurs which might be detrimental to the democratic system of law (*AIVD*) or to the educational opportunities of the pupils (Education Inspectorate). Discussions about the dispersion of students and the founding of Islamic schools tend to focus on article 23 of the Dutch Constitution. The parents' freedom of choice is a matter felt very strongly about in Dutch society and politics. The opportunity which private (denominational) schools have to impose extra entrance requirements on potential students, on the other hand, gives rise to wide public and political debate.

Conclusions

- The committee concludes that schools have been and continue to be confronted with the influx of large numbers of immigrant children. The issues relevant to integration and immigration find their way into the educational system. In a manner of speaking, the social problems are brought into the schools along with the children. Teachers have made - and continue to make - enormous efforts in order to provide adequate teaching to immigrant children.

- The committee concludes that the educational level of a child's parents is the factor which most determines the educational opportunities of native Dutch children and immigrant children alike. The fact that some of the immigrant children grow up using a language other than Dutch also plays a role.
- The committee concludes that the educational arrears of immigrant children have decreased markedly, particularly from 1988 to 2003. While immigrant children still have significant arrears in comparison with their native Dutch peers, the committee believes that the progress made by immigrant children in clearing their educational arrears gives cause for optimism.
- According to the committee, in both the seventies and the eighties, the intended improvements were often sought in the non-cognitive field.
- The committee observes that the introduction of an integrated approach to educational arrears of both immigrant and native Dutch children occurred rather hesitantly in the eighties. This was mostly due to the less than optimal cooperation between the then ministries of Education and Science and of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs. The slow decision-making process of the States General was another reason.
- The committee concludes that the priority neighbourhood approach within the educational priority policy did not come off the ground equally well everywhere, depending on the local circumstances and on the commitment of local administrators.
- The committee concludes that in fact, the decentralisation of the compensatory education policy only started when the Municipal Compensatory Education Policy Act (GOA) entered into force in 1998.
- The committee concludes that the decentralisation of the educational policy in general and of the compensatory education policy in particular had a very troublesome start because of the right to freedom of education and due to possibly conflicts of interests. Policy implementation was further delayed by consultations held between the various actors involved (national government, school boards, schools, welfare institutions). In consequence, the teachers experience hardly any (or only strongly delayed) effects of the changes made in their daily practice.
- The committee concludes that the assignment of responsibilities has become unclear since decentralisation. It is no longer unambiguously clear what the responsibilities of the municipalities, the schools and the school boards are. The directing role municipalities are meant to assume within the various fields of the compensatory education policy is not equally well played nor effective in all municipalities concerned.
- The committee concludes that there is a consensus, nationally and internationally, about the optimum approach to early childhood and preschool education of immigrant children starting their schooling with educational arrears. Due to the fact that these methods have only been implemented recently, the effectiveness of this approach cannot yet be established.
- The committee concludes that the objectives of the compensatory education policy were not clear, concrete and measurable until the nineteen-nineties, which makes a thorough evaluation of the measures' effectiveness impossible. It is not clear what the actual results of the compensatory education programmes are, because it is hard to demonstrate a causal relation between the results obtained and the programmes. Among other things, this is due to the effect of the many factors affecting a child's surroundings and to the lack of an experimental approach. In recent years, more tangible and quantifiable objectives and targets were formulated in the

field of compensatory education as well, following the transition, by the central government, to the so-called *VBTB*-procedure⁵ in budgeting and accounting.

- The committee is of the opinion that the policies in the field of compensatory education increasingly targeted children from ethnic minorities, as a result of which, the situation of native Dutch children with similar problems was somewhat overlooked.
- Even though intercultural education is an objective stipulated by law and in spite of the fact that it was rated a key objective, implementation never got off the ground properly, due to the non-committal approach.
- Given the relatively high number of non-native Dutch children leaving school prematurely, the committee is of the opinion that the approach to premature school leaving is insufficiently geared to the specific needs of immigrant youngsters. This is particularly remarkable because the very same approach is listed as a policy measure to prevent criminal behaviour among (non-native Dutch) youngsters.
- The committee concludes that the *NT2*-programmes that make use, independently of the regular lessons taught at school, of teachers specialised in Dutch as a second language and of specific *NT2* teaching methods proved to have had little effect.
- The committee concludes that the objectives formulated for the education provided in the native language and culture of immigrant children (abbreviated as *OETC*) were changed repeatedly and that eventually, the entire *OETC* concept was replaced by education in modern minority languages (*OALT*). The instrument remained in use for reasons of culture politics rather than on account of its supporting role in the learning of languages. In 1992, the Van Kemenade committee established in its report that there was no consensus among scientists about the language-supporting function *OETC* was believed to have. From that report onwards, the language programmes -- referred to as *OALT* from then on -- were continued for a while as part of the regular curriculum.
- The committee concludes that schools become high-concentration schools due to a combination of factors such as the composition of residential areas, the fact that parents have freedom of choice and the schools' policy based on article 23 of the Dutch constitution. In certain cases, the options available for parents to choose from may be limited on account of any of these factors.
- The committee concludes that the quality of the integration programme for parents (with small children or wanting to have children) is of influence on the educational opportunities of their (future) children.

Recommendations

The committee recommends:

- that equal treatment of boys and girls in education be guaranteed.
- that maximum efforts be made so that immigrant children achieve a good command of the Dutch language at a young age. Language deficits identified at child health centres need to be reported, so that countermeasures can be taken without delay. It is crucial that the parents are involved, as well as

⁵ Policy Budget to Accounting for Policy' (*Van Beleidsbegroting tot beleidsverantwoording*, abbreviated as *VBTB*) is a procedure providing for policy-based budgeting and policy-based accounting. It was introduced in the Netherlands in 2001 in order to stimulate a result-oriented approach in central government [source: Ministry of Finance; translator's note]

people or institutions providing educational support and preschool activities. Growing up with the Dutch language is vital for getting a good start in education.

- that educational segregation be counteracted by extending the freedom of choice. Municipalities are to make binding agreements on this with schools.
- that incentives for promoting integration be included in the school funding system, the municipal housing policy on schools and other flanking measures.
- that more attention be paid at school to the transfer of the most important values of the Dutch constitutional state, the composition of its population and its history.

10.6 Housing and recreation

Summary

The quality of housing and the degree of concentration are important factors in the housing situation of ethnic minorities. The nature of the relationship between the quality of housing and integration remains unclear. Research on the relationship between concentration and integration has shown that concentration particularly affects the informal contacts between migrants and native Dutch citizens.

Over the past 30 years, the quality of housing of ethnic minorities has improved distinctly. Especially in the 1970s, foreign workers and, to a lesser extent, fellow-citizens originating from the former overseas territories used to live in boarding houses or in private rented accommodation, often in poor living conditions. Owing to the low average incomes and the inaccessibility of the social rented sector, many foreign workers ended up in the old pre-war areas of the major cities. People from the former overseas territories applied for housing benefit in greater numbers and thus could afford the relatively expensive rented dwellings in areas such as Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam. In the 1980s, the housing situation of ethnic minorities improved considerably. Many boarding houses were closed, the social rented sector became more accessible and increasing numbers of people from ethnic minorities claimed housing benefit. Besides, urban regeneration resulted in the improvement of the housing quality in many old areas, where large numbers of ethnic minorities lived. Because the rental prices had risen as a result of urban regeneration, some of the foreign workers moved to the early pre-war areas that had not yet been regenerated. However, relatively more Surinamers and Antilleans stayed in the regenerated areas. It is due to this fact and to the relative advantage of Surinamers and Antilleans in the 1970s that by the early 1990s the quality of the housing of Surinamers and Antilleans was similar to that of native Dutch with the same socio-economic background. The quality of the dwellings of Turks and Moroccans, too, had improved considerably compared to the previous years, but still fell behind that of Dutch, Surinamers and Antilleans as to size and age. In the 1990s, the number of Turks and Moroccans taking advantage of housing benefit grew considerably.

The second important factor in the housing situation of ethnic minorities is the degree of concentration. In the 1970s, most industrial zones were located in or near the major cities. As a result, many foreign workers and people from overseas territories took up residence in these cities. The follow-on migration of family members and the exodus from the cities by large numbers of Dutch people added to the concentration of ethnic minorities in the major cities. Especially at the end of the 1980s and in the early 1990s, this concentration intensified: between 1986 and 1995 ethnic minorities doubled their share of the population. By the end of the 1990s, the increase in concentration seemed

to have stabilised, although some inland migration of status holders to large cities still occurred.

In the inner cities, too, this concentration has increased over recent years. For instance, in the 1970s, many foreign workers settled in the older pre-war areas of the major cities. Owing to family reunification and partly also as a result of urban regeneration, the concentration of ethnic minorities in the early post-war areas increased as well. As the cheapest dwellings are generally to be found in the pre-war and early post-war areas, these areas also show a concentration of people in adverse socio-economic positions, which puts the quality of life in these areas under pressure.

In the 1990s, the number of concentration areas in the major cities continued to grow. It is not improbable that - apart from the growing minority population - the privatisation of the housing associations, the rising rental prices, the tackling of the "expensive disproportion", restructuring and the limited scale of social housing in the so-called VINEX⁶ locations have contributed to an intensified concentration of these groups in some areas.

The 1970s

In the 1970s, no special consideration was given to ethnic minorities as far as the housing policy was concerned. Employers were liable for the housing of foreign workers, with the central government merely carrying out the inspection of the boarding houses. By no means all employers took care of the housing of their foreign workers and if they did, the quality was often poor. Specific policies were drawn up, however, with regard to the housing of citizens originating from the former overseas territories. From 1975 onwards, they could apply for housing on the basis of a government ruling that required community councils to reserve a certain number of dwellings for priority categories.

The 1980s

The Policy Document on Ethnic Minorities, issued in 1983, stated that the disadvantage of ethnic minorities in the field of housing was to be dealt with principally within the framework of the general housing policy. Giving careful consideration to ethnic minorities thus became a regular task of the social rented sector. Disadvantages in the field of allocation of housing, as well as the distribution of minorities were tackled by repeated circulars to community councils and housing associations. Distribution on the basis of ethnicity was expressly forbidden and the introduction of objective allocation criteria was advocated, as well as annual reporting on the housing situation of ethnic minorities.

Moreover, in the mid-1980s, many poor quality boarding houses were closed and the government expected the quality of the housing of ethnic minorities to improve as a result of urban regeneration and growing numbers of ethnic minorities taking advantage of housing benefit. By the end of the 1980s, when the policy document Public Housing in the 1990s was published, the housing policy shifted towards a more decentralised and deregulated approach, with property subsidies being largely abolished and housing associations being privatised. For the low-income groups, housing benefit was intended to compensate for the movement in rental prices to meet market rates.

The 1990s

Whereas in the 1980s some policy measures were still focused specifically on the housing of ethnic minorities (for instance the circulars of 1983 and 1988), in the 1990s only general policies remained. Housing benefit was to guarantee good quality housing for the financially weak and it was for that reason that ethnic minorities made above average use of this service.

⁶ The VINEX policy is a strategic urban planning document in the Netherlands for the medium and long term [translator's note].

However, housing benefit did not entirely compensate for the rise in rental prices and property prices (due in some measure to decreasing governmental influence on the housing market and the privatisation of the housing associations in the early 1990s). The portion of income expended on rent rose from 19.7% in 1990 to 24% in 2000. As to the allocation of housing, most municipalities switched to the so-called "housing supply model", making it possible for housing seekers to subscribe to the available social housing stock.

Moreover, increasing problems in the older areas of the major cities required a more intensive approach. From 1990 to 1994 tackling the disadvantages in the fields of employment, housing and welfare was combined in the so-called social renewal policy, a kind of "social management", involving municipalities, private organisations and citizens. In 1995, the social renewal policy evolved into the "major cities policy". A minister was appointed to give the policy on the major cities more coherence, and to make more progress in this field.

Moreover, in covenants between the central government and a number of cities greater emphasis was put on performance targets. Urban regeneration was introduced as a means of providing more variety in the housing stock in areas where the population composition was considered to be "unbalanced". Greater variation in the housing stock was to result in a more mixed population, such that people of different income levels would reside in the same areas. As well as variation in the existing stock by means of restructuring, variation in the new stock (e.g. in the VINEX locations) was also considered important, but was in practice hardly achieved.

The years 2000-2003

In 2000, the objective of variation in the housing stock was abandoned and the emphasis shifted from housing policy to freedom of choice. The government stated that an imbalance in the composition of the population in terms of income level or ethnicity is not necessarily a problem, provided that the imbalance in the social or cultural structure of the areas, occurs out of free will and not out of lack of choice. When the first Balkenende cabinet took office, there was a shift in policy on the concentration areas: explicit efforts would be made to decrease the concentration of socio-economically disadvantaged migrants within the neighbourhood population. The second Balkenende cabinet continued to focus on stimulating proportional distribution of disadvantaged migrant groups and thus at countering the expansion of concentration areas, but the minister underlined that allocation of housing would not take place solely on the grounds of ethnic origin or nationality. The "major city-policy" was continued during this period (1999-2003), although the approach shifted towards physical, economic and social pillars. The interim evaluation has shown that effective implementation of policy remains problematic, as was the case with the social renewal policy and the first term of the major cities policy in the 1990s. However, in 2002, a slight improvement seemed to become apparent.

Recently, the Mid-Term Rent Policy Commission made recommendations to the government on a new system of rental pricing, to be introduced by 2005. One effect of this has been the abolition of the "tax rebate on ageing property" as well as fixing the maximum rise in rental prices for five year periods (in stead of an annual rise). The second Rent Policy Commission is now studying the effects of the proposals to modernise the rent policy.

Furthermore, a reduction in housing benefit was decided on recently and there is an ongoing debate about accelerating the restructuring by balancing the capital surpluses and the capital shortages of the housing associations (motion put forward by Ms Van Gent MP and others⁷).

Conclusions

⁷ This motion was adopted by the House of Representatives, with the exception of the MP's for the VVD (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy).

- The committee concludes that in the 1970s, the inspection of poor housing conditions in boarding houses was insufficient; not until after the mid-1980s were poor quality boarding houses being closed.
- The committee concludes that in the 1980s the developments in the field of immigration increased the social problems in the major cities' neighbourhoods, putting an increasingly heavy burden onto the poorest people.
- The committee concludes that, in the 1980s, with the quality of housing improving overall (due in some measure to urban regeneration), the quality of housing of ethnic minorities improved considerably. Government policies, e.g. the housing benefit and the improved accessibility of the social rented sector, contributed to this.
- The committee concludes that the main goal of the housing policy of the 1980s, namely providing for sufficient good quality housing, seems to have been achieved.
- The committee concludes that, in the 1980s, the concentration in disadvantaged areas increased considerably as a result of family reunification and suburbanisation. This process was reinforced by the unfavourable average socio-economic position of ethnic minorities and the concentration of affordable houses in certain areas.
- The committee concludes that the freedom of choice of people in unfavourable socio-economic positions (among whom ethnic minorities) was restricted in the 1980s as a result of the imbalance in the housing stock in the major cities.
- The committee concludes that the "policy on neighbourhoods with accumulating problems", carried out in the 1980s, did not improve living standards in disadvantaged areas.
- The committee concludes that in the 1990s, as a result of tackling the "expensive disproportion", not tackling the "affordable disproportion", restructuring and insufficient building of affordable new houses the availability of affordable homes decreased.
- The committee concludes that in the 1990s the decrease in the availability of affordable houses and the immigration of newcomers possibly intensified the concentration of people on low incomes (among whom many people from ethnic minorities) in disadvantaged areas.
- The committee concludes that, with the housing benefit not entirely compensating for the rising rental prices, the proportion of wages spent on rent went up in the 1990s, thus limiting the available housing (and the freedom of choice) for people on low incomes (among whom many ethnic minorities).
- The committee concludes that neither the social renewal policy nor the first term of the "major cities policy" in the 1990s was successful in effectively tackling the social problems in disadvantaged areas.
- The committee concludes that the quality of housing of ethnic minorities, adjusted for socio-economic background, became more comparable to that of native Dutch people during the 1990s.
- The committee concludes that, from 2000 to 2003, social policy towards the disadvantaged areas, as part of the major cities policy, got off the ground insufficiently, which was partly due to lack of coherence in the "physical pillar".

- The committee concludes that further increase of the rental prices, in combination with lower housing benefit over the period from 2000 to 2003, will decrease the availability of affordable housing.
- The committee doubts whether freedom of choice can be realised for people in disadvantaged socio-economic positions, in view of the limited affordable housing stock and the immigration, expected by CPB for the coming years.
- The committee concludes that the distribution of Surinamers in the past and that of status holders in the present time have apparently had no long-term effects; many Surinamers and status holders re-migrated to the big cities after a period of time.
- The committee concludes that the concentration of ethnic minorities reduces the likelihood of contacts with native Dutch people, but that it does not distinctly affect educational level or employment opportunities. It is not unthinkable that decreased socio-cultural integration (and, more specifically, reduction of informal contacts between native Dutch people and migrants) will lead to decreased socio-economic integration as a consequence. Research in this field has shown that socio-cultural integration plays a role in socio-economic integration, especially for less well-educated migrants of the first generation.
- The committee concludes that residents of concentration areas state that the disadvantage of the area has chiefly to do with the neglect of the public space, uncertainty about restructuring and insufficient reduction of problem behaviour and crime prevention.

Recommendations

The committee recommends that:

- Suburban and quasi-rural communities contribute to the housing of people on low incomes. The housing market in these communities should be opened up and more affordable rented houses and owner-occupied houses should be built, among other places in VINEX locations.
- The diversity of the housing stock in the major cities be increased, in order to limit the exodus of middle class people to the suburbs.
- There be more coherence in the major cities policy between the physical, economic and social infrastructure, in order to increase social cohesion in the disadvantaged areas. This requires greater involvement of housing associations and the use of matching.
- Socio-economically weak areas be better maintained and problem behaviour as well as crime be reduced, with active engagement of the residents. If necessary, municipalities will be given the opportunity to carry out experiments, within the existing legislation.

10.7 Emancipation of women and girls

Summary

As far as the position of foreign women is concerned, the domestic situation, the marital age and the number of children were taken into consideration. The proportion of married women or women living together turned out to be greater among Turks, Moroccans and Dutch than among Surinamers and Antilleans. There are more single mothers among Surinamese and Antillean women. If Surinamese and Antillean women get married at all, they inter-

marry more frequently than Turkish or Moroccan women. Furthermore, the marital age has risen over the past years among foreign (and Dutch) women, with the number of children decreasing.

In the socio-economic field, foreign women have caught up with male immigrants as far as education is concerned. Compared to Dutch women, females from all ethnic minorities, Surinamese women and girls excluded, (still) face educational disadvantages. In the field of employment, foreign women are making progress, but they have not yet managed to catch up with male immigrants or native Dutch people. Moreover, in the socio-cultural sphere, changes can be observed that affect (and are an indication of) the emancipation of foreign women. For instance, with regard to upbringing, values among migrant families are changing rapidly, whereas "modern" values, such as autonomy, are becoming more important⁸. Opinions about the division of roles between men and women are also changing, especially among girls from the second generation of migrants. The tempo of change of opinions varies between boys and girls, between generations and between education levels. In some cases, this can create specific problems. Some researchers believe that the vast differences of opinion between Turkish and Moroccan men and women make it difficult for them to find marital partners among their own groups in The Netherlands. This is a possible explanation of the fact that three-quarters of the Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands (men and women alike) find their marital partners in their countries of origin. Moreover, changing opinions in one field may lead to frictions, if opinions in other fields are changing less rapidly or do not change at all. For instance, opinions on female virtue have changed little, despite women's increased independence. The vast internal differences within ethnic groups may end in conflicts. This is a drawback to the rapid changes in the field of emancipation of women from migrant groups. The over-representation of women from migrant groups in refugees is a sign of such conflicts.

The 1970s

Summarizing, it may be stated that in the 1970s, there were few or no specific policies aimed at women from ethnic minority groups. It was particularly the (categorical) welfare institutions and volunteers who satisfied the demand for language courses and facilities to meet each other, etcetera. The demand largely exceeded the supply, however (see the conclusions of the Working Group Foreign Women). This situation did not, however, differ distinctly from that of male migrants in the 1970s. Considering that the first Policy Document on Emancipation was published in 1977 and that the emancipation policies relating to female migrants therefore took shape only towards the end of the 1970s, hardly any attention was paid to the emancipation of migrant women in the policies prior to that time.

The 1980s

During the 1980s, labour participation among foreign women was high in comparison with Dutch women. In the 1980s, explicit consideration was given to women from ethnic minorities and distinct objectives with regard to policy on these women were formulated in the Policy Document on Ethnic Minorities and the Second Policy Document on Emancipation. However, in practice, only small-scale pilot projects were carried out. In the early 1990s, the government concluded that these projects had relatively little effect.

The 1990s

In the early 1990s, specific policy was still focused on women from migrant groups. Some Women and Minorities Projects (*VEM-projecten*) were continued and the VEM employment agency was set up to achieve the influx of 900 women into the labour market. When the Women and Minorities Projects came to an end, the government stated that the specific consideration given to women from ethnic minorities had to be integrated into

⁸ However, these values are interpreted differently by various ethnic groups.

the overall emancipation and integration policies. From 1994 onwards, more consideration was given to women and girls from ethnic minorities in the (overall) integration policy. By the end of the 1990s, domestic violence was recognized as a criterion for obtaining a personal residence permit.

The years 2000 - 2003

During the years 2000 - 2003, consideration was given to women and girls from ethnic minorities within the overall emancipation policy. Specific policy towards these groups was also drawn up. In 2002, the Commission on Labour Participation of Women from Ethnic Minorities (*Commissie AVEM*) published a report on methods to stimulate social participation of women from ethnic minorities. In September 2003, the Commission on Participation of Women from Ethnic Minorities (*Commissie PAVEM*) started supporting municipalities in implementing these methods. In actual practice, domestic violence as such turned out not to be a sufficient reason for women from ethnic minorities to be granted a personal residence permit. From 2003 onwards, it was, however. Eventually, by the end of October 2003, the minister of Social Affairs and Employment unveiled the strategy for the emancipation and integration of women and girls from ethnic minorities, outlining the main features of the future policy.

Conclusions

- The committee concludes that in the early 1970s, little or no specific policy on the emancipation of women was drawn up. In the mid-1970s, the central government began to give consideration to the emancipation of Dutch women. In its Policy Document on Ethnic Minorities of 1983 the government concluded that the existing measures, focused on overcoming isolation, learning Dutch and becoming familiar with society, were not sufficiently reaching women from ethnic minorities. In the next years, specific thematic policy was drawn up, but little consideration was given in a structural way to women and girls from ethnic minorities within the integration or emancipation policies. The effects of emancipation policy or integration policy on women from migrant groups were not systematically examined. All in all, insufficient attention was paid to foreign women in the emancipation policy.
- The committee concludes that basic education and trade schools for women have largely contributed to improving the level of education of woman from ethnic minorities. These forms of education are alternatives to the standard educational facilities and are better tailored to meet the needs of (foreign) women.
- The committee concludes that women from migrant groups have made considerable progress in the fields of education and employment over the past ten years. Woman from all ethnic groups have reached the same or a higher level than men.
- The committee concludes that there are three explanations for migration for the purpose of marriage among Turkish and Moroccan youths, namely the preference of the young people themselves, the preference of the parents and economic factors. Up till now, measures to limit family formation have had little effect on the extent of this type of migration.
- The committee concludes that it is important to include in law careful stipulations on the personal right to stay of female victims of violence in order to counter violence against these women.
- Like the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR), the committee concludes that time and again marriage migration means that a "first generation"- migrant marries a person who has grown up in the Netherlands, which can have adverse effects on the participation of both persons and on the upbringing of any children from such a marriage.

Recommendations

The committee recommends:

- That the significance of a good command of Dutch be expressly brought to the attention of women who do not belong to any priority groups (parents or guardians bringing up children and people dependent on benefit). This will have a beneficial effect in stimulating participation. Because difficulties in the domestic situation can play a role here, newcomers (men and women alike) are actively approached.
- That specific policy be drawn up to deal with problems that may arise from marriage migration.
- Wearing headscarves or other religious garments is a personal choice and responsibility. Restriction of this principle is acceptable on functional grounds solely. Discrimination on these grounds is, of course, prohibited.
- As long as proportionality for migrant girls and women has not been achieved, it will remain necessary to register their participation in the relevant programmes. Extra efforts on the part of the government in this field, including adjustment and coordination between the departments involved, remain necessary. The policies include performance targets.

10.8 The role of the governments of the countries of origin: Turkey and Morocco

Conclusions

- The committee concludes that the Moroccan and Turkish authorities follow a policy of maintaining and strengthening the ties with the migrant organisations in The Netherlands. This policy is alternately inspired by political and religious principles and financial-economic motives.
- The committee concludes that it is hard to form an opinion about the effects of this policy on the integration of migrants and their children into Dutch society. An exception to this is the policy that the Moroccan authorities followed until the 1990s, which, in the source material, is regarded as damaging. This policy, described by several specialists as “intimidating”, did impede integration in the past.
- Legislation in the country of origin includes a distinct range of influence: military service, inheritance law, family law and nationality law. The committee concludes that Dutch-Moroccan women have experienced difficulties as a result of divorces granted in the Netherlands not being recognised in Morocco. It remains unclear if the proposed reform of the Moroccan Personal Status Code, Mudawwanah, will lead to recognition of divorces granted in The Netherlands.
- The committee concludes that protection of national security proves to be a major underlying motive for monitoring activities of Turks and Moroccans in The Netherlands. The main concern of the Turkish authorities is the activities of organised Kurds. In the past, the Moroccan government particularly feared opposition groups, but today seems to give special consideration to fundamentalist movements among Moroccans (at home and) abroad.
- The committee concludes that the creation of first generation migrant organisations was determined to a large degree by political, ethnic and religious issues in the countries of origin. The influence exerted by the country

of origin is also dependent on the degree of integration of the migrants and on the degree to which they themselves are orientated to their country of origin.

- On the basis of research, the committee concludes that the Turkish and Moroccan authorities are exerting direct influence in the field of religious belief through the mosque organisations. The Turkish authorities exercise control through Diyanet and the mosques affiliated to the Islamic Association in The Netherlands (established 1982), whereas the Moroccan influence is exerted through the Union of Moroccan Muslim Organisations in The Netherlands (established 1977). In 2002, the Dutch Intelligence Service concluded that organisations allied to the Turkish government and to Diyanet, experienced the Dutch Imam School project as a threat to their control of the Turkish community in The Netherlands. In this sense, the influence exerted by the authorities of the countries of origin may be considered a restraint on integration (as well as on the creation of a Dutch version of Islam). The committee concludes that the effects of the overall control that the Turkish and Moroccan authorities try to keep on Islam via the mosques are not so succinct. Varying reactions to the plans of the Dutch government for a Dutch Imam School can be perceived among the Dutch Muslim organisations.
- The committee concludes that the Turkish and Moroccan governments display initiatives to stimulate the instruction in the language and culture of the countries of origin among the migrant communities in the countries of immigration. Owing to the Dutch way of organising this instruction the influence from the countries of origin remains very limited.
- The committee concludes that the migrant communities in The Netherlands (and also in other European countries) are of great economic interest to the Turkish and Moroccan societies because of the considerable currency flow.
- The committee concludes that the Turkish authorities apparently have never taken any action to support this currency flow. The Moroccan authorities, however, did take action in this field. Maintaining the ties with Moroccans in The Netherlands (and in the rest of Europe) is inspired to a large degree by economic motives. The sources give little information about the effects on integration into Dutch society. It is obvious, however, that such funding will affect the financial situation of a group which already has a predominantly poor socio-economic position.

Recommendations

The committee recommends:

- That the Dutch government take such measures that Dutch citizens will not experience any difficulties from legislation in the country of origin.

10.9 Organisations of and for migrant groups

Summary

In the early years of the period this committee looked into, many organisations formed by or on behalf of migrant groups had executive committees and spokespeople of predominantly Dutch origin. The immigrant workers from abroad did not feel represented by these organisations and wanted to found their own. Signals to that effect were picked up by campaigners and student activists in the turbulent sixties. The criticism was turned into practical action by a variety of activist groups striving for the interests of the guest workers from abroad, in some cases in cooperation with them.

In the late sixties and early seventies, the immigrant workers started setting up their own organisations, which, in the early years, often reflected the

(political) conflicts and organisational structures in place in their countries of origin. In the seventies and eighties, the greater part of these organisations' activities was of a socio-cultural and religious nature. As suggested in the Policy Document on Ethnic Minorities of 1983, a nation-wide consultation structure was set up to initiate the dialogue with the various minority groups and to receive their recommendations. In a few cases, the setting up of the individual consultation bodies that were meant to form part of the nation-wide structure did not proceed smoothly, partly because one single entity would have to represent the relevant nationality of behalf of a variety of sub-groups within the various nationalities.

In the decentralisation process, the resources earmarked for welfare purposes were transferred to the municipalities, along with the responsibility for subsidising organisations formed by and on behalf of migrants. Even though in time, the emphasis shifted to institutions working on behalf of broad groups of people, local categorial institutions continued to receive subsidies for two reasons: firstly, the broadly based institutions proved unable to meet the specific needs of the various migrant groups and secondly, the municipalities were at liberty to determine their own policies.

In the nineties, the former National Advisory and Consultation Platform on Minority Issues (*Landelijke Advies- en Overlegstructuur Minderheden, LAO*) was replaced by the National Consultation on Minority Issues (*Landelijk Overleg Minderheden, LOM*), to the effect that the migrant organisations set up to have a say in government policy lost their advisory function. Also, the scheme regulating the granting of subsidies to national migrant organisations was changed. More adaptations proved necessary upon receipt of critical comments from the field and from the House of Representatives. Today, the organisations set up to have a say in government policy are subsidised by the Ministry of Justice, the national migrant organisations by the ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport and the regional support organisations by the provinces. On a local level, interest groups and migrant organisations are subsidised by the municipality.

The nineties showed an increase in the diversity in migrant organisations and in the number of activities organised by them, with socio-cultural activities continuing to play a particularly important role. On a local level, there is an enormous diversity in the strategies and criteria applied to the granting of subsidies. Nevertheless, the subsidising of organisations formed by and on behalf of minorities shows one particular trend: the criteria applicable to the granting of subsidies to migrant organisations have been under discussion for a number of years now, and more and more subsidies are granted on a project basis rather than to a specific institution as used to be the case. As for (the functioning of) organisations formed by and on behalf of minorities, opinions differ. Issues under discussion include whether these organisations are truly representative of the minority groups, the impact of these organisations on policy-making and the question of how these organisations must be seen in the light of the integration of the individual people they represent.

Conclusions

- The commission concludes that until the mid-seventies, the minority organisations (the so-called foundations) consisted largely of native Dutch people, to the effect that their behaviour towards migrants was of a somewhat patronising nature.
- The commission is of the opinion that the replacement of the former *LAO* by the National Consultation on Minority Issues (*LOM*) factually stripped the organisations set up to have a say in government policy of their advisory function. In consequence, they retained hardly any influence on policy-making.

- The commission concludes that the authorities consider the National Consultation on Minority Issues (*LOM*) at national level and the various migrant interest groups at local level as primary point of contact for addressing non-native Dutch groups. This is particularly true in times of crises, such as following the Rushdie affair, 11 September or statements made by imam El Moumni about homosexuals.
- The commission considers that there is a lack of clarity about how representative particularly the organisations forming part of the National Consultation on Minority Issues (*LOM*) and the local immigrants' interest groups are of their respective population groups.
- In the opinion of the commission, the organisational infrastructure (migrant organisations, interest groups, Islamic organisations, mosques) of immigrant communities corresponds with the structures in place in the native Dutch middle classes and it is in keeping with the Dutch consultation culture. The minority policies of the nineteen-eighties are believed to have been one of the factors shaping the said infrastructure.
- The commission concludes that the criteria for the granting of subsidies to migrant organisations are not formulated clearly and tangibly enough, given the use of comprehensive terms such as emancipation, participation and integration. It is therefore unclear which activities are subsidised and which are not.
- The commission is of the opinion that a causal relation between the activities of migrant organisations and the degree of integration of individual people of non-Dutch origin is difficult to demonstrate.

Recommendations

The committee recommends:

- that subsidies be granted to projects contributing to the integration and emancipation of migrant groups. Cultural activities should be funded in accordance with a set of criteria that is the same for events organised by native Dutch and non-native Dutch people or groups.
- that a careful assessment be made of the representativeness of groups contacted by the authorities in search of an official body to represent a certain group of people.

And finally:

- based on the experiences gained with the holding of hearings in four cities in various parts of the Netherlands, the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee on Integration Policy strongly recommends to the House of Representatives the staging of such hearings outside of The Hague.

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