

# **Masterthesis**

Cities and the management of ethnic diversity

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# Preface

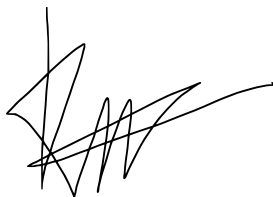
Dear readers,

In the following pages, I will present my master research to you. This master thesis is the last and most important part of the master Human Geography (specialisation Urban & Cultural Geography) that I started in the fall of 2015 – yes, it took me some time to complete my ‘magnum opus’ and there were moments that it felt impossible to ever regard it as my best work yet. Still, after all, and despite many weaknesses that I still observe, I am proud to hand in this research. It reflects some important characteristics and interests that I have, such as my sensitiveness to detail and need for clear concepts and frameworks, my interest in cities and the way in which people live together in urban environments and my involvement with vulnerable groups and society in general. Indeed, my thesis represents what I learned in the last couple of years, what I experienced during these years and who I always have been.

Talking about the ‘learning’ part, I owe a lot to the Radboud University, that appears to be able to provide well organised, highly qualitative and inspiring learning programs. In particular I want to thank my mentor at the university, Roos Pijpers, who I consciously and quite soon after the whole process started asked to be my guide through the rough times that I already knew were coming. Her calmness, experience and pleasant character were of great help to me.

Beside, I would like to thank the mentors of my internship organisation Regioplan, Jeanine Klaver and Bertine Witkamp. Their enthusiasm for my research made me feel much more secure and their methodological and practical experience improved the research a lot. Also, they introduced me in a new working environment that was exciting to explore.

Finally, there are some people that deserve gratitude for their ongoing and everlasting support and love. In the first place this are my parents, who made sure that I never lacked anything and who gave me, despite everything, a basis to build upon for the rest of my life. My sisters, for just being who they are and for exactly knowing who I am, Eline and Wilvie, for being the most considerate, kind and reliable creatures that I can possibly think of and Joost, because of his lust for life.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a series of loops and strokes, likely representing the name Karlijn Martens.

Karlijn Martens  
May 2017

# Abstract

Migrants are overrepresented in urban areas. Therefore, it seems reasonable and wise to pay attention to their integration policy, especially when globalisation puts societies worldwide under increasing pressure. This research gives an overview of the most important measures at the domains of language, education, labour participation and intercultural relations in the Dutch cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Groningen from 2010 to 2016. It also explores the assumptions of policy makers that underlie these measures. Finally, the research also gives an indication of the factors that are likely to influence the integration policy of these cities, like politics, economy and the local integration context. The study has a qualitative research design and uses policy documents and interviews as main sources of data.

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# 1. Urban integration policies

## Why are they important and how to investigate them?

### *Motivation*

Since the 1980s, integration policy research has mostly been focused on developing models, which illustrated the differences between integration policies of different countries. Through these models, explanations were sought for these deviations. The focus on the nation state is still present. It is significant that the most established index on integration policy gives figures on national policy, and does not have any regards for measures taken by local governments. Within this research field, we can speak of 'methodological nationalism': the assumption that nation states are a natural unit for research in terms of integration (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2003). However, it is not strange that this has come to be: since the 18th century, citizenship and integration have been consistently linked to nation states (Suvarierol, 2011). Thus, integration policy is linked to national governments, which occupy themselves with integration individuals in the national 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1994). Globalisation, the transnationalisation of the labour markets, increased mobility and individualisation have led to a greater awareness of the fact that integration policy is not only made by national governments, but also by local governments. Local governments often have substantial autonomy in this regard and this is why, for the past few years, the focus in research has shifted to the local level (Zincone & Caponio, 2006; Ambrosini, 2013).

Interaction between migrants and the recipient society mainly takes place on a local level, on the streets, in schools, in the squares, at work and in the districts. This means: in the districts of cities. Migrants in Europe are overrepresented in urban areas: about 57% lives there versus 38% of the native population and in the case of the United States, the overrepresentation is even bigger (OECD, 2015). The actual destination of migrants is a city - not a country (Bauböck, 2003). Migrants are predominantly located in geographical concentrations within country border and their integration predominantly takes place on an urban level. On this local level, not only national legislation is enforced, but also local policy - especially if local governments have some form of autonomy. If we want to know what migrants have to deal with and if we want to anticipate this as best as we can, we will have to set national policy aside as an exclusively meaningful variable and stop considering local governments as merely 'implementing organisations'. Although national governments still have many relevant authorities in terms of (mostly the legal aspects of) integration, integration is also an issue which involves multiple levels of governance. While some cities have acquired considerable expertise in dealing with ethnic diversity over the years, this is not at the same level for all cities. Given the increasing globalisation, cities benefit from exchanging knowledge and experience. If anyone has to pay the price for integration problems, it is the city (Bosswick et al., 2009). The social relevance of this research is therefore substantial: the information can be of direct importance for municipal policy makers and civil servants, but indirectly, it is also important for the whole of society, including the migrants.

Because research is dominated by national models and research on national integration policy, research on urban integration policy can only offer limited insights at this time. Numerous books and articles on this theme are part of two big research projects: the MPMC project (1996 - 2004) and the CLIP project (2007 - 2015). The first project mostly provides information on the political participation of migrants. The CLIP project focuses on

four themes and adopts a strongly advisory stance. What is striking in these research projects, but also in other research on urban integration policy on a smaller scale, is that an adequate framework for comparison is missing. Little attention is given to the national context in which cities operate and no effort is made to conceptualise integration policy in such a way that it can easily be compared to other integration policies (Borkert & Caponio, 2010).

A creditable attempt to improve this was made by Alexander (2007), who determined on which themes local governments could conduct policies and how to characterise its implementation in order to enable comparison. Because of this development, it became possible to compare the integration policies of different cities with the integration policy of national governments. This created a light consensus that cities consider the culture of migrants the city to be less problematic than the ministeries. Cities often adopted a 'pluralistic' attitude, which increasingly seems to be combined with a generic, 'colour blind' policy (Moore, 2004; Spencer, 2008; Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008; Jørgensen, 2012; Schmidtke & Zaslove, 2014; Scholten, 2016; Zapata-Barrero, 2015; De Grauw & Vermeulen, 2016). Over the past few years, researchers have not only occupied themselves with the question *what kind of* integration policies cities are implementing but *why* cities are deciding on those specific policies. Prime examples is the research done by Jørgensen (2012) in Denmark and Dekker et al. (2015) in Sweden, the Netherlands and Germany. Both conclude that national policy is important but that it should be demoted to one of the variables which influences local integration policy, instead of an exclusive variable (Favell, 2001). Cities focus on different aspects and various local factors play an important role in this.

### *The research*

The following question will be central to this research:

'Which measures are taken by cities to improve the integration of migrants and which factors influence the decisions made for this policy?'

The first section investigates what action cities are taking in order to improve the integration of migrants within the municipal borders. More specifically, it is looked at which measures cities are taking in the economic domain and in the socio-cultural domain. Within the economic domain, the focus is on language, education and labour market participation; within the socio-cultural domain, all policies are discussed which focus on intercultural relation in the city. This way, a broader and more comprehensive image can be formed of the integration policy in the city, as opposed to other studies which only focus on one domain or even one policy theme. Additionally, the conceptualisation of Alexander (2007) is developed and combined with other insights, in order to characterise the policy of the cities on a more abstract level. A large number of policy documents is used for the analysis, in combination with interviews with policy officials and secondary literature. A second component of this research is the exploration of different factors which are of importance in formation or continuation of integration policy. Previous research provides us with several indications, such as politics, economy and specific local circumstances.

The cities which are central to this research are the three big Dutch cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague) and a smaller city (Groningen). These cities were selected because based on their characteristics, one can assume that they have different visions and methods with regard to the integration of migrants. Preliminary investigation confirmed this.

### *Structure*

This study has logically been divided into six chapters. In chapter 2, the available literature in the field of urban integration policy is evaluated. This shows that integration policy is often designed based on a particular integration model, including assimilationism, interculturalism and multiculturalism. Moreover, it also shows that cities often choose for the second or third model. Finally, in this chapter, studies are discussed which try to find an explanation for this. In chapter 3, clarification are made with regard to the methodical set up of this study, which will provide more clarity on data collection and case selection. Several terms will also be further operationalised in this chapter. Chapter 4 consists of a short intermezzo, in which the national integration policy of the Netherlands is summarised. This contextual sketch is important in order to clarify in which frameworks Dutch cities can operate and which autonomy they have with regard to integration issues. In chapter 5, the integration policy of the cities is subjected to analysis, with pays attention to the efforts of the municipality with regard to language, education, labour participation and intercultural relations. Additionally, factors are sought which influence the formation or continuation of the integration policy in the city. In chapter 6, we come back to the main research question. The conclusion of this study emerges from the following subquestions:

- Which measures are taken by cities to improve the economic and socio-cultural integration of migrants?
- Which general starting points with regard to migrants and their integration emerge via this measures, but also via discourse and governance?
- Which factors influence the manner in which cities deal with integration?

## 2. What do we already know about urban integration policies?

Literally, integration means ‘to merge into a bigger entity’. Integration means that the relationships inside of social system, like a country, must be maintained and strengthened, while simultaneously new elements must be inserted into that system (Heckmann, 2006). The first part of the chapter explains more about the integration concept and the form that integration policy can take. The second part shows what we know so far about the dealings of cities with integration and ethnic diversity.

### 2.1 Integration and policy

Robert E. Park and his colleagues from the Chicago School were among the first to reflect on what happens when a society has to deal with the arrival of migrants. They used the word ‘assimilation’ because they assumed that migrants would eventually merge into the society and it wasn’t possible to distinguish them as ‘different’ anymore. Apart from the normative connotations that some researchers feel with the concept<sup>1</sup>, there are other motivations to use the alternative concept of integration here: the word makes clear that incorporation into the institutions of a country are not always accompanied by full cultural change (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003). Indeed, changes take place at different dimensions of integration. There is a general distinction to make between economical, structural or system integration on the one hand and socio-cultural integration at the other. Economic integration takes place through important social core institutions, like the market, the state and the education system, that determine the socioeconomic position of individuals to a large extent. Socio-cultural integration increases when there is interaction and cooperation between individuals and groups. It is the extent to which a group approaches the surrounding society in terms of contact patterns (social or interactive integration) and norms and values (cultural integration) (Dagevos, 2001; Esser, 2003; Lockwood, 1964).

To promote economic and socio-cultural integration, governments and other organisations take action. A (sub)goal of this research is to develop a strategy that can describe integration policies in a coherent and clear way, in order to make comparisons possible. Bits of information can be found throughout the literature and will be brought together in this chapter. Past research shows that the management of economic integration policies demands other questions to be asked than the management of socio-cultural integration. In the case of economic integration, the biggest point of discussion is about the way in which the policies have the desired effect. A central question in the case of socio-cultural integration policies is how population groups should relate to each other.

#### 2.1.1 Economic integration: how to achieve?

Economic integration policy tries to improve the performance and position of migrants that is dependent upon the institutions in the country. The question is: what is the best way to achieve this? Two positions are possible here: specific policy or generic policy. Generic policy focuses on the backlogs of groups without identifying them as the only group. The idea

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<sup>1</sup> A lot of researchers think that the concept of assimilation is too normative, because it seems to suggest that migrants are *obliged* to assimilate (Dagevos & Grundel, 2013). Other researchers find this a caricature, because assimilation can also be interpreted as the *process* in which differences and the social distance between groups diminish, instead of the *end point* (Alba & Nee, 1997).



behind generic integration policy is that inhabitants with a migrant background are reached, but within more general policy that focuses on the whole population. To achieve this, the policy must be adapted to the needs of vulnerable groups, like migrants. This is what we call 'mainstreaming' (Collett & Petrovic, 2014). The policy can, in a more or less visible fashion, benefit migrants (migrants benefit more from language lessons than the native population, for example), but is never solely accessible for migrants. The mainstreaming of integration policy in a city or municipality can be expressed in the political discourse, when it is considered an official strategy, in governance, when the responsibility for integration issues is divided between different departments, and in the policy itself, when the measurements are adapted to meet the needs of migrants.

The motivation behind specific policy is that general backlog policies are not able to improve the position of vulnerable groups to an acceptable level. Because general policies don't connect problems and ethnicity, there is a chance that the vulnerability of migrants may even be ignored (De Zwart, 2005). This is why it's important to address migrants in a direct manner, namely on the base of their membership of a group. This can be their ethnic group, but also their membership of the non-native group. According to generic policy advocates, the way in which specific policies approach migrants is precisely what makes their position more worse, because it fosters stigmatisation and parallel communities (Vermeulen, 2008). In this discussion we see a 'dilemma of recognition' (De Zwart, 2005).

According to Coello et al. (2013) and Dagevos & Grundel (2013), another type is distinguishable. This is an intermediate position, to which the adage 'generic when possible, specific where needed' applies. The researchers have noticed that this type is visible in the integration policies of Dutch municipalities.

### **2.1.2 Socio-cultural integration: how should groups relate to each other?**

Within the socio-cultural dimension the central question is about the relationship between population groups and in particular the relationships between migrants and the dominant, native population group (the so-called 'host-stranger relations'). Zygmunt Bauman (1988) was among the researchers that studied this subject. He saw a distinction between a modernist and a postmodernist approach of these relations. Modernism rebels against premodernism, in which the identity of the individual is determined by, for example, class. Modernism postulates rationality, stability, predictability and order. The modernist vision assumes a stable society with a dominant culture. Migrants are 'strangers' that challenge the universally deemed values of the society. Postmodernism needs to be understood in a context of insecurity when it comes to the formation of individual identities, which is caused by global capitalism (Alexander, 2003). In this situation of instability and multiculturalism, the orderly, modernist world view is questioned. Instead, the indefiteness and malleability of the world is emphasized. So, while modernism considers cultures as motionless and absolute, postmodernism considers cultures as dynamical and flexible.

These two world views result in two ways to manage socio-cultural integration: monism and pluralism. Monism is related to modernism and believes that there is one culture that is dominant in a society and that migrants must adapt to this culture. The goal of integration policy from this perspective is that migrants assimilate as good and as fast as possible into the dominant national culture. This line of thought values the so-called 'melting pot' model. Within this monism, the expression of cultures and religions other than the dominant one are not supported because it is expected that everyone will (eventually) adheres to the dominant cultural model. Pluralism, instead, is related to postmodernism. It is a 'doctrine of diversity' that believes that the diversity of mankind must be respected and

maintained (Alexander, 2003). The central question is not how to make 'strangeness' disappear as fast as possible, but instead in what ways people can live with it. The culture or religion of migrants is more appreciated here: heterogeneity is allowed and sometimes even applauded. Pluralism as a vision on integration is sometimes referred to as the 'salad bowl' or 'mosaic' model.

### 2.1.3 Integration models

As set out in the previous paragraphs, economic and socio-cultural integration policies can take four directions: generic, specific, monistic and pluralistic. In this paragraph, these four forms are combined into four idealtypical citizenship regimes or integration models, which make it possible to characterise the integration policy of cities (or countries) in a more abstract fashion. The table below shows the models in a schematic way:

	<b>Monism</b>	<b>Pluralism</b>
<b>Generic</b>	Assimilationism	Interculturalism
<b>Specific</b>	Differentialism	Multiculturalism

#### *Differentialism*

Differentialism combines specific policy with monism. Cultures are considered as inflexible, which is the reason that cultural groups in the society are approached in a specific way, to secure that all groups can live separated from each other.

#### *Assimilationism*

Assimilationism combines generic policy with monism. Assimilationism is distracted from the word 'assimilation', that refers to the decrease and eventually the disappearance of ethnic and cultural differences. Assimilation is understood as an unilateral process that minority groups need to pass through (Alba & Nee, 1997). After all, cultures are absolute and migrant cultures cannot be mixed in. Besides that, too many different opinions endanger the solidarity and social cohesion of the society and attack the viability of the society (Vermeulen, 2008).

#### *Multiculturalism*

Multiculturalism is a combination of specific and pluralistic policy, that is sometimes called 'target group policy'. In this integration model, the recognition of the cultural identity of migrants is a central pursuit. This requires supporting measures and space for representation of the migrant culture (Taylor, 1992; Kymlicka, 2010; Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). Multiculturalism is associated with the support of ethnic minority organisations, the permittance of religious education or the translation of official texts (Vertovec, 2010). In this model, the categories are relatively closed and therefore it is also possible that ethnic groups are represented by individuals or organisations (Van Breugel et al., 2014).

#### *Interculturalism*

The interculturalism model combines generic policy with pluralism (Bouchard, 2011; Cattle, 2012; Wood, 2009). Like in multiculturalism, interculturalism considers diversity not as a negative thing that has to wane as fast as possible. At the same time, it is against the focus that multiculturalism brings upon groups and the disadvantageous position of migrants (Zapata-Barrero, 2015). According to interculturalism, membership of a group doesn't come with special rights and there does exist legitimacy for a 'founding' or dominant majority culture (Bouchard, 2011). However, migrants also come with certain competences and

characteristics that are a positive asset for the society and therefore the native population needs to be open to the claims of minorities. As well minorities as the majority population group carries responsibility for the creation of an 'umbrella identity' (Ponzo et al., 2013; Van Breugel et al., 2014). To achieve this, the society is in need of dialogue, interaction and the reduction of prejudices (Zapata-Barrero, 2015). People should also be encouraged to create a 'multiple identity' (Faist, 2009). Intercultural integration policy is sometimes called diversity policy, because it isn't concerned with the well-being of migrants in particular, but it does take the special characteristics of migrants (and other groups) into account (Dagevos et al., 2013).

## 2.2 Cities and integration policies

### 2.2.1 Which integration measures do cities implement?

In order to increase the economic and socio-cultural integration of migrants, our cities perform certain measures. In the case of economic integration, the measures fall apart in the policy themes of language, education and labour participation. Within socio-cultural integration, we see measures that try to improve the intercultural relations between groups<sup>2</sup>.

When it comes to *language*, the responsibility for this policy theme often lies in the hands of the national government, that facilitates projects. Some cities offer extra possibilities for language education and this might be for free (Rath et al., 2011). Part of these efforts can be that migrants are matched with native-speaking inhabitants to improve their command of the language. Language education can also be a part of introduction trajectories that cities offer, and delivered in the form of coupons (Lüken-Klaßen & Heckmann, 2010).

In the case of *education*, most local governments do not have much control in local education issues because in general school boards have a lot of autonomy (Gidley, 2015). Especially when it comes to religious education, local governments have a low competence (Lüken-Klaßen & Heckmann, 2010). However, most governments do develop plans to increase the educational performance of students with a migrant background. For instance, they organise pre-school education and additional language support. Another effort is seen in the communication with the parents of migrant children, when cities offer extra information about subjects that migrant parents are not familiar with, like the schooling system or learning problems (Spencer, 2008). Furthermore, some cities want to do something about the segregation at schools. This form of segregation leads to worse learning performance and obstructs contact between population groups. Brink & Van Bergen (2012) studied segregation at Dutch schools. They saw that Dutch municipalities tried to equalize the starting positions of parents when they had to pick schools for their children and also tried to influence their choices (especially when it came to higher educated parents).

When we look at *labour participation*, some cities support the entrepreneurship of migrants (Marchand & Siegel, 2015). They add to the professional, social and financial capacity of migrants, for example when they finance courses about marketing, management or the local market (Rath et al., 2011). Besides that, some cities take care of an investing climate and regulations that are especially in favour of businesses that are regularly established by migrants. There are also examples known of cities that promote migrants as employees or offer help with upgrading their work experience (Spencer, 2008). Finally, cities can also establish initiatives to fight the discrimination of migrants on the labour market.

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<sup>2</sup> The studies that are carried out in the framework of the CLIP-research (Bosschick et al., 2009; Lüken-Klaßen & Heckmann, 2010; Rath et al., 2011; Spencer, 2008) and the work of Alexander (2007) were of particular value to make this distinction.

When it comes to *intercultural relations*, the literature shows that cities are eager to maintain or improve them. Policy makers find this important because of the equal rights of migrants, but also in view of social cohesion and avoiding conflicts or because they see the economical value of such an effort (Lüken-Klaßen & Heckmann, 2010). Also, cities try to influence the 'mindset' of communities in order to let them learn about each other, have more trust, accept each other and cooperate more. Anti-discrimination measures live up to this goal. It is known that a couple of cities establish campaigns to combat discrimination or support projects that have this goal. Some cities fight discrimination in their own organisation. For example, they found representative job application panels or train panel members to recognise discrimination. Introducing anonymous job application procedures is also a possibility: some cities in the Dutch context experiment with it (Coenders et al., 2016). Some cities go beyond this and tackle this issue in a more proactive way. They advertise at places that are visited by migrants or in media outlets they use, or explicitly make clear that they are welcome to apply for the job (Spencer, 2008). It is also possible for cities to identify themselves as 'inclusive' or 'pluralist' in their city marketing, as do Copenhagen, Istanbul and Antwerpen. Besides, some cities contribute to activities that propagates the cultural heritage of population groups.

Next to this, research shows that cities try to bring cultural groups into contact. Some cities organise 'urban dialogues', on a more or less structural basis, but they also try to improve informal contact, for example by motivating migrants to become a member of a (sporting) association (Spencer, 2008). Informal contact can also be stimulated by reducing spatial and residential segregation. Policies that try to improve spatial segregation coincides with efforts to improve the social mobility of migrants, or other measures like upgrading neighbourhoods or changing the allocation of public institutions (Bosswick et al., 2009; Iceland, 2014). Segregation can also be combated with more direct measures, like the diffused construction of social housing, subsidising housing for certain groups in certain areas and adapted procedures for the allocation of housing. For instance, policy makers in Frankfurt and Stuttgart installed quotas based on ethnicity in some neighbourhoods (Bosswick et al., 2009). In the Dutch context, the municipality of Rotterdam lobbied for a law that gives cities in the country more competences to decide who move in neighbourhoods that are characterised by numerous conflicts.

### **2.2.2 Which integration models do we observe in this urban integration policies?**

Among researchers, there exist a light consensus that cities conceive of integration issues in a different manner than national governments. Their typical attitude is often labelled as 'inclusive' or 'accomodating'. Sadly enough, in a lot of cases it does not become very clear what that exactly means (see for example Gebhardt, 2014 or Dekker et al., 2015). It generally refers to a situation in which ethnic diversity is not problematised. In other words, what we see in these cities is pluralism (De Grauw & Vermeulen, 2016; Maussen, 2009; Moore, 2004; Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008; Schmidtke & Zaslove, 2014). In some cases this pluralism is accompanied by generic measures and in some cases with specific ones.

Multiculturalism or target group policy is discredited in the last couple of years. Research that do find this type of integration model, will in most cases not describe a recent period of time. For example, the integration policy of Amsterdam has labelled as being multiculturalist by many, but in current times it seems to be an example of interculturalism (Scholten, 2016; Uitermark et al., 2005). The integration policy of many European cities can also be considered interculturalist (Gebhardt, 2014; Maan et al., 2015; Spencer, 2008, Rath et al., 2011). A recent and extensive study confirms this trend towards interculturalism

(Zapata-Barrero, 2015). According to the researcher, interculturalism is essentially an urban phenomena because cities see it as a pragmatic and therefore valuable strategy. At the moment, however, it is stuck at the institutional level (ibid.). In the case of the Netherlands, we know that cities increasingly introduced generic integration policies (Ham & Van der Meer, 2012).

There are also a couple of examples that show that cities can also follow up more monistic integration ideas, like in the research that was carried out by Lowi (2001) in the United States, by Mahnig (2004) in Berlin, Paris and Zürich and by Favell (1998) in France. There are also more recent studies that show the same results, but they are the minority. For instance, Ambrosini (2013) signals assimilationist policy in a couple of Italian cities and Scholten (2016) does the same for the Dutch city of Rotterdam. Finally, Trbola & Rákoczyová (2011) describe the peculiar situation in the Czech Republic, where cities are not occupied with integration issues at all.

### **2.2.3 Which factors are important for the forming of urban integration policy?**

In the previous paragraph it became clear that urban integration policy is often pluralist and increasingly generic. This is striking, because the policy of a lot of national governments gives away an assimilationistic integration model, especially when we start to look after the turn of the century (Kymlicka, 2012). Why cities deviate in this respect, is a question that has not received a lot of attention in the past (Glick Schiller & Cağlar, 2009). The text below gives an overview of the factors that got some attention in earlier research.

#### *Pragmatism*

A variety of studies point at the pragmatism that characterises the decisions of local governments. Local governments are obliged to respond to the arrival of migrants, because they know that there might grow protest and crisis, if they don't respond. Cities are the 'managers' of the integration affair and face challenges when it comes to residence, work, education, health, religion, language but also the response of the native population (Penninx, 2009). According to Lowi (2001), the most important goal of city officials is to preserve the social order in their city, which is also visible in their city planning and architecture. For cities, migrants are 'high politics', but this may not be the case for national governments. This makes it more logical that there exist an 'instrumental rationality' on the local level, that brings forward policies that are more goal-oriented (Weber, 1978). This implies that there is a greater openness towards potential solutions, that are weighed against each other. For example, Poppelaars & Scholten (2008) show that a lot of local governments work together with migrant organisations, while they are actually not in favour of specific policies like these. However, they consider this cooperation as necessary in order to reach the migrant communities in the city.

#### *External influences*

Non-state actors, like science, consultancy agencies, social organisations, the media or urban networks influence the integration policy of cities. Penninx (2015) shows that cities cooperate with universities and commercial consultancy agencies. However, it does not become clear how such cooperation influences the integration policy of cities<sup>3</sup>. The work of research institutes has to fit into the ruling policy frame if they want to influence the policy (Maan et al., 2015). Simultaneously, these research institutes participate in the formation and consolidation of this frame and sometimes they are more concerned with serving (political

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<sup>3</sup> However, Scholten et al. (2015) researched this relation on the national and European level.

actors in the) community than scientific research (Rath, 2001). Cities can also get influenced by other cities that they meet in urban networks. The need for exchange of knowledge and experience about integration has increased (Penninx, 2015). The most important networks are *Integrating Cities* and *Intercultural Cities*. Within these networks, the integration model of interculturalism is praised (Maan et al., 2015). That means, in the charter of *Integrating Cities* it says that integration is a two-sided process and in the *Intercultural Cities* network cities can receive support to change their city into an 'intercultural city' (IC, 2016). In a lot of cases the European Union facilitates this kind of networks. In this way, the European Union tries to influence cities and motivates them to move in the direction of more interculturalist integration policy (Collett & Petrovic, 2014). Influence can also be exercised via financial support, for example within the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF). According to Maan et al. (2015), this is the main reason that policy initiatives in the field of integration arise in Polish cities.

#### *Local context*

A logical explanation for the differences between integration policy in different cities is the local context or problem situation. This situation could be characterised as being one of 'superdiversity' (Vertovec, 2007). The high diversity in the city makes it impossible to introduce policies on the base of one variable, namely ethnicity. This diversity is increased by the additional factors of religion and age, for example. Therefore, superdiversity leads to generic policies and mainstreaming. Secondly, the local context can also be one of great integration problems. In the case of The Netherlands, it is known that Somali migrants have troubles integrating in a broad range of integration domains, the Roma community causes problems at the domain of education and Antillean and Moroccan youth is overrepresented in crime (Central Statistics Agency, 2014; Klaver et al., 2010). This makes it plausible that integration problems are bigger in cities that lodge large groups of migrants. These cities might be more inclined to use specific policy.

#### *Labour market and economy*

The economic situation in a city can also influence the integration policy. This can take place in two ways. Firstly, the condition of the urban economy can influence the voting behaviour of inhabitants (Johnston & Pattie, 2001). Earlier research shows that the support for right-populist political parties is stronger in cities and regions that are economically deprived (Golder, 2003; Hjerm, 2009). This subsequently leads, as the next paragraph shows, to a monistic perception. Another relationship is found between the support for right-populist parties and the size of the creative community in the city. Florida (2002) states that the presence of a creative class consisting of 'bohemians' (citizens that are concerned with the production of art and culture) can be taken as a valid indicator for a tolerant urban climate. In such a climate there often exists pluralistic integration policy (Sharp & Joslyn, 2008; Van der Waal, 2010).

Secondly, the economical structure or construction is important for urban integration policy. We distinguish two types of cities here: so-called 'top-scale' cities and 'down-scale' cities. The difference between these two types refers to the extent to which they are able to adapt to the 'new economy'. This adaptation means that they are no longer focused on the production of goods, but on the production of services, knowledge, tourism, entertainment and experiences (Boswijk et al., 2011). For cities that are able to make this switch, migrants can be in their own interest: 'as the leaders of each city seek to attract capital and to market their city as a globally recognised brand, they may re-evaluate the presence of migrants'

(Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009: 189). Migrants connect cities to transnational networks of capital, goods and ideas. In this respect, they can have market value for cities (ibid.). So, from an economic point of view it is possible that policymakers in cities use diversity as a form of city marketing. This can lead to pluralistic integration policy, as Jørgensen (2012) shows. At the other side of the spectrum we find 'down-scale' cities, that have a hard time restructuring their economy and adapting to the new economy. They are less succesfull in offering a mix of human capital, higher education and cultural facilities. In these cities we observe a tendency towards problematising ethnic diversity and diversity is surely not seen as some kind of marketing tool.

### *Politics*

The political 'colour' of the policy makers in the city influences the integration policy. Maan et al. (2015) even considers it the most important variable. The research of Caponio (2010) into three Italian cities indicates that (centre) left political coalitions see migrants as enriching. That is why they put into effort measures that acknowledge ethnic diversity, while (centre) right coalitions are more eager to see migrants as problematic<sup>4</sup>. In a more recent research Schmidtke & Zaslove (2014) confirm this image: left policy makers are more inclined to formulate pluralistic integration policy that emphasizes mutual adaptation. The last couple of years they are especially interested in interculturalistic policy. Ramakrishnan & Wong (2010) point us at the differences between left and right local governments in the United States in their dealing with illegal migrants. The left governments were more willing to meet the needs of the illegal migrants and carried out pluralistic integration policy. De Grauw & Vermeulen (2016) attributed the shift to assimilationistic integration policy in Berlin in the 1980s to the at that moment governing right coalition.

### *Retrenchment*

According to Maan et al. (2015), retrenchment measures in old<sup>5</sup> migration countries lead to generic integration policy. Retrenchments make integration policy more polycentric and lets specific institutions disappear. The relation between cuts and generic policy is especially strong on the national level – at the local level cuts have less impact (ibid.). Collett & Petrovic (2014) observed that its harder to develop specific integration policy when the budget is small. There is a risk that integration disappears as an agenda item altogether.

### *Path dependency*

The concept of 'path dependency' entails that current policies are influenced by decisions in the past and that models of thought oppose (fast) change (Duyvendak & Scholten, 2010). Koopmans (2007) therefore believes that The Netherlands has troubles distancing itself from pluralistic policy because of its history of 'verzuiling'. However, the concept has little explanatory power and is especially not succesfull in explaining change. Therefore, path dependency in policy research can used as complementary to other explanations, instead of rival (Kay, 2005). Maan et al. (2015: 42) confirm this. They saw that the introduction of generic integration policy was delayed because of specific integration policy traditions, but this traditions were 'not decisive'.

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<sup>4</sup> Another interesting insight coming from these reserach is the relation between religion and integration policy. Caponio (2010) signals the important role of catholic organisations in the development of integration policy. These organisations considered migrants poor people and took care of them. Instead, the local government took their hands of. This is the reason that multiculturalist integration policy developed in the less catholic but more communist city of Bologna, but not in the catholic cities of Milan and Naples.

<sup>5</sup> Like The Netherlands, France and the United Kingdom.

### 3. Design of the study

The central question of this research is:

‘Which measures are taken by cities to improve the integration of migrants and which factors influence the decisions made for this policy?’

This question contains two parts. The first part is descriptive: which measures are taken by cities to improve the integration of migrants? The second part is more inquisitorial: why does the city council take those measures and not other ones? To answer the second question properly, a subquestion is required. This is because the choices for integration measures is dependent upon a certain vision on integration, or what we call an integration model. Thus, in the second part of the research question we search for the factors that might influence the development of these integration models. The three subquestions are:

1. Which measures are taken by cities to improve the economic and socio-cultural integration of migrants?
2. Which general starting points with regard to migrants and their integration emerge via this measures, but also via discourse and governance?
3. Which factors influence the manner in which cities deal with integration?

Below, the research questions will, in a successive order, be further developed and operationalised. To all the question a research period of 2010 to 2016 applies. This period is chosen because in 2010 and 2014 new coalitions were installed in the cities. It is plausible that new political coalitions bring along new integration policy. Besides, the national Dutch government changes its official position on integration in 2010. We begin the research at the same point in time because we don't want to explore the influence that national government has on the integration policy of the cities. By starting in 2010, we reduce the influence of national measures. Paragraph 4 shows the motivations underlying the case selection and paragraph 5 clarifies the research design.

#### 3.1 First subquestion: measures

The first goal is to find out which measures are developed and implemented by the cities<sup>6</sup> that are central to the research. Most studies focus solely on one part of urban integration policy, for example the domain of language. In this research we work with a broader conception of integration policy. However, the various measures are distinguished in a precise manner, so that they are covered thoroughly. The four policy domains that are distinguished are language, education, labour participation and intercultural relations. Measures that are developed to improve the language level of adult migrants fall into the domain of *language*. The domain of *education* consists of measures that are executed by the city government to improve the learning results of young migrants at early childhood education, primary schools, secondary schools, secondary vocational education, higher education and university education. The domain of *labour participation* consists of measures

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<sup>6</sup> In this research the terms ‘municipalities’ and ‘cities’ are used interchangeably. In the Dutch context large cities form their own municipality, sometimes coupled with some smaller, surrounding villages. The correct word would be ‘urban municipalities’, because we study highly urbanized municipalities in this research.



that try to improve the labour participation of migrants. Finally, the domain of *intercultural relations* consists of measures that try to better the relations between cultural groups by combating discrimination and segregation, and by stimulating contact and dialogue.

To track down these measures, as many policy documents as possible are read or scanned (on the basis of words like 'migrant', 'diversity', 'allochtonen', 'non-western', etcetera). In order to collect a complete overview, a list with possible searching terms is drafted. This list helps with the research into the information systems of the municipalities. Beside of policy documents, secondary literature and municipal financial facts are analysed. In the interviews with policy officials it will be checked whether the collected policy documents offer an acceptable overview. If this is not the case, additional information will be requested for or clarified during the interview.

### 3.2 Second subquestion: general assumptions

The second subquestion deals with the general assumptions, or the integration model, underlying the integration policy of cities. In order to this, the existing measures on the economic and socio-cultural dimension are sorted out. Each dimension is analysed and labelled as generic, specific, pluralistic or monistic. *Generic* policy measures are targeted at the well-being of a large group and accessible for everyone, whilst *specific* policy measures are (for the biggest part) targeted at the well-being of one group. *Monistic* policy measures strive for the adjustment of migrants, whilst *pluralistic* policy measures strive for the living together with migrants. If these four positions are combined, integration models come forward.

*Differentialism* is the proposition that all cultural groups should live separated and should only integrate into their own cultural group. *Assimilationism* is the proposition that the migrant should adjust and adhere to the dominant culture. *Multiculturalism* states that migrants should receive additional support in order to integrate, while *interculturalism* states that the entire society has a responsibility in the integration of migrants.

Next to measures, the political discourse in the cities is also analysed. This is because the political discourse also learns us a lot about the assumptions concerning integration (Collett & Petrovic, 2014). This is the reason that, alongside of the policy documents dealing with language, education, labour participation and intercultural relations, a range of other documents offer valuable information, too. This can be theme memorandums about integration or diversity, but may also be policy documents that deal with the related topics of emancipation and participation, as well as coalition programs. The webpages of cities also offer a lot of valuable information. The information systems of the municipalities will be critically scanned with the assistance of a list of searching terms, but information will also be gathered via references in texts.

### 3.3 Third subquestion: influential factors

The second part of the research question is about the factors that influence the policy choices that cities make concerning integration. Previous research points at a couple directions. This research will analyse all of them except the case of 'retrenchment', because the researcher is not familiar enough with financial issues.

This implies that the first variable that will be explored is the integration *policy tradition* of cities, in order to analyse the influence of path dependency. To do this, we have to rely on official sources and, if available, secondary sources. Beside, the *economical structure* and *labour market* of the city are analysed. Does the city have a solid, sustainable economy? And what about the unemployment? This information is found in the reports that come from

affiliated or commercial financial agencies and in economic policy documents. To analyse the influence of *politics*, the local coalition (working) programs are read through. Another variable that is examined is *external actors*. Are these actors involved in the creation of integration variable? Do the cities take part in urban networks? The influence of external actors will not always be easy to discern. Therefore, this issue will be a prominent topic in the interviews with policy officials. The last variable to be analysed is the *local integration context*. How high is the ethnic diversity in the city? Is the integration of migrants in the city successful? These data can be found in official policy documents, but also in the reports of (affiliated) research institutes.

### **3.4 Caseselection**

To this research four Dutch cities are central, namely Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Groningen. The cities are not analysed thoroughly in advance, but they are, however, selected on the basis of a couple of easy discernible characteristics that are likely to be relevant to their integration policy. First of all, the population of the cities consists at least for 25% out of inhabitants with a migrant background. This raises the chances that there will in fact be integration policy. The biggest three cities also show significant differences in terms of ethnic diversity: the diversity in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague is almost twice as large as the diversity in Groningen. The choice for Amsterdam and Rotterdam is also obvious because they are cities with a long history of integration policy, their own policy traditions and points of attention, following out of their dissimilar economies and politics. Furthermore, Groningen is an interesting city because its traditionally left character. Finally, there were some additional characteristics that determined the choice for these cities, like the contact with the municipalities, media news, secondary literature and the availability of data sources.

### **3.5 Research design**

This study works with a qualitative research design and collects and uses qualitative data. The disadvantage of this qualitative design is the lower generalisability and predictive power (Sayer, 1984). This are minor objectionable points in this research, because the goal of the research is in the first instance explorative. As previous research shows, there is not much knowledge about the integration policy of cities. By means of policy documents and supplementary interviews we can take the first step in order to eventually light up theoretical connections and formulate hypotheses. The data that is analysed consists of policy documents, secondary literature and interviews with policy officials. When these sources are used in scientific research, the researcher has to be very conscious about hidden motivations and interests. This is exactly the function of the integration models that are used in this research. The typology makes it easier to signal cognitive and normative propositions in the texts.

## 4. The Dutch context

In this study, the integration policy of four Dutch cities is investigated in the period between 2010 and 2016. Although the influence of the policy of the Dutch national government is not a part of this research, the decisions which are made here will most definitely influence the policy development on a municipal level. This primarily takes place on a discursive level: the 'tone' of the national debate will also be felt in the cities. For this reason, paragraph 1 briefly shows the integration debate in the Netherlands in the past and present and which assumptions were and are made. Paragraph 2 clarifies how the national government determines via laws, regulations and other policies which options municipalities have to conduct own integration policy.

### 4.1 Past and current Dutch integration policies

In the 1960s and the 1970s, large-scale immigration to the Netherlands starts but at the time, a 'fiction of temporality' existed with regard to migrants (Lucassen & Penninx, 1994). Around 1979, this changed and it became clear that many migrants would permanently settle in the Netherlands. In 1983, the *Minderhedennota* ('Minority note') is published in which a multiculturalistic 'minority policy' is promoted and in which the state assumes responsibility for the support of minorities. Towards the end of the 1980s, the integration policy takes a new direction. In the *Allochtonenbeleid* ('Immigrant policy') report (1989), it is stated that the integration of migrants is not going well and that the solution can be found in setting more conditions for this group. Slowly, minority policy transforms into integration policy. More responsibility and autonomy is required from citizens. In 1998, the *Wet Inburgering Nieuwkomers* ('Newcomers Integration Act') goes into effect, which implemented an obligatory civic education trajectory.

Since the turn of the century, the integration debate is more politicised and polarised, because of politicians like Fortuyn and Hirsi Ali, among others. The notion that multiculturalism as integration model created parallel societies was increasingly widely shared and in 2002, a committee of inquiry is appointed which concludes that integration policy had a limited range (Dagevos & Gijsberts, 2012; Klaver & Odé, 2009). During the first few years of the 21st century (the cabinets of prime-minister Balkenende), there is an emphasis on the idea of 'a new style of integration', which focuses on social cohesion, political stability and safety, under the influence of Minister Verdonk (Van Tubergen & Maas, 2006). The *Wet Inburgering* (WI, 'Integration Act') of 2007 has a more demanding character and a larger range - migrants who already lived in the Netherlands are also required to complete the integration process. The period between the 1980s until 2010 has been characterised by various researchers as a transition from pluralism to assimilationism; from 'thin' to 'thick identification': from the responsibility of the state to the responsibility of individuals and the market and from formal to moral citizenship (Klaver & Odé, 2009; Van Houdt & Schinkel, 2009). Around 2010, the Dutch integration policy can be characterised a combination of assimilationism and neoliberalism (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010).

In 2011, the integration note *Integratie, Binding, Burgerschap* ('Integration, Bonding, Citizenship') permanently says goodbye to a multiculturalistic integration policy (House of Representatives, 2011). This is done because 'different ethnic and cultural groups which are part of the European societies have not mutually come together to form a new unity' and multiculturalism 'has not offered a solution for the dilemma of the multiform society' (ibid. 1).

According to the cabinet, the damaging notion of relativism is embedded in multiculturalism and this makes the Dutch society interchangeable with any other society. However, the society is based on fundamental continuity: there are landmarks which cannot be given up. This is why it can be required from migrants to 'acquire skills which are needed to participate in the Dutch society and to contribute to the development of this society as best as they can' (ibid. 6). The notion that integration is the responsibility of a migrants is emphasised because at the same time, a new law for integration is implemented in which the government financially retracts itself and the migrant has to pay for his or her own integration (Dagevos & Gijsberts, 2012).

The note also permanently parts with specific policy. 'Integration is a dynamic process which takes place along the lines of several strategic quantities: a good education, a neighbourhood which stimulates pleasant cohabitation, a good physical and mental health and durable employment. The input of the cabinet is that the regular policy in this field actually reaches all groups in Dutch society' (House of Representatives, 2011: 11). The policy must be suitable to approach specific problems effectively, but via regular institutions and regular measures. 'An effective operation of the regular policy demands solid knowledge about specific problems and their backgrounds, about the implementation of the regular policy and its possible difficulties, and about successful interventions and methods' (ibid.). Acquired knowledge and experience is used to provide generic institutions with knowledge and capacities to deal with the specific problems of particular migrants. Concretely, this entails that specific measures, such as the Moroccan and Antillean approach, are dismantled and replaced by generic policy, such as the approach for criminal youth groups.

In 2013, the Dutch minister for Social Affairs and Employment publishes the *Agenda Integratie* ('Integration Agenda') (Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, 2013a). This shows that the government's policy is still not on a coherent line and that the assimilationism of the integration note from 2011 has not been implemented on all points. For example, the obligation for migrants 'to embrace the values and rules and make them their own' is stronger, but integration does require 'mutual effort' (Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, 2013b: 3). The cabinet also stands for an 'integral approach' towards integration but at the same time there is a specific policy for Roma and European migrants (Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, 2013c).

## 4.2 The practical context of cities

The Dutch municipalities were officially and structurally involved in the integration policy of the national government in 1998, when the first integration act was implemented. The municipalities were in charge: they called on migrants for intakes and transferred them to regional schools, which looked after language education. Municipalities were also involved in the transfer to further education or employment, after the completion of the trajectory (Dagevos & Gijsberts, 2012). Between 2007 and 2011, the duties of the municipalities are shifted around. In 2011, Donner publishes his note *Integratie, Binding, Burgerschap*. Simultaneously with his note, Donner expresses the desire to reform the integration act. According to Donner, the municipalities have made a catch-up in the past few years and this makes it possible to foreground the starting point of own responsibility (House of Representatives, 2011). The execution of the new integration act becomes subject to the control of the Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs ('Education Executive Agency', DUO) and the integration resources for the municipalities are dismantled completely within two years. New

policy with regard to integration has not been drafted since 2013 (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2012).

However, an obligation of the municipalities which is still in existence is providing social support for holders of a residence permit. It is expected of municipalities that they provide holders of a residence permit who are required to pass integration examination with social support as soon as they arrive in the municipality. This support consists of practical support, such as introducing the municipality, assistance in starting the integration trajectory and stimulating participation in the society, such as introducing social organisations and associations (Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, 2016). From these (in 2016 increased) resources for social support, municipalities are also to finance the newly implemented participation declaration trajectory. This trajectory is to be an obligatory component of the integration trajectory and consists of a workshop and signing a participation declaration concerning the basic principles of the Netherlands. The municipalities are encouraged to do more than merely facilitate the statutory components and to connect the participation declaration trajectory to other domains, such as education, language and employment (Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, 2015b). Municipalities play a big role in this new component (Witkamp et al, 2015).

#### **4.2.1 Language**

According to the Ministry of Education, local players are extremely important in terms of language (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2015a). The most important act with regard to language is the *Wet Educatie Beroepsonderwijs* ('Act on Education and Vocational Training', WEB). This act controls the educational resources with regard to language, math and digital skills for adult illiterates, functional illiterates and voluntary participants in the integration process. 35% of this group is migrant (Carrilho et al., 2014). The act is especially relevant for European labour migrants, but also for migrants who have officially completed the integration trajectory but still have deficient language skills because they are socially isolated, for example. At the start of 2015, some adjustments have been made in the act. For example, municipalities do not have to make obligatory purchases with ROCs, but are able to purchase (in a regional context) a more varied education, which reaches the diverse target groups. Non-formal, approachable education, for example via the library, can be stimulated for particular groups in this way. The idea is that municipalities link this policy to other policy areas to which participation in society or on the labour market are central.

#### **4.2.2 Education**

Municipalities do not formally have the obligation to guarantee qualitative education because this is the responsibility of the school boards, the Inspectorate of Education and the Minister of Education. However, Dutch municipalities are primarily responsible for the housing of schools, enforcing compulsory education and other small tasks, such as providing initial reception and student transport. Here, it is mainly relevant that Dutch municipalities are partially responsible for the educational disadvantages policy (Dorenbos et al., 2012). The resources they employ for this are early childhood education and transition classes.

The early childhood education (in Dutch 'voor- en vroegschoolse educatie, VVE) has been arranged via the *Ontwikkelingskansen door Kwaliteit en Educatie* act ('Development opportunities through Quality and Education', OKE). This act was implemented in 2010 and focuses on the development of children who are not yet attending regular primary education. The goal of the act is to stimulate and improve the (language) development of young children. The act prescribes that all municipalities are obligated to provide 'pre-primary'

education for young children with deficient language skills. It is up to the municipality to decide what the exact target groups are. Because of this policy freedom, the municipality can for example make the decision to only take the education level of the parents into account or also the home language and thus adjust to the local situation. The municipalities obligated to communicate with schools about the transmission of details about the children, but additionally it is also desirable that municipalities confer with school boards about (the transfer from preschool education) to pre-primary education and make agreements on parental involvement, for example. Municipalities are also asked to improve the language skills of the teachers in preschool and pre-primary education and to employ higher educated professional (hbo'ers) (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2015b).

In addition to these obligations, it shows from the available literature that municipalities often make plans for education. For example, the municipality cooperates with educational parties to increase the professionalisation of the staff, the connection between education and the labour market and to increase the learning time. Segregation in education is commonly considered to be a negative situation and especially between 2002 and 2007, the national government tried to motivate schools and cities to prevent this. In 2007, this changed (Bakker, 2012). Nevertheless, the issue is on the agenda in most Dutch municipalities and many cities have a strongly initiating role (Dorenbos et al., 2012).

Finally, the educational acts for primary and secondary acts state that schools are obligated to devote attention to civic education because students grow up in a multiform society and that education is also focused on the fact that students encounter and learn from various backgrounds and cultures.

#### **4.2.3 Labour participation**

With respect to labour and integration, it is important to mention the transition to the *Participatiewet* (Participation Act). This transition is part of the three big decentralisations which were implemented in 2015 with regard to healthcare, employment and youth (VNG, 2013). As a consequence, an improved integral coherent policy could be conducted in the social domain (Pommer & Boelhouwer, 2016). For this study, the arrival of the Participation Act is the most important. The target groups of this new act are welfare recipients and people with labour disabilities but who do have labour capacity. The support for this second group has been added to the responsibilities of the municipalities in 2015 (House of Representatives, 2015). They now also have the responsibility for re-integration. In the new Participation Act, the welfare benefit can be reduced if the recipient has deficient language skills. The municipalities are involved in this process and can offer language trajectories as part of re-integration (Program Council, 2015).

#### **4.2.4 Intercultural relations**

With respect to intercultural relations, municipalities carry a big responsibility in terms of discrimination. According to the *Wet Gemeentelijke Antidiscriminatievoorzieningen* ('Municipal Anti-Discrimination Facilities Act', WGA), they are obligated to offer citizens an independent facility where they can file complaints concerning discrimination. The two statutory tasks of the municipal anti-discrimination facilities (ADVs) are registration and assistance. Research shows that most large municipalities support the ADVs in supplementary activities such as raising awareness, education, training, advice and network building. Several municipalities have their own anti-discrimination policy in which attention is given to prevention (Struik et al., 2012). Dutch municipalities can optionally use the special measures for urban problems Act (the 'Rotterdam Law') to prevent segregation in

neighbourhoods, although this act was not drafted to bring about contact between different ethnic population groups, but to prevent the accumulation of livability problems in neighbourhoods (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2015). Furthermore, until 2004 there was an act (the *Wet SAMEN*) which required employers to keep track of the ethnic background of their staff and implement measures based on this. This act was repealed, but municipalities are still free to do this.

## 5. The integration policies of four Dutch cities

This chapter analyses the integration policy of the four Dutch cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Groningen. The four paragraphs are each separated in eleven subparagraphs. In the first subparagraph, an overview of the policy tradition from the 1980s to 2010 is given. This is followed up by an analysis of the official integration position of the city. The subsequent four chapters analyse the integration policy of the cities within the domains of language, education, labour participation and intercultural relations. The next subparagraph shows the measures that can be described as 'target group policy'. The following three subparagraphs deal with the variables of economy, local context and politics. The final subparagraph functions partly as a summary, but also reflects on which variables are important in the formation of the city's integration policy.

### 5.1 Amsterdam

With 822.272 inhabitants, Amsterdam is the biggest and the capital city of the Netherlands. Amsterdam is located in the Randstad, a conurbation in the western area of the country. In the seventeenth century, the city was one of the biggest trade centres in the world and additionally, a refuge for political and religious refugees (Van Heelsum, 2009). Presently, the city can still claim the position of financial and cultural centre of the Netherlands (Bontje et al, 2011). Amsterdam is also the most important (and still growing) touristic destination in the country and is closely located to one of the biggest airports in Europe.

#### 5.1.1 Policy tradition

In 1983, the first integration policy was formulated in Amsterdam. Organisations in Amsterdam were involved in the policy forming process, which were financially and administratively supported and were supposed to represent population groups (Uitermark et al., 2005). This 'minority policy' was generally considered to be multiculturalistic, but according to Vermeulen (2008) there were not many specific measures, with the exception of the minority organisations. The policy was put under an increasing amount of pressure during the 1990s because it had produced few results. Especially the specific nature of the policy was criticised: more emphasis should have been put on the general deprivation policy (Uitermark et al., 2005). Cooperation with the organisation was still ongoing, but there was a lot of criticism and subsidies were not structurally granted, but project-based (Vermeulen, 2008).

In 1999, the 'De kracht van een diverse stad' ('The power of a diverse city') memorandum is published, in which the municipality switches to a 'diversity policy', which combines the policy for gay and women's emancipation and the newcomer and minority policy. The councillor in charge acknowledges the differences between the citizens of Amsterdam, but wants to address them based on the 'similarities in social needs and wishes' (Volkskrant, 1999). Within this policy, everyone can contribute to the city in the role of an individual with a plural or hybrid identity. Interaction and discussion were considered to be important, effort was made in order to prevent stereotyping and diversity was presented as a value and not as a threat. Furthermore, it was noted that the quality and the legitimacy of the municipal administration would improve if the municipal administration itself would become more diverse (Uitermark et al., 2005). In conclusion, the policy went through a change in the last twenty years from emphasising groups to emphasising individuals and from rights to active citizenship. Previously, there were anti-discriminatory measures for the native citizens



and information for migrants, later campaigns were developed for the population in its entirety (Uitermark & Steenbergen, 2006).

After the year 2000, the mood of national politics changes and the national integration model shifts towards assimilationism. Even though Amsterdam had already transferred to generic policy, the city sticks to its pluralistic diversity policy (Vermeulen & Plaggenborg, 2007). In 2004, an official 'diversity council' is appointed, in which experts on integration take place but who do not represent one specific group. The minority organisations meet with the diversity council by means of a consultative body (Van Heelsum, 2009). The advisory council 'Diversity and Integration' still exists more than ten years after its establishment and provides the council with 'solicited and unsolicited advice concerning all citizenship and diversity issues within the Municipality of Amsterdam' (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2012). Even though the policy in Amsterdam is influenced by national developments, the official principles have barely changed since 1998 (Vermeulen, 2008). A few months after the assassination of filmmaker and radical Islam critic Theo van Gogh, *Wij Amsterdammers* ('We, citizens of Amsterdam') appears. With this, the emphasis of the whole integration policy shifts slightly from economic integration towards socio-cultural integration in Amsterdam. With regard to socio-cultural integration, the municipality believes that intercultural tensions can be linked to globalisation and global tensions. The municipality protests against the notion that the problems are caused by a divide between Islamic and western values, but does consider radicalisation and polarisation to be substantial problems (Tonkens & Kroese, 2009).

Nevertheless, the Municipality of Amsterdam claims socio-cultural integration cannot be encouraged successfully if no attention is devoted to structural integration in 'hard' fields such as employment, education, the housing market and healthcare (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2008). In the case of education, the municipality is at that moment mainly concerned about the 'black' and 'white' schools. This matter has been an issue since the 1980s. In 2007, a covenant was signed by the central municipality, districts and school boards which stated that segregation in the education system must be prevented. Measures include a set registration moment because research showed that mostly parents of migrant children were relatively late with their enrollment and because of this, had little choice and guaranteeing group enrollments (a group white children of a black school and vice versa) or dual enrollments (the enrollment of a black and a white student). In the following years, there was continuous interaction between the schools and the municipality concerning this issue (Rekenkamer Amsterdam, 2014).

In general, we can state that the Municipality of Amsterdam has applied an interculturalistic integration model since the 1990s. When the new council took its seat in 2010, the following text was issued, in which it becomes clear that the municipality is aiming for an 'overarching identity':

*'We are past thinking in terms of integration and minorities. Citizenship names a vision for the future and relinquishes the focus on origin. It underlines the irreversibility of immigration. In the future, there is no longer a majority in the city, in the native sense of the word.'*

(Municipality of Amsterdam, 2012: 3)

In an interculturalistic integration model, we see the combination of pluralism with a preference for generic policy. According to the municipality, the integration policy 'ideally takes both sides of the coin into account' (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2003: 4). In Amsterdam, the responsibility for the integration process is not only put on the shoulders of

the migrant. This is why the municipality, compared to the other big cities in the Netherlands, devotes more attention to preventing discrimination (Tonkens & Kroese, 2009). The next quote, in which the highway metaphor is used, shows that, according to the municipality, integration is a 'two-sided' process:

*'On the highway, there are vehicles which can differ enormously from other: in size, colour and number of passenger. Their behaviour on the road can also differ. In speed, for example: one drives slower or faster than the other, one takes over the other, the other stays in its lane and drives behind another. Together however, all vehicles are driving on the same highway and they obey the same rules. Whoever does not do this, collide with the other - this can disrupt all traffic on the highway. This applies especially if extra traffic is coming onto the highway from the highway ramp - merging is then the motto to prevent accidents.'*

(Municipality of Amsterdam, 2003: 4)

Furthermore, the municipality considers integration policy to be a 'facet policy' (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2008: 16). All policy fields are addressed with the goal to increase participation and achieving good relations between different groups. According to the municipality, a categorial policy is technically excluded, except if there is a specific problem with a particular group. In 2005 for example, Amsterdam participated in the nationally initiated 'Antillean approach'.

### **5.1.2 Current viewpoint on integration**

The current council is hardly using the term 'integration' nowadays and there are no integration notes. Furthermore, the line of the previous years seems to be followed through consistently. The multi-annual outlook states that the municipality 'takes diversity into account in the full range of the social policy' (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2015i: 21). Diversity is not the domain of one alderman, but is processed in all policy domains (interview policy official). In Amsterdam, 'diversity' is discussed and thought is given to how diversity improves the city (ibid.). According to the municipality, the diversity in the city enables innovation, flexibility and creativity. Facilitating diversity is not only the 'right thing to do', but also 'the smart thing' to do (ibid.). However, it can also lead to tension and exclusion between groups. For this reason, the municipality checks if there is enough room for emancipation and dialogue in the city (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2016a). If it is necessary to improve the position of a particular group, the municipality is willing to formulate a supplementary policy. Therefore, a specific approach is designed for a number of groups such as vulnerable women, girls and youths with a mental disability, but migrants are not mentioned (ibid., 2015i).

### **5.1.3 Language**

The Municipality of Amsterdam considers mastering the Dutch language as a 'catalyser for believing in one's own power and provides a basis for citizenship in Amsterdam' (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2015i: 20). Mastering the language is an important condition for participating in society, being financially self-sufficient, living a healthy life, getting a job and being involved in the academic career of children. In Amsterdam, courses have been set up which align with these goals. For example, there are courses which focus on literacy, activation, employment, financial administration or parental improvement. Thus, language improves the socio-cultural integration as well as the economic integration of migrants. Migrants who are

obliged to participate in civic integration are not eligible for these courses if they have not completed their civic integration, but they can use the programme in order to increase parental involvement. Via this programme, Dutch migrants can follow courses at their child's school. The programme is arranged in such a way that participants can also work on their own and their child's language development outside of the school environment. The target groups of the language policy are, among others, European migrants and other migrants who are not obliged to participate in civic integration, but also native illiterates are mentioned. It is important that a participant has the intention to stay in Amsterdam long-term and this is why expats cannot participate. Migrants are not the only target group, but they are the most important one (ibid.).

#### **5.1.4 Education**

The current council of the Municipality of Amsterdam wants more freedom for and trust in the schools and a facilitating role for the municipality. The plans which were made for primary and secondary education exist of the following three components: the professionalisation of teacher, the professionalisation of schools and sufficient inflow and training of new teachers (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2015h). As part of the first component, teachers can use a grant which for example supports them in following in a course or renewing the curriculum. Schools can also be granted subsidy for their own professionalisation. This professionalisation can also be used for civic education in schools (ibid., 2015g) (see paragraph 5.1.5). The ambitions for the mbo education level are professionalisation of teachers, preventing drop-outs, stimulating talent and seeing to it that there are sufficient internships. No reference is made to migrants (ibid., 2015d). Furthermore, the municipality wants to ensure that there are sufficient and high-quality preschool facilities which align with primary education. In the early childhood education plans, encounters with diversity is explicitly named as a goal: 'It is important that children are aware of the diverse city in which they are growing up. Access for everybody, with mixed groups and equal chances of development, is the very core of the new policy' (ibid., 2015j: 5).

#### **5.1.5 Labour participation**

The municipality considers being employed as a form of social participation which is important for the health and wellbeing of people and contributes to the social cohesion and quality of life in Amsterdam (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2016d). Starting in 2015, the municipality wants to get 4200 people into work within three years (ibid., 2015i). The municipality is aiming for a socially optimal result, but for some groups, less practical investments are made, even though this choice is in contradiction with the desire to 'avoid placing people into one definite category' (ibid., 2016d: 17). These groups are job-seekers who cannot independently earn the minimum wage, youths, single parents and holders of a residence permit.

Additionally, the municipality wants to tackle youth unemployment and get about 5000 youths a year into work or education. This is especially aimed at vulnerable youths who do not have any basic qualifications or are distanced from the labour market for another reason. Migrants are not identified as target group, although it is observed that young migrants are more often unemployed, 'possibly' because of discrimination (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2015a: 13). Because of this, the municipality wants to encourage diversity towards employers and improve the position of 'young, non-Western talent'. Furthermore, there is cooperation with youth organisation which can reach migrants better in order to prevent youth unemployment.

Moreover, the Municipality of Amsterdam makes an effort to counteract labour market discrimination. For example, by means of a support point, employers are equipped with means to prevent exclusion of candidates, for example by means of an online support tool. This support point also follows a strict discrimination code. The municipality also tries to raise awareness for labour market discrimination of certain groups in the region, which include migrants, by means of a steering group in the metropolitan region of Amsterdam (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2015e).

#### **5.1.6 Intercultural relations**

According to the council, diversity in Amsterdam can only exist because for the past centuries, the city has been the leading example of tolerance and acceptance. The conservation of this tolerant climate is one of the biggest tasks at the moment, according to the council (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2015e). The municipality tries to tackle this task by means of a subsidy programme which is to improve the connectivity in the city, among other things. A component for which support can be asked is the 'shared history'. When discussing shared history, it is about the various projects which entail that 'the history of the city is a history of every citizen of Amsterdam and that this contains colour and diversity' (Bleeker et al., 2016: 12). The projects are meant to make people feel a notion of a shared past, so that they develop a sense of trust in 'that what makes the citizens of Amsterdam share in the present and in the future' (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2016b: 3).

The municipality also makes an effort to battle and prevent discrimination. In addition to the statutory tasks, the municipality also organises a public manifest day against discrimination and discrimination is battled in the public space, in the nightlife and in the workspace. Moreover, the municipality also commits itself to anti-discrimination, on one hand by financing the local facility, on the other hand by own, supplementary policy. For example, the municipality is annually involved in organising a day against discrimination in the city. The municipality fights discrimination by means of an 'integral approach which focuses on battling discrimination where it is at its worst, combined with prevention where the municipality can make a difference' (ibid., 2015e: 5). The municipality uses a number of spearheads, such as labour market discrimination (see paragraph 5.1.5), discrimination in nightlife and the police handling of discrimination. A fourth spearhead is strengthening the civic education to stimulate a tolerant attitude among citizens. For example, schools can apply for subsidies for organising activities which are focused on the development and encouragement of (the knowledge about) diversity, citizenship and shared history at school (ibid., 2014c). Funds are also accessible via a so-called 'school grant'.

Battling discrimination in the council's own organisation is also an important theme. Ultimately, the organisation should be a reflection of all layers of the working population of Amsterdam (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2015k). The municipality wants the top management and the board to commit to diversity under the guise of 'inclusive leadership' and that effort is made to create an inclusive organisation culture. For example, diversity is to be part of the introduction programme of the municipality. There are target figures and special instruments for non-Western immigrants, women, people who have worklimiting disability or 'arbeidsbeperkten' and youths. For the group of non-Western migrants, attention is devoted to the inflow, such as when forming a trainee pool and external recruitment for top positions, and the municipality is present at a career fair for multicultural talent. Additionally, one quarter of the participants of management training at the municipality has to have a migrant background and there is special attention for the obstacles migrants have to face, such as deficient language skills or an insufficient network.

Lastly, the municipality has drawn up a temporary plan of action to improve the tension between population groups, in response to (among other things) the attacks in Paris and Copenhagen. The municipality wants to stimulate dialogue, to have citizens learn more about each other's backgrounds and increase the resilience and the sense of safety. The municipality wants to contribute to this financially, in kind (by means of knowledge and space) and publicly (by means of expressions in the media and the presence of directors) (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2015c).

#### **5.1.7 Target group policy**

The municipality of Amsterdam feels that European migrants are a valuable addition to the local economy and society and does not consider their presence to be problematic (Razenberg, 2015). In 2013, the municipality decided to annually publish a monitor in which the situation of European migrants is discussed. This monitor was established because the growth of the community also caused signals of irregularities and problems to emerge (OIS, 2014b: 3). However, the municipality does not implement a lot of specific policy: there is only extra attention for European migrants when it comes to language. Within this, effort is put into reaching the migrants, offering language courses of which the themes align with daily life and preventing drop-outs (Razenberg & Noordhuizen, 2016).

From 2006 onwards, the Municipality of Amsterdam implements a refugee policy. Amsterdam 'has had a tradition for centuries as merciful and safe haven for everyone who is in search of a life of freedom' and the experience, the perseverance and the creativity of the refugees is considered an 'addition to the city' (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2015f: 6). Within the refugee policy, the city devotes attention to language, employment, education and intercultural relations, and housing and healthcare. The municipality follows a generic policy, but does pay attention to specific groups in terms of education level because they keep evaluating what capacities and talents newcomers possess (Jansen, 2016). For the less educated, more instruments are needed and available.

The municipality uses an integral approach in order to guide refugees from arrival towards self-sufficiency (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2015f). Self-sufficiency is defined as having housing, passing the civic integration exam, social independence (having a social network), harnessing one's talents and self-development, providing for oneself and physical and mental health. The municipality of Amsterdam wants to quickly activate and actively guide holders of a residence permit to reaching that level of self-sufficiency. They feel that in order to achieve this, a continuous learning line is necessary which starts at orientation, and then continues to activation, diagnosis, *voorschakel* and guidance towards the labour market. The holder of a residence permit will return to the municipality at three set moments, during which the route can be (preliminary) adjusted from work to participation.

The first phase is the orientation phase, during which the holder of a residence permit orients himself/herself on the Netherlands and the city of Amsterdam, the future and the civic integration. A start is also made on the process of language acquisition. So-called 'own language supporters' were also present at the activities, who spoke the language of the participants. With the assistance of the European Refugee Fund (now part of AMIF), the project was active from 2013 to 2015. During the second phase (activation), the holder of a residence permit is encouraged to participate in language projects in Amsterdam. The last phase is guidance towards the labour market, and the municipality also wants to set up an advice punt to speed up this final phase and wants to cooperate with employers and employment agencies to exploit the talent present. The municipality wants to start working on language education and diploma recognition as soon as possible and also wants to quickly

determine what the talents of a certain group are and whether there might be potential entrepreneurs. The municipality wants to enter into discussion with the State about room for experimentation, especially with regard to migrants who are still in asylum centres (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2015b). In a covenant which was concluded by the municipality with several commercial, scientific, cultural and governmental partners, emphasis is put on quickly assisting refugees if finding a job, an education or entrepreneurship, if it is known that these refugees will eventually come to Amsterdam (ibid., 2016c). The Municipality of Amsterdam also acknowledges that intercultural relations are of importance. For example, the municipality states that good communication is a prerequisite for mutual understanding and respect and that cultural sensitivity in the municipal services is of great importance (ibid., 2015b). Furthermore, the municipality tries to stimulate social interaction in its housing policy and it makes use of the social participation of holders of a residence permit.

### **5.1.8 Economy and labour market**

The economy of Amsterdam is differentiated and strongly focused on the provision of services, so that the city structurally profits from the major shift towards service in the economy (Entzinger, 2012; ING, 2015a). The sector of corporate service is substantial (ING, 2015a). The creative sector in Amsterdam with 80.000 accounts for nearly 15% of all employment in the city; only in Hilversum the sector is relatively more important for the employment. Amsterdam outnumbers any other city in the rest of the Netherlands when it comes to jobs in the creative sector (Rutten & Koops, 2014). The city is a pioneer in terms of bringing in the newest technologies, the development of the sharing economy and is economically future-proof (ING, 2015a).

The working population of Amsterdam is highly educated compared to the national average. From 2008 onwards, unemployment rose to about 9,5% in 2013. After this, it slowly declined to 8,5% in 2014 (OIS, 2015e). In 2014, youth unemployment was above the national average at 13,3% but it is significantly lower than in Rotterdam and The Hague. In 2015, youth unemployment dropped to 10,7%. In 2015, about 6% of the working population is on social welfare benefit (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2016). The disposable income in Amsterdam in 2012 is lower than the Dutch average, although it is getting closer. All of this combined makes that the socio-economic position of Amsterdam is relatively good and the best of all the cities in this research (Marlet & Woerkens, 2015). The economic vitality of Amsterdam is high (Bureau Louter, 2016).

### **5.1.9 Local situation**

Amsterdam is one of the most diverse cities in the world. There are about 180 nationalities represented and in half of the neighbourhoods in Amsterdam, more than 100 nationalities coexist (OIS, 2014a). Immigration is a characteristic feature of the city: as early as the 17th and 18th century, about 30% of the citizens was migrant (Lucassen & Penninx, 1994). In the early 20th century, this percentage was lower but this started to grow again in the 1960s. Mainly Surinamese people moved to Amsterdam at the time (Van Heelsum, 2009). In 2014, 51% of the citizens is migrants and almost 35% has a non-Western background (OIS, 2015a). The big migrant groups are of Moroccan (9%), Surinamese (8%), Turkish (5%) and Ghanaian and Antillean (1,5%) origin. Almost 11% of the population in Amsterdam is European migrant, what translates to 88.000 people. Of this group, 43% is from Western Europe while only 17% is from Eastern Europe (Razenberg & Noordhuizen, 2016). Almost 70% of the total group of European migrants in Amsterdam has finished a university education and this means that they are higher educated than the citizens of Amsterdam. They

also do less low-skilled labour, as opposed to the group in The Hague or Rotterdam (OIS, 2015b). About 10% of the group moves to the city for academic purposes (ibid.). Within this whole group, there are several vulnerable subgroups, namely homeless people, victims of human trafficking and European migrants with a low socio-economic position (Razenberg, 2015).

Furthermore, about 70.000 refugees settled in Amsterdam during the first decennium of this century, and between 2009 and 2014, about 350 refugees per year. In 2015 and 2016, the number was significantly higher (respectively 1375 and 2000). Mostly Somali and Iranian people moved to Amsterdam (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2015f). Do note that this does still not concern very large communities. In addition to these groups, about 4% of the total working population in Amsterdam can be classified as 'expat' (Ooijevaar & Verkooijen, 2015).

What is the status of the integration process within these groups? The municipality states: 'migrants are often doing very well and are contributing to the dynamic in the city. However, some of the newcomers cannot achieve this by themselves' (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2015i: 19). From the quality of life index which Amsterdam keeps and which shows the quality of life in several domains, it can be concluded that this score has not increased since 2012 (OIS, 2015c). In Amsterdam, 1 out of 9 citizens of Amsterdam does not master the Dutch language (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2016d). It is not clear to what extent this group exists of migrants. However, newcomers, refugees and labour migrants are classified as target group. Research shows that students of Dutch origin receive the havo/vwo advice more often than students with a non-Western background. Simultaneously, the number of students with a non-Western background that receives a vwo advice has doubled between 2007 and 2014. The success rates for non-Western migrants are lower, while Western migrants are moving towards the native student population and sometimes even surpass them (OIS, 2015g). Furthermore, an estimated 70.000 people in Amsterdam are in need of language education. A large part of them are middle or highly educated with a migrant background who have to master Dutch as a second language (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2012).

With regard to the labour market participation, mainly non-Western migrants show bad results in Amsterdam. In 2014, citizens of Amsterdam of non-Western origin are unemployed in 14% of the cases, as opposed to 6% of the native population. Especially Moroccan citizens of Amsterdam are often unemployed (17%) (OIS, 2015e). With regard to youth unemployment, non-Western migrants (between 15 and 26 years old) are unemployed in 13% of the cases, as opposed to 6% of the native youth population (ibid., 2016). With regard to the socio-cultural integration, research shows that non-Western migrants feel discriminated twice as often as other groups and that there is also more social isolation within this group. Non-Western groups such as Moroccans and Surinamese do have a lot of contact with other population groups - even more than the native population. Non-Western migrants are also less often members of some sort of association than the native population (59% as opposed to 40%) and mostly Moroccan and Turkish citizens of Amsterdam do less sports (ibid., 2015d; 2015f).

For a big number of European migrants, finding a suitable accommodation is hard but in general, the integration problems of European migrants are relatively low. The problems of refugees are mostly in the fields of employment, language, the social network and healthcare. According to the municipality, the policy is paying off and after 3,5 years, more and more refugees participate in society, although labour participation can be improved upon (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2015f). Especially, the Somali group in the city is doing poorly: they are more like to be unemployed and to be on social welfare benefit (ibid.).

### **5.1.10 Politics**

From the 1940s until 2014, the social democrat party PvdA was the biggest political party in Amsterdam and supplied the councillors. Because of this, the city has a traditionally left-wing image. Since 2014, the city has been governed by a council of D66, VVD and SP, which invests in education and poverty (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2014a). The investments in integration by the previous council have not been continued and in general, there is less attention for diversity and integration in the coalition programme. In the general elections for the House of Representatives (the 'Tweede Kamer') in which right-wing populist parties participated for the past fifteen years, citizens of Amsterdam voted less for these parties than the national average and considerably less than The Hague and Rotterdam (Kiesraad, 2016).

### **5.1.11 Reflection: Amsterdam**

The current viewpoint on integration of the Municipality of Amsterdam has been formed in the 1990s and has barely changed since. The term integration returns sporadically, but terms such as 'minorities' and 'immigrants' are no longer used by the municipality. They prefer to speak of diversity and citizenship, because these terms relinquish the focus on origin, underline the irreversibility of immigration and are focused on the future.

A combination of generic and pluralistic principles can also be found in the policy. For example, the measures surrounding intercultural relation are focused on increasing the visibility and the acceptance of diversity in the city and in the municipal organisation. By making diversity and citizenship discussable in the education system and in the city, the municipality tries to raise awareness among the citizens that not everyone shares a past but that they do share a future. In Amsterdam, pluralism means that the responsibility for integration is put on the shoulders of all citizens who have to find a way to coexist together in the city and that this means to give and to take. This pluralism is combined with generic measures in the fields of language, education and labour participation. With regard to education and language, the measures are generic. An example of a generic measure is the programme for language and parental involvement which was set up by the municipality and is open to everybody, but in practice mostly migrant children and their parents will benefit from this programme. In the case of labour participation, the municipality abandons its generic stance, although the need is felt to justify this decision. According to the municipality, the groups who need extra support on the labour market are youths with a migrant background and holders of a residence permit. There are also specific measures for European migrants, although these are minimal and there is no coherent, elaborate approach. Thus, in Amsterdam, one cannot speak of a purely generic policy but the extent to which migrant are identified or addressed as target groups in policy texts is minimal. Of all four cities in this research, this policy is the most generic. In the research period from 2014 onwards, the Municipality of Amsterdam once again uses an interculturalistic integration model.

In this research, it is explored which factors are related to certain policy measures and integration models. Previous research showed that integration policy was linked to cities which were governed by left-wing coalitions. This applies to Amsterdam, although the city was not governed by a left-wing council during the research period. The influence of politics might also be decreased by a long tradition of consistent pluralistic policy, resulting in a special department which occupies itself every day with diversity and citizenship (interview policy official). It is also of great importance that the support of right-wing populist parties is



quite low in Amsterdam which is probably related to the positive socio-economic position of the city and the substantial creative sector. Economic considerations are also motivation for pluralism. In an economic, governmental and cultural sense, the city looks beyond her own borders (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2014b). Amsterdam is, as previously identified, 'top-scale': a city which is integrated in the new, global economy and which considers the diversity of its citizens and visitors as an enrichment of its position in the world. Another question is why the municipality chooses for a generic policy in such a convinced manner. One explanation could be is that the problems surrounding integration are at a lower level. Although there is not enough information available to draw a legitimate comparison, the problems surrounding MOE's in Amsterdam seem less prominent than in Rotterdam and The Hague - simply because there are less MOE's in Amsterdam. For this reason, there is less of a need to develop a separate specific policy for this group. Lastly, the municipality seems very much aware of the situation of super diversity in Amsterdam. It is considered that, in the future, there will not be a majority in the city and that origin will no longer be a sensible criterion that may be used to separate citizens (ibid., 2012). This also leads to the fact that generic measures are often preferred.

## 5.2 Rotterdam

Rotterdam is a port and industrial city which was severely damaged during the Second World War and afterwards became famous for its architecture. Rotterdam has the allure of a metropolis, but also a relatively unilateral economical structure which is constantly threatened by ageing (Entzinger, 2012). Rotterdam is the second biggest city in the Netherlands with 623.956 inhabitants (OBI, 2015a).

### 5.2.1 Policy traditions

In Rotterdam, the realisation that immigrant workers, so-called 'guest workers', would permanently settle in the city came fairly soon. Towards the end of the 1970s, a *Migrant Note* was published. Until the turn of the century, Rotterdam's migrant policy was part of the general pluralistic trend. In two notes which were published in the early 1990s it was said that 'foreigners do not need to become Dutch' but that they should be able to participate along with the Dutch (Maussen, 2006: 113). In the mid-nineties, there was also a feeling that youths in Rotterdam with a Moroccan and/or Turkish background were utilising a 'Made in Holland' Islam, which was pluralistic and individualised. This pluralistic attitude also became apparent in the note *De Veelkeurige Stad* ('The Multi-Coloured City', 1998) which stated that the diversity of Rotterdam had to be shown in facilities, the staff composition of municipal services, in cultural policy and in ethnic entrepreneurship. During that time, the city also applied a form of 'intercultural personnel management', which included providing internships and jobs for migrants (ibid.).

The integration policy from 1998 to 2002 was a pluralistic diversity policy, which was spread out over multiple departments and did not only concern itself with ethnical diversity, but also with gender, handicap and age. Since the mid-nineties, there was a conscious effort to broaden Rotterdam's reputation from being just a port city and this succeeded in 2001 when it became European Capital of Culture in which Rotterdam portrayed itself as a multicultural city (Hitters, 2000). Note that this all took place during a time in which the national discourse was rapidly evolving in a assimilationist direction. This pluralistic integration policy in the nineties went hand in hand with the tendency towards a generic

integration policy. In the note *De Nieuwe Rotterdammers* ('The New Citizens of Rotterdam') which was published in 1991, special facilities for ethnic minorities were discouraged. Generic policy could also be seen in the dominant practice of 'civil corporatism' in Rotterdam during this time, in which non-profit civil organisation were financially supported by the municipality (Uitermark, 2015). These organisations were partners of the local governance, but were not seen as representatives and were also stimulated to represent as broadly as possible.

As was said before, the national discourse concerning integration changed around the turn of the century and this was also the case in Rotterdam. In 2002, the local party *Leefbaar* became the biggest party in Rotterdam at the local elections and took its place in the council. According to Uitermark (2012), Rotterdam's integration policy became a typical case of 'culturalism', in which the liberal, enlightened culture must be protected from illiberal religions and ideologies of minorities. Ethnical and religious diversity were framed as a danger to the city and as a culprit of crime (Tersteeg et al., 2014). During this period, work began on the 'Wet bijzondere maatregelen grootstedelijke problematiek', a law for special measures for urban problems, also called the Rotterdam Law. Because of this, it became possible in 2006 to regulate access to the housing market in specific districts. Although some cities use other facilities provided in this measure, this so-called housing market restriction (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2012).

Whilst the influence of *Leefbaar Rotterdam* is mostly apparent in the safety policy, a CDA councillor was in charge of the integration portfolio, and as a result the programmes which were set up requested cooperation from all citizens of Rotterdam (Van Ostaijen & Tops, 2007). This way, the 'street approach' of Rotterdam takes form, which aims to stimulate social cohesion and active citizenship. The *Opzoomeren* ('Summer up') project still exists and by now, 1900 streets are participating (Entzinger & Engbersen, 2014). The citizenship policy in Rotterdam focuses on streets, unlike Amsterdam or The Hague, in which is focused on the city or certain districts (Tonkens & Kroese, 2009). Opposite of this kind of initiatives, is the harsh tones of the so-called 'Islam debates', in which problems in Rotterdam were presented as the problems of muslims and the Islam (Maussen, 2006). The result of the debates was the 'Rotterdam Code', in which a basic set of rules was laid out for all citizens of Rotterdam. The policy in Rotterdam was more prescriptive during this time and focused on shared norms and values or good citizenship (Tonkens & Kroese, 2009).

In 2006, a new council took its place. The debates about the Islam were replaced by a dialogue programme and 'city citizenship': being proud of the city, reciprocity and participation. Additionally, a programme was set up to ensure diversity in the municipal staff (Rensen, 2013). During this period, the problems that were caused by the European labour migration were addressed for the first time. In 2007, Rotterdam became co-initiator of the first so-called 'Polen Top', which had an agenda that was offered to the government as a result. In 2008, an exploratory research was published concerning the situation and plans of the Polish people in the city (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2008). In the years after this, monitors were introduced.

### **5.2.2 Viewpoint on integration (since 2010)**

Fairly soon after a new council took its place in 2010, a vision document states that there is tension between different groups of the population and that the distance between these groups is increasing (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2011b). A consultation round focusing on the theme of integration showed that many people are 'tired of talking about' the theme of integration and believe that the society of Rotterdam would benefit from a discussion past the

subject of integration - the discussion should be focused on building a future for the city (ibid. 3). There will be no focus on a 'debate about integration in a general sense' but on a 'process of unification, conversation and action' (ibid. 4). Extra effort may be asked from newcomers, although integration should come from both sides. In order to facilitate integration, the municipality wants to clearly show its successes, enable discussions about social tensions and language barriers, contribute to communal images of the society in Rotterdam and found new coalitions. The themes concerning integration are language, education, labour market, healthcare, discrimination and cultural barriers. Finally, the municipality wants to cooperate more with the Municipality of Amsterdam to exchange knowledge and practices (ibid.). By the end of the council's term, the councillor clarifies her position. She believes that problems in the lower social classes and problems concerning youths have surpassed ethnicity by now and that it is time to switch to a 'wide-ranging citizenship policy, which focuses on all citizens of Rotterdam who only want the best for the city'. Diversity must be utilised 'in its widest sense' and it is not about integration, but about participation; it does not matter 'where you come from', it matters 'where you want to go' (Louwes, 2013).

The council that has been active since 2014 does not believe that Rotterdam has 'surpassed' integration. The primary responsibility of the integration process is once again put in the hands of the migrant and the vision of the last council that diversity is a positive value is now put under pressure: diversity is no longer something to be 'celebrated' (interview policy official). At the start of 2015, the councillor for urban development and integration presents his integration note, *Integratie010* ('Integration 010'). According to this note, people have been coming to Rotterdam for centuries and it is these people that gave the city its international character (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015c: 4). The council acknowledges the value of diversity on an international macro level, but in the city, on micro level, it mostly causes problems (interview policy official). The daily reality shows that not all migrants are able to, willing to or allowed to integrate. The migrants who *are not able* to do so are for example European migrants and other employees, educators/guardians, people with a lower level of education, illiterates, refugees and children of newcomers. The group which *is not willing* to integrate consists of migrants who 'choose not to integrate and/or are opposed to the Dutch society' (ibid. 17). This could be the case with European migrants who are not obligated to integrate and do not see the need to do so since their stay in the Netherlands is temporary, or people who feel a strong connection with their native country and do not have a strong bond with the Netherlands. Thirdly, the group of people who *are not allowed* to integrate are limited in their integration process because of their cultural or religious background and context. One should then think of women in unequal positions, homosexuals with a migrant background, migrant children (especially of European migrants) and renegades. This results in three policy products which are the language approach, civic integration - also referred to as 'enhancing the shared norms and values' - and the policy for European migrants. However, according to the note, there is a shared responsibility across the council for the integration process and in the note, policies concerning education, sports, youth and well-being are referenced (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015c). Mastering the Dutch language is regarded as the most important requirement for integration (interview policy official). 'Knowledge, understanding and following the Dutch norms and standards' and 'equal treatment and equal chances' are central to the process of civic integration. The integration of European labour migrants is given specific attention with a separate programme. The councillor for integration is especially responsible for these three cases, but additionally keeps track of the participation of migrants groups and whether they fall behind

or not in other relevant areas. Additionally, based on the portfolio, the decision can be made to intensify the existing policy or to switch to a temporary policy which is directed at a specific group (ibid. 9). However, specific policy has to be problem-oriented: it is not the intention to form a Somali office (interview policy official).

The integration note also states that both socio-economic and socio-cultural integration will benefit if the migrant 'finds himself/herself in an environment and networks in which the Dutch language spoken and Dutch norms and values are conveyed' (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015c: 8). Because of this segregation in districts and segregation in facilities must be discouraged and prevented. How this is to be done, is not clear from the note. The municipality also uses the Rotterdam Law to prevent segregation based on income (and the related livability problems), but not to prevent ethnic segregation. Research shows that in practice mostly non-Western migrants are rejected (and increasingly Western migrants) (Hochstenbach et al., 2016).

### 5.2.3 Language

From 2010 onwards, a *Taaloffensief* (Language Offensive) is deployed which aims to improve the Dutch language use of the citizens of Rotterdam within three years. The language offensive is aimed at 29 neighbourhoods of which it is known that there are language deficiency. For each neighbourhood, it is assessed what the language level is and which activities are already in existence - and which are not. The policy's target group is adults who play a role in the language acquisition process of children, mbo students with deficient language skills, employed and job seekers. The first target group can be divided into three groups: the parents of the children, people who work with the parents (professionals and volunteers) and who are to make suggestions to the parents about the language acquisition process and the people who work with the children themselves (at preschools and daycares). The second target group consists of potential students seeking admission for the mbo with deficient language skills and youths with deficient language skills who have to wait until they can start with their mbo education. For the third target group, there is close co-operation with employers by means of co-financing and language programmes are purchased for people receiving social welfare benefit. Finally, a part of the *Taaloffensief* is to train the Municipalities own employees to recognise deficient language skills and to only subsidise organisations if certain language requirements are met (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2011h).

From 2014 onwards, language is considered essential for a successful integration process: there is a 'direct link' between language and integration (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015c: 14). The councilor for integration is also the one responsible for the language approach. In addition to the resources which are made available by the WEB, the municipality invests extra funds in improving language. The most important target groups are the (long-term) unemployed, women, people over 55, immigrants of the first generation and youths (ibid., 2015b). Diverse language needs should be considered and that is why there should be informal, approachable courses as well as formal and diploma-based education. A higher level of language proficiency is linked to a better quality of life, a better health, better labour market participation, more social contacts and thus enhanced social cohesion. It is noteworthy that in case of migrants, language acquisition is mostly linked to a better health and enhanced social cohesion and not to improving the position on the labour market (except in the case of female migrants). This seems to indicate that the councillor considers deficient language skills to mostly obstruct socio-cultural integration. Even though (first generation)

migrants are identified as a target group, it is not clear what this means in terms of concrete measures, except concerning healthcare.

#### **5.2.4 Education**

The municipality's education policy focuses on better results in education and preventing drop-outs from 2010 until 2014. Through this policy, Rotterdam aims to (eventually) establish a working population which is comparable to the working populations of the other three big cities, because Rotterdam needs more citizens with a higher education (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2011e). The main goal is to bring the scores for language and math closer to the national average by the end of the council's term. For example, the programme *Aanval op Uitval* (Attack on Drop-out) works on decreasing the number of students leaving school without a diploma (ibid., 2011a) and in the general education policy, attention is given to the professionalisation of teachers, parental involvement and more study time in primary and secondary education (ibid., 2011f). Furthermore, action is taken to improve the supply and quality of preschool education and thereby improve the continuous learning curve, by implementing a 'group zero' (grade zero) within the framework of primary education, among other things.

Even though it becomes clear 'from publications and congresses' that Rotterdam is 'nationally still leading in terms of approaching integration at schools' (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2011f: 20), less attention is given to this problem during this council's term while this point was high on the agenda a decennium ago (Brink & Van Bergen, 2012). The councillor in charge clarifies that a mixed school in an almost completely white or black neighbourhood is not longer a general principle or starting point and that performance targets set for schools are prioritised in order to eliminate the lacking results of primary schools (Binnenlands Bestuur, 2011).

From 2014 onwards, the education policy is aimed at several themes which are early childhood education, the quality of teachers and educational staff, career training, attractive vocational education and the connection between education and youth. Finally, schools have to improve themselves qualitatively. Part of this is 'broad-based' education, which means that schools have to work on skills which are needed to cope in a 'society in a city like Rotterdam' (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015e: 40). This includes self-awareness, cultural awareness and identity development. Additionally, a test is conducted with the Rotterdam education code, with the aim of becoming more aware of the prevailing norms and standards in the education system. Attention is also devoted to the history and culture of Rotterdam in the education system (ibid., 2015c). Finally, a profile is being developed which can be used by the teachers in Rotterdam to professionalise themselves and this profile has to do justice to the greater urban context (ibid., 2015e). There is no attention for ethnical segregation in the education system.

#### **5.2.5 Labour participation**

With regards to labour participation, in 2010, the council wants to improve the education level of the working population, the labour participation and realise a faster flow on the labour market and make the education system align better with the labour market. Several target groups and partners are discerned, including employers and welfare claimants (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2011d; 2011g). From 2014 onwards, the council wants to improve the labour market participation by increasing the education level of the working population, mobility on the labour market and increasing the growth of economically relevant sectors. The municipality focuses on matching (for people who easily find a job), prematching (for people who first

have to improve their skills or gain experience) and activation (for people who have no real job prospects) (ibid., 2015g). Additionally, the municipality wants to increase the chance of success and the durability of new entrepreneurs. In the emancipation policy, measures are named to increase the economic self-sufficiency of 'women and young girls in Rotterdam'. In order to achieve this, the municipality purchases products (ibid., 2016a). The target group of the youth unemployment policy is youths between 15 and 27 who receive unemployment benefit or welfare payments or who are likely to do so in the future. With this programme, the municipality mostly focuses on the connection between the education system and the labour market and the guidance towards a job (for youths who do not work and do not go to school) (ibid., 2015d). The youth agreements (co-operation agreements with companies concerning internships, apprenticeships and job vacancies) which have been made by the municipality are focused on youths who still have to learn the Dutch language, among others.

Labour market discrimination is high on the agenda during this council's term and is one of the major spearheads of the anti-discrimination policy (interview policy official; Municipality of Rotterdam, 2016a). This because numerous complaints have been filed and because it obstructs the participation in society. In order to prevent discrimination, the municipality takes part in an urban network (ECCAR) to improve the policy and they gather twice a year for consultation with the OM (Public Prosecution), police and RADAR (the Municipal ADV). Furthermore, several products are purchased to increase resilience, reporting habits and awareness of discriminatory behaviour. The municipality co-operates with several employers and the Platform against Labour Market Discrimination in Rotterdam (Rotterdams Platform tegen Arbeidsmarktdiscriminatie) was founded in 2016, in which twelve institutions and companies are unified (Press Releases Municipality of Rotterdam, 2016).

#### **5.2.6 Intercultural relation**

From 2010 until 2014, the integration policy in terms of intercultural relations is mostly expressed in the participation policy. This participation policy, which is also called the citizenship policy, exists to stimulate the emancipation of women, homosexuals and lesbians, to prevent discrimination, to put diversity on the map as a positive value and improve linguistic and social competence by means of non-formal education (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2012b). Meetings between several groups are facilitated and (social media) material is generated and spread which is to promote the strength of diversity. Additionally, a Dialogue Day (Dag van de Dialoog) is organised and several initiatives are set up to increase resilience to discrimination (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2014a). The city initiative, which has been introduced at a worth of 4 million euros a year, is to promote bonding between all the citizens of Rotterdam of different backgrounds and to link them together on a cultural level. The municipality also support the Rotterdams Kenniscentrum Diversiteit (RKD, Knowledge Centre for Diversity in Rotterdam). The primary task of this centre is to present diversity as a strength and promote this in the city. The RKD also acknowledges its role in balancing a generic view and approaching specific challenges within target groups (RKD, 2014). With regards to diversity of the municipality's own staff, the line which was set by the council in 2006 is being followed. The focus here is on 'developing chances' instead of 'reducing backlog' (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2012a: 2). Not the ethnicity, but the competence of employees plays a central role.

From 2014 onwards, measures concerning intercultural relations are for the most part under the responsibility of the councillor of Integration and take shape in the 'civic integration' section, which in turn consists of three parts: emancipation ('equal positions'), conveying the shared norms ('maintain the basics') and discrimination ('equal treatment') (Municipality of

Rotterdam, 2016a). Within the emancipation policy, two objectives are aiming for more gender equality and organising the dialogue surrounding taboo subjects in traditional (closed) communities. Another component is the informing and conveying of the shared norms; a new policy terrain. For this, two objectives are formulated as follows: on one hand, new citizens of Rotterdam should be better informed about their duties, responsibilities and the prevailing norms and on the other hand, discussion about issues which obstruct self-development and integration should be enabled. Products are purchased and subsidies are granted to enable discussions about social dilemmas and investments are made in order to inform new citizens of Rotterdam about rights, duties and the importance of language (by means of a folder), and their first encounter with the labour market, language and facilities. Finally, an 'Integratietour' (Integration tour) is organised for this cause: a series of dialogues on integration, participation, self-development, intolerance, social tensions and radicalisation. In 2015, about 100 conversations took place in which 1000 people participated from 33 different nationalities.

The third component of the policy surrounding citizenship is discrimination. Making discrimination visible and most of all discussable is of great importance in Rotterdam: 'the legal ban on discrimination in Rotterdam does not lead to a taboo on naming differences' (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2016a: 11). In addition to the compulsory support of the local ADV, there are also investments made in various other measures, such as increasing the willingness to report, increasing the expertise of HR-professionals and expanding the awareness of discriminatory behaviour (in particular among younger generations) and resilience (in particular among younger generations and (potential) victims of discrimination). Additionally, the municipality puts in a lot of effort to prevent labour market discrimination (see paragraph 5.2.9). As employer, the municipality itself also participates in a platform which has been founded to prevent labour market discrimination (*ibid.*; interview policy official). According to the council, diversity policy within its own organisation mostly consists of opportunities for career development are equally accessible for all employees, regardless of (among others) ethnicity. A diverse staff is not a goal in itself for the municipality and they are not aiming for a proportional reflection of society (*ibid.*, 2015f).

### **5.2.7 European migrants and refugees**

From 2010 onwards, special attention is given to European migrants and in particular for the group of MOE's (migrants from Eastern Europe). According to the municipality, several issues are urgent: registration, preventing exploitation of housing and labour, the place of the MOE's in the economy of Rotterdam (e.g. displacement on the labour market) and strengthening the position in the society of Rotterdam. The latter entails that children of these migrants go to school, that effort is made to raise awareness of the possibilities of learning Dutch, enhancing the social position of migrants and to bring them into contact with society, 'sensitising' professionals who come into contact with this group and forming an impression of the relevant social organisation (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2013a).

From 2014 onwards, the specific policy of the municipality mainly focuses on three neighbourhoods where there is a relatively large number of labour migrants and who are put under more social and economic pressure (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015i). The municipality cooperates with parties in these neighbourhoods, but some instruments are also implemented on a citywide level, for examples with issues such as housing nuisance, over-occupation or readmission. The policy is divided into measures which are aimed at arriving, participation and return. This includes numerous measures concerning language, education, labour participation and intercultural relations. With regard to the labour market participation

of this group, the municipality stresses the importance of creating a fair playing field 'on which every job seeker has an equal chance to start working' (ibid. 17). From this framework, measures have been created which mostly benefit the labour participation of the Dutch people and prevents displacement. Several measures have been taken to increase the participation of children in school. International cooperation is taking place in order to design better transition classes for 'pendelkinderen'. It is also pointed out that increasing the registration in the BRP improves the possibility for these children to go to school.

With regard to intercultural relations, attention is given to the relationships between different groups in neighbourhoods. There are 'zone intervention teams' which are deployed in case of complaints and which are educated to better understand this target group. If there are tensions in certain neighbourhoods, close cooperation between organisation and key persons in the community is stimulated. In addition, two municipal supporters have been appointed especially for this group. With the aid of the Rotterdam Law, it has become increasingly difficult for European migrants to settle in certain neighbourhoods. Large-scale accommodation facilities are not actively facilitated by the Municipality of Rotterdam because they 'do not contribute to stable and strong neighbourhoods' (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015i; 16).

In 2014, the municipality formulates a specific approach for holders of a residence permit. The goal is to have as many holders of a residence permit complete the integration process in not three years, but in two years by having them play an active part in the community for at least four days a week, for example in receiving education, getting a job or doing volunteering work. There is a call for a strong sense of own responsibility (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2016b). Within the (increased) budget for social guidance, a mandatory workshop for participation declaration is set up, as well as (limited) extra language lessons and professional, customised process guidance. These language lessons consist of a combination of group lessons, e-learning, support of a language coach who helps bringing language skills into practice and workshops and activities which are aimed at Rotterdam. This language support continues during the integration process. The municipality asks the government and the VNG for more funds in order to execute this 'ambitious programme' (ibid. 17).

### **5.2.8 Economy and labour market**

The economic crisis of 2008 affected Rotterdam relatively more than other cities in the Netherlands (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2013b). The economic structure in Rotterdam is characterised by the port cluster, the medical cluster and healthcare and corporate service (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2011d). The economy of Rotterdam does not renew itself and the city is relatively weak in knowledge-intensive urban sector (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2011c). Therefore, the city finds the transition from post-industrial city to knowledge city more difficult than Amsterdam (Muskee, 2014). The education level in Rotterdam is traditionally low compared to Amsterdam and Utrecht: in 2003, about 34% of the working population was low-skilled, while about 26% was high-skilled (against 23% and 40% respectively in Amsterdam) (EVR, 2016). In 2014, this has somewhat changed but the city is still quite far below Amsterdam and Utrecht, while it is much closer to The Hague. The city has about 15.000 jobs in the creative sector and this barely increases. This means that the creative sector in Rotterdam is even lower than the Dutch average (Rutten & Koops, 2014). According to Entzinger & Engbersen (2014), Rotterdam misses the international appeal which Amsterdam and The Hague do have. Nevertheless, Rotterdam regularly portrays itself as a 'global city' (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015e) and as a city with an international



character (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015c). Despite the high-skilled employment available in the transport sector, logistics and architecture and the existence of services for expats, Rotterdam is mostly a labourer city or post-industrial city (Engbersen, 2014).

The unemployment is still around 13% in 2014, and also the youth unemployment is higher than average (17,6%). In Rotterdam, 20% of the households live in poverty, a number that is slightly higher than it is in Amsterdam. The (standardised) disposable income is in Rotterdam much lower than in the other three big cities, with an index of 90. Issues in Rotterdam are the job deficit for high-skilled employees, limited mobility on the labour market and displacement in the lower end of the labour market, and a relatively low-skilled working population with a related low participation rate (OIS, 2015h). The Atlas voor Gemeenten puts Rotterdam in the 41st place with regard to its socio-economic index - this is the lowest rating of the cases in this research (Marlet & Woerkens, 2015). The economic vitality of Rotterdam is estimated relatively positive and much better than The Hague's, for example (Bureau Louter, 2016).

### 5.2.9 Local situation

Rotterdam is the second biggest city in the Netherlands with 623.652 inhabitants, of which 49,3% has a migrant background (CBS, 2015). In Rotterdam, there are 170 different nationalities (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2016a). About 37% of the immigrant citizens in Rotterdam has a non-Western background; this is a higher number than in Amsterdam and The Hague (OIS, 2014c). Within this group, the most common foreign countries of origin are Surinam (9% of the total population), Turkey (8%) and Morocco (7%). In absolute numbers, the biggest group of Antilleans in the Netherlands lives in Rotterdam (about 4%). The Antillean population group is connected to criminality (CBS, 2014). In the past, Rotterdam received by far the biggest funds from the government to deal with young Moroccan and Antillean people at risk (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment, 2009). Moreover, Rotterdam also houses a substantial Cape Verdian community. About 25.000 registered European migrants live in Rotterdam, half of which can be classified as MOE's. One third of the MOE's comes from Poland, which is around 7500 people (IDEM, 2016). Almost 2% of the employed working population in Rotterdam can be classified as expat (Ooijevaar & Verkooijen, 2015). A group of refugees is also living in Rotterdam. Together, they make up about 1% of the total population in the city (IDEM, 2016). This group is smaller than the group in Amsterdam (about 8%).

To what extent are these groups integrated? With regard to the educational achievements and the labour market participation of migrants, it has been stated in Rotterdam that:

*'The participation of the non-Western migrants in higher education has significantly increased as well as the participation on the labour market, and thus the benefit dependency of the second generation is much lower than the first generation. The labour participation of the citizens of Rotterdam with a Surinamese origin has almost reached the same level as the labour participation of native-born citizens of Rotterdam.'*

Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015c:6

However, several problems have been identified: youth unemployment among migrants, the economic stagnation of young Turkish and Moroccan women (despite their high education), the overrepresentation in criminal activity of Antillean and Moroccan Dutchmen, not mastering the Dutch language, unequal socio-economic positions in the community and

family and discrimination (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015c). Furthermore, the Somali group's use of the social welfare benefit is above average. According to Buisman & Houtkoop (2014), functional illiteracy in Rotterdam is at the same level as it is in the other four big cities. The municipality estimates the number at about 15% of the total population (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015b). Even though the municipality stresses that they know little about this group (because language levels are not registered), they do think that 'immigrants of the first generation' should be prioritised in the language approach (along with long-term unemployed, women, seniors and youths) (ibid., 10).

Despite the identification of the integration problems (which takes place in Rotterdam from 2014 onwards), hard data is barely (publicly) available. No special attention is given to the educational achievements of migrants in the municipal education monitors (see Municipality of Rotterdam, 2014c; 2015h). The results of migrants in Rotterdam on the labour market remain unclear (see Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015f). It is also not clear from policy documents what the achievements are of youths with a migrant background in Rotterdam (see Municipality of Rotterdam, 2011b; 2015d). Even though there is a special approach for refugees, it does not become clear (from public documents) how the refugees will cope if it comes to language, education and labour market participation. The most recent data are from 2010 and note that more than 25% of the group lived on social welfare benefit (IDEM, 2016). The problems which are observed in the group of European migrants in Rotterdam are more or less the same as anywhere else in the country: susceptibility to exploitation, poor housing, housing nuisance, lacking education for children and low participation in the community (because of lacking language proficiency, among other things) (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015f; OBI, 2015b; IDEM, 2016).

With regard to inter-ethnic relations, the expertise centre of Rotterdam, IDEM, concludes that there are problems surrounding religious discrimination, right-extremism, radicalisation, refugees, racism and LGBT emancipation and women's emancipation (Jung, 2016). When discussing contact and encounters between different groups, it appears that the native-born population group has less contact with other ethnic groups than for example Surinamese and Moroccan citizens of Rotterdam. The ethnical segregation of population groups in Rotterdam has decreased over the last ten years, but mostly the native-born population groups remains stably segregated in terms of housing (Entzinger & Engbersen, 2014). Additionally, more than half of the citizens of Rotterdam indicate that people with and without a migrant background get on well with each other. Discrimination is also an issue in Rotterdam: 30% of citizens of Rotterdam with a migrant background indicate that they sometimes feel discriminated against (IDEM, 2016).

### **5.2.10 Politics**

During the research period, there has been one local election. From 2010 until 2014, a coalition was formed by PvdA, VVD, D66 and CDA. The policy of the first council, based on the coalition programme *Ruimte voor Talent en Ondernemen* ('Room for Talent and Entrepreneurship'), is aimed at finances and the economy. The council wants to add a sustainable economic agenda to the security agenda and the social agenda of previous councils (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2010a). Little can be found in the plans of this council concerning social cohesion and safety; the plans are mostly about financial downsizing. During this period, Rotterdam had to deal with budget cuts of 600 million euros and an assignment to 'do more with less' (ibid., 2010b: 3). The biggest task is this period, according to the council, is to activate talent and make economic progress. Diversity is called an 'economic chance' (ibid., 2013b: 15) but this is not specified any further.

From 2014 onwards, the council consists of the following parties: D66, CDA and Leefbaar Rotterdam. In this council, the function of councillor for urban development and integration arises and this is fulfilled by Leefbaar Rotterdam, who also supplies three out of six councillors. Integration is put on the agenda as a separate ambition by initiative of Leefbaar Rotterdam. It becomes clear for the coalition agreement that this integration offensive is put to action on two points: social integration - everybody in Rotterdam gets equal opportunities and develops a sense of responsibility - and cultural integration. A point that is explicitly linked to integration is segregation: Rotterdam wants to have more possibilities to exclude disadvantaged people from certain neighbourhoods. The coalition agreement also refers to the dilemma between specific and generic policy: 'When solving specific problems we chose for a target group policy and customisation if this proves to be effective' (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2014b: 14).

According to the council, safety is a 'top priority' (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2014b: 8). The theme of safety was an important point on the agenda in the election programme of Leefbaar Rotterdam and the party connects safety and integration (interview policy official). Specific statements concerning integration were also made in the election programme such as the point that labour migrants are only entitled to facilities (such as benefits) after ten years of work and a quota on the inflow of European migrants from Middle and Eastern Europe. According to Leefbaar, it is understandable that some people are coming to the Netherlands in order to grasp opportunities but misunderstanding is generated if this is paired with turning against the Dutch culture. For immigrants, there is no other choice than adjusting themselves to the Netherlands but, according to the party, there is also 'fundamental equality': the same rights and duties for everyone (LR, 2014: 23). According to the election programme, Leefbaar Rotterdam wants a target group policy if customisation appears to work with a specific target group.

### **5.2.11 Reflection: Rotterdam**

The viewpoint on integration of migrants in Rotterdam has been subject to change over the course of time. For a long time, the port city followed the national, pluralistic trend but this changed at the beginning of the 21st century when the political party Leefbaar Rotterdam achieved great results in the elections. Leefbaar Rotterdam problematises and politicises the theme of integration and links ethnic diversity explicitly to criminal activity and unsafety. During the following two council terms, Leefbaar Rotterdam does not govern. The viewpoint on integration changes noticeably. The council which was formed in 2010 even believes that integration is not that relevant anymore and that it should be replaced by the themes of citizenship and participation. The problems in the city are barely linked to ethnicity and on top of that, it is also considered that the problems that migrants experience are not necessarily their own fault. This changes in 2014, when Leefbaar Rotterdam joins the governing process and provides a special councillor for integration who establishes that besides migrants who 'cannot', there are also migrants who 'will not' and who 'are not allowed to'. Once again, integration becomes an important theme. The term 'immigrants' is coined again, a term which had fallen into disfavour during the reign of the previous council (interview policy official).

How do the differences in viewpoints on immigration manifest themselves in the policy measures of both councils? Deficient language skills are considered as a waste of talent in the city by the first council (from 2010 onwards) while the second council (from 2014 onwards) links social cohesion with integration - the councillor of integration is even responsible for the language approach. Another difference is that the first council pursues a

generic language policy: no reference is made to migrants and their deficient language skills. This is different than the policy of the second council: here, migrants are identified as a target group. With regard to education policy, the differences between the two councils are smaller. The second council does try to adjust intercultural relations via education but both councils do not reference migrants (or migrant children) or their educational disadvantages. The same applies for the policy which is supposed to stimulate labour participation (among youths): migrants are not a target group here either. The second council does believe it is important to prevent labour market discrimination. This could be considered as a generic measure, which is available for everybody, but in practice is mostly supporting for migrants.

Integration by means of language, education and labour participation is stimulated in Rotterdam via generic measures, which are available for everyone and in most cases, do not reference the disadvantage of migrants. However, there is also specific policy in Rotterdam. The problems among migrants from Middle and Eastern Europe and holder of a residence permit are of such a proportion that the municipality believes it to be necessary to design specific measures. This means we are talking about specific measures, which are only available to certain groups of migrants with particular characteristics.

With regards to intercultural relations, there are substantial differences between the councils of 2010 and 2014. The first council considers the improvement of intercultural relation to be a matter of dialogue, encounter and promoting the strength of diversity. The second council clearly considers these aspects to be of lower priority. Diversity is no longer seen as a positive force which is to be 'celebrated', but more and more as a cause of tensions (interview policy official). According to this council, the relations between different groups of the population will benefit the most when there is a clear norm to be conveyed. This is also why new citizens of Rotterdam should be made aware of this norm. This happens during the integration tour, for example. Even though this integration tour is also presented as a 'series of dialogues', the goal seems

The restrictions which new citizens could experience during the acquisition process of the established norm are mainly found in the nature of traditional, closed communities in which these migrants live. Moreover, both councils pay special attention to discrimination, although the second council stresses preventing discrimination on the labour market (interview policy official). Another similarity is the absence of diversity policy in its own staff policy. Both councils value that the municipality as employer does not discriminate and offer equal opportunities to all its employees, but a diverse staff is not a goal in itself. This is a substantial difference with the other cities in this research.

Rotterdam is the only city in this research in which different integration models can be observed in the research period. This mostly stems from the different vision from the various councils concerning intercultural relations. The council in power from 2010 onwards has a pluralistic vision towards the socio-economic integration of migrants. They do not want to speak of integration, but of diversity. The latter would fit better into the duality of the integration process and the manner in which not only the migrants, but the whole of the community of Rotterdam should make an effort for integration. Dialogue and encounter play a big role in this process. From 2014 onwards, the focus shifts again towards the migrant. According to the council, the biggest effort may be demanded from the migrant: as 'merger', he or she has to show initiative in order to properly drive on the highway that is the community of Rotterdam, as described in the integration note of the councillor. Room has to be made by the other drivers, but the most important part is the merging movement itself. This was classified earlier as a monistic vision. Both councils aim for generic policy and there is a broad consensus that economic integration of migrants does not benefit from special

treatment. The council that starts in 2010 therefore applies an interculturalistic integration model, which shifts to an assimilationistic integration model during the council's term starting in 2014.

The political relations are, as becomes apparent above, definitely important for the nature of the integration policy in Rotterdam. The integration model changes significantly when a right-wing populist party such as Leefbaar Rotterdam is part of the council. We do see that the political influence on the integration model mostly manifests itself in the socio-cultural dimension (and much less in the economic dimension of the integration policy). According to the literature, the economic structure and the situation on the labour market are also related to the socio-cultural dimension of the integration policy. A monistic integration policy is often seen in cities which have difficulty with adjusting to the 'new economy' and do not have a successful labour market. Both cases apply to Rotterdam: the city's economy is considered as post-industrial and the unemployment rate is high. Despite this, we see that Rotterdam can quite easily switch between monistic and pluralistic integration policy. In Rotterdam, the economy seems to be of less importance to the integration policy (than political factors).

In addition to the different views of the councils, more consensus can be found in the economic integration policy. Both councils claim to strive for generic integration measures which are aimed at all citizens of Rotterdam. For the most part, the policy they execute is indeed generic in nature. Earlier research connects generic policy to a situation of super diversity. In Rotterdam, about half of the total population has an ethnic background other than Dutch: this can be considered as super diversity. Meanwhile, a situation of super diversity does not necessarily have to lead to a generic policy. For example, Leefbaar Rotterdam considers Rotterdam does not see Rotterdam as a 'super diverse' city, but rather as a city with a high level of diversity which simultaneously has a distinctly dominant culture and population group. As a consequence, they not only feel that migrant groups can be questioned if they threaten the dominant culture but also that they have less difficulty with treating migrants differently if it concerns their economic position. Therefore, they will also be more likely to develop specific policy. For instance, the party recently proposed to develop an approach for Somali people (interview policy official). What appears to be important when it comes to the relation between generic policy and super diversity, is the attitude of politicians towards the other side of integration, namely the socio-cultural dimension.

Although the policy in Rotterdam for the past years can be classified as generic, we must not forget that there definitely is a specific policy for the approach of holders of a resident permit and European migrants. In earlier research, a link was found between integration problems and specific policy. This link can also be found in Rotterdam, even though the nature of the integration problems of the two groups differ. The problems of the councillors are mostly found in the areas of language, education and labour participation, while the problems of the European migrants mostly concern housing and accompanied nuisance in the neighbourhoods.

### **5.3 The Hague**

The Hague is the political capital of the Netherlands and government institutions provide twenty percent of all jobs in the city (Municipality of The Hague, 2014c). With 520.697, The Hague is the third city in the Netherlands in terms of population (The Hague in numbers,

2016). Moreover, it is the international city of peace and justice, and many international organisation and non-governmental organisation are based in the city as a result.

### **5.3.1 Policy tradition**

The Hague has a rich tradition when it comes to integration policy. From 1999 until 2004, special attention was paid to multicultural communication. As early as the 1990s, the municipality was aware of the fact that big groups of non-Western citizens of The Hague were poorly informed about the municipal policy, which caused their already existing information backlog to increase even more (Municipality of The Hague, 2005b). The municipality therefore decided that new citizens of The Hague should sometimes be approached in a specific manner or needed specific information. In other words: effort had to be devoted to the 'multiculturalisation of the communication policy and the various information tools' (ibid. 4). Various executed activities are for example assisting local migrant radio stations, adjusting the municipality's own printed and digital media to different population groups, adjusting the municipality guide to the information seeking behaviour of different target groups and incorporating the multicultural aspect of the city in the municipality's profiling material. From 2004 onwards, the programme is no longer a separate area for attention because it has merged or should have merged into all policy areas.

From 2002 until 2006, The Hague is governed by VVD, PvdA and CDA. In their coalition agreement, there is a relatively strong focus on integration, which is called a 'mutual process' and relies upon both the effort of old and new citizens of The Hague (Municipality of The Hague, 2002: 9). The result was to be 'unity in diversity'. Several measures are mentioned which are specifically aimed at migrants, such as stimulation the emancipation of female migrants and the stimulation of sports participation among migrants. With regard to civic integration, education, youth, emancipation and employment, migrants are assisted in the integration process. There is also a 'Programma Interculturalisatie en Diversiteit' ('Programme for Interculturalisation and Diversity') in which emancipation, 'interculturalisation' and diversity are key points. Despite this policy and the existing awareness of the fact that the municipality is doing a lot in the field of integration, the board feels that this process can be sped up and improved upon (Municipality of The Hague, 2005d). The council responds by intensifying its policy. This takes place in several areas such as education, labour participation, language, healthcare, emancipation, social cohesion and discrimination. A striking measure concerning education is that the municipality wants to solve the shortage on apprenticeships by involving entrepreneurs with a migrant background. Migrant youths can also utilise application training and events are organised at which various companies and language institutions present themselves. There is specific attention for certain population groups. For example, attempts are made to reach Somali citizens of The Hague by means of radio broadcasts. In addition, the municipality also tries to prevent the social isolation of Turkish and Moroccan single parents (Municipality of The Hague, 2004). Furthermore, one can see that the subject of integration is relevant in the Municipality of The Hague by 'day of the integration in The Hague' which is organised in 2005 and during which the current state of affairs and the future is discussed (Municipality of The Hague, 2005a).

With a new council starting in 2006, the switch is made from integration policy to a policy which is to promote 'citizenship'. Because the citizens of The Hague are own the city together and skin colour, religion or residence time do not play a role in this, no terms are used which emphasise the difference such as the words 'immigrant' and 'integration' (Municipality of The Hague, 2006d). This is a first: in previous policies, these terms were used. The councillor in charge, a Hindu citizen of The Hague called Rabin Baldewsingh, is

mostly disturbed by the word 'integration' because it expresses 'one-way communication' and 'an unequal situation' (Westerman, 2011). A citizenship note follows in which citizens of The Hague are encouraged to take responsibility for their city, together with the municipality. It is a plea for active citizenship (Tonkens & Kroese, 2009). The policy framework mostly concerns intercultural relations and social cohesion. 'Consolidation' (by means of education, employment, civic integration, youths) and 'sharing' (discrimination, diverse staff policy) are seen as 'basic needs' which have to be fulfilled in order to 'take social responsibility' (Municipality of The Hague, 2006d: 13). This policy is not part of the citizenship programme, but is placed elsewhere, such as in the education policy. With regard to education, since the turn of the century, there has been the issue of segregation in the education system in The Hague but starting in 2006, the municipality steps up to be the director. A part of this is influencing the parents' process of selecting a school for their children and facilitating communication and exchanges between schools with different sorts of student populations (Municipality of The Hague, 2006c).

In 2006, the Municipality of The Hague feels that it needs a renewal of its own staff policy because a diverse composition of staff can respond better to the needs of the diverse population in the city (Municipality of The Hague, 2005c). Several measures are introduced. All services have to supply numbers pertaining to the number of migrants and workshops and training programmes are designed which stimulate the staff to handle cultural diversity as best as they can. Diversity also becomes part of the performance reviews which are executed by the town clerk. Because of this policy, the municipality does not see the need to start anonymous job applications because the target numbers cannot be met if the background of the applicant is unknown. Moreover, the council indicates that there is no support for this and up until that point, no successful results were achieved by such an experiment (ibid., 2006a).

In 2009, the programme *Taal in de buurt* ('Language in the neighbourhood') was set up, a programme with demand-oriented and professional language education that is taught 'around the corner' in certain neighbourhoods, in places where people are doing 'something that interests them' (Municipality of The Hague, 2009b: 3 - 4). Therefore, there is customisation which aligns with the world which is experienced by participants, which interests them and which corresponds with their absorption capacity. No hard demands are made regarding the pace of the projects and the teachers are qualified or have to show they are perfect for the job. The executives are social organisation which are able to localise and mobilise groups which are hard to reach such as women's organisations and sport clubs.

In 2010, an independent commission provides advice with respect to the citizenship policy of the city. This commission Sorgdrager concludes that citizenship should not be concentrated in one portfolio because it is a task for the whole council. Furthermore, the commission believes that the concept of citizenship is more fitting than the concept of integration because in this last concept, migrants are not addressed based on their strengths, but are seen as a care category (Municipality of The Hague, 2009a; 2010b).

### 5.3.2 Viewpoint on integration

The two councils that took office in The Hague since 2010, both express their thoughts on integration in quite extensive vision papers. At the start of 2011, the integration note *Verskillend verleden, één toekomst* ('Different pasts, one future'), which states that 'integration asks for an integral approach' (Municipality of The Hague, 2010d: 2). In this note, the multicultural community is problematised to a bigger extent than in the years before:

multicultural coexistence is 'not always a breeze' and there are 'realistic problems' (ibid. 6). According to the note, the permissiveness trend is over. This entails that the municipality will exert authority if somebody chooses to not actively participate. The municipality does not see religion as a problem, while a lack of participation in the society is considered as a problem. If religion or culture obstructs the participation process, the municipality sees this as a 'reason to act' (ibid., 2013c: 11).

Although the municipality does not wish to return to category-based facilities and feels that all facilities in the city must be accessible for everyone, it acknowledges that some citizens do not know where to find access to these facilities and that specific policy is necessary (Municipality of The Hague, 2013c). However, specific policy has to meet certain conditions, namely that the facility is of temporary nature, that regular institutions are involved, that effort is put into knowledge transfer and that a project-based approach is used with previously formulated goals. For several groups, the municipality uses a specific approach. In addition to the policy for labour migrants from Middle and Eastern Europe, this was also the case for Antillean and Moroccan high-risk youths. By ending the national subsidies, these measures have been absorbed by the regular policy. Temporary project leaders were also appointed to alleviate the problems of these groups, together with volunteers from the Somali and African community.

The goal the municipality has set for itself is striking, namely that integration should take place within one generation. According to the councillor, this is needed because too many people drop out and many new migrants are arriving, which might cause the municipality to lag behind. In the integration note, problems are identified and solutions are provided in the areas of education, language, work and participation. In order to increase the visibility of the current state of affairs of the integration policy, the municipality has given an external party the assignment to conduct a research which may help forming integration policies in the future.

The second council in The Hague, which is central in this research, speaks out about integration in a letter. The municipality states that The Hague is a diverse and international city, which is accompanied by an 'open and tolerant climate for the many newcomers in the city' (Municipality of The Hague, 2015d: 1). The goal of the integration policy is realising that people want to live together and that they want to invest in this. Reciprocity and 'two-way communication' are of great importance and this entails that effort is asked from everyone, not just one specific group. The discomfort of both the original residents and the newcomers is something the municipality keeps in mind. The top priority is for everybody to 'feel at home'; thus, integration means here 'integration for the whole city'. A city which is diverse however, must strive to make diversity the standard and have it become 'mainstream': one must be taught to look through a 'progressive lens' (interview policy official). There are no target group policies, even though it is acknowledged that migrants in practice are the target group sometimes. Integration policy is integral policy in its basis (ibid., 2015d).

The five spearheads are employment and participation; anti-discrimination; education and language; well-being and social pressure. These spearheads are also parts of other policy areas and are mostly the responsibility of other councillors, but the councillor of integration indicates how integration is represented in fields such as education and employment. The letter differs in tone from the integration note from 2010 (it is no longer said that 'the permissiveness trend is over') and ambition: the ideal of 'integration within one generation' has been let go of.

### 5.3.3 Language



The first council determines that deficient language skills are a persistent problem in the city, among adults and children. By strengthening the language chain, migrants should more quickly be referred to further education after their civic integration. The range of approachable educational activities (*Taal in de Buurt*, as discussed earlier) is considered essential (Municipality of The Hague, 2010c). Arrangements are made for employers to stimulate language development in the workplace and masterclasses are offered to employers with many employees who are functional illiterates (ibid., 2010d; 2013e). An actual language square has been set up in the local library, where residents can find information on language in The Hague and can practise the Dutch language. Two prominent institutions offering language courses have merged by suggestion of the municipality in order to prevent 'fragmentation'. Because of this, only one urban language centre now exists for subsidised language education (*Taal aan Zee*, 'Language by the Sea'). By means of shared housing and exchange of knowledge, language input is strengthened in its entirety (ibid., 2013e).

The second council which takes its seat in 2014 also considers language to be serious matter. Annually, 3000 adult citizens of The Hague can improve their language level (Municipality of The Hague, 2015d). The extra resources are used to prevent waiting lists for language courses for labour migrants and language courses are offered to easily improve one's language level. This way, it is easier to follow further education, such as mbo. Additionally, more courses are offered for holders of a residence permit, there is more training for refugees and more online practice programmes (ibid., 2015f). *Taal aan Zee* has developed into a professional-led volunteering organisation which has isolated women who speak a foreign language as its target group, but also refugees and other migrants with limited access to the regular offer of language courses. They can offer customised courses in a central location, in the neighbourhood or at home with subsidies from the municipality.

The council emphasises that the offer of language courses is available at all different levels (Municipality of The Hague, 2015d). The *Taal in de Buurt* project also incorporates this notion. As a part of this project, organisation can receive subsidies for giving NT2-lessons led by professionals or conversation classes, which are led by volunteers. Research shows that the power of this project lies in its ability to reach isolated groups who are far away from the language market. This also concerns settled immigrants who miss the connection because of their deficient language skills and require a lower learning pace and material that aligns with their experiences in the community.

#### **5.3.4 Education**

With regard to language, the first council in The Hague (from 2010 onwards) makes a distinction between children under the age of twelve, who go to preschools or primary schools, and youths between the ages of twelve and eighteen, who mostly follow secondary education. For the first category, there are preschools, who teach children from two and a half years and up the Dutch language. School attendance officers are brought in if parents do not enlist their children for preschool. The preschools cooperate with primary schools in order to ensure that the attention for language remains the same. To prevent segregation in these preschools, children who are in less need of extra language education are also admitted. The municipality also sees to it that the staff in preschools and daycares masters the Dutch language and support the children in their further education. With regard to primary education, the municipality wants to stimulate the existence of broad-based schools and wants to help organise extended educational time. The councillor links education to integration in two ways. Firstly, by aiming for schools to be a reflection of the neighbourhood

(by means of one set registration moment and parent initiatives). Subsequently, for children who end up in schools with a unilateral composition, meetings and encounters are set up with children from other schools with a unilateral composition (Municipality of The Hague, 2010c).

For the children between the ages of twelve and eighteen, who often follow secondary education, The Hague also aims for broad-based school where extra language education can be offered after school time. Furthermore, the municipality believes that social cohesion in secondary education should be stimulated, by means of encounter activities, among other things. Teachers are trained so that they are more adept at dealing with the diverse backgrounds of their students. An extracurricular language programme is also set up for youths in secondary education in order to create a continuous learning line into higher education. In addition, projects are developed to stimulate the parental involvement of non-Western parents whose children go to the hbo. In the case of the mbo, the municipality takes on a directory role and brings parties together, who put effort into providing career orientation and for example promoting entrepreneurship (Municipality of The Hague, 2010c).

The council that takes its seat in 2014 formulates, like its predecessor, a *Haagse Educatieve Agenda* (HEA, 'Educational Agenda of The Hague'), which lists ten ambitions for all forms of education. They focus on promoting equal chances for all students (Municipality of The Hague, 2016d). In order to do so, it is important to train 'urban teachers' who possess the flexibility, social skills and resilience to deal with the diversity of the students and their parents (ibid. 3; 2015d; interview policy official). Discussing the different age groups and types of education more in depth, The Hague claims that the early childhood education 'is set up on solid foundations' and that now is the time to work on improving the quality of early childhood education (ibid., 2014a: 40). The professional development of employees, including the 'language requirement', and a continuous development curve (by means of broad-based neighbourhood schools) are important. The Hague also devotes attention to the role of the parent. For example, all early childhood education institutions have a parent policy which has been aligned with the preschool and partners in the neighbourhood and they stimulate the parents of the target group children to improve their language skills. With regards to mixture, early childhood education is still open towards non-target group children. No attention is given to segregation in education, encounters between population groups and civic integration in the current HEA. Even though parental initiatives are supported, there is no special project to stimulate this anymore, as opposed to the last council's term.

Unlike during the previous years, the councillor does not link education to integration explicitly in the educational agenda. In the integration letter of the councillor of integration however, integration is linked to education in several ways. Early school leaving among certain migrant groups is references and as a remedy, individual customisation is proposed, taking the potential cultural differences into account (Municipality of The Hague, 2015d). Internship problems of the migrants youths in The Hague are also addressed. According to the municipality, it is desirable that educational institutions recognise possible prejudices and discrimination at internship companies and that they stimulate youths to report this. The municipality also encourages schools to prevent students from doing an internship at such companies.

### **5.3.5 Labour participation**

The council that takes its seat in 2010 develops trajectories which combine adult education, civic integration and re-integration and improve the labour participation (Municipality of The Hague, 2010c; 2010d). Acquiring diplomas or certificates at a later age is stimulated and

there is room for experimenting with flexible, digital learning methods. Additionally, entrepreneurship is stimulated.

Youth unemployment, which almost doubled in 2012 in The Hague, forced the municipality to formulate an approach for youth unemployment. This approach mainly exists of measures in the work field, such as the 'leerwerkcheque' (learning service cheque), learning places, job markets and education such as career orientation. Funds are made available for creating internships. Additionally, pilots are set up in which youths on benefit are made enthusiastic about entrepreneurship and during which 'specific young entrepreneurs and immigrant entrepreneurs' are invited to design these pilots (Municipality of The Hague, 2013a: 3). Rules which impede (ethnic) entrepreneurs in their entrepreneurship are reviewed (ibid., 2010d).

From 2013 onwards, the council devotes more attention to labour market discrimination. *Den Haag Inclusief* ('The Hague Inclusive') is founded. The platform *Den Haag Inclusief* plays an important role in increasing the labour market participation of migrants and can be considered as the battle of the municipality against labour market discrimination. The municipality wants employers to consider diversity as an added value but at the same time feel that this message should not be communicated from the municipality but from the business community itself. For this reason the platform has been founded, where good examples are being developed and of which is hoped 'to set a good example' (Municipality of The Hague, 2015c: 8). Initially, only companies and organisation who already had an inclusive staff policy participated but it is intended for them to act as ambassador towards other companies and organisation (ibid., 2013d). In 2013 and 2014, several actions took place which stressed awareness (such as a campaign with posters and booklets) and connection (such as coaching and job markets) (ibid., 2015c).

From 2014 onwards, the second council feels that labour market participation of migrants is important. The platform wants to improve itself by paying more attention to youth unemployment and continuity among other things, instead of just recruitment (Municipality of The Hague, 2015c). Further plans which respond to the labour market participation of migrants in bigger or smaller cannot be found in the attack plan of the municipality. The economic self-sufficiency of women is improved upon via the emancipation policy (ibid., 2015b). There is a support fund for example that stimulates women to follow language courses or to set up their own business. Additionally, the municipality believes that the emancipation of women in certain population groups will benefit from paying attention to the emancipation of men.

The approach towards youth unemployment discusses the problems of migrants in a specific manner. Among the 5000 youths the municipality wants to guide towards employment or education, there is focus on youths with a non-Western background, among other things (Municipality of The Hague, 2015a). The problems and solutions of this group are mostly related to discrimination and prejudices and for this reason, migrant youths are also involved with the *Den Haag Inclusief* platform. Furthermore, several neighbourhood receive extra support in dealing with youth unemployment. Her, this local overrepresentation of youth employment is linked to the overrepresentation of migrant youths.

### **5.3.6 Intercultural relations**

In 2010, the councillor presents his integration note *Verskillend verleden, één toekomst* ('Different pasts, one future'). In addition to the problems in the field of economic integration, problems with regard to the social-cultural integration of migrants are also identified, under the heading of 'participation'. The solutions which are found for this problem are sport,

among other things, and this is considered to be a 'good integration framework' (Municipality of The Hague, 2010d: 27). The municipality enters into a dialogue with sports associations to see how they can stimulate migrants to participate more in sports and within this sport context, have people with different backgrounds encounter each other. According to the municipality, contact between the different population group is important. Another measure for this is the restructuring of the Schilderswijk, a nationally infamous neighbourhood in The Hague with a high level of ethnic diversity. The restructuring will lead to a higher variety in housing types, with a more diverse population composition as a result.

With regard to discrimination, the municipality makes an effort to improve reporting habits, to increase the effects of a report and increase its visibility. The fight against discrimination is considered 'essential' by the municipality (Municipality of The Hague, 2011a). In addition to the 50% of the budget that is spent on statutory tasks for anti-discrimination, the municipality also enforces anti-discrimination codes for several institutions, education, training, debate and discussion. Attention is also given to the discrimination by migrants and among migrants, labour market discrimination and discrimination in the education system, public space, nightlife and recreational time (ibid.). The municipality wants to connect different parties who pay attention to discrimination in schools. A public campaign is set up in which prejudices in various fields are incorporated. From 2013 onwards, labour market discrimination becomes a more important theme (see paragraph 5.3.5). Another problem that is identified is that the culture of migrants is not visible enough in the city and not accessible for the large public. In order to improve this, the provision of culture has to become more multiform and cultural-religious holidays should be supported, on the condition that the celebration is accessible for everybody and that the main spoken language is Dutch. Additionally, it is important to ensure that people can share each other's cultural heritage' (ibid.). Within the existing infrastructure of cultural facilities, expositions and activities are organised which showcase the cultural heritage of all population groups of The Hague.

Diversity in the staff policy of the municipality and affiliated services is an important theme in The Hague. The municipality wants to get work done effectively for a diverse population and feels that within the municipal services and subsidised institutions sufficient knowledge and know-how must be present to serve such a diverse target group. For this reason, the municipality enters into a dialogue with the directors of these services and institutions. The Hague also desires ethnic diversity in the (sub)top of its own organisation. Because of budget cuts, one can mainly speak of stimulation of flow of the present potential in the organisation. In 2013, the effort is intensified when it appears that the organisation has to not advanced enough in terms of (ethnic) diversity in the staff, including the flow in trainee programmes. A full-time employee is appointed who is responsible for the achievement of the set objectives of this 'inclusive policy' (Municipality of The Hague, 2013b: 3). According to the municipality, this staff policy is necessary in order to anticipate the needs of a changing city and improve the provision of services qualitatively. The municipality not only focuses on the inclusivity of its own staff, but also asks attention for this theme at companies and social institutions in the city. With municipal support for example, the *Diversiteit aan de Top* ('Diversity at the Top') conference was organised. From this conference, a group of ambassadors emerged which provides guidance for potential candidates in the preparation process for a management position at a social institution (ibid., 2013c). The municipality monitors and tries by means of training programmes and gatherings to stimulate the diversity (ethnicity and gender) within the boards and the Supervisory Board of social and cultural

institutions. Finally, The Hague is also looking for new ways to reach immigrants and wants, more than in the past, to make use of the media which is read or watched by migrants.

The council that is elected in 2014 claims to promote equal opportunities. The municipality wants to set a good example in its own organisation: the identity of the city also has to be the identity of the municipality (interview policy official). According to the council, inclusivity is 'one of the keys for a future-proof organisation' (Municipality of The Hague, 2016a: 1). The staff policy of the municipality focuses on taking full and sustainable advantage of the talents of the employees, including the capacities of 'bicultural talent'. In order to make the policy successful, it has to be implemented internally as well as externally, to increase awareness and profiling respectively. The three main goals are inclusive leadership, an inclusive culture and recruitment, preservation and continued growth and exist of dozens of measures. For the last goal, monitoring and registration is executed and target figures are implemented. The diversity should also be expressed in the set of instruments for recruitment and selection and it is also a goal that half of the participants on a municipal traineeship have a migrant background. In addition, the Municipality of The Hague has decided as the first municipality in the Netherlands to incorporate anonymous job applications in its own organisation. This is in response to a research which was financed by the municipality which showed that applicants with a non-Western background were discriminated against on the labour market in The Hague and a subsequent anonymous application pilot that followed (Andriessen et al, 2015; Municipality of The Hague, 2016e).

According to the municipality, every citizen of The Hague is 'entitled to feel included, to have a sense of safety and self-worth' (Municipality of The Hague, 2015d: 7). This feeling of well-being helps in cases of participation and integration. The Hague wants to stimulate this by having cultural institution give attention to the culture of migrants in their offer of culture. The municipality connects the well-being and integration of migrants to sports, too. Sports activities which motivate migrants to work out more are supported and discrimination within sports institutions is made discussable. In order to prevent social tensions between religious population groups, a large number of representatives of different religions will gather twice a year to speak with the councillor during this council's term. They will speak about the shared values and subsequently apply the results in order to solve problems (interview policy official). City conversations are to localise the signals of tension and unrest and facilitate a dialogue between different groups.

### **5.3.7 European migrants and refugees**

In 2007, the situation of European migrants is addressed for the first time in the politics of The Hague and two years later, the first plan of action appears. Both councils apply a different approach for migrants from Middle and Eastern Europe. The approach mainly focuses on raising awareness, language, children, housing, social services and nuisance. Housing and nuisance are the two biggest parts. The former town twinning arrangement between The Hague and the Polish city Warsaw is mentioned. The foundation which was formerly in service of this twinning arrangement is now used as an advice and information point for MOE's. The municipality involves a specialised foundation in order to raise awareness which ensures good online communication with the target group and gives advice to organisation who want to organise events for European migrants. Additionally, the organise consultation hours during which the migrants can ask for advice (Municipality of The Hague, 2014d). Furthermore, the municipality stimulates the participation in civic integration and language courses, by for example making arrangements with employers concerning language in the workplace and increasing participation in the *Taal in de Buurt* project. For the

children of MOE's, transition classes are made available (Municipality of The Hague, 2011b; 2012).

Around the time the new council in The Hague was taking up their duties in 2014, a research of the WRR was published. Based on the conclusions drawn in this research and the influx of holders of a residence permit in the city, The Hague believes that a new approach should be formed, which is to speed up the support and guidance of the holder of a residence permit. The holder of a residence permit receives a 'manual' upon arriving in the city and is assisted in arranging practical matters during the first few months. A hurdle in arranging these matters is usually a lack of language proficiency and this is why The Hague feels that in a context of speed and efficiency, translated material should be provided during the initial phase. The social support consists of a programme which introduces Dutch norms, values and customs, daytime activities, starting the civic integration and language and finances. An alliance of organisations occupies itself with leading the holders of a residence permit towards a job or a different kind of participation. The municipality wants to take on a directory role with regard to the guidance towards a job, learning the Dutch language and completing the civic integration process. Language projects are also a form of support, during which a holder of a residence permit is linked to a partner with whom he or she can practice the outside of the civic integration classes. Adult holders of residence permit are also stimulated to improve their language level. The municipality also seeks cooperation with interest groups and educational institutions to filter the employment potential from the files of the holder of a residence permit as quickly as possible. With subsidies from the municipality, a transition class has been set up for young holders of a residence permit who after a short time because of the language (and a lack of orientation on the labour market) are not yet fully ready to make the transfer from secondary education to the mbo (Municipality of The Hague, 2016c).

### **5.3.8 Economy and labour market**

Traditionally, The Hague is a civil servant city with big state-owned companies, a modest industry and government-based service sector. This resulted in the city being less sensitive to cyclical fluctuations than other cities (ING, 2014). This structure is subject to change because the government is shrinking, state-owned companies are privatised and the professional service providers will look for other customers (Municipality of The Hague, 2014c). Because of the cuts in governmental spending, The Hague was hit extremely hard by the economic crisis. The dependency of the government has proven to be an inhibiting factor for the economy over the past few years and the city needs the business community in order to grow (ING, 2014). Additionally, other sectors (such as education) grow relatively slower than they do in the rest of the cities in the Netherlands and some sectors are even dealing with a slight contraction while they are experiencing expansion in other cities (Municipality of The Hague, 2014c). From 2015 onwards, the economy is experiencing growth again (ING, 2015b). With 10% of the total employment, the creative sector is comparable to Amsterdam and therefore big (Rutten & Koops, 2014). According to the municipality, the position of The Hague as 'uncontested' international city of peace and justice is considered to be a 'unique selling point' (Municipality of The Hague, 2010a: 32). This is taken into account in the economic policy of the city because it would lead to more congresses, more prestige and employment.

The working population of The Hague consists of about 257.000 people. Unemployment doubled between 2009 and 2015 to 11%: an historically high number, also when compared to the national average (Municipality of The Hage, 2015d; ING, 2014). The

deterioration of the labour market balance is because the working population has increased more than the number of jobs (Municipality of The Hague, 2014c). The discrepancy on the labour market is substantial (ING, 2015b). About 8,5% of the working population receives social welfare benefit. Youth unemployment in The Hague is far above the national average at 16,9% (OIS, 2015e).

We can conclude that The Hague will make the transition from an 'old' to a 'new' economy and that the growth perspective is good in the short and in long term, but that the situation on the labour market is quite problematic. The demand does not align with the supply and this is why unemployment is and will remain high (ING, 2015b). In the socio-economic index for the fifty largest municipalities in the Netherlands, the position of The Hague has deteriorated. This is mostly because of the lack of jobs, high unemployment, not enough jobs for low-skilled labourers and the participation of women is growing relatively slow. The professional service sector also is not very big. This bring The Hague close to Rotterdam, while Amsterdam scores much higher (Municipality of The Hague, 2014c; Marlet & Woerkens, 2015).

### **5.3.9 Local situation**

Towards the end of the 1990s, migrants made up 26% of the population in The Hague (Cottaar, 1998). Currently, The Hague has a population of 520.697. of which 52,1% migrants and of which 35% have a non-Western background (The Hague in numbers, 2016). The city is undeniably diverse with its 160 different nationalities (Municipality of The Hague, 2010a). The biggest migrant group, namely migrants from Turkey, Morocco and Surinam, make up between 6% and 9% of the total population. A lot of people with an Antillean or Indonesian background also live in The Hague.

At the start of 2014, about 17.000 Middle and Eastern Europeans were registered in The Hague, a number that double in the preceding five years. They are attracted by the specific employment in the region (Starrenburg & Baraya, 2011). Their number would come down to 3% of the population but because many of them are not registered, this could be up to 6% (Municipality of The Hague, 2014b). Half of this group comes from Poland and about 25% comes from Bulgaria (Lize Foundation, 2014). How many holders of a residence permit the city houses remains unclear but over the last few years the goal has significantly been adjusted upwards (like in other cities). Furthermore, 2,8% of the employees in The Hague is expat.

What do we know about the integration of these groups? According to the municipality, the problems which migration and migrants bring with them are 'not new' but the 'radical character and the high pace' of the changes and problems is new. (Municipality of The Hague, 2010d: 5). Firstly, as in most cities, accurate numbers portraying the proficiency in the Dutch language are missing. Around 2010, the number of people with deficient language skills is estimated at 40.000, but it remains unclear exactly how big the backlog of migrants is. With regard to education, the citizens with a migrant background are significantly less educated than native citizens. The differences between native citizens of The Hague and Moroccan, Surinamese and Turkish citizens of The Hague are substantial. Early school leaving also occurs more in non-Western migrant groups and by far the most in case of the Antillean youths. Additionally, there is ethnic segregation in the education system: in 2011, one quarter of the primary schools does not reflect the population compilation of the neighbourhood (De Gruijter et al., 2014). Youths with a migrant background generally also have more difficulty in finding an internship (Municipality of The Hague, 2015d).

Migrants from The Hague with a non-Western background are more often unemployed than the native citizens of The Hague. Moreover, more migrants with a non-Western background live on social welfare benefit: 16% of the Moroccan citizens of The Hague receives benefit against 4% of the native citizens of The Hague (De Gruijter et al., 2014). Youth unemployment is also higher in this group. The municipality acknowledges that unemployment hits youths, and especially migrant youths, hard (Municipality of The Hague, 2015b). Between 2009 and 2013, the situation on the labour market for migrants in The Hague has decreased more in percentage terms than for native citizens of The Hague. For Turkish, Antillean and Moroccan citizens of The Hague, this number is at about 12% as opposed to 4,5% for native citizens of the working population. According to the municipality, high unemployment can partly be attributed to the discrimination of non-Western migrants (or migrant youths) on the labour market.

The intercultural relations between different population groups are under pressure sometimes. There is racism, islamophobia, anti-semitism and little gay-acceptation by Turkish and Moroccan citizens of The Hague. Non-Western migrants often feel more discriminated against, do less sports and less volunteering work than native citizens of The Hague. Finally, it appears that migrants in the Municipality of The Hague know a higher degree of segregation than migrants in other cities. In several parts of the city, there is a high concentration of (non-Western) migrants. Especially MOE's, Turkish, Iraqi, Somali and Moroccan citizens of The Hague live segregated. Little improvement could be observed in this field over the past few years (De Gruijter et al., 2014).

With regard to the integration of migrants from Middle and Eastern Europe, several problems have been identified as well. An example is absenteeism at schools, whereby many Bulgarian youths are not even registered at an educational institution, while this is obligatory (Municipality of The Hague, 2014b). Furthermore, youths of this group often leave school without any qualifications. Adult migrants from Middle and Eastern Europe receive social welfare benefit in 1,7% of the cases; according to the municipality a 'relatively small number of people' (ibid. 32). However, there are problems concerning housing, language, registration, participation in the society and discrimination. The South European migrant group is doing relatively well in terms of education and self-sufficiency. However, many of them do not speak Dutch or English well enough, about half of them feels unwelcome and there are problems concerning registration (Lize Foundation, 2014). The integration problems of holders of a residence permit concern labour, language, participation in the society and the lacking of a social network, finances and healthcare (Municipality of The Hague, 2016b).

### **5.3.10 Politics**

In 2010 and 2014, more or less the same coalition takes its seat in the council in the Municipality of The Hague, namely PvdA, VVD, D66 and CDA, the only difference being that in 2014, the Haagse Stadspartij is also participating. The right-wing populist party PVV participates from 2010 onwards in the Municipality of The Hague and in the municipal elections, becomes the third largest party but does not end up in the council.

The 2010 coalition observes that the municipality will have to make do with less funds for the next couple of years and for that reason, decides that a solid financial policy and deflections will have to be implemented. The budget cuts are mainly active in the municipal organisation, municipal duties and subsidies for organisations in the city. No budget cuts are made but new policies are designed in the areas of education, economy, labour, poverty, sustainability, housing, mobility and employment (Municipality of The Hague, 2010a). A



language offensive is set up which aims to have every citizen of The Hague have a decent command of the Dutch language, 'with the exception of expats and foreign students' (ibid. 15). At the start of the agreement, the coalition claims to regard the city of New York as an example in terms of coexistence in a city with high diversity. According to the council, this requires 'mutual understanding, respect, tolerance and a shared identity' (ibid. 2). The agreement states that the coalition follows the advice of the Sorgdrager commission concerning citizenship, which claimed that the mayor would assume the biggest responsibility for citizenship and that citizenship is a better term than integration. For this reason, the coalition agreement states that good citizenship is strived after in all policy that focuses on learning the Dutch language, developing talent and being active. More specific action is taken 'with regard to minorities' by stimulating 'participation by means of language, learning, working and volunteering work' (ibid. 14). At the start of the council's term, a note about 'integration' is published. Strikingly, the councillor for citizenship in 2010 returns as councillor, but not as councillor for integration or citizenship. In 2014, the councillor does take on the portfolio of 'community approach and integration'. The portfolio of citizenship does not make a reappearance.

As noted before, no major political changes were made when the new council takes its seat in 2014 in The Hague. The coalition considers The Hague, in addition to 'International City of Peace and Justice, to be a seaside city and a green, sustainable, curious, venturous, social and diverse city. In addition to the policy that is implemented to strengthen and increase the sustainability of the city's economy, the coalition also wants to invest in employment and education, and prioritises handling youth unemployment. There is also attention for equal chances on the labour market by preventing deficient language skills and discrimination. According to the council, it is necessary to adopt an active attitude towards integration in which segregation, radicalisation, racism, discrimination, women's oppression, abuse, exploitation and nuisance are not to be accepted (Municipality of The Hague, 2014c).

### **5.3.11 Reflection: The Hague**

Integration is a theme that has continuously been on the agenda of the municipal politics of The Hague for the past couple of years. Even though the same parties make up the council during the research period, two separate integration notes are issued which differ in focus and tone. The first council (starting in 2010) problematises integration in its note and assigns responsibility mostly to migrants. The council also aims to complete the integration process within one generation - an ambition which has not been voiced in any other city in this research and according to the integration note of The Hague, did not return. The second council (starting in 2014) adopts a more positive attitude towards integration and stresses the reciprocal aspect of integration. In terms of economic integration, both councils feel that this would benefit from specific policy. Target group policy is 'not really' implemented, although in practice ethnical groups are often reached by specific policy (interview policy official). The municipality does connect several conditions to specific integration policy. This means the policy must be temporary in nature and have project-based set-up, regular institutions should be involved and there should be knowledge transfer towards these institutions. According to both integration notes, integration is an issue which should be approached 'integrally' and is something for which the whole council is responsible. Nevertheless, only one councillor has 'integration' in his portfolio. This is because somebody needs to keep track of what is missing, for example in terms of education and social affairs and what should be supplemented (interview policy official).

Which measures are taking in The Hague concerning integration? The differences between the language policies of both councils is small. In addition to the regular language input, much attention is devoted to making language education accessible and reaching isolated groups, such as migrants. Courses are offered to migrants with a lower learning pace and who need language courses which align with their experiences in the community. The language policy of The Hague uses a set of specific measures to enable the integration process of certain migrant groups, such as female migrants. With regard to education, there is some difference between the first and the second council. The first council clarifies the connection between integration and education. Segregation in the education system is counteracted and social cohesion is stimulated, measures which can be considered generic. Strikingly, one measure entails that effort is made to improve the academic results of non-Western hbo-students by means of stimulating parental involvement. This is a specific measure which is not found in other cities. The second council introduces a measure which enables teachers to better deal with the growing diversity of their students but does not link integration and education in the education policy. Predominantly, we can consider this to be generic policy.

With regard to the labour participation of migrants, the two councils more or less take the same approach. Young migrants are specifically supported in their labour participation and adult migrants mostly receive support by means of the platform against labour market discrimination which was set up by the municipality. The Hague does not shy away from implementing specific measures in order to increase the labour participation of migrants. When it comes to stimulating positive intercultural relations, there is not much difference between the two council's terms. In both cases, a pluralistic view on socio-cultural integration becomes apparent, whereby attention is devoted to preventing discrimination, creating a diverse municipal organisation and making the migrant culture visible in the city. Encounter, dialogue and participation can be encouraged by observing how migrants might be stimulated to participate in sports and by means of organising dialogue, which explores the shared values.

In the Municipality of The Hague, there is not one definitive integration model. Instead, recurring elements can be observed, stemming from interculturalism and multiculturalism. It is certain that during the research period, policy is made based on a pluralistic view on socio-cultural integration: in The Hague, integration is 'absolutely considered as a bilateral process' (interview policy official). As in all cities in this research, the attitude towards socio-economic integration is somewhat more ambivalent. Especially with respect to language and labour participation, several specific measures have been implemented in The Hague. This is somewhat different for the education policy. In the education policy of The Hague, mostly generic measures have been implemented, but not many specific measures. The aforementioned measure for parents of non-Western hbo-students can therefore be considered as an exception. However, research shows that in general there is not much hesitance to introduce specific measures to increase the economic integration of migrants in The Hague. In addition to the mentioned measures, this also expressed in the target group policy the municipality implemented with regard to MOE's and refugees. For example, the municipality is cooperating with a specialised foundation to encourage the integration of MOE's and it provides holders of a residence permit with a special manual if they come to live in The Hague. Nevertheless, The Hague also interlaces its integration policy with interculturalistic elements. According to the integration note, the aim is to create an "overarching identity" in which groups do not need to be separated anymore

(Municipality of The Hague, 2015d). In such a 'new city', there is no need for a target group policy (interview policy official).

What is particularly remarkable in the Municipality of The Hague is the stable view on the socio-cultural integration of migrants. Since the arrival of the first migrants, the pluralistic stance towards migrants and their integration has never really been questioned, which is against the national trend. Even though there were some discussion concerning the terms of citizenship, integration and immigrant; the tone towards migrants was and is predominantly mild. Integration is regarded as a bilateral process, in which not only migrants play a role, but also the native citizens of The Hague. Much attention is devoted to discrimination, diversity in the municipal organisation, accessibility, dialogue and visibility. Previous research shows that this can be linked to a political rule by a (centre) left-wing coalition. Although there is and was hardly any sign of (centre) left-wing coalition in municipal politics, the social democrat party PvdA is traditionally strongly represented in the municipality. The influence of one person, Rabin Baldewsingh (a PvdA member) should not be underestimated in this case (interview policy official). The politicisation by a substantial right-wing populist opposition party (PVV) apparently does not change this - the same applies to the relatively high unemployment rate in the city. Another factor which might be related to the pluralistic policy in The Hague is the extent to which the city profiles itself as an international city. Previous research suggests that cities which have adapted themselves to the new economic structure, recognise the 'market value' of migrants, which connects cities to transnational networks. In the case of the Municipality of The Hague, which considers its position as International City of Peace and Justice to be an 'unique selling point', this sounds plausible. Finally, in light of the pluralistic policy of the city, the relatively large creative sector in the city is also striking.

In addition to its pluralistic stance, the willingness of the Municipality of The Hague to execute specific measures is remarkable. Moreover, this is in contradiction with previous research, which suggested that a city with such a high level of ethnic diversity should not implement specific measures. The migrants in The Hague are more often unemployed, are more likely to leave school early and are less educated. The gravity of the situation could lead to the necessity of specific measures. Based on the available information, it is difficult to determine whether the integration problems in The Hague occupy a special position and whether the problems are bigger than they are in the other cities. Thus, it remains unclear whether the severity of the problems plays a role in the formation of the integration policy.

## 5.4 Groningen

Groningen is a medium-sized city in the north of the Netherlands. With 201.270 inhabitants, it is the seventh city of the Netherlands (OS, 2016a). Groningen is a student city with one of the largest universities in the Netherlands. The average age is low and the education level is high (about 52% of the inhabitants has completed a university-level programme, 'wo', or a higher professional education programme, 'hbo').

### 5.4.1 Policy traditions

In Groningen, the foundation for its integration policy has been laid in the *Bruggen Bouwen* ('Building Bridges') note, in which assumptions concerning target groups were no longer made. Support was not to be offered on the basis of background. However, the so-called 'plusbeleid' ('plus policy') still existed, based on the principle 'inclusive when possible, specific when necessary' (interview policy official). In 2007, the note *Nu Ritsen!* ('Zip Merge

Now!') was issued in which this inclusive integration policy was confirmed and developed. The metaphor of the motorway again makes its appearance: cars entering the motorway are not allowed to drive on the emergency lane. Instead, they have to transfer onto the motorway, where they will be granted the opportunity to merge with the other traffic streams, even though it might be crowded (Verschuren, 2008: 18). From that point on, municipal services have to factor in the target groups in each city and the municipal facilities should be increasingly based on the growing diversity of its customers (interview policy official; the Municipality of Groningen, 2013d). Furthermore, the importance of tailor-made approaches and reciprocity is stressed, as well as the possibility to develop one's own identity and work in a district-oriented manner. In the note, three groups are highlighted for which specific commitment was deemed necessary: immigrant women, Caribbean citizens of Groningen and Somali citizens of Groningen. However, it was mentioned that this specific policy was to be processed as integrally as possible. This ambition for integrality often appears in Groningen. For example, from 2007 until 2010, a note and project (*Kleur de arbeidsmarkt*, 'diversify the labour market') was executed which aimed to guide migrants from social welfare benefit to the labour market. The insights that resulted from this project were integrated into regular policy (ibid., 2010c).

In the Municipality of Groningen, there has been a focus on the diversity of its own organisation for a considerable time. The council that took its seat in the city in 2002, set the aim that 8% of the municipal organisation would consist out of employees with a migrant background (Municipality of Groningen, 2012b). In a note from 2003, the municipality states that they aim for a 'balanced composition' of its workforce and claims that this will not happen if no extra effort is made for certain groups, such as migrants, women, adolescents, the elderly and disabled. Certain measures will then be taken, such as maintaining a target, placing interns with a migrant background and setting up a network for employees with a migrant background. Additionally, a seminar was set up, which was aimed to clarify which resources employees with a migrant background need in order to advance to higher levels and in which ways labour market communication towards migrants could be improved (ibid.).

#### 5.4.2 Viewpoint on integration

In the integration note *Nu Ritsen!* (Zip Merge Now!) which was published in 2007, it became evident that the municipality wants to operate in an 'integration-inclusive' manner which consists of two aspects. Firstly, integration is a matter which concerns all municipal organisational units and must therefore be approached in its entirety. Secondly, the municipal facilities must be able to withstand the growing diversity of the population and therefore must be accessible for everyone. If this were not the case, additional measures (or specific policies) must be implemented. Although generic policy is pursued, specific policy is not avoided, if it is necessary (Municipality of Groningen, 2013a). This becomes apparent in the following passage:

*'By increasing the inclusiveness of components which were formerly in the domain of integration policy, there is less of a necessity for a separate integration policy which contains distinctions between target groups. Diversity and ethno-cultural groups are a given in society. Specific policy is no longer a target group policy, but a problem-oriented policy. The legitimisation of a -specific approach has to be convincing on the basis of facts and figures, preferably accompanied by motivation as to why we cannot apply the generic policy to this problem group.'*

In 2011, the last measure of the note was executed and since then, major steps were taken in accommodating (specific) integration policy into other policies. For example, components of the specific approach of Antilles citizens of Groningen have been incorporated into the youth policy and the measures concerning Somali citizens of Groningen and female migrants are now more and more part of a broad emancipation policy. At present, the municipality prefers the term 'diversity policy' (see below). A component in this diversity policy is integration policy and its aim is to 'increase the self-sufficiency of non-Western citizens of Groningen' (Municipality of Groningen, 2013d: 9). It is in this context that we can place the specific approach towards the integration of 'immigrant women, Antilleans and Arubans and Somalis' (ibid., 2015b: 130). These groups are having a harder time 'participating, integrating and being part of the community' (interview policy official).

In 2013, the municipality prefers to use the term 'diversity policy' instead of integration policy. In 2015, a *Diversity Agenda* was published in which this new approach was explained: more and different groups of the population are to be included and 'permanent and positive' attention shall be drawn to the discerning qualities of 'Stadjers', inhabitants of Groningen (Municipality of Groningen, 2015a). However, the positive standpoint towards diversity is not something recent: in 2011, the Councillor for Integration signed the 'Handvest voor Diversiteit' (Charter for Diversity), in which is declared that diversity in tradition, cultures and ideologies is not to be considered dangerous, but must instead be seen as a power of the city.

In the *Diversity Agenda*, themes and activities are discussed which have not reached the final point of inclusion. The 'celebration' of diversity is not the only goal in the *Diversity Agenda*, because there are tendencies in society which cause matters to go less well than planned (interview policy official). Additionally, the *Diversity Agenda* offers space to put certain subjects on the agenda in order to explore them. An example of this is the manner in which the first generation of migrant workers are growing old in the city. The municipality is consulting the relevant institutions to see if their request for help corresponds to what the municipality is offering (ibid.). Cooperation with professionals, (cultural) entrepreneurs and volunteers is what the municipality is currently striving for: it sees no benefit in 'top-down' development of policy (Municipality of Groningen, 2015a). Preferably, the municipality's diversity policy takes the format of some sort of 'menu': a framework in which different and relevant subjects can be addressed, based on the suggestions of citizens (interview policy official).

### 5.4.3 Language

From 2011 until 2014, the issue of language in Groningen is addressed with a separate plan of action (Municipality of Groningen, 2010a). This approach, which is active from 2013 on (due to government budget cuts), focuses mainly on children (see *Education* below) and people with literacy problems (illiterates). This last group can be divided into employed and unemployed citizens. For the employed illiterates, the municipality mainly takes measures in its own organisation: a number of employees are trained in general employee skills (including language) and are given the opportunity to take an e-learning course. Managers and superiors are trained to recognise functional illiteracy earlier. Cooperation with businesses is also attempted, mainly by giving presentations at events. An 'educative map' is also developed in order to inform illiterates about their options concerning language support (including the very accessible forms). Employees who work at relevant services for

unemployed illiterates are also trained to recognise functional illiteracy earlier. Additionally, the municipality supports an organisation which offers language coaches. These coaches assist in learning a new language and assist participants in finding their way in society. The library also fulfills a role in the process of language acquisition (ibid., 2013e).

In addition to this separate plan of action, language is also part of the chain approach which is central in the emancipation policy which was introduced in 2010. This chain approach is a partnership of organisations which are relevant in terms of social activation (participation, language and employment) and which will eventually prepare citizens with a lower socio-economic position for a regular form of social integration. The chain approach consists out of five phases; the first three stages are exclusively aimed at language acquisition. The chain approach is mostly aimed at women with a migrant background. In the first phase, these women are recruited. This is achieved through (informal) networks in the district, by female volunteers who come from the same district, who know it well and who often are of a migrant background themselves. The second phase is that women who are not yet able to leave their house, receive language education in their own home. This second phase can also be skipped, which means the third phase is reached: group lessons. There are several language groups, for example for Chinese women or for women who have been victims of violence (Municipality of Groningen, 2015c).

In 2015, the municipality sets aside part of the budget to battle functional illiteracy. The main objectives are stimulating further education, employment and, to a lesser extent, self-sufficiency (Municipality of Groningen, 2015c).

#### **5.4.4 Education**

The Municipality of Groningen presents their plans for education in the *Local Agenda for Education (Lokale Educatieve Agenda)* and in the *Education Pact (Onderwijspact)* (Municipality of Groningen, 2014c; 2013c). Measures include reducing drop-out, strengthening early childhood education, introducing transition classes and stimulating broad development. No reference is made to (the problems of) migrants (or migrant children).

#### **5.4.5 Labour participation**

Stimulating labour participation is also taken care of the chain approach of the emancipation policy (see 'language' above), but this policy mainly assists women in volunteering and participating in activities in the district. The chain approach mostly assists in completing the first four steps of the participation ladder (from 'isolated' to 'unpaid work'). However, women with higher education and qualifications have also been assisted in finding a job (Municipality of Groningen, 2013d). In 2015, a conference was organised which aimed to improve the economic self-sufficiency of women and a course was developed especially for single mothers who are distanced from the labour market. A measure which is specifically aimed at women with a migrant background are the 'intercultural women's groups', in which they are encouraged to participate in activities in their district (ibid., 2015a). Measures aimed at the labour participation of men are not mentioned, although labour participation of migrants in general is described as a goal in the *Diversity Agenda (Diversiteitsagenda)*. In this, generic measures such as improving diversity in the workplace and increasing the job chance for minorities are mentioned, but also generic measures such as acquiring skills which decrease distance from the labour market (ibid.). It remains unclear which actions the municipality is taking to reduce workplace discrimination in Groningen.

Since 2009, the Municipality of Groningen is cooperating regionally with different partners to combat youth unemployment and considers this to be an 'important social task'

(Municipality of Groningen, 2014a: 8). From this viewpoint, vouchers were distributed to employers, who in exchange employed vulnerable youths. Additionally, internships and opportunities in certain sectors were made available for youths, along with various other measures. In 2015, the municipality introduces its own youth approach in which education, care and work is combined to assist young people who are not socially or economically self-sufficient. Youths who apply for benefit at the municipality are given advice on income, employment and education. For vulnerable youths, the municipality created opportunities to follow a 'pre-entry' education or to gain job experience (Municipality of Groningen, 2015b). In both the regional plans and the city's plans, generic measures are proposed.

#### **5.4.6 Intercultural relations**

The municipality considers the ratification and facilitation of diversity to be an important task (Municipality of Groningen, 2015a). Firstly, this is achieved by looking on its own organisation, which should be a reflection of society. Attention is paid to women and youths, but 'immigrants' are also discussed. The municipality indicates that there is no specific image because the background of migrants is not registered. Since ten years now, there is an 'immigrant pool' for which people with a non-Western background can register themselves. They are given priority over external candidates. Furthermore, the municipality specifies that developments concerning anonymous job interviews are closely followed (Municipality of Groningen, 2016c). Secondly, two city campaigns are being organised from 2010 and onwards. In the first city campaign, there is a call for compassion for the different citizens which is stimulated through several events and appointed ambassadors (including the Councillor). Several activities are aimed at compassion towards migrants. Another campaign, 'Groning&', wants to collect stories which show different experience, share these and establish a connection (ibid., 2016b). Four times a year, a 'Diversity Café' is organised, during which partners of the municipality inform and support each other and share *good practices* (ibid., 2015a). These campaigns also are to remove the breeding ground for discrimination. Additionally, the municipality subsidises the regional ADV in 2013 with an extra thirteen euro cents per citizen to provide advice and education and to ensure that complaints concerning discrimination are properly reported and registered (ibid., 2013d).

Moreover, the municipality also wants to raise awareness about diversity and participation in the education system (Municipality of Groningen, 2015a). Concerning encounters, the emancipation policy and its chain approach are a means to extract (mostly) women from an isolated situation and establish an encounter, for example by stimulating them to participate in volunteer work (Municipality of Groningen, 2013d). Even though the municipality considers participation in sport to be a separate policy area, there is no additional attention for migrants' participation in sport and this is also not linked with intercultural encounters and integration (ibid., 2013d; 2015c). Encounters in districts and desegregation are not an issue in the Municipality of Groningen (ibid., 2015c; 2015d). The municipality has a subsidy available for self-organisations but wishes to reform this policy because it is aimed too much at encounters within a group and not at connection with the rest of society (interview policy official). This is why the municipality wants to establish partnerships in which self-organisations and social organisations (ibid.).

#### **5.4.7 Target group policy**

In 2010, the municipality initiated a project to end the public nuisance which was caused by a group of 50 Somalis. The project was set up in order to identify the issues and the target group and guide individuals towards assistance and activation (Municipality of Groningen,

2011; 2013b). In 2013, the measures taken in this project are also applied to mainstream social work. The municipality does this in order to realise a continuous effort (ibid., 2013b). Target groups for the municipality in 2015 are Caribbean (mostly Antillean) citizens of Groningen and refugees. Regarding the Antillean citizens of Groningen, certain measures are executed from regular policy (such as youth work). However, the municipality also speaks of a 'Antillean policy', in which establishing contact and guiding towards assistance is emphasised. A special location has been made available for socio-cultural activities and the municipality also support an Antillean self-organisation (ibid.).

From 2010 on, the measures which are taken for refugees focused on accommodation and shelter, but from 2016 onwards the municipality wants to focus more intensively on integration. A plan of action is presented in which language acquisition, participation, education and work are mentioned as important goals. For example, the municipality wants young refugee children to go to school immediately. They want to ensure that early childhood education and transition classes are available, to let refugees participate in volunteering work and that the number of volunteers is represented in a organised and transparent way. Depending on their potential, they can receive (extra) training, the opportunity to get a basic qualification or guidance. Additionally, entrepreneurs are stimulated to offer traineeships, internships and job training positions. Entrepreneurship amongst refugees is also encouraged and the municipality is working on an inventory of what is necessary for this. Furthermore, the municipality wants the provider of civic participation, as soon as it is connected to holders of a residence permit, to establish a trajectory containing the steps that are to be taken with the refugee, long term and short term. Concerning intercultural relations, the municipality considers it important to communicate with districts in which holders of a residence permit are placed (Municipality of Groningen, 2016a).

The Municipality of Groningen does not identify European labour immigrants to be a group which needs a specific policy. As far as can be established, the measures for this group are entirely generic.

#### **5.4.8 Economy and labour market**

Groningen has sufficient of growth potential because of cooperation and the presence of innovative industriousness and promising technologies. The city is an international 'city of knowledge' (Municipality of Groningen, 2015b: 52). Groningen is a service city: 90% of employment can be found in the service sector (OS, 2014a). The 'business service' sector and the 'information and communication' sector provide more jobs than anywhere else in the country. Employment in the creative sector in the city of Groningen is a bit higher than the average Dutch city and with making up 9% of employment, a significant sector for the city.

The economy of the city experienced a rapid growth before the crisis, for example in the energy sector and the health sector (Municipality of Groningen, 2014b). The growth stabilised after 2009 and even transitioned to a decline in employment. In 2014, the labour market is under 'quite a lot' of pressure (ibid. 4). The biggest challenges for the municipality are structurally strengthening employment and employing job seekers (ibid.). From 2010 until 2013, the unemployment rate was fairly stable, between 6,6% and 8,4%. In 2014 and 2015, the situation worsens to respectively 14% and 15%. The unemployment rate for the 15-22 year olds is 2% and for the 23-29 year olds it is a bit higher than 8% in 2014 (OS, 2016b).

Regarding its socio-economical status, the Atlas for Municipalities puts Groningen in a middle position. The city has a higher score than Rotterdam and The Hague, but lower than Amsterdam and Breda (Marlet & Woerkens, 2015). This is also the case for the



assessment which is made concerning the economic vitality in the city (Bureau Louter, 2016).

#### **5.4.9 Local situation**

In the Municipality of Groningen there are, in its own words, 'relatively few immigrants' (OS, 2016a: 21). About half of all migrants has a Western background. The percentage of non-Western migrants is with 11,3% relatively low for a city of this size (it is even lower than the national average of 12,1%). After the German migrant group, the biggest groups are the Antilleans and Surinamese (each making up 1,5% of the population). Turkish and Moroccan migrants combined only make up 1,5% of the population in Groningen. In 2016, there are 3.746 migrants from 'refugee countries' in the municipality (about 1,8% of the population). Between 2006 and 2016, the group of European migrants experienced a rapid growth. 3700 migrants from Eastern Europe (MOE's) and 2130 from Southern Europe are currently living in Groningen (respectively 1,8% and 1,1% of the population) (ibid.).

What do we know about the integration of these migrants in Groningen concerning language, education, employment and intercultural relations? The functional illiteracy percentage in Groningen is an estimated value of 12%, but it is not clear how migrants are represented in this percentage (Buisman & Houtkoop, 2014; Municipality of Groningen, 2015b). With regard to education, no official report has been issued concerning the educational performance of migrants. Reports concerning Antillean citizens of Groningen show that youths in this group are overrepresented in lower secondary education and drop out of school more often (De Boom et al., 2011; 2014a). These problems also exist for young Moroccan citizens. Even though unemployment among migrants declined with 5% from 2001 to 2011, during the period of 2001 - 2011 the unemployment rate was often about 10% higher (OS, 2011). By the end of 2013, the percentage of unemployed non-immigrants was 12,3%, while unemployment among migrants in the city was about 27,3%. Non-Western migrants are primarily responsible for this number because Western migrants are on the same level as the population with a non-immigrant background (OS, 2014a; 2016c). Around 2014, the percentage of non-immigrant recipients of social welfare between ages 19 and 64 is about 5%, while this percentage is at 12% among Turkish groups of the population and even at 20% among Moroccan and Caribbean groups of the population (OS, 2014b). The unemployment rate among young migrants remains unknown. What we do know is that unemployment among young Antillean citizens of Groningen (15-24 year olds) are extremely overrepresented in 2013 (De Boom et al., 2014). The integration issues surrounding EU migrants in Groningen are not clear yet. Likewise, there are no details on intercultural relations. According to the coalition, Groningen knows traditionally relaxed relationships between population groups (Municipality of Groningen, 2014a). In the past few years, discrimination appears to be stable and has not increased (ibid., 2013d).

#### **5.4.10 Politics**

In Groningen, left-wing parties are traditionally strongly represented. The foundation of the integration policy of Groningen was laid in 2007 by a left-wing SP councillor. In 2010, a left-wing council was appointed consisting of the following parties: PvdA, GroenLinks, SP and D66. Their plans mainly focused on an attractive, sustainable, inclusive and engaged city (Municipality of Groningen, 2010b). The budget cuts which are to be implemented by the municipality mostly concern their own organisation. The council does not wish to cut back on the emancipation of female migrants and Antillean citizens of Groningen. In 2012, the council resigns over an infrastructural issue. A new, decidedly more right-wing council is formed,

consisting of PvdA, VVD, SP, D66 and CDA. The council is not planning to implement radical policy changes and mostly emphasises the changing culture and making budget cuts within its own organisation (ibid., 2012a). During both periods, a SP councillor is in charge of integration. In 2014, a new council is formed, consisting of left-wing parties PvdA and Groenlinks and their right-wing coalition partners D66 and VVD. There is extra attention for sustainability, healthcare, housing and culture. With regard to the diversity policy, the council points out that 'special effort' for a specific target group must be provided if this is 'needed and effective' (ibid., 2014a: 22). A Groenlinks councillor is now in charge of 'integration and emancipation' portfolio.

#### **5.4.11 Reflection: Groningen**

Groningen is one of the bigger cities in the Netherlands but in comparison to the other cities in this research, it is a relatively small city with a relatively low ethnical diversity. Nevertheless, diversity and integration are firmly placed on the agenda. Since 2007, the ideal of thinking in an 'integration-inclusive' way is maintained, which means that integrations is the responsibility of all policy sectors and that all facilities in the city must be accessible for all of the different types of citizens. Even though it is important to implement specific policies for several target groups (Caribbean migrants, refugees and female migrants), the city has also made progress in embedding integration policy into regular policy. Therefore, the city prefers to speak of a 'diversity policy' which is supposed to address a much bigger target group and emphasise the power of an (ethnically) diverse city.

With regards to language, education and employment, Groningen is all over the spectrum. For example, the measures taken to battle youth unemployment are not taking the problems of young migrants into account, resulting in generic measures. Somewhat more direct are the measures taken concerning education, such as early childhood education and transition classes. Although this is not specifically connected, it is not hard to understand that this will mostly benefit migrant children. Specific measures can also be found, for example in the manner in which female migrants are supported in different ways in learning the language and their labour participation. The approach to refugees is also an example of this. Finally, there are also specific measures which are not aimed at a specific group of migrants, but a specific ethnic group. In Groningen, this can be found in the policy for the Caribbean migrants and formerly in the policy for Somali migrants, but also in placing Chinese migrants in separate learning groups. If we look at intercultural relations, the municipality focuses on stimulating the social participation of migrants, but there are relatively many measures which are more pluralistic in nature. These measures (such as the city campaign) ask for 'compassion' and respect for diversity from *everyone* who lives in Groningen (including the 'dominant' group). This sense of pluralism can also be found in the municipality's own staff policy and the anti-discrimination policy.

The integration model maintained in Groningen is not immediately clear. On a socio-cultural level, the municipality uses its diversity policy to emphasise dialogue, compassion and respect for difference: the attitude towards migrants is not imperative and there is no clear appeal for adjustment and participation. Hereby, the integration strategy is strongly trending toward pluralism. The policies concerning language, education and labour participation are less unequivocal. The integration policy concerning education is generic while a specific policy for language and labour participation has been made for Caribbean citizens of Groningen, refugees and female migrants. Because of this, the image of a city emerges which combines multiculturalist and interculturalist measures. This compromise

between two models can be explained by looking at the fact that Groningen aims to work as generically as possible, but does implement specific measures if this is deemed necessary.

In the literature, 'super diversity' is linked to generic policy. Groningen shows that a city without a high level of diversity can also aim for generic policy. Additionally, it appears that a relatively low diversity does not necessarily mean that there is no room to think about integration: it might just be that it is of great importance for cities with these proportions, because this does not unfold by itself due to the low transparency of the situation (interview policy official). In addition to the generic nature of the integration policy of Groningen, the pluralistic aspect is also clear. The connection to the political persuasions of the city is hard to ignore. Due to the progressive governance in Groningen, social developments are anticipated and thought is given to what these developments mean for the future of the city (interview policy official). This is why the growing diversity of the population is taken seriously. Simultaneously, right-wing populist parties do not have great influence and integration is not a politicised issue. Here, the typical 'student DNA' of the city might play a role. Because of the annual arrival of a big number of new residents, including many international students, the city is exceptionally well able to take in new people (interview policy official). For this reason, integration is less of a problem - or is at least perceived in that way. Due to the minimal level of politicisation, the integration policy is mostly formed by governing parties and civil servants. They build upon a policy tradition which was formed in 2007 in the integration note and is still cited to this day. This pluralistic, generic vision is met with little resistance and is therefore forming the integration policy.

## 6. Conclusion

The objective of this study was to gain knowledge about the efforts which cities make to improve the integration of migrants. Because of globalisation, diversity in countries is increasing worldwide and creates new challenges for governments. Research shows that migrants do not spread proportionally over the countries: they move to the cities. The challenges which exist in terms of integration are acute for the municipalities: inadequate integration can put great pressure on urban communities. Meanwhile, integration policy is often approached as a national matter. The result of this is that there are barely any studies conducted which offer a clear image of what cities do to improve integration of migrants. The basis on which consideration and factors municipalities make certain decisions is an even bigger unknown territory. Integration issues will not quickly disappear from the agenda and this is why it is key to learn from cities, for which integration has been on the agenda for decades. With this in mind, the study was initiated and the following research questions was formulated:

‘Which measures are taken by cities to improve the integration of migrants and which factors influence the decisions made for this policy?’

Although the research question has a clear dual character, several general observations come forwards based on the results. These will be discussed after the three sub-questions of this research have been answered. The chapter concludes with a discussion and recommendations for further research.

### **First sub-question: which measures?**

Which measures are taken by cities to improve the economic and socio-cultural integration of migrants? In the first sub-question of this research, the focus was on the practical side of the integration: which measures are taken for migrants. In order to answer this question, a large number of relevant policy documents were consulted which offer a clear image of what the four cities want and do on the domains of language, education, labour participation and intercultural relations. Below follows a short summary of the measures taken in these four areas, which also highlights the manner in which the position of migrants within the policy is given attention to.

#### *Language*

All cities in this study want to improve the language skills of their citizens. Language is a serious issue for cities because it is a ‘catalyser’ for participation in the society in several ways. Although the legal responsibility with regard to providing language courses is taking away from the municipalities at the start of the research period, this does not discourage them from making extra funds available and making action plans to increase the language proficiency of their citizens. This is also because, during the research period, the cities receive more responsibility in terms of re-integration. An agreement is that all municipalities are working on an overview to offer to their citizens about the language resources available in the city. Additionally, most cities in the study also try to inform European migrants about the available language resources and to stimulate them to participate in language courses. Some cities clearly prioritise this more than others.

There are also considerable differences, especially with regard to how cities deal with the disadvantaged position of migrants in terms of language. In two cities (Groningen and The Hague) migrants are generally not identified as a target group, but the municipality does make an effort to reach certain groups, including female, isolated migrants or migrants with a low learning pace. Reaching these groups mostly happens via organisations in the neighbourhoods, with which both cities closely cooperate. In Amsterdam, certain groups of migrants are specifically identified as target groups, but it is not stated how the target group will be reached or what their specific problems are. However, there is a distinction made in the language resources between several fields in which deficient language skills can lead to problems. One of these fields is education and here, the link with integration is made explicitly. By means of a special course which has been set up, the Municipality of Amsterdam tries to improve the language skills of migrants and with this, the involvement in the education of their child. In Rotterdam, the link between integration and language proficiency becomes more explicit than in other cities (from 2014 onwards). It is even more striking that subsequently, it does not become apparent how the position of migrants is to be improved upon within the policy.

### *Education*

The cities in this study do not have a lot of formal agency when it comes to education in their city, but they all still search cooperation with their schools. Priorities for these cities are preventing drop-outs, organising 'broad schools', increasing parental involvement and improving preschool and pre-primary education. Although preventing segregation in the education system ('black' and 'white' schools) used to be an important theme for the municipalities, this has been given up upon for the past few years. The municipalities seem to have accepted the situation and are now looking for other ways to have children encounter ethnic diversity. Examples of this are parent initiatives, encounters between students of different schools and making preschool and pre-primary education accessible for a larger part of the population.

In the education plans of some cities (Amsterdam and Groningen), no attention is given to the disadvantaged position of migrants. This means that the policy of these cities does not enable an improvement of this position. For example, measures concerning drop-out prevention and increasing parental involvement will undoubtedly benefit parents and children with a migrant background. The same goes for preschool and pre-primary education. However, no priority is given to identifying this target group and their characteristics and needs are not of importance in the policy. Although this is also relevant for the policies of the two other cities in this research, these cities have several supplementary measures that are in fact aimed at migrants. For example, The Hague devotes attention to the internship problems of migrant youths and action is taken to prevent this. Other measures are mostly taken focused on the suitability of schools to encourage socio-cultural integration and improve intercultural relations. For example, The Hague and Rotterdam want to train 'urban teachers' who have the capacities to deal with diversity in an urban setting at school. In Rotterdam, work is also done with a special 'code', which is to inform students about the national values and standards in the education system and in society.

### *Labour participation*

The cities which are central in this research were all making plans to get more citizens a job. Previous research shows that cities sometimes try to increase labour participation among

migrants by stimulating entrepreneurship. This aspect could be found only in The Hague, where migrants were encouraged to participate in a training which is supposed to make migrants enthusiastic about starting a company. Sometimes, these plans were a part of the emancipation policy (which is often aimed at women). For example, within the emancipation policy in The Hague, a support fund was set up to stimulate women to follow language courses. The fact that women with a migrant background sometimes have difficulty with achieving economic self-sufficiency because they are isolated was not ignored in this case. In order to eventually have these women participate on the labour market, another group of women was set up for them with a different ethnic background, for example in Groningen. The lacking labour participation of holders of a residence permit (refugees with a residence permit) is a matter all cities pay attention to. The reasons for this are the increased inflow of new refugees in these cities and the perception that their integration process must be sped up. Especially the large cities put pressure on the government, so that in the future, they know which refugees are coming to live in their cities and what their potential is. The holders of a residence permit are often offered a customised trajectory of which their accession to the labour market is also a component. Offering assistance with possible diploma recognition is also a part of this.

The municipalities especially consider the high youth unemployment as an urgent problem and try to stimulate them by cooperating with employers or by better preparing them for the labour market. Although the problems of young migrants in these cities are disproportionately large, this is not always referenced in these plans. In Rotterdam for example, the municipality made certain agreements with employers in the city to help youths get a job but it does not become very clear whether the municipality is aware of the poor position of young migrants and whether the municipality takes this into account when developing their policy. However, in these agreements, it is taken into account that youths with deficient language skills have less job opportunities. While a substantial part of this group is made up out of migrants, they are not specifically referenced. In Amsterdam, in order to battle youth unemployment, there is cooperation with youth organisations which have networks within migrant groups. In The Hague, the disadvantage of young migrants is identified and this is why the approach towards youth unemployment focuses on several neighbourhoods, where many young migrants live. The municipality concludes that discrimination is the cause of the high youth unemployment and this is why migrant youths are also involved in the municipality's platform against labour market discrimination.

Labour market discrimination is a verifiably important subject in all cities in this research (except for Groningen). Especially The Hague and Rotterdam consider this to be the most occurring form of discrimination and a severe impediment for the participation of migrants. Not only the labour market discrimination of migrants is central here: the established platforms are more generally aimed towards the task of making employers consider diversity as a positive value. In addition, Rotterdam takes part in an urban network to exchange knowledge on this subject. In Amsterdam, the municipality cooperates with employers to raise awareness for labour market discrimination, but this cooperation has a less structural character.

### *Intercultural relations*

Based on previous research, it was established that the measures concerning intercultural relations in other cities mostly dealt with discrimination, segregation and dialogue. Research shows that in The Hague and Rotterdam, we can speak of substantial ethnic segregation. From the analysis, in which housing vision were also incorporated, it becomes clear that

there are barely measures which aim to battle ethnic segregation. Only in The Hague, the restructuring of one of the neighbourhoods is linked to desegregation and in Rotterdam, the municipality prefers not to facilitate major accommodation facilities for European migrants because this would weaken the neighbourhoods. In general, it seems that the municipalities do not want to (or cannot) enforce or stimulate informal encounters via housing policy or public space policy. Another possibility to encourage informal encounters is sports. For example, the Municipality of The Hague deals with discrimination within sports associations. In Groningen, volunteering work is stated as a framework for socio-cultural integration.

However, the cities seem to realise the use (or the efficiency) of formal contact. For example, the Municipality of Amsterdam has made funds available for projects which raise awareness among citizens that they have a shared history *and* future. In The Hague, the municipality stimulates cultural institutions to also share the culture of the migrants. In both cases, the activities must be accessible for everyone (and the main language must be Dutch). Additionally, the Municipality of The Hague will speak with representatives of the major religious movements in the city on a structural basis in order to explore the shared values.

Finally, the cities tried to fight anti-discrimination. In addition to the legally required investment in anti-discrimination, the cities organise campaigns and public manifestations. They also try to convince their social and economic partners to oppose discrimination in their own organisations. To achieve this goal, policy makers in Groningen have set up a 'café meeting' in which a variety of organisations can inform and support each other. Cities are also eager to fight discrimination in their own organisation. The municipal organisations in The Hague, Amsterdam and Groningen work with targets to ensure that no discrimination will take place in job application procedures and a diverse organisation is ensured. The Hague even pioneered an anonymous job application procedure. In Rotterdam, instead, a diverse organisation and the decrease of discrimination is deemed important, but no targets are implemented.

### **Second sub-question: general assumptions**

In the first part of the conclusion we summarised the measures in the domains of language, labour participation, education and intercultural relations. The second part deals with the question why policy makers chose for these measures in specific: which general assumptions did they start with? To find this out we should not only analyse measures, but also the political discourse, that can be found in integration memorandums, other documents and in the interviews, too. This paragraph deals with the economic and socio-cultural dimension and thereafter analyses the integration models.

Firstly: what are the general starting points of the urban policy makers regarding economic integration? The resulting image is quite clear and is manifest in all four cities: generic integration policy is regarded best, but specific policy is not shunned when specific problems occur in cities. This attitude can best be described by the adage 'generic when possible, specific when needed'. Furthermore, in all cities specific policy is seen as necessary, as the programs for European labour migrants and refugees indicate. In earlier years, these cities explicitly renounced programs for Antillean migrants because this policy was considered stigmatising. However, in a certain way specific policy has never disappeared, although there is a difference in the way that cities identified groups on the basis of ethnicity previously, while identifying on the basis of migration motives or residential status in current times. All cities central to the study have developed separate action plans in order to stimulate the integration of specific groups. A lot of the measures in this plans are

not accessible for other groups, including the native population. Amsterdam, for instance, introduces plans to guide refugees from the point of arrival towards self-sufficiency. The Hague involves a specialised foundation to increase the integration of European labour migrants. This foundation offers support in the own language of the migrants and has also set up consultation hours.

The cities are not too clear about whether specific policy will, in time, be incorporated in general integration policy. Another notable observation is that most cities state that specific policy should be developed on the basis of existing problems and facts that prove these problems. However, these numbers are not always public or easily findable. This raises the question to what extent these specific policies are indeed based on facts and numbers.

The other side of the story is that cities want to work with generic policy whenever that is possible. This is confirmed in the measures that were analysed: in general, none of the cities is prepared to use the word 'migrant', let alone the Dutch equivalent 'allochtoon' or a reference to ethnicity. This does raise questions about the degree of mainstreaming: the process of making generic policy 'inclusive' in order to let it serve the needs of vulnerable groups, like migrants. In the education policies, for example, we observed little (explicit) attention for the position of students with a migrant background. However, the early childhood education and transition classes can be regarded as measures that improve the position of young migrants with language deficits in particular. This shows that cities do see and act on the position of certain groups like migrants, but do not always underscore this. However, we also see more explicit forms of mainstreaming, like in the domain of language in The Hague and Groningen. Policy makers in these cities see that certain groups of migrants, like female migrants and first generation migrants, find it hard to join regular language courses. In order to involve them, groups are created that are responsive to the particular needs of these migrants. Concerning the domain of labour participation it is legitimate to consider anti-discrimination policies as a practice of mainstreaming, because it tries to improve the position of vulnerable groups (like migrants) while still being generic. Apart from these measures, the cities involved in the research are not explicit about their assumptions concerning generic policy. In their integration memorandums and other relevant policy documents they do not elaborate on why they implement generic policy or what should be taken into account when implementing it. The exception is Groningen. Policy makers in this city are quite comprehensive about generic policy and state that there should be continuous attention for the distinctive characteristics of inhabitants.

Secondly: what are the general starting points of the urban policy makers regarding socio-cultural integration? Or in other words: what are their assumptions about intercultural relations? In the case of Amsterdam, The Hague and Groningen these assumptions are pluralistic. Policy makers in these cities think that the peaceful living together of various cultural groups can at best be achieved when heterogeneity is not combatted, but facilitated. Therefore, these policy makers are mostly occupied with rearranging and adapting the urban society in a way that makes all inhabitants feel at home. To this goal are anti-discrimination measures important. Beside of the legally required, mostly juridical tasks, cities also try to fight discrimination in a more preventive way. Amongst other things, they try to make residents more comfortable with the diversity in the city by displaying the existing cultures in the city or organise (more or less) organic dialogues between them. This should reduce prejudice and improves mutual trust and a feeling of togetherness. Also in their own organisations, cities want to show that they are open to pluralism and opposed to discrimination. Cities consider this not only righteous, but also smart, because it makes the organisation future-proof. However, the city of Rotterdam (upward of 2014) shows us another



picture. The measures and the broader political discourse demonstrate a shift from pluralistic views to monistic views on intercultural relations, by increasingly laying down the responsibility for integration with migrants. An important part of the policy is 'expressing shared standards', which refers to transfer of norms – not dialogue about norms. A lot of attention is spent on migrants that do not want to integrate or are not allowed to integrate because of the traditional community that they are part of. Still it's hard to consider the Rotterdam policy as purely assimilationistic, because anti-discrimination is considered an important subject and the 'integration tour' is set up to ensure dialogue between residents.

The foregoing analysis shows that the assumptions of cities on the dimension of economic and socio-cultural can not be reduced into single integration models. Although the cities predominantly (with exception of Rotterdam) demonstrate pluralistic view regarding intercultural relations, it gets harder when we try to distinguish the typical urban attitude on economic integration. This is because cities do not generally choose specific or generic policies, but instead prefer an intermediate position: generic when possible, specific if that's necessary. That is why the integration models of Amsterdam, Groningen and The Hague are somewhere in between multiculturalism and interculturalism, with Amsterdam being the most interculturalist and The Hague being the most multiculturalist. The same situation applies to Rotterdam, although from 2014 on an assimilationistic model comes forward.

### **Third sub-question: which factors?**

The final sub-question is: 'which factors influence the manner in which cities deal with integration?' In this research, a couple of these factors that are derived from previous research, are actively analysed, namely economic structure and labour market, politics, external actors, the local integration context and the policy tradition. The research offers an unpretending view on the influence of these factors. Amsterdam shows that economic factors have an impact on the socio-cultural domain of integration policy. The pluralistic policy of the city is a product of the creative, tolerant and internationally oriented character of Amsterdam. Amsterdam fosters because of its attractive power on a large diversity of people and it is eager to insert this diversity into its own identity. Also in The Hague and Groningen we saw two cities with pluralistic policy, that are internationally oriented and consider diversity as a strength. Because of its seaport, Rotterdam is also internationally oriented, but at the same time it has troubles adapting to new economic structures and reforming itself into a 'smart' city. This entails that in Rotterdam diversity is not considered a strength, but as a (predominantly problematic) given situation. Also notable is the creative class community, that is remarkably smaller in Rotterdam compared to the other three cities.

Politics plays a big role in Rotterdam's shift from pluralistic towards monistic integration policy. The greatest change in Rotterdam during the research period is the coming to power of a right-populist political party that politicizes integration issues. This influence is absent in Amsterdam and Groningen, where pluralistic policy has been intact for decades. This may also be a product of their positive socioeconomic status and relative strong labour market. In this respect, the positions of Rotterdam and The Hague are less positive – which may be in a strong connection with the relatively large influence that right-populist parties have in these cities. However, The Hague is a municipality with a relatively negative socio-economic position and with lots of support for the PVV, a right-populist political party. Still, their integration policy can be considered pluralist. The analysis shows that this may be the product of continuous deployment of a left-wing alderman with a pluralistic view on integration. The influence of this left party on the integration policy is increased because this alderman considers integration a very important policy issue.

Previous research also shows that the assumptions of cities about economic integration might be related to the local integration context. Cities that have a high diversity can or do not want to introduce specific policy. However, in the analysis we saw that the city with the lowest diversity, Groningen, is also the only city that has introduced specific policy on the basis of ethnicity. Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague, cities in which half of the population has a migrant background, do not implement this kind of specific policy anymore. Unfortunately, the relation between superdiversity and generic policy is not entirely lightened up in this research. This is, as indicated in the previous paragraph, because policy makers are not very elaborate about their motivations for choosing generic policy. It might also be that cities follow national discourses in this matter. We observed specific measures in the cities, too. Following previous research, this might be the result of severe problems that certain migrant groups face. This might be an explanation for the specific policy that all of the cities have formulated regarding refugees, a group that has particular large integration problems. It might also explain why Rotterdam and The Hague, that face particular great challenges regarding the integration of European labour migrants, have implemented specific policy for this group, which is not the case in Amsterdam and Groningen.

Finally, external actors may also have an influence on the integration policy of cities. This research focused on the influence of urban networks in particular, but found little evidence for it. Rotterdam forms an exception because policy makers cooperate with policy makers in other cities on the subject of anti-discrimination, but the policy documents and the policy officials did not recall this cooperation as an important variable. This is why, during the study, it was decided to not devote paragraphs to the subject. It is hard to determine whether policy tradition is important in the development of integration policy and if path dependency exists. Cities like Rotterdam and The Hague do not explicitly refer to previous policy programs and do not borrow legitimacy from it. Amsterdam does refer rather explicitly to its history as a tolerant city. Deviating from this tradition would be a big departure from the history of the city. In this way, history does influence current policy. Policy makers in Groningen do refer to a foundational integration memorandum, that forms a kind of tradition that continues to inform the integration policy of the city.

### **Discussion and recommendations for further research**

The goal of this research was to explore what Dutch cities do to promote the integration of migrants and why they do it that way. Because of this specific, twofold goal, the results of the research can function as a source of information and inspiration for everyone that is concerned with integration on a local or urban level. This is because the descriptive part of the research demonstrates current, urban practices that affect migrants in the most important domains of their integration, namely in the area of language, education, labour participation and intercultural relations. As far as I'm concerned, there is no study yet that aspires to give an overview of all these domains at once. This shows to policy makers and others stakeholders that integration has various layers, that can be served with various measures. Besides, it offers a review of best practices, but also an opportunity to obtain alternative points of view. A footnote needs to be made here. The character and form of the research does not allow to be very detailed about the measures and is not able to highlight certain measures to increase the practical and applicable function of the research. Second, policy documents offer a general view on policies but if we want to learn more about their practical implications and their influence on the lives of migrants and societies, we need to do fieldwork and take more interviews. Only then, this research truly accomplishes its practical use in governing societal issues in a righteous and wise way.

However, the researcher continues to believe that the form of the research and its general observations are what the research area needs right now. It offers a framework that can support future researchers in sharpening their research questions. In particular, the offered typology about dimensions of integration and integration models will help researchers to clarify which part of integration (economic or socio-cultural) they want to study, which characteristics these domains may have (generic, specific, pluralistic, monistic) and what the underlying assumptions are (interculturalist, multiculturalist, assimilationist). These conceptual tools were not out in the field waiting for the researcher to find them. Although a lot of the concepts might feel familiar to social and migration researchers, they tend to be defined and understood in different ways.

The research also offers valuable information that can help to strengthen the concepts. For instance, the research shows that the strict distinction between generic and specific policy is a little artificial, because cities tend to combine the two positions. Indeed, a third position is thinkable. Besides, mainstreaming turns out to be a crucial characteristic of generic policy and should be added to the concept. Generic policy by definition means policy for the whole society, but generic integration policy should develop modes to deal with the needs of migrants. The research also offers information to improve the interculturalism concept and to sharpen the distinction between multiculturalism and interculturalism. The results demonstrate the limits of the conceptual framework, too. In some cases, the policy domains, and therefore the integration domains, are intermingled. For example, intercultural relations can also be improved at the domain of education.

Besides the conceptual mission of the research, there was also a theoretical mission that is expressed in the second part of the research question. The underlying assumptions of policy in the four cities were studied because we wanted to explore which factors may be of any influence on the motivations of urban policy makers. The conclusion that follows out of this needs to be read with reservation and has a strictly explorative character. It happens to be that there are no proper sources that can make comparison between the four cities possible. Especially the paragraphs about economy and the local situation consist of loose numbers that are assembled by a variety of researchers and research agencies and are obtained in diverse ways. The same applies to the accounts about politics and the policy tradition: the researcher does not think that the research offers a proper indication of these variables, nor the influence they have. In all its imperfections, the research still offers valuable information that confirms previous findings. Future research should start to investigate the influence of these factors in a more detailed way.

Finally, this research initially started with six cities. The Dutch cities of Breda and Tilburg were also part of the study. I chose these cities because their diversity was lower and they were considerably smaller than Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague. Another reason to pick Breda was because policy makers in this city received a large European fund to improve its integration policy. Unfortunately, I let go of these two cities during the research. Partly this was a practical consideration, because the research was getting too vast, but another reason was that the interviews and the quest and analysis of documents showed that the cities offered almost nothing to write down. The picture that I received from the integration policy of these cities was that there was no real integration policy at all and that attention for the issue vanished. This raises the question if small cities that have less manpower deal in a responsible way with integration issues. Given their limited experience and their potential neediness of support, this situation is worth a research. Furthermore, by deleting Breda from the research, the chance to see what external financial support does with the integration policy of a city also disappeared. It would be interesting to see if those

kind of funds, that are often made available by the European Union, influence the assumptions and measures of cities. The possibility that supranational governments exert influence on the integration policy of cities has not yet been explored but would most certainly be interesting.

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- ❖ Municipality of The Hague (2016b): 'Extra impuls werkgelegenheid' via URL: <https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl/document/3672436/3/RIS294630%20Extra%20impuls%20werkgelegenheid>
- ❖ Municipality of The Hague (2016c): 'Haagse Aanpak: Statushouders Sociaal Domein' via URL: [https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl/document/3478828/1/131RIS293919\\_Bijlage\\_Haagse\\_aanpak\\_Statushouders\\_Sociaal\\_Domein](https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl/document/3478828/1/131RIS293919_Bijlage_Haagse_aanpak_Statushouders_Sociaal_Domein)
- ❖ Municipality of The Hague (2016d): 'HEA voortgangsrapportage 2015 – 2016' via URL: <https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl/document/4053159/2/RIS295237%20HEA%20voortgangsrapportage%202015-2016>
- ❖ Municipality of The Hague (2016e): 'Voortgangsrapportage strategisch personeelsbeleid' via URL: <https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl/document/4606679/2/RIS295670%20Voortgangsrapportage%20strategisch%20personeelsbeleid>

## Interviews

- ❖ Amsterdam, interview with policy official, June 13th 2016
- ❖ Rotterdam, interview with policy official, June 1st 2016
- ❖ Den Haag, interview with policy official, June 9th 2016
- ❖ Groningen, interview with policy official, July 6th 2016
- ❖ *Tilburg, interview with policy official, June 13th 2016*
- ❖ *Breda, interview with policy official, June 2nd 2016*