“Implementation gap in policies of reception of students of migrant origin. The case of Rotterdam”

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1. Introduction

1.1. Relevance of the topic

Post-war migrations and ethnic diversity create political challenges to welfare States. At stake are notions of sovereignty, State control over social processes, and State legitimacy in terms of political membership (Favell 1998, Joppke 1998). However, is it at the local level where they pose the major practical challenges (and opportunities) to policymaking, where public institutions have to deal with the integration of newcomers and provide services for a more diverse population. As a consequence, we have witnessed since the early 1980s a process of *localization* of integration policies throughout Europe, that is, a growing number of initiatives of local authorities –often in the absence of a clear national policy- (Lapeyronnie 1993, Ireland 1994, Weil 1991).

One of the most striking challenges is found in the domain of education. This challenge relates ultimately to the redistributive function of school in welfare States and its role in producing social inclusion and social cohesion. Relevant questions are: How to offer equal opportunities for every student? How to fight social inequality among students of migrant origin? How to foster integration among cultures and ethnic groups?

A factor that is considered detrimental for the above mentioned goals is the concentration of ethnic minority students in specific schools of certain areas. This phenomenon has been considered a consequence of the spatial patterns of settlement of immigrants in European cities. To what extent this mirrors the residential concentration of population of migrant origin is still a topic for debate and empiric research. In Spain we witness a concentration of immigrant pupils in public schools, while in the Netherlands the phenomenon is more widespread. In the Netherlands the problematic exists since the 1970s and it is referred as the 'black schools-white shools' issue (Vermeulen 2001). Schools are officially labelled as 'black' if their student population of ethnic origin is over 80%. For different reasons, governments are often discouraged to tackle this issue with explicit policies.

The incorporation of recently arrived foreign students to the educational system of the receiving country is another related question. Newcomer students must face a disadvantage in comparison to their fellows in several realms. Not only their insufficient master of the language of reception matters, but also other questions such as the differences between the new and old curriculum, lack of a supportive environment, weak cultural and social capital, economic difficulties, emotional difficulties of the process of adaptation, etc. This elements are particularly burdensome in secondary education, when migrant students are too old to quickly learn the language, and at the same time have to acquire the skills to get a final diploma, or to be able to continue further education. The concentration of a number of pupils with this type of disadvantage does comprise a 'problem' at the practical level for schools, and at the political level for public opinion. Above all, the practical problems that this entails for schools are related with the heterogeneity of the new students (regarding language, but also previous educational level) and the constant incoming flow and residential mobility of this population.

As a result, special programs for reception are often designed, in an attempt to facilitate the transition of newcomer students to the education system of the receiving society. There are three ideal types for these programs: parallel systems, integrated systems, and combinations of the two in different degrees. In the Netherlands we find examples of the three models, although the first one is the most wide-spread and it is the one applied in the four big cities (Penninx and Rath 1990, Ritchers 2002).

But how are these formal-discursive models implemented in reality? Do they actually meet their goals of equality and social cohesion? Literature about policy implementation by street-level bureaucrats shows that implementation is not simply a mechanic task of operationalization and execution of plans. Implementation, they say, is another story, and if we are to know how policy models work we must research policy in practice. Social policy is to a great extent made by civil servants at the end of the decision-making chain, and it so because bureaucrats are social agents and therefore they *interpret* policy goals and they use a considerable amount of discretion in the practice of their duties (Lipsky 1980, Brodkin 2000). Understood in these terms, the process of implementation has unexpected consequences over the outcomes, although scholars disagree in the direction of these consequences. Some consider them necessarily negative and non-democratic, some other defend that they can also be positive.

The new practical challenges implied by this situation must be faced in a context of limited resources (time, space, personnel, and budget). The ways in which schools and teachers deal with these and other challenges offer a good illustration of present practices intended to promote integration. Although major education policies (and integration measures within them) are designed at higher tiers of authority, the interpretation and the ultimate application of policy depends on lower levels: local authorities, school boards and teachers.

1.2. Characteristics of the research project

My PhD research is a scrutiny of the ways in which integration policies are implemented at the local level. I analyse the program of reception for newcomer students in secondary education in Rotterdam and Barcelona, with focus on the implementation of the program and the practices of teachers and school managers responsible to carry that out.

The main hypothesis is the existence of an implementation gap between the practices of local actors (dependent variable) and the abstract model of integration policies formulated at higher levels of decision-making (independent variable). I defend that policies and their outcomes are ultimately more dependant on their practical implementation than on their formulation.

Therefore, the two general goals of the study are:

1. to contrast integration policies as a model vs. their implementation in the concrete field of education and
2. to describe the specific internal logic of each case study.

The main research questions related to these goals are:

- Are the actual practices of teachers of reception classrooms and of school managers coherent with the national policy models of integration?
- Which circumstances stimulate the similarity of reception strategies and solutions between local actors?

A basic assumption in my research is that social practices of teachers and school managers are framed by a) the network of local actors involved in education and integration policies at the city level and b) the organization of the educational system. From a conflict perspective of organization, Lipsky (1980) showed how discretionary practices of street-level bureaucrats rest on the structure of their work, which creates antagonistic interests between workers in different positions. The implementation gap must be attributed to a great extent to those opportunities for discretion opened by the organizational mode. On the other hand, another related assumption is that the framework comprised by institutional arrangements and local network imply opportunities and constrains for the actual social inclusion of newcomer students.

In answering the research questions, the first step lies in reconstructing the national model of integration policy, on one hand, and on the other, the actual practices of ground actors in the field of education. For the reconstruction of the national policy framework three dimensions will be considered: the educational system, educational policies for migrant students, and general integration policies for migrants. For the description of practices, an attempt will be made to reconstruct the policy field of educational integration of migrants, as the sociological and symbolic framework where practices get their meaning. The second step would be to describe the actual practices of reception and language training of actors implementing the policy, and to identify practices that:

- are in discrepancy with the formal program and possible factors that explain that divergence.
- may have an influence on the change/ adaptation of the policy model
- may have an impact on the social inclusion of migrant students.

As the study aims primarily to contrast practices of implementation with abstract models, a combination of qualitative *(in-depth interviews* and *participant observation* in institutions*)* and quantitative techniques (*analysis of available statistical sources* and *documental analysis)* are used. However the study has a strong qualitative emphasis in order to capture the practices (both formal and informal) that go beyond good intentions and discourses. I have applied in-depth interviews –repeated over time- to a limited group of selected actors: municipal policymakers, teachers and coordinators of reception, and school directors. Similarly, participant observation was carried out in schools that offer reception programs (in Rotterdam in two out of the four reception centres).

1.3. Goals of the report

In this report I will present the main findings of the case of ***Rotterdam***. I will set out to fulfil three goals.

On one hand, to offer a description of the opportunity framework, including the embracing general educational system and specific institutional arrangements for the reception of newcomers in secondary education,

On the other, to identify spaces in the implementation of policy that open discretionary room for teachers and school managers dealing with young newcomers. I attempt to describe practices of ground actors that:

- are in discrepancy with the formal program
- may have an influence on the change/ adaptation of the policy model.

Indirectly, all of this help to identify some opportunities and constrains for the inclusion of newcomer students, that are implicit in the educational framework and the program of reception for newcomer students, and in the practices of implementation of ground actors. Because my focus is on the analysis of practices and of the process of implementation, I will be necessarily cautious drawing conclusions within this third goal. My points here should be taken not so much as empirical findings but as possible tendencies: as the likely direction in which practices of implementation and policy model could influence the inclusion and incorporation of students of migrant origin.

1.4. Brief annotation about terminology: integration, incorporation, and inclusion

The high politicization of the debate about migration and policies for integration recommends to delineate the specific notion of integration that is used in the document.

In the present report I will use interchangeably the terms of "immigrant incorporation" and "immigrant integration". My personal preference goes for the term "incorporation", since I find it less connotated than "integration". However, I consider that the communicative function of scientific terms must prevail over the attempts to build a most accurate terminology. I think that often, using old wide-spread terms and introducing modifications in their conceptualisation helps better for practical purposes of communication than coining brand-new ones and getting into endless terminological metha-discussions.

Incorporation of migrants to the reception society is used here as the process of individuals in becoming part of that society. This takes place in several domains, being the main ones: socio-economic, cultural-religious, socio-political and spatial. It is a one-sided process of migrants finding their way into society. It implies thus partially a minimal adaptation of the individual to the new social, cultural, and political context in order to be able to function in the new context. However, we cannot talk about "assimilation" necessarily because apart from that minimal initial adaptation, there may be different modes of incorporation. A good typology is the one proposed by Portes and Rumbaut (1996) in their Segmented Assimilation theory. According to these authors, incorporation in the receiving society may take place in three ways:

1. Classical assimilation: upward acculturation and economic integration into the normative structures of middle class.
2. Adaptive assimilation: economic integration into the middle class, with lagging acculturation and deliberate preservation of the immigrant's community values and solidarity.
3. The last type is a downward acculturation and integration into an underclass.

When I talk about ***integration*** of migrants I basically refer to the above mentioned process of incorporation of migrants to the society of destination. Integration is a broad and rather vague term, as it shows that it was precisely that the reason that made the Dutch political parties chose for it in the 1990s. It may cover many different ideas under the same term. Although it is true that often it is used as synonym of assimilation, it is not used here like that.

It must be noted that "integration" can also be considered a characteristic of the society and not so much a characteristic of individuals and Groups. Taken in this sense, "integration" is a two-way process of mutual accommodation of newcomers to society and society to newcomers. However, in this report "integration" is taken as a individual or group characteristic.

By ***policies of integration*** I refer as well to all kinds of public policies oriented to facilitate the settlement and incorporation of migrants in the new society. This wide range includes of course deliberate policies of assimilation to the dominant culture, but also multicultural policies that try to enhance economic position of migrants and at the same time recognize and respect the expression of minority cultures.

By ***socio-economic inclusion*** I mean specifically the process of incorporation of individuals in the economic sphere of society, particularly in the labour market. As a consequence, this is not only applicable to migrants but also to nationals. Any transition of children from school to labour market is a process of getting incorporated in the economic sphere within a particular social position.

In using this terminology I assume the double role of education concerning both socio-economic inclusion and in the reception society. This is particularly relevant nowadays when public debate and most research over the socio-economic inclusion of migrant and disadvantaged children in the Netherlands has been clearly displaced by the "integration" (assimilation) debate. Whether and how education (re)produces social inequality is rarely in the research and in the political agenda. The emphasis lies on getting newcomers assimilated in the dominant culture, regardless of in which socio-economic position they achieve within society. As a consequence, the interest focuses on the role of school in assimilation/integration of migrants. In particular it worries to what extent school segregation and gap in performance between native and migrant students poses a risk to social cohesion and social order (Jungbluth 2004). In my analysis I will try to see not only what role play the practices of teachers and school directors in the cultural incorporation of migrant students but also the possible consequences of their actions for the socio-economic inclusion of these pupils.

2. Some figures about migrant population in the Netherlands

2.1. Ethnic composition of population

The Netherlands had in the year 1996 over three million of foreigners, from which 1.1 million were of migrant origin, that is including first and second generations. The total population of the country was over fifteen million inhabitants. That means a 7,5% of population of migrant origin. By the year 2006 this population represents already a 10,5% of the population. The population of migrant origin in the last years has grown in a gradual but steady pace (Table 1). Until the year 2001 we can talk about an increase of the migratory saldo in the country. From the year 2002 on we can observe a halt in this pace.

Official statistics consider as "foreigner" a person with at least one of the parents born abroad, while a "native Dutch" is a person who fulfils three conditions: to be born in the Netherlands, and both their father and mother are born in the Netherlands as well. If third generation migrants would be considered the proportions of population of migrant origin would increase still more. Also Dutch citizens coming from the Dutch Antilles and Aruba are considered within the category of migrants.

Table 1. Evolution of the population by ethnicity (1996-2006)

	1996		2000		2006	
	absolute	**%**	**absolute**	**%**	**absolute**	**%**
Non-Westerns	1.171.113	7,5	1.408.767	8,8	1.722.534	10,5
Westerns (without native Dutch)	1.327.602	8,5	1.366.535	8,6	1.428.968	8,7
Native Dutch	12.995.174	83,8	13.088.648	82,5	13.184.007	80,7
Total	15.493.889	100	15.863.950	100	16.335.509	100

Own elaboration with data from the CBS dossier 'Allochtonen 2005'

However, we observe that migrants are not evenly distributed throughout the country. Although we seen differential patterns of settlement, the bulk of migrant population is settled in the big and medium-size cities. Even among the 25 largest cities the concentration of migrants is much higher in the four big cities: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht, and The Hague. If the national average of population of migrant origin is 10%, the big cities gather the 40% of that. If the average of non-Western foreigners among the 25 cities is 15% of the city total population, all of the four big cities are above this level. Three of the big cities even double the average: Rotterdam at the top with 35%, Amsterdam with 34% and the Hague with 32% (see Table 2).

Western foreigners are much more spread, with an average percentage of 10,1% in the 25 largest cities and towns. The percentage in the big four does not differ much here from

the rest (see Table 2). Only Amsterdam and the Hague score above that with 14 and 13% respectively in 2005.

It is remarkable that, although asylum seekers are more spread throughout the country due to the policy of spread of reception centres, there is a considerable presence of them in the big cities. It seems that the trend among refugees is to move to the big cities in a second phase of their stay in the country (CBS, bevolkingstrend, 2nd quarter of 2003).

Table 2. Percentages of Western and Non-Western foreigners in each of the big cities (2005)

	% Western foreigners	% Non-Western foreigners	Total foreigners (%)
Amsterdam	14	34	48
Rotterdam	10	35	45
Utrecht	10	21	31
The Hague	13	32	35

Own elaboration with data from: CBS (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, Voorburg/Heerlen 2006-03-28).

The ethnic composition of the population though varies for each of the big cities (table 3). In Amsterdam foreigners from non industrialized countries are the first group in importance (11,6%), followed by foreigners coming from the European Union and North American countries (9,7%), Surinamese (9,6%), and Moroccans (8,5%). The pattern of Den Haag is similar, with a ranking from foreigners from poor countries (10,1%), Surinamese (9,6%), and foreigners from rich countries (9,2%) being the three most relevant groups, followed by Turks (6,6%) and Moroccans (5,0). In Utrecht the most relevant minorities are Moroccans (8,6%), citizens from other non industrialized countries (6,7%), and Turks (4,5%).

Table 3. Population of the four Dutch big cities, according to ethnicity (1-1-2004)

Ethnicity	Rotterdam		Amsterdam		Den Haag		Utrecht	
	Absolute	%	Absolute	%	Absolute	%	Absolute	%
Surinamese	52.521	8,7	71.248	9,6	45.172	9,6	7.083	2,6
Antilleans	20.649	3,4	11.998	1,6	11.117	2,3	2.372	0,8
Turks	44.861	7,4	37.585	5,0	31.052	6,6	12.208	4,5
Moroccans	35.496	5,9	63.078	8,5	23.525	5,0	23.393	8,6
South Europeans	18.306	3,0	17.823	2,4	7.294	1,5	5.395	1,9
Other non industrialized countries in general	65.217	10,8	86.099	11,6	47.667	10,1	15.942	5,8
Other industrialized countries in general	33.886	5,6	71.801	9,7	43.570	9,2	18.134	6,7
Native Dutch	328.608	54,8	379.131	51,3	260.171	55,4	185.726	68,7
Total	599.544	100	738.763	100	469.568	100	270.243	100

Source: o+s/cos/biu

The ethnic composition of Rotterdam resembles quite much that of the country, with the particularity of having higher percentages of inhabitants from the Dutch colonies Surinam and the Antilles, who sum over 12% of the city population (table 5). The main migrant groups were Surinamese (8,8%), Turkish (7,5%), Moroccans (6%), Antilleans (3,4%), and 11% rest of developing countries (figures for 2005). Within this last category we must mention Cape Verdians as another significant community. The category comprising Spanish, Greeks, and Portuguese gathered here under the label of "South Europeans" sums up to 3% of the population. Although we are talking nowadays of citizens of the European Union they are still considered migrants in the statistics because they settled here as migrant workers in the 1950s and 1960s.

In tables 4 and 5 we can observe that there is a constant upward trend in the figures of ethnic minority inhabitants and a downwards trend for native Dutch ones. Some authors talk here of a ´white flight´ outside the city. As we will see, this residential patterns are reflected in the student population. In secondary education, the majority of the native Dutch pupils of Rotterdam's schools live outside the city borders.

Table 4. Population of Rotterdam by ethnicity (2003, 2004, 2005)

	2003		2004		2005	
	absolute	**%**	**absolute**	**%**	**absolute**	**%**
Native Dutch	333.693	55,6	328.608	54,8	324.038	54,3
Total foreigners	266.166	44,3	270936	45,1	272559	45,6
Foreign from developed countries (EU, etc)	52.337	8,7	52.192	8,7	51.335	8,6
Ethnic minorities	213.829	35,6	218.744	36,4	221.224	37,0
Total	599.859	100	599.544	100	596.597	100

Source: own elaboration with data from o+s/cos/biu

Table 5. Ethnic composition of population in Rotterdam, evolution 2003-2005

Ethnicity	2003		2004		2005	
	absolute	**%**	**absolute**	**%**	**absolute**	**%**
Surinamers	52.377	8,7	52.521	8,7	52.762	8,8
Antillean	20.390	3,3	20.649	3,4	20.330	3,4
Turkish	43.550	7,2	44.861	7,4	45.254	7,5
Morrocan	34.281	5,7	35.496	5,9	36.292	6,0
South-European	18.127	3,0	18.306	3,0	18.093	3,0
Other non-industrialized countries	63.231	10,5	65.217	10,8	66.586	11,1
Industrialised countries	34.210	5,7	33.886	5,6	33.242	5,5
Dutch natives 1)	333.693	55,6	328.608	54,8	324.038	54,3
Total	599.859	100	599.544	100	596.597	100

Source: own elaboration with data from: CBS (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, Voorburg/Heerlen 2006-03-28. (o+s/cos/biu).

2.2. Educational level of population of migrant origin

According to the Annual Report on Minorities 1999 and 2003 *(*Tesser, Merens, and Praag 1999, Dagevos et al 2003) despite positive developments, minorities are still quite far behind as far as education goes. However, young people from the minorities are better educated than their parents. Of the Turkish and Moroccan elderly 50% to 80% have no school certificate at all. For young people of equivalent country of origin and gender, this figure drops up to 5% to 20%.

Nevertheless, the average educational level of young people from the minorities is still remarkably lower than that of their Dutch peers. Ongoing immigration further depresses the average because people who have studied outside the Netherlands generally have a much lower educational background than those who went to school in Holland. At the end of primary school, the performance of Turkish, Moroccan and Antillean pupils lies two school years behind that of their Dutch counterparts in language; in arithmetic, they are around one year behind. Surinamese pupils have more favourable scores and Chinese pupils perform even better than their Dutch peers.

Another indicator is the proportion of students that quit school without any certificate. The percentage of school drop-outs among minorities is three to four times higher than among Dutch pupils.

Tesser, Merens, and Praag (1999) consider that there are two other factors that make things more difficult for ethnic minority students. One is the fact that a majority of disadvantaged pupils study in schools that offer poor quality of education. A second factors is the overestimation of students capabilities by their teachers in primary school. In the Dutch education system there is a selection process between primary and secondary education. Pupils are sent to one of the various tracks in secondary education fundamentally depending on the advise that they are given by their primary education teachers. According to Tesser et al (1999) there is the tendency to advise minority pupils to transfer to levels of education that are too difficult for their actual skills and intelligence, which leads to disappointment, poorer results on their final examinations, and more drop-outs.

In comparison to the national averages, inhabitants of Rotterdam have relatively low levels of education. Almost half of the population (47%) has a low level of education. However, if we consider only the working population the percentage diminishes to 34% (Table 6) due to the lower education level of older generations and of new student population. In this sense, as I will discuss in the section 2.4, the composition of student population of Rotterdam is increasingly of migrant origin and tends to concentrate in the lower tracks of education.

Table 6. Level of education of population in Rotterdam in percentages (1996-2002)

	Population			Active labour force (16-65)		
	Low	**Medium**	**High**	**Low**	**Medium**	**High**
1996	49	32	19	37	37	26

1998	46	31	22	36	35	29
2000	47	31	22	35	36	29
2002	47	31	22	34	36	30

Source: CBS (central bureau of statistics, Heerlen 2002. Enquete beroepsbevolking).

Nevertheless, in secondary education there are two positive signs: drop-outs leave in great numbers with a certificate, and the average scores of the final exam of secondary education are slowly improving (Rotterdam Onderwijsmonitor 2004).

2.3. Position on the labour market.

Ethnic minority population has improved their position in the labour market over the years, but it is still unfavourable with comparison to that of Dutch native population. Two indicators are employment and unemployment rates. In 2002 employment rates were 68% for native Dutch and 56% for population of migrant origin. For the same year, the migrant unemployment percentage was 8% while the general unemployment level was 3% (CBS 2003). Although unemployment level among migrants is lower than in other European countries, and since 1994 it has fallen by 10 to 15 percentage points, unemployment among the minorities is still at a much higher level than among people of Dutch origin (CBS 2003).

In 1998, around 20% of Turkish and Moroccan men were unemployed. Unemployment among Surinamese and Antillean men is slightly over 10%. The corresponding figure for the Dutch-born population is 3%. For women, unemployment rates in all groups are higher: for instance, 30% of Moroccan women are unemployed and 20% of Antillean women. This is contrasted by an unemployment rate of 7% among Dutch women *(*Tesser, Merens, and Praag 1999).

Unemployment among ethnic minority youth is still alarmingly high. For Turkish men aged 15-24, this figure is 23%; for Moroccans in this age group, 30%, Surinamese 28% and Antilleans 16%. The unemployment rate among young Surinamese women, at 22%, is significantly lower than that for men. Unemployment among Antillean women, at 32%, is considerably higher than among their male counterparts.

Regarding indicators for the labour market, Rotterdam does also relatively worse than the Dutch average. The percentage of unemployment in Rotterdam is stable, but is comparative higher than in the other three big cities. In addition, inhabitants of Rotterdam have one of the lowest incomes in the country; in 2000 this was 21.800 euros while the national average was 25.900 euros.

2.4. Concentration of minority pupils in education.

Pupils of migrant and asylum origin represent a large part of Dutch pupil population. In the big cities, first and second generation of pupils comprise over the 50 % of the pupil population in secondary education (Dagevos et al 2003). Nevertheless, ethnic minority students are not evenly distributed within the Dutch educational system. Since the 1970s

some schools in big cities tend to gather a majority of ethnic minority pupils in their school population. The term *black schools* stands for schools with 50% or more of ethnic minority pupils (Vermeulen 2001). Other authors use the label for schools with 80% of more of minority students. In 2004-05 there was a 9% of schools throughout the country with more than 50% of non-Western foreign pupils. And there was a 4% of schools with more than 80 %.

The spread of concentration schools is a sign of how the changing composition of student population leads to new forms of segmentation in education (Dijkstra et al 2001). Such a concentration follow basically spatial lines affecting the most big and medium-size cities (over 200.000 residents), in combination with and social-economical factors, such as type of school and type of education. Due to the young structure of the minority population the majority of the population under 15 in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague is of migrant origin. In addition, within this cities migrants concentrate within few neighbourhoods. Dagevos et al (2003) consider that, taking into account these demographic and residential patterns of ethnic minorities, the phenomenon of ´black schools´ is not surprising, even without the coinciding phenomenon of the ´white flight´. On the other hand, according to the parliamentary commission ¨Block¨ (2004), other explanatory factors for the black schools phenomenon are freedom of election of parents, and the policy of schools based on the article 23 of the Constitution that enables private and semi-private schools to reject students who do not support the school´s principles.

Ethnic concentration in education is highly dependant on residential concentration of population. This appears most clearly for primary schools. For instance, in 2001 the 57% of the black schools in primary education were in the four big cities, while these schools represent only the 8% of the total of national primary schools (Leeman & Veendrick 2001).

On the other hand, the size of the city plays a major role in the concentration of minority pupils among different types of schools: the larger the number of inhabitants, the more are ethnic students distributed among the different types of schools (also catholic and protestant). That means that in small cities (under 100.000 inhabitants), ethnic concentration in public schools is almost 2.5 times bigger than in confessional schools. In medium-size cities (between 100.000 and 200.000 inhabitants) the rate public/private is 1.32 while in the four big cities it is 1.15 (Leeman & Veendrick 2001).

In secondary education the ethnic concentration is not only geographically determined, but here the differentiation between tracks of education plays the main role. This selection is influenced by the social position and also by the ethnicity. The figures of the third year of secondary education illustrate concentration on at least three dimensions: type of school, sort of education (tracks), and size of the cities.

On one hand, the secondary schools where pupils of migrant origin concentrate are not just any school within the many possible levels. Ethnic minority students tend to concentrate in the lower tracks of secondary education (VMBO, etc). Because of the strong correlation between ethnic background and social class, some schools for the

lowest types of secondary education are fully ethnically segregated. In the academic year of 2003-04 the 54% of the Dutch students studied in the lower education tracks while 72% of non-Western foreigners studied in equivalent levels (Table 7). In Rotterdam the imbalance of pupils in the lower education types is even sharper, with 44% of Dutch pupils and 71% of non-Western foreigners (Table 8).

Table 7. Ethnic composition of pupils of third course, per track of secondary education. Percentages per ethnic group for the whole country (2003-04)

	General track	Higher tracks (VWO)	Lower tracks		Total
			Medium high (HAVO)	(VWO & LWOO)	
Total	3	20	20	57	100
Dutch nationals	3	21	21	54	100
Foreigners	3	15	16	66	100
Western foreigners	4	24	20	52	100
Non-Westerse foreigners	2	12	14	72	100
Turks	1	7	13	79	100
Moroccans	1	6	11	81	100
Surinamese	3	12	16	69	100
Antilleans Arubans	3	12	13	72	100
Other non-Western foreigners	3	18	17	62	100
Unknown	2	10	21	67	100

Source: Central Bureau for Statistics, dossier Schoolkleur in voortgezet onderwijs 2006.

Table 8. Ethnic composition of pupils of third course, per track of secondary education. Percentages per ethnic group in Rotterdam (2003-04)

	General track	Higher tracks (VWO)	Medium high (HAVO)	Lower tracks (VWO & LWOO)	Total
Total	3	20	20	57	100
Dutch nationals	4	27	24	44	100
Foreigners	1	15	16	68	100
Western foreigners	6	28	22	45	100
Non-Westerse foreigners	1	13	15	71	100
Turks	0	13	17	70	100
Moroccans	.	10	12	77	100
Surinamese	2	12	17	69	100
Antilleans Arubans	.	8	7	84	100
Other non-Western foreigners	.	18	18	63	100
Unknown	0	.	.	83	100

Source: Central Bureau for Statistics, dossier Schoolkleur in voortgezet onderwijs 2006.

Finally, the former trends are sharper on the big metropolitan areas. If the national average of non-Western foreign students in secondary schools is 14% in the big cities it

triples reaching 45% (2004-2005). In the four big cities, there is a 46% of 50%-schools and a 25% of 80%-schools, while in the rest of the country these percentages are 3 and 1 respectively. Rotterdam is the big city with sharper concentration. Although Amsterdam has more non-Western students than Rotterdam (52% vs. 43%) these pupils are more concentrated within Rotterdam.

2.5. Characteristics of the newcomer pupils in Rotterdam

According the official statistics of education for 2003-04 in Rotterdam (Onderwijsmonitor 2003-04) there were 14.112 students of ethnic minority origin in secondary education. According to that source, that represents the 40,5% of the total students population in secondary education. On the other hand, newcomer students in secondary education who actually attend incorporation programs are around 200 per year in Rotterdam. According to municipal figures 1300 newcomer pupils arrive to the city each year (this figure includes pupils in primary education, and pupils not registered in reception courses).

In the first evaluation report of the reception program for secondary education in Rotterdam (CED 2005) an attempt was made to register all the relevant socio-economic data of the pupils of the program. A questionnaire was passed to all the schools participating in the program to gather the data. The result is highly incomplete, with a high level of non response in many issues.

The 580 students following the program in 2003-2004 belonged to 60 different nationalities, with a 10% from Morocco, another 10% from Turkey, and a rest from different developing countries in Asia and Africa. Although, the 31% of students with unknown origin should be bear in mind. The tongue that students used at home could serve as an alternative to have a picture of the ethnic composition of pupils. Within the known use of languages there was a 10% of Turkish, 8% of Portuguese, 8% of Arab, 6% of Spanish, 5% of Dutch, 3% of Chinese, 3% of Papiamento, 2% of Russian, and 2% of Cape Verdian. Smaller categories sum up to 22%. 31% in the category of unknown

The average time of stay in the country was 1 year and 10 months.

Only a 1.2% of the students was illiterate, together with a 3% who could only read/write in a non-Latin alphabet. The rest (40%) could read/write in the Latin alphabet or both a Latin and non-Latin (5%). Once again the 50% of unknown data limits us dramatically in our conclusions.

Regarding the educational level of parents there is a 69% of missing data. This is due to the fact that one of the schools did not facilitate this data about the students, but also due to the lack of data regarding many students from the other three schools. The picture shown by the limited data gathered is a 20% of parents with low education levels and 8% with medium levels and 3% with university degrees. Here it was considered the highest level of education of both parents.

A last warning must be made about a gap in the figures on the benefitters of the program and the potential benefitters. According data from the Education Monitor of Rotterdam 2002-2003, only 51% of newcomer pupils in secondary education attend a reception class. From the 526 legally counted by the municipal office only 320 were inscribed in a ISK centre (a 61%). And from the 189 pupils of Antillean origin, only 45 did register. In total, 51% of the total, and we must take into account that this are the official data of the municipality, which underestimate the real figures (illegal, for instance, are left out).

3. National integration policies for migrants

3.1. Guest-worker measures in the 1970s

The Netherlands was considered a country of e-migration, and this consideration informed the lack of policy to regulate incoming flows of immigrants (Blok Commission 2004). As it was explicitly stated in a 1970 policy document regulating guest-workers: the Netherlands is definitely not an immigration country (Nota Buitenlandse Werknemers, 1970).

Policymakers' main assumption was that migrants were to return to their home countries (WRR 2001). As a consequence, only ad hoc measures were applied and reception facilities were scarce (with the exception of those for the repatriates) and short-term oriented (Penninx, 1996). Accordingly, the two main goals of the policy were adaptation of the guest-workers to the Dutch society and remigration. Policy documents also spoke about the importance of maintaining own's identity, always within the mind-frame of migrants going to remigrate.

A welfare policy was developed to respond to the needs of some risk groups. Specific risk groups were: guest-workers, asylum seekers, migrants from Surinam and the Dutch Antilles, Moluccans, and caravans dwellers. Each of these programs were coordinated by different ministries: the Ministry of Culture, Recreation, and Social Work was in charge of the Surinamese/ Antilleans, Moluccans and gypsies; Asylum seekers were the responsibility of the Ministries of Justice and Interior, and "*gastardbeiders*" were done by Social Issues and Labour. This organization did not offered policies specifically oriented to migrants, on the contrary, it stimulated many private institutions to provide welfare services for this population (Mollenman 2004, Blok Commission 2004, Penninx 1979). On the other hand, many facilities (housing, etc) for migrant workers were often offered by the companies.

The concentration of guest-workers in urban areas pushed to the front their needs regarding housing, education, health care and welfare. Regarding the fields of education and health, local authorities played a role in the institutionalisation of policy, taking own initiatives and pushing the national authorities to recognize and finance them.

An example of measure is the Mother Tongue and Culture Programme for Mediterranean children, inaugurated in 1974. This program was very coherent with the spirit of the times, since it had the explicit goal of facilitating the reintegration of migrant children in societies of origin. Another typical measure from those years was the granting of financial incentives for those migrant workers who actually went back to their countries of origin.

3.2. The Multicultural policies of the 1980s

The 1980s was characterized by the "Ethnic Minorities" policy, inaugurated in 1983. The starting point was the recognition of the permanent establishment of migrants in the

Netherlands. The motto of the policy was 'socio-economic integration with respect for own cultural identity'. This encloses the two main policy objectives: socio-economic integration and cultural public recognition. The slogan 'integration with maintenance of identity' starts from the assumption that own identity stimulates de emancipation in the own community, and that has a positive influence on the integration in the broader society (Blok Commission 2004).

This policy targeted not to all migrants but to specific social groups with socio-economic disadvantages. Target groups followed the pre-existing categories from the previous decade: Turkish, Moroccans, Southern Europeans, Surinamese, Antilleans, Moluccans, refugees, gypsies, and caravan dwellers. The 1970s category 'guest-worker' was split into Turkish, Moroccans and Southern Europeans.

Redistributive measures were applied to migrants within the logic of welfare State: to promote equality, applying special measures for disadvantaged groups. Equal opportunities was to be provided for foreigners (*allochtonen)*. Between 1984-1987 specific means were allocated to fight unemployment among minorities. Another measure that symbolizes the rational of the policy was the 'Education Priority Policy' approved in 1985. Here the basic assumption was that in order to improve the education level of disadvantage groups extra means should be invested.

On the cultural dimension of the policy, the star measure is the subsidies for ethnic minorities organisations, in order to support cultural promotion activities. The support of religious identities was never in the agenda. In this sense, the empowerment of Muslims was a side effect of the liberal system and the remains of the pillarized Dutch State, although it took place as well in other countries such as France of the UK, regardless of public support.

In addition, a report from the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR)[1] recommended to make effective the equality of rights in the juridical framework. In particular, an extension of the political rights of foreigners was recommended. As a result, a considerable effort took place in this period in order to legislate different issues regarding immigrants and their children. Citizenship and naturalisation were flexiblized, antidiscrimination legislation was developed, and initiatives were taken to revise pre-existing laws and to eliminate discriminatory elements. In addition, municipal vote was granted to aliens legally who resided in Nederland for more than five years. An illustration of the legislative production of these period are the following laws: Minorities Bill 1983, Revision of the constitution 1983, new Dutch Citizenship Act 1985, Education priority policy 1985, and Enfranchisement Bill 1985.

The governance pattern of this policy has already some big differences with that of the former decade. From the 1980s on there will be a ministry (and a specific department) coordinating the implementation of the minorities policy and summing together the

[1] Advisory committee that gives requested and unrequested advise over all kinds of issues to the national government.

efforts of the different public agencies with competences. In 1979 the ministry of Interior was given the function of coordinating ministry.

A second trait of the new governance pattern concerns the logic in the division of tasks among ministries. The competences of integration are not anymore more split among ministries according to target groups but rather to sectorial responsibilities. In the 1980s three ministries invest the majority of the integration budget: Interior, Education and Health, Welfare and Sport. Throughout the 1990s more ministries will be involved. However, these three portfolios will remain the main policy actors within the national administration. The total investment of these three ministries on integration increased from 78% in 1984 to 98% in 2003 (Blok Commission 2004).

In the 1980s there were created more public agencies specifically oriented to deal with migration/ integration issues. In 1985 eight advisory boards were created for each of the main minorities, the so-called minority research advisory committees, which provided solicited and unsolicited policy advise.

3.3. Citizenship shift and replacement strategies from the 1990s

In the 1990s began a new type of policy, which will be continued through the 2000s. The guiding concepts of the so-called ***integration policy*** are "citizenship" and "self-responsibility". The argument is that citizenship entails rights but also duties, and that each citizen must be active and responsible for him/her self. In the integration terrain, that means that the potential newcomer is in charge of his/her own *citizenship* program (in Dutch "*inburgering")*. In this sense, 'integration policy' shifts from a focus on groups to a focus on individuals within groups who are in a disadvantaged position.

Successive policy advises (WRR 1989, WRR 2001) have recommended to gear policy more and more to the socio-economic incorporation of migrants and ethnic minorities via the labour market and education. Policies have followed generally these recommendations, leaving aside the multicultural policy that highlighted group empowerment and identity development. This led to a more assimilationist policy, focusing on the improvement of education of newcomers with emphasis on the acquisition of Dutch norms and values, particularly from 2002 on. The main goal of the policy is that newcomers are able to manage by themselves in Dutch society.

The new policy targeted at the socio-economic integration of immigrants via education and labour market. However, policies specifically targeted at ethnic minorities were abandoned. For instance, since 1988 (until 1997) budget allocated to fight unemployment among ethnic minorities was cut off. From 1997 to 2001 means were invested for the participation of minorities in the general schemes to fight unemployment. Nevertheless, they were big sums not specifically earmarked for ethnic minorities (Blok Commission 2004). In any case, the financial figures show that the participation of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs was always quite limited (Blok commission 2004).

The new policy also included for the first time reception programs for newcomers: after two pilots it was inaugurated a national program of citizenship (*inburgering*) for newcomers. In 1998 the law of citizenship for newcomers (WIN) was approved. The instruments applied for the citizenship programs were primarily reception programs for newcomers, consisting of a 600 hours course of Dutch language and culture, and positive discrimination measures in education and labour market. The argument for pushing education to the front of the stage is clear. Newcomers lack some basic knowledge and skills and as a consequence they cannot be autonomous in Dutch society. The courses for *Inburgering* pursued the goal of providing them with this basic information.

Regarding the division of tasks and governance pattern there are also novelties. In 1998 a minister for Urban Policy and integration policy was appointed (within the ministry of Interior). The dossier of integration will remain there until 2002 when it would be moved to the ministry of Justice[2]. Dutch urban policy existed since mid 1990s with the goal of re-developing deprived neighbourhoods in big cities and it is not a coincidence that the deprived neighbourhoods target of urban policy programs were areas of migrant concentration. This policy supposed clearly a *replacement* of integration policies: the area is chosen as primary policy category instead of existing groups in society. According to Zwart (2005) *replacement* is a policy option often chosen by governments to "avoid official recognition of social divisions thought to cause the problem, yet permit redistribution that benefits disadvantaged groups". Since mid 1990s large investments took place in area-based development programs. These supposed and still do a way of introducing redistributive measures in neighbourhoods were ethnic minorities were the clear benefitters. The emphasis of Urban Policies gradually shifted from focus on housing and urban renewal (*Sociale vernieuwing* 1990) to more holistic programs integrating measures on housing, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions (*Grotestedenbeleid* 1994). Within this holistic approach, the emphasis lays on socio-economic development, coinciding with the above mentioned main lines of the purple government.

Finally, in this decade the decentralization of policy to the local level becomes accelerated. The link with urban policy came to reinforce the decentralizing trend of integration policies, as cities gradually demanded more flexibility and autonomy in the formulation and development of their own (urban/ integration) policies.

3.4. New assimilationist policies of the 2000s

The policy for immigrant's incorporation took another shift in 2002, with the new political majority in power. The cabinet Balkanende I was a coalition between Christian-democrats, liberals and the extreme right party LPF. Still, the rationales of the policy will very much follow the same citizenship paradigm of the 1990s, based on the leading concepts of "citizenship" and "self-responsibility".

Regarding the programs for reception of new migrants, modifications take the 1990s liberal philosophy to the extreme. Newcomers have the obligation of passing a citizenship exam, proving language skills and knowledge about Dutch culture and

[2] and a the new minister appointed wil have have the portfolio of 'foreigners affairs and integration'

society. The threshold character of this requisite lies on the fact that the granting of permanent permits will be subject to successfully passing the test[3]. However, the granting of preparatory courses will not be funded and offered by public authorities. The municipalities do not offer anymore free citizenship/ Dutch courses, with the exception of three target groups (refugees, ethnic minority housewives, and imams). From 2006 on newcomers must look themselves for courses and pay for them. Only in the case that they pass the exam successfully, they are entitled to receive a refund of 70% of their training expenses.

The so-called *oudkomers* or people from migrant origin who already live in the country must as well prove their degree of integration –however, those who already have a permanent residence permit are not obliged by this rule-. Only asylum seekers and refugees are not bound by this obligation.

The arguments behind the reformulation of *inburgering* policy have to do with the strive for a more effective policy. The anchor idea is the new distribution of responsibilities among the various parts involved, where ultimately the emphasis is on the own responsibility of migrants. But also other elements are rearranged, such as the possibility of local authorities to provide incorporation courses through a more diversified set of private actors.

In addition, the citizenship policy "new style" includes significant modifications regarding the target population of the policy. The target from the new integration policy has expanded with regard to the former. By defining the population concerned by the citizenship obligation with regard of years of obligatory schooling done in the country, newcomers with Dutch nationality but born outside the Netherlands are also included. Namely, Minister Verdonk has attempted like that to extend this obligation to Antilleans, justifying it in the problematic character of this minority group. However, this has been rejected before for being unconstitutional since Antilleans have Dutch nationality. But Verdonk's plan is still under consideration.

In the first Balkanende government (2002) the agency for the coordination of integration and minority policy (DCIM) was transferred from the ministry of Interior to the ministry of Justice. This administrative change was due to coalition politics: the LPF had to have another minister (Molleman, 2004). In any case, the philosophy of immigrant's policy as being a policy to facilitate the incorporation of migrants in society and to promote their equality gave way to a policy mainly oriented to hamper new flows, in particular those of asylum seekers.

[3] In addition, in order to be admitted to the country they must already pass a language test of basic knowledge.

4. Description of the Dutch education system

Education is compulsory from 5 to 16 years old. Primary education is the same for all pupils. At the end of primary education there is a selection process by which students are sent to one of the four sorts of secondary education: four levels of general education and a vocational education. In the first phase of secondary education (12-15) pupils are taught a core curriculum of 15 subjects, different for each of the education tracks. After the first phase of secondary education is completed, the pupil starts preparing for the final examination. Each level of examination takes different number of years of preparation, but also they entitle to be admitted in different sorts of education. Pre-vocational or junior general secondary education takes one year, senior general secondary education takes two, and pre-university takes three years (Rijkschroeff et al 2005).

Regarding the general organization of educational system nowadays, some features can be highlighted. These traits constitute the general framework for reception programs, entailing constrains and possibilities on its functioning and actual outcomes

4.1. Residual pillarisation of schools

The Dutch education system has traditionally been segmented on a religious basis. Dutch pre-welfare State was organised along socio-religious lines or *pillars*, the main ones being the protestant, the catholic, and the socialist ones. There were schools for protestant children, just like hospitals or trade unions: everything was pillarised. Education system in the Netherlands is still very much pillarised into public schools, and protestant, catholic, Islamic, and Hindu ones.

The principle of 'freedom of education' of schools is the touchstone of the agreement that settled the bitter 'school war' of the beginning of the century. It is one of the founding principles of Dutch society, the liberal principle of equality of all pillars. This agreed respect for all norms and values of protestant and catholic (and others) equally implies a necessary 'neutrality' of the State and public administration. The State agreed on having to provide equal funding for all types of schools (public, protestant, catholic, etc). But this tolerance of every religious/ ideological value has implied in fact a hindrance for the establishment of formal policies of education. The difficulty is found in reaching policy objectives that suit all the diversity of ideological values. The tendency within this arrangement is to a rather loose regulation of education. The minimal quality standards should be guaranteed by the inspectorate of education, however this in fact is also rather loose (Jungbluth 2004).

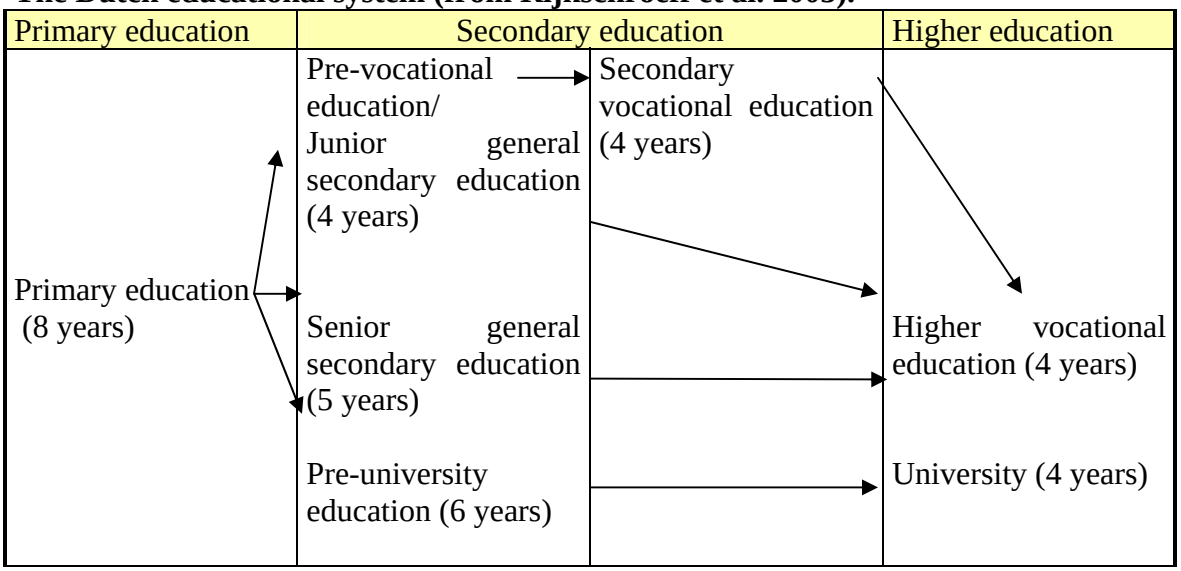
4.2. Meritocratic system.

Sociology of education handbooks state that Dutch pillarised educational system has been substituted since the 1980s by a meritocratic system[4] (Veld, 2003). As I mentioned earlier, the Dutch secondary education system is a complex set of separated tracks from

[4] As we discuss in the former point, this is only partially true, since there is still very much a pillarised school system.

the most openly vocational training to the most academic oriented ones. Some scholars defend that it perfectly mirrors Dutch social classes system (Matthijssen, 1971).

The Dutch educational system (from Rijkschroeff et al. 2005).



At the very young age of 12 students must go to one or other education track. The choice is normally done by their teachers and it is based on their academic achievements and the results of intelligence tests. Each education track is thought to be appropriate for a certain level of IQ. The CITO test –a non compulsory one that de facto is applied in the majority of Dutch schools- is supposed to measure differences in contents learned and skills. However research shows (Tesser and Iedema 2001) that differences reflected in the CITO test should be primarily attributed to socio-economic variables, the main among them being the country of origin and education level of the parents. Academic achievements from primary school not only correlate strongly with somebody's social background, but they are reinforced through stereotype selection and advises (Jungbluth 2004).

4.3. De-regulation

In the 1990s compensatory education was decentralised to municipalities. In theoretical terms decentralisation implied that municipality was given a managing role in equal opportunities policy: it enabled to design their own *tailor-made* priority policy and to distribute funds among schools. For a decade it gave cities a greater freedom to add municipal resources to the government grants and to use part of the supplementary expenditure on public education for the private system as well[5] (Vermeulen et al 1997). Nevertheless, the decentralisation process has been counteracted by the strong emphasis on de-regulation since 2002, remaining as a functional decentralization where local

[5] It opened the possibility to depart from the "overshoot regulation" (under which the municipality was required to use part of the supplementary expenditure on public education for the private system as well)

authorities actually lack the power to enforce municipal policy (SCO-Kohnstamm Institute 2004).

Since last year (2003) a majority of State funds for compensatory programs are directly transferred to schools, *bypassing* the municipal government and the local policy goals. The new law of education (2005-06) emphasizes the role of management boards of school companies. In addition, municipalities are now granted more freedom to decide where to allocate compensatory education and integration funds. If decentralisation meant in the big cities a reinforcement on compensatory policy, further de-regulation has put an end to this.

4.4. Commodification of education and company concentration in the educative sector.

As a response to the diminishing school population Dutch schools engaged in gigantic fusions under the same social pillar (i.e. protestant schools altogether). All individual schools within the same company are managed by a powerful management board, whereas individual school boards remain as mere intermediates between teachers and the actual decision-makers concerning financial and political issues. In a search for efficiency, the municipality of Rotterdam has also created a managerial board for all public schools.

The consequence of this survival strategy has strongly reinforced the present trend to commodification of education. There is a strong competition among school companies. Many of them publish the grades of their pupils to prove their quality and to attract high profile students. Often in the same company schools for different tracks of education and therefore social status coexist: these are normally kept separated in different buildings or sections, so that the image of the luxury department is not damaged.

5. Incorporation policies for migrants in the education system

5.1. Educational priority policy : philosophy, goals, and instruments

Launched in 1985, the 'educational priority policy' has as general objective fostering proportional participation of disadvantaged students in education. In words of the Ministry of Education:

> '*promoting integration, preventing of segregation, and combating educational disadvantages'* (OCW 1985).

By removing the educational disadvantages the position of ethnic minority pupils should be comparable to that of pupils of the majority population with the same background. In reaching those goals a positive discrimination principle is applied. However, policy for ethnic minority pupils is not clearly separated from a general equal opportunities policy for native Dutch disadvantaged children. The underlying notion behind priority policy is that problems of ethnic minority students are similar to those of Dutch working class students: problems associated to their low socio-economic position. As a consequence, one only frame must be applicable for all underprivileged children in the Netherlands.

Educational priority policy is basically a weighting scheme, which determines the allocation of additional resources for schools on the grounds of the proportion of disadvantaged students that they have. In secondary education funds go to ethnic minority students (CUMI funds) and in basic education funds go both to ethnic minorities and low income students (although the first in a higher proportion of 1.90 while the second 1.25). Facilities are mainly used to make smaller classes in which the teacher can give more attention to each pupil, and to teach Dutch as a second language. In addition, pre-school and early school measures were developed, including parent counselling and family intervention.

Although specific ethno-cultural differences were considered not to contribute to disadvantage with the exception of the language barrier, until 2002 more priority was given to ethnic minority students. A school received more resources per ethnic minority student than per autochthonous one on a proportion of 1.9 to 1.25. This has changed in the new priority policy with the right-wing government of 2002. In 2004 educational priority policy abandons definitively focus on ethnic background, substituting it for a new criteria for distribution of extra resources: the (low) level of education of parents.

Besides the weighting scheme for schools, priority policy also introduced an area-based approach. Schools in deprived neighbourhoods and other public agencies from the area – such as pre-school child care, social work, and police- were expected to cooperate in order to develop an integrated approach to problems. Co-operation between schools and other agencies was further develop with the introduction of urban policies (social renewal policy and big cities policy). In 1998, the area-based educational priority policy was incorporated as part of the municipal education compensatory policy.

Educational integration policy has shown some consistency over the past 30 years but also large shifts in objectives (Rijkschroeff et al 2005), policy instruments and actors of implementation. The consistency regards primarily to the goal of achieving proportionality in socio-economic position of minority students. However, from the late 1990s and specially from 2002 we can distinguish within the same policy framework a clear change of direction from social democrat emphasis on equality of opportunities to more liberal policies[6]. The liberalisation implies more and more emphasis on 'freedom of education' of schools, and consequently more funds go directly to schools. This de-regulation comes accompanied by more emphasis on assimilation than on goals of multicultural education (such as mother tongue training or intercultural education). Basically, there is a drastic shift in the conception of how socio-cultural identity and socio-economic integration interrelate (Rijkschroeff et al 2005). The change is summarized by Rijkschroeff et al (2005) in two dimensions: on one hand, cultural identity has turned from being considering a facilitator factor in socio-economic integration to be considered an obstacle. On the other, own languages of minorities were first considered in its own rights to be later on only instrumentally assumed as a help to learn Dutch language. The new equal opportunities policy places the emphasis on Dutch language and on early and pre-school education.

Until 2002 Dutch compensatory education had four basic instruments, although with the decentralisation of the 1990s specific measures were ultimately dependant upon local authorities. These basic instruments were: Dutch (as a second language) language training, mother language education (OALT), intercultural education, and reception training for newcomer foreign pupils. Up to 2002 we find a considerable consistency of these policy instruments throughout the years, with differences of emphasis. The increasing demands on migrants to assimilate have led to a lesser focus on the teaching of mother tongue, until their complete suppression in 2002. Also positive discrimination funds have been dramatically reduced, and funds for reception have been separated from educational priority policy and more linked to integration policies with emphasis on cultural assimilation.

In the following section, the evolution of priority policy will be described chronologically, to offer a better insight of these policy changes.

5. 2. Evolution of the educational priority policy (1985-2006)

In 1974 it was already formulated a form of compensatory policy for migrant pupils, which focused on education in the language and culture of the country of origin. But it was only in 1985 that the present scheme of policy fighting educational disadvantages was launched, with the above described characteristics.

An evaluation over the area-based urban policies led to the decentralisation of educational policy in 1998. The municipal education compensatory policy marks an attempt to improve the deployment of resources to combat educational disadvantage. However the decentralisation of the policy made ambiguous which are the

[6] See reformed law of primary and secondary education (2005-6)

responsibilities of municipalities, schools and boards of educational companies (Blok commission 2004).

In the year 2000 new impulse was given to the priority policy. There was great concern in the parliament over the results of policy until that moment. It was proved too little advance, and at the same time the schools that showed to have the lowest quality tended to concentrate the majority of disadvantaged students. As a result, it was decided to focus attention on schools with accumulation of problems (many pupils from disadvantaged groups, poor results, poor quality of the education offered) and for 'low quality' schools. The main goal was: *better education outcomes for schools with problems*. Priority policy was intensified with general rules and with specific initiatives, such as school development plans, and quality projects. Two starting assumptions were that it is possible to improve quality, and that not every school with concentration of disadvantage students has bad quality of education (SCO-Kohnstamm Institute 2002).

Within this new stage of priority policy, two main modifications took place: Taylor-made focus on the school and ad-hoc support to the school. Whereas the former policy took the shape of the municipality offering projects to the schools, the new policy puts the emphasis on the school identifying its main problems. A school development plan must be drawn, defining main targets and activities to reach them. The central government provides the funding that via de municipality and the boards of educational companies is distributed among schools (SCO-Kohnstamm Institute 2002). Between 2000-2002 around 400 schools were selected to work along these lines (OK schools), 100 of them in the Big Cities.

From 2002 on a new wave of policy changes took place, with the new government Balkanende I (until July 2002) and Balkanende II (from February 2003 on). In the coalition agreement of the cabinet Balkanende I the mother tongue education was suppressed and the priority given to the teaching of Dutch. Although the cabinet lasted very short, this initiatives were continued by the next cabinet, so the mother tongue education was suppressed in 2004. Afterwards, in the cabinet Balkanende II it was established that the budgets of education (also those from municipalities) would be as much as possible decentralised towards schools. Means for disadvantages policy and weighting scheme for schools with problem accumulation (*gewichtenregeling)* have been combined in a new regulation, with the criteria of the actual disadvantage of pupils. As a result, the territorial decentralisation of 1998 was to a great extent a functional decentralisation (SCO-Kohnstamm Institute 2004).

Between October 2003 and July 2004 the minister of education published her intention to substitute the CUMI funds for ethnic minority students in secondary education by a new sort of funds (Leerplusarrangament voor voortgezet onderwijs). The ethnic origin of pupils will not be considered in the distribution of funds anymore. An indicator (ITS, indicator voor de toedeling van middelen) would be developed as an objective tool for the distribution of funds, based on the results of the research PRIMA on primary education. («Hoofdlijnenbrief toekomstig onderwijsachterstandenbeleid», Kamerstukken II, 27 020,

nr. 35, «Uitwerkingsbrief toekomstig onderwijsachterstandenbeleid», Kamerstukken II, 27 020, nr. 39).

With this modification of the policy the schools of the big cities would have loose 16% of its extra personal. As a consequence, a strong reaction on the part of the four major cities came soon after. The minister of education opened negotiations with the federation of Dutch municipalities (VNG) and the group of the four big cities G4. Other actors such as school managers´ associations, coordinators of ISK training, and the LOWAN (national working group for newcomers and asylum seekers) were also consulted. By October 2004 the position of the minister was a bit eroded. It was offered to provide extra money for black schools via an adaptation regulation, that would be applicable between 2007-2010. But for the cities this is only a temporal solution. In March 2005 the minister sends a letter to the Parliament modifying the initial change in policy ("Aanpak onderwijsachterstanden" March 24th 2005) . The Leerplus Arrangement funds would distributes funds instead of according to the country of origin of the pupil, according to the ubication of schools in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, thus, in general to schools in big cities. This would be very much the final agreement reached, as it appears in the June 10th 2005 letter of the minister to the parliament including the last modifications to the new regulations for first reception of foreign students in secondary education.

The results of the negotiations did not fully satisfy the national federation LOWAN, since asylum seeker pupils normally live in small cities and villages, schools will not receive funds to provide them the necessary reception lessons (Letter to the minister with date of April 11th 2005).

5.3. Decentralisation of educational policy to municipalities

In 1998 educational policy was decentralized to local authorities. 'Educational priority policy' conformed since then the so-called GOA (municipal educational disadvantages policy). The objectives pursued with decentralisation were more efficiency and the possibility to develop programs ad-hoc to each city. It was as well considered that the complexity of problematic confronted were best fight with an integral approach, and therefore municipalities were encouraged to work in cooperation with other actors and other sectorial policies, such as youth policy, etc. At the same time a law regulating mother tongue education was enacted.

Decentralised policy is regulated by two national frameworks (SCO-Kohnstamm Institute 2002): on one hand, a national policy guidelines (Landelijk Beleidskader Onderwijsachterstand, LBK) defining every four years policy goals and priorities; on the other, the municipal educational disadvantages plan (ROAP) which each city must formulate. The ROAP must further develop general goals stated in the national frame and determine own specific priorities. Ultimately, national funds for are distributed according to these plan. At the same time, municipalities who receive funds for Mother Tongue Training also must develop a own plan defining priorities and target groups.

Nearly all municipalities with planning obligations currently conduct education compensatory policies. Similar policies are also conducted in a substantial number of municipalities without planning obligations (Turkenburg 1999). On the basis of the substantive choices made by the municipalities and the type of administrative organisation for which they had opted it proved possible to arrive at a broad classification of the policy. Most of the municipalities have opted for a "growth model", in which the objectives of the national policy framework form part of municipal policy more or less sequentially during the plan period and only a few of those objectives are introduced simultaneously.

In order to reach an agreement on the plans for municipal education compensatory policy it is required to carry out consultations. Nearly all the municipalities have by now conducted the consultations.

In the city of Rotterdam, national policy crystallised in the municipal policy for disadvantages in education (GOA) and its biannual plans (ROAP). In the ROAP national policy translates into concrete programs such as: courses for mother tongue training (OALT), program of quality in education (schools with pilot projects), or transition programs for newcomers (so called ISK in secondary education, PRISMA and NEON for primary education). The compensation educational policy in Rotterdam does not essentially differ in its goals from the national framework. The local authority of Rotterdam identifies four priorities for the coming period (2004-2006):

- Fight learning disadvantages,
- Lodging of schools
- Offering support and advice for schools
- Solution to the shortage of teachers

In addition, in the municipal program 2001-2006 one of the priorities of the DELTA program is citizenship. The DELTA plan inburgering (citizenship) has three target groups, among them newcomers in compulsory education age.

5.4. Educational opportunity zones

As I mentioned before, since the 1990s educational priority policy is applied in specific urban deprived areas with funds coming from the national urban policy scheme. The integrated approach characteristic of urban policy has linked policy educational goals with other policy domains, public services, and actors. This philosophy has been applied in local and sub-local programs such as the *educational zones* (in Dutch OKZ, OnderwijsKansenZones) promoted by the municipality or the district *Broad School*[7] program. Private-public partnerships are stimulated within these schemes, as well as diversified financial sources for policies.

[7] The *Brede School* sets out to organise around the school a network of resources for children and families, coordinating services of education, welfare, health, sport, etc.

A large number of municipalities appear to be succeeding in creating a fairly broad base of support for the education compensatory policy. They do so by engaging numerous institutions in their education compensation plans. Use is made of existing networks.

In Rotterdam the co-operation between different actors within specific urban areas is organised in the network NEON for reception of newcomers. Newcomers between 6 and 18 without knowledge of Dutch language received by any actor in that network are transferred to an reception course.

6. Rotterdam's reception model for newcomers in compulsory education age

6.1. Rotterdam within the Dutch context : reception models in Dutch cities

There are three different possible ways of organizing the first reception of foreign pupils:

a. **Parallel model**: students are concentrated in a special school of reception, separated from regular secondary education, where they receive training in Dutch language and in other subjects. This model has two variants: concentration on one single *mother* school, which does all reception and from there newcomers transfer to other schools if necessary; or several parallel centres spread throughout the city. In this second case the choice between schools may be done on different grounds: spatial location, level of secondary education, type of education, age, etc.

b. **Immersion model**: newcomer pupils are received in the regular lesson, with some additional support in Dutch (additional lessons, support teacher in the classroom, etc).

c. **Mixed model**: it is a combination of the former. Newcomer students receive language training in the morning and in the afternoon these pupils join regular lessons. The idea is that they are in touch with Dutch-speaking pupils and in a more normalized school environment at least part of the day. In theory, the lessons that they join within the regular classes only entail a minimum use of Dutch language, like for example Sport. In this model, the reception classrooms may be centralized in one or few centres throughout the city, or each school may have its own reception unit.

Other names applied to the models are central (parallel), integrated (immersion), and combination (mixed). In the Netherlands there are examples of the three systems of reception in secondary education, but the most wide-spread is the parallel one (Ritchers 2002). The four big cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht, and The Hague) apply this model. Examples of the immersion and mixed models are only found in small towns/ villages. The immersion model is actually what was originally used in the first years of family reunion flow. It was substituted by the other two when schools realized that it is highly ineffective with a considerable inflow of newcomer pupils.

The first initiatives of reception for foreigners following the parallel or the mixed model took place in secondary education. In primary education it took many more years to develop specific responses, and the immersion model has been the most frequent. Two reasons are normally put forward: the relative facility of learning a second language at an early age, and the easier curricula of primary education, which offers more possibilities for newcomers to catch up.

In the last years, specially from 2003 on with the present government, a strong emphasis has been placed on the relevance of learning Dutch in pre-school and primary school. Research has shown that second generation migrants already born in the country enter primary school with a disadvantage in (Dutch) language with respect to their native peers, and this is consider to be impossible to bridge if not tackled as soon as possible.

6.2. Origin of the Rotterdam's model.

The so-called ISK, international reception classes for foreign students in secondary education, have their origin in the family reunion of migrant guest workers from Mediterranean countries. The consequences of the settlement of labour migrant families in Dutch big cities were soon noticed in the schools of the working class neighbourhoods. Earlier forms of post-war migrant flows coming from the Dutch colonies did not have such an impact on schools because their children were familiar to a certain extent with Dutch. But in the 1970s with the arrival of guest worker families in large numbers and fast speed, schools realized that they had a problem with the non Dutch speaking new pupils.

> *What in Amsterdam happened, and for what I know it was exactly the same in Rotterdam, is that… at the end of the 1970s, when the family reunion came, and this was very fast then. That was really… in the school where I was began in September 1977 an at the end of the year they were 800 pupils. And we had began with 20!! Thus, it was happening at a very high speed, but nobody had foreseen that the family reunion all of a sudden would cause that so fast. (Jantine Kriens)*

Schools with growing numbers of newcomer students created separated classrooms where foreign students were full-time placed in separated classes to learn the Dutch language.

> *But the school where I worked said 'well, we can do something about it. We are going to make sure that they learn Dutch'. And it took a couple of persons. And then the word spared very fast, and the other secondary schools said 'let's send them the children there'.*

First schools creating their own reception units did choose for a such parallel model, and not an integrated one. In doing so they did not follow theoretical considerations but purely empirical observations. On one hand, the proportion of newcomer students per class seems to impose serious difficulties for applying an integrated reception in the (regular) classroom. One ex-teacher of a secondary school explained that when the non Dutch-speaking pupils were more than 12 '*I noticed that I simply can't do anything*'. On the other, the particular characteristics of the schools where the massive arrival of guest-worker children was taking place also played a role in the choice. They were originally public schools in working class neighbourhoods of the four big cities (Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Utrecht and the Hague), which already had a accumulation of problematics. As the representative of one of the initiators say:

> "*The schools that were located in these neighbourhoods had a constant growing number of non Dutch-speaking students. Most of all, in the basic education the situation was unbearable with pupils of 14 and 15 years old, who must start in third or fourth course their academic trajectory. It was unconceivable to talk about reception in the over-crowded classes with many problems. The need for a non-regular form of education for these old non Dutch-speaking students was strongly felt*". (Wolfert van Borselen 1982).

In a second step, schools organised themselves and started lobbying to get political support. Schools started getting in contact with each other and a national organization was created to coordinate and represent all the schools affected by the issue, the LCVOA. The organization lobbied initially to get public support for the issue, but also pushing to get a policy regulating the problem, and making concrete policy proposals. Although it took some time to get the issue on the political agenda, the public support was successfully achieved and the alternative initiated by schools (parallel classrooms) was politically assumed without major changes and funded.

> *Every school began with going to the board and saying 'we must do a number of things'. We must get new teachers, and so forth. And what happened in every school is that the board said 'well, it will be soon over, it is temporary, it isn't necessary to organize anything'. After that we go to the union, and then we ask if they can help us to apply for a policy. In Amsterdam that didn't work either. The union of teachers said 'it's just a small problem'. Then we went to educational inspection and we asked them to take measures. Then they said 'municipality of Rotterdam/ Amsterdam, you must allocate extra funds in any case'. They helped us since then. It was like that in rough lines: school, board, municipality, State. (Jantine Kriens).*

The bottom-up origin of the policy itself is a clear illustration of a collective strategy in which all the actors of the local policy network of educational reception are present.

6.3. Path-dependency elements

As I explained before, Rotterdam educative reception program is the institutionalisation of a bottom-up origin of several schools in the 1970s. This implies path-dependencies, meaning that early elements shaped in a determinant way the present policy. In general, the first reception policy in Rotterdam has been characterized by its continuity.

One path-dependent trait is the type of reception applied. According to Ritchers (2002) typology, Rotterdam has a reception model of central extended reception. First schools creating their own reception units did choose for a parallel model and this mode for reception has continued up to now, with little reflection or criticism on the part of the policymakers. In the late 1990s some studies were carried out with the direct or indirect objective of contrasting the affectivity of the reception model (Blok, Emmelot and de Kat 1992, Emmelot and de Kat 1993, Hoeven-van Doornum and Buis1997), and all of them

concluded that central reception model has better outcomes in terms of language acquisition of the pupils than the integrated model.

Still a second path-dependant trait is the location of the centres, and as a consequence the spatial distribution of newcomer pupils in the city. The granting of the reception departments followed a bottom-up direction. Schools with increasing numbers of newcomer students are the ones who applied for such a subsidy. These schools were the working-class schools from the old centre of the city, where migrants and their families concentrated. As a result, the reception units have been located in the so-called 'black schools' with very high concentration of ethnic minorities, and they have remained there. In the case of newcomers between the ages of 12 and 16 within the city concentration is even higher than in the case of second generation students, since newcomers are expected to continue their education in the school where they have followed the reception course. In addition, schools with reception department are normally those offering lower tracks of secondary education. This may have a probable negative influence in the academic career of pupils, encapsulating them within such a track, given the fact that research in transfer between educational tracks in Dutch secondary education proves to be rather difficult (specially bottom-up) (Crull and Doomernik 2003).

6.4. Characteristics of the model

Rotterdam follows essentially the spirit of the national regulation for the reception of newcomer students in secondary education. However, some aspects are further specified, like the profile of potential recipients of the policy and the schools delivering the program. Two remarkable differences are the inclusion of Antillean and Aruban pupils in the municipal framework, and the consideration of different 'counting dates' for the allocation of funds. Since funds are allocated per eligible student, the State establishes counting dates when inspectors visit schools to count how many students are actually present there. The date of October 1st has been very criticized by schools, since many students potentially eligible arrived afterwards and therefore the school had to either place them in waiting lists or register them and cover the cost of the pupils for the rest of the course with own resources. In 2003 appeared a new national regulation offering three counting dates (October 1st, February 1st, and June 1st). The Municipality of Rotterdam has offered as a solution different counting dates and to advance money to schools that they will receive later on from the Ministry of Education.

Further, both national and municipal regulations focus very much on the allocation of funds, who is entitled to what, responsibilities, accountability conditions, etc. The goal of the program remains similar, as it is established in the foreword of the municipal regulation: "the goal is to prepare the pupil to be transferred to regular education as soon as possible". Rotterdam's local authority stipulates also their objectives

Rotterdam local legal framework of the reception in secondary education functions with annual municipal regulations valid for one academic course. Further there is a short mention in the national law of secondary education, and periodic national regulations over the conditions to allocate of funds for reception.

Despite the loose regulation of the policy in policy documents, Rotterdam has a quite clear reception model. Four schools offer reception classes, all of them following a parallel system: during the reception trajectory students attend fully to this course, not having subjects in regular tracks. The four centres use also common textbooks and basic learning materials, and have a common curricula for the reception courses. Registration and distribution of students among the schools is centralized. An office within the municipal education department is in charge of registration and school assignation and a standardized test is used. Newcomers are assigned to one of the schools following the criteria of skills of the pupil and area of residence within the city.

Finally, it was created a semi-private institution to provide advise to schools, the CED. Since 2005 this municipal support for pedagogical advise and innovation has been privatised becoming an independent policy actor. The CED covers activities of research, advice, and support to schools in the implementation of the priority policy, reception, and teaching of Dutch as a second language. They develop programs that later are offered to schools, who may choose to get involved or not. Two examples are the programs PRISMA and NEON for reception in primary education. From 2005 this participation has more of a commercial product.

In principle each school has further total autonomy to use the funds for reception and organise the teaching. For instance, the duration of the training varies. As we mentioned, educational reception for pupils with immigrant origin is funded by the central State but also by the municipality with own resources.

Municipal money plays essentially a role in reformulating national policy to their own needs, and it is often the result of a bottom-up initiative by schools. For example, in the case of Antillean/Aruban newcomers, who are not considered by the national policy as a target for newcomer's reception classes since they have the Dutch passport. The schools in Rotterdam considered necessary for these pupils to be in the newcomers programs since their level of Dutch is usually very weak, but this had to be subsidised by the municipality.

6.5. The four centres of reception

Rotterdam has four schools that offer reception courses for newcomers in secondary education: Wolfert van Borselen, Nieuw Zuid, Nieuw Rotterdam, and Zuiderparkcollege. Two of them are public schools, and two of them are semi-private, one of protestant orientation and the other of specfic pedagogic line (*speciaal bijzonder*). In addition, two of them are located in the Southern part of the city and two at the Northern one. Finally, they encompass all the different tracks of secondary education: higher (MAVO/HAVO/VWO) and lower (VMBO and Vocational Training). These differences between reception schools comprise three axes for the distribution of newcomer pupils among the schools and throughout Rotterdam: type of school, location, and type of education.

The actual distribution takes place in the central office for registration of newcomers, in the municipal department of education. Incoming students are first of all selected according to their intelligence level. The score achieved in the in-take test will determine whether they are sent to the Wolfert van Borselen school –only school offering reception education (ISK) for the higher tracks of secondary education- or to any of the other three, offering the lower tracks of education. Second, in the case that it is possible to choose between several schools offering the same track of education, it will be regarded the criteria of the closeness of the school to the student's residence. In the case that the pupil gets a high score in the IQ in-take test, the only alternative is the school Wolfert van Borselen, but for pupils with low scores there are three options, two in the South of the river Maas and one in the North. Finally, it is taken into account the preferences of the parents, normally regarding the location of the school or the wish to have all their children in the same school. In the case that the parents' wish clashes with the municipal advise regarding the track of education that the pupil should follow, it prevails the advise over the parents.

The type of school (public or protestant) where the reception unit is established in principle does not count in the distribution of students among centres. However, in the pillarized context of the Dutch education system, the local authorities had very clear from the beginning that schools offering reception for newcomers must be representative of the diversity in social-religious pillars. Still in the year 2003 Rotterdam's municipal department of education mentioned that the responsibility of reception of newcomer students in secondary education is fulfilled by two boards of school companies (BOOR and LMC) and that it was being considered to include a third board (CVO) from the course 2003-2004 on. The underlying logic is that of equity in the distribution of public resources among all pillars of education (public, protestant, catholic, etc) and of representativity of all actors in the policymaking[8]. The school offer of reception has not remained stable but has changed throughout the years in order to adapt to the demand. In a certain moment, there were seven schools in Rotterdam offering reception courses, but with the shrink in numbers of pupils they were reduced to four.

The main characteristics of the four centres are summarized in the following table. In principle each school has further total autonomy to organise the teaching. This leads to differences how they carry out the goal of 'teaching Dutch to foreign pupils and transferring them as soon as possible to regular secondary education'. For instance, the duration of the training varies. In some schools reception pupils remain for one course in the reception class and then transfers to regular education. In other, they stay there for two/three years. Although this aspect is normally emphasized by the actors, they all follow the same parallel system.

[8] However, it remains a puzzle within this pillarized logic is why was the municipality considering the CVO as a candidate? That would make two protestant groups of schools, whereas the catholic pillar – RVKO- is presently not represented.

Table 9. Characteristics of Rotterdam's four reception centre for students between 12-16 years old.

	Nieuw Zuid	Wolfert van Borselen	Zuiderparkcollege	Nieuw Rotterdam
Type of school	public school	public school.	protestant school	Special pedagogic orientation
Type of education	Wide range of tracks (VMBO, HAVO/VWO)	High tracks (MAVO/HAVO/ VWO)	Low track (VMBO)	Low track (VMBOO
Duration of the ISK	1,5 to 2 academic courses	2 academic courses	1 academic course.	1 or 2 academic courses
Student composition	More pupils from the Dutch Antilles and Surinam	More students from Asiatic and European countries. Less from poor and African countries	More students from Turkey and from poor African countries.	In the 16+ dep. more students from Morocco, Cap Verde, and poor African countries
Age	more students of 13-14 years old.			
Period of stay of the pupil in the country		More students recently arrived	More students recently arrived	In the 16+ dep. more students that are longer than 4 years in the country
Particular target groups	16+ department and group of illiterated.	Pupils with high scores in the in-take test		16+ department

6.6. The program STER

As we have seen in previous chapters Dutch education system is to a great extent loosely regulated. Schools are given a great deal of independence to determine, not only their own teaching contents and methods, but also more general educational goals. As a consequence it was felt by reception schools and municipal actors the need of regulating further the program of first reception of newcomers in secondary education.

> *And regarding the content there was absolutely no policy at all, therefore we tried to make it ourselves. (…) That lasted I think that at least one year and a half or two before that policy began to react. And because we had created a national association we could make more pressure over the ministery to develop policy about the international reception lessons. Slowly you can see that the facilities are being regulated. Before we got these facilites still many years went on, I think that it was 1984 when finally the first teaching materials were developed for schools,*

when teachers came, all this pieces… and the tests. (Ex-teacher of reception group)

The School Council of Rotterdam developed in 1993 the program STER of first reception, an attempt to develop informally a more regulated policy for the reception of newcomer pupils in secondary education. The municipality could not impose a policy on the schools, so they were involved to reach together a set of agreements. Despite the informal character of this arrangements, the participation of schools would ensure their willingness to follow the rules that they themselves were creating. The public counselling centre for education CED was also involved, in charge of the technical part of the initiative.

Informant: What seems clear here is that in Rotterdam we have not said 'you must do this program' because we cannot do that. Schools are autonomous, they must make their own choice. What we have done, on the other hand, is with the six schools that had reception classes for newcomers and with the Centre for the promotion of educative service (CED), one project, STER. In STER we have agreed which program would be followed [by all the ISK schools]. That was not, that was not a political choice, that is not possible in Dutch education. But the [municipal] politicians really have a worry for that so that there were funds for the schools and the CED to work together on a program, just to develop a good program.
Researcher. So in reality it was a technical choice with political support.
Informant: Yes, exactly. (Municipal policymaker)

Basically the program STER developed a special curriculum for first reception, the same for all four schools, and ad-hoc teaching materials. The curricula was based on a theoretical modelling of a three-step learning process of Dutch as a second language. A first stage, in which pupils learn the basics of Dutch language to communicate. A second stage of extension of basic linguistic skills and initial learning of school language. And a third stage in which the emphasis is on the master of school language and the achievement of the necessary level in all the subjects to be able to transfer to regular education (Ritchers 2003).

In 2000 appeared the Zebra teaching method for teaching Dutch as a second language to children between 12 and 16 years old. It was developed by the team of the NT2 (Dutch as a second language) project. Hyppo was introduced in 2003 for pupils who found the Zebra book too difficult.

The STER made also a model of the expected time that pupils would need to pass each of the three phases, based on the level of intelligence of pupils and the sort of education to which they were expected to be transferred. While for those pupils in the lowest tracks the total process of reception would last two years, for the most skilled ones the total process would only last one year. This estimations were based on fifteen hours of intensive language training per week. As we will see in next chapters, the experience of the school in charge of pupils at high tracks of education is exactly the opposite: the

higher the track to which the pupil wants to be transferred, the longer the time of reception they need (Philipsen 1982).

The experience of Rotterdam in developing an informal policy for newcomers' reception classes (programme STER) is an interesting consequence of the weak central regulation of policies, and the lack of actual enforcing tools that were provided to municipalities since the de-centralisation. In this case we can probably talk of *informal policies*, considering them as those arrangements produced by street-level actors, which are a degree further in institutionalisation than discretional practices developed by individual teachers (Stepick, A. & Stepick, C. forthcoming).

Unfortunately, the program STER functioned for some years to be finally abandoned as some schools started not to follow its agreements. The teaching materials are still in use in all the schools and even outside Rotterdam, and some of the philosophical and didactical basis are followed as well, but not anymore as a generalized informal policy in the shadow.

6.7. Evaluation of the policy

There has been a lack of evaluation of the policy so far. The main excuse are the difficulties to match data over students from schools administration systems and from municipal administration system. Recently, the municipality has launched an external evaluation of the so-called "Deltaplan Newcomers" that is lasting some years to pay off results. The (ex –public) CED has the assignment. Up to now a report has been produced with an arithmetic test and a small survey to the pupils of reception courses 2003-2004. Unfortunately, the outcomes are very unsatisfactory since for the majority of questions the percentages of non-response are very high (sometimes reaching up to 70%).

There are general evaluations of priority education, not specifically focused on the reception programs. Rijkschroeff et al (2004) made a commissioned study for the parliamentary Blok commission (2004) on the results of integration policy between 1970 and 2002 (Rijkschroeff et al, 2004a, 2004b). The goals were to see: 1) to what extent did policy reach its objectives, 2) to what extent did policies have a chance to take effect? In particular the research wanted to test Tomlimson conclusion (2003) regarding the opposite effects of egalitarian educational policies for minority pupils. The authors found out that the integration policy mainly attempted to influence resources of ethnic minority students leaving largely untouched mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion (such as selection practices, or lower teacher expectations of minority pupils). However, a perverse effect of the educational policies for minority students was not found. In recent years the gap between disadvantaged ethnic minority pupils and average Dutch children has narrowed, and the results are positive for all ethnic minority groups in both language and arithmetic. Although this relative success could be attributable to other factors, Rijkschroeff et al consider that the results of policy do not contradict the policy intentions.

There are as well some studies contrasting concrete results in cities applying parallel models and integrated models of reception. In the late 1990s some studies were carried out with the direct or indirect objective of contrasting the affectivity of the reception model (Blok, Emmelot and de Kat 1992, Emmelot and de Kat 1993, Hoeven-van Doornum and Buis 1997), and all of them concluded that central reception model has better outcomes in terms of language acquisition of the pupils than the integrated model.

Findings in the two studies from the SCO institute (Emmelot and de Kat 1992, Emmelot and de Kat 1993) show that the differences between the central (parallel) and combined systems on one hand, and integrated reception on the other, are significant. In the central and combined system pupils score significantly higher than in the integrated one. This results are shown with different indicators, such as the number of words in the passive Dutch vocabularies of newcomers after 8 months of reception teaching (3600 words for pupils in central reception, 3400 for pupils in combined, and 2950 for pupils in integrated classrooms), the number of hours of Dutch received (9-13.5 hours in central reception, 6-8.5 in combined, and 0-3.5 in integrated systems), the hours of direct verbal interaction pupil-teacher (6, 4, and less than 3, respectively for the parallel, combined or integrated systems), or the time that the pupils wait for attention of the teacher (2% of the school day in the parallel system 9% in the combined system, and 13% of the time in the integrated system). From the number of hours of Dutch language training that pupils receive in integrated education, a 37% seemed to be used for remedial teaching and a 64% was simply taking part in the regular language class with Dutch students.

A research done in Nijmegen (Hoeven-van Doornum and Buis 1997) focused on the results of the integrated model of reception in 300 pupils in different regular classes. The most relevant finding is that the achievements of the newcomers do not improve proportionally to the duration of they stay in the country. Even after a number of years the disadvantage does not decrease.

7. Implementation of the policy: Incoherences, ambiguities and gaps between policy model and implementation

How is this policy actually put into practice by its ground actors? I will try here to describe general tendencies and specific practices of actors directly in contact with migrant students: teachers, coordinators of reception departments within schools, and school directors. but for the sake of the argument, I have organised here

Even a mere descriptive effort to give a good account of the practices found in the empirical work would need to present findings in an organized way. And any organizational attempt implies a selection based on certain criteria: just the most prominent actions and strategies are considered. The criteria here is determined by the research questions. The focus shall be on practices that may:

- Either modify the intended goals/means of the policy or imply a bottom-up change in policy
- Or have an impact on the socio-economic inclusion of migrant newcomer students or on their integration in Dutch society.

My analytical strategy has followed three steps: a reconstruction of the field of practices, mainly as a symbolic framework where the identified practices get their meaning, and second two organizational efforts for the practices themselves.

First, I will select practices according to their consequences, regarding either to policy change or to their impact on incorporation or socio-economic inclusion of pupils. Here I am considering practices of different actors of implementation as equivalent. But obviously, they differ at least on their degree of influence (direct contact with policymaking actors) and their degree of direct interaction with pupils.

As a consequence, the second approach is necessary. In this I will isolate practices according to who performs them, and in this sense I will make an effort to identify specific practical styles of the three main collective actors of implementation (the two schools studied and the municipal department of education).

7.1. The policy field of educational reception

In my research I apply Bourdieu's concept of *field* of practices (Bourdieu 1997). He defines field not only a sociological system that structures action in an objective way but also as a field of symbolic production. It is a *system of positions, relationships and responsibilities built by a set of actors that unify and legitimise individual actions, closing them into a fortress delimited by the own practice of the agents in that domain.* This means that the field delimits the space of motivation of the practices of its actors, institutionalising a specific point of view and logic. The practices of the agents of implementation of reception policies of education are considered to belong to a common field, where practices of actors get their meaning. This is also very close to Bousetta's

concept of *local integration field*, which refers to the structuring of a specific dimension of the local political space[9] (Bousetta 1997).

An attempt to reconstruct the field of educational reception policies in Rotterdam should start by identifying the main practical logics underlying the practices of actors of the field. At least five intermingling logics can be identified:

First, it can be found a **logic of de-regulation**, by which the weak regulation of the legal framework opens room for the discretion of practitioners, for the participation of ground level actors in policymaking, and for the development of informal policy arrangements. This logic is linked to principles of freedom of action and self-autonomy.

Second, a **quasi-economic logic** can be identified as a result of the structural situation of diminishing resources and number of potential benefitters. Such a logic involves an image of public policy being embedded in a market economy and a post-capitalist society. The implicit principle is that of public policy agents as economic actors at the same time, who must deliver competitive and efficient products in order to survive their competence.

Third, a **logic of compensation for disadvantages** and reaching equality of opportunities and social positions for minority students. This logic has a narrow and a broad version, the first referring to reaching equal participation in the education system, and the second referring to equity in society. This logics of compensation imply principles of **social justice** and an ideal image of society as egalitarian. Practices informed by this logic tend to see prevalent (equity) goals over means, therefore flexibilizing the formal policy rules when it is considered necessary for facilitating equal opportunities for minority students.

Fourth, a **meritocratic logic** based on the principle of talent and inherent value of each person, and its correspondence with a specific position within society. Underlying there is a image of society as a system of unequal positions distributed according to the possible contribution that each person is able to deliver. The higher the social position of a profession, the higher the level of intelligence necessary to fulfil that function. The social connotation of a profession is therefore taken for granted as fixed. As a result, social order is within this perspective naturalized and considered as essentially just. This logic is often confused with the former, considering that each person deserves a particular position in society according to his/her intelligence level and that social justice is to determine what is the social position that better corresponds to those personal skills.

Finally, a logic of **cultural integration** from an **assimilationist** point of view. Following the political climate, within this logic it is considered the necessity of learning Dutch and Dutch cultural values and norms in order to be able to successfully incorporate in society. The priority is given to Dutch language over language from the country of origin, which is considered an obstacle to the learning of Dutch. The image of society behind this logic

[9] Bousetta (1997) makes an interesting aplication of the concept of field of Bourdieu in combination with the concept of policy domain of Laumann and Knoke (1987).

is that of a homogeneous society of Dutch native citizens and a homogeneous culture of Dutch traditional values.

The following table identifies the main logic behind the main categories of practices found in the empirical fieldwork within the two public schools offering reception training.

Table 11. Correspondence between logics of the policy field and practices of ground policy actors.

Logics	Practices
•Logic of deregulation Legal framework opens room	Informalisation of policies Participation of street-level bureaucrats
•Quasi-economic logic Diminishing nr. Pupils Cut-backs Reception= expensive	Strategies to balance economic and social goals (altruistic use of position) Strategies to compete: attract certain pupils (-to reject others) Coping strategies
•Compensation & social justice logic	Use of budget for other goals Enlarge the policy target Extend the reception process (beyond its formal limits)
•Meritocracy logic Prepare pupils for what they can/ for real world	Selecting
•(Cultural) integration logic (=assimilationist)	Teaching Dutch Extend the reception process (beyond its formal limits)

As a consequence of the combination of the five former logics, the field of educational reception in Rotterdam presents at least five interrelated main characteristics. First, a tendency to the **informalisation of education policies** mainly brought about by decentralisation and deregulation of education, which transfers a considerable degree of autonomy and power to school boards. In this context, the issues placed in the political agenda tend to be regulated by informal strategies such as: informal agreements among the actors that de facto function like formal policies, reallocation of funds meant for other purposes in the formal policy, etc. The experience of Rotterdam in developing an informal policy for newcomers' reception classes (programme STER) is a clear illustration of this. In this case we can probably talk of *informal policies*, considering them as those stable arrangements produced by street-level actors and sometimes supported by public authorities, which are a degree further in institutionalisation than discretional practices developed by individual teachers (Stepick, A. & Stepick, C. forthcoming).

A related tendency in a field highly deregulated is the enhanced **participation of street-level actors in policymaking**. Informal policies are not necessarily performed by ground level actors, but often these actors take the initiative in a context where the public authorities is legally hindered. Legal framework opens then room to manoeuvre for ground actors at two levels: municipal, and practice level (Feirabend and Rath 1996), and

in two ways: lobbying towards the formal sphere, but also assuming tasks of policy formulation. This implies that bottom-up initiatives cover a broad panoply of practices: practices of schools in order to put topics on the agenda, practices of municipalities in order to institutionalise solutions to problems, and alliances municipality-schools for creating informal arrangements in order to give content to the policy or to include in the measures disregarded targets groups.

In a policy field where deregulation and commodification of education come together, there are growing antagonistic interests within the school between teachers and managers. **Strategies** of schools will tend **to balance the economic needs and the social goals**. Any school is at the same time an economic enterprise and a social institution for education. Public schools in centralised contexts are quite protected to interferences on its social goals given that the State covers all expenses. But even in public schools, in the present situation of cut-backs and shortage of pupils, the economical logic behind the strategies of the school becomes accentuated. This is even promoted by the local authorities, that have created a managerial board for all public schools in the municipality in order to make them efficient and competitive with their (semi) private opponents. An example of this refers to pupils left outside of the formal policy budget while teachers consider that they should be included. In these situations, schools must find a balance between their financial feasibility and the assistance to all the newcomers (with and without subsidies).

Another dominant feature in the policy field in Rotterdam has to do with the need to **adapt to a 'shrinking policy'** that also exacerbates schools' economic logic. Reception programs are particularly expensive. In order to reach its objectives, groups are smaller than in regular classrooms and often they have more teaching hours. In some of the reception centres, each group of pupils had two teachers at the same time in the language lessons. The political context of cut-backs implies for schools less personnel and therefore a growing work-load for those remaining. In addition, the diminishing number of newcomer students is forcing schools reduce their resources. There is a tendency to develop strategies to cope with this situation and try to be as effective as before.

This last specific feature of the policy field is related with a general trait of social policies anticipated by Lipsky (1980). Since street level bureaucrats here are also trying to deliver social goals in a context of limited resources we find in this policy field examples of **work-saving** and **coping strategies**. Classification of students can be a strategy to standardise work minimizing the work-load. In general any activity that allows to standardise categories of work or tasks, and the procedures for each of them, falls into this example. In a context of cut-backs these practices are stimulated, even leading to the development of collective strategies.

7.2. Specific practices and strategies of actors

For analysis of practices according their consequences I have organized them in two main categories: institutionalised strategies and individual practices. It is more useful to think

of them as two extremes in a continuum, in which the practices registered in the empirical fieldwork take positions in between.

1) Institutionalised strategies

In the fieldwork I have found that actors have sometimes institutionalised an informal response for a perceived problem, following a deliberate strategy. Some examples of these practices are the **use of budget for other goals**, the **creative solutions for (scarcer) resources**, and the **strategies to enlarge the reception process (with similar resources)**.

One of the perceived problems was that of diminishing resources. Both reception centres studied resisted to enlarge size of classes as a reaction to cut-backs, and tried to find alternative solutions. **Reducing the personnel** has been one of them. In the centre that used to have two teachers per classroom, now only one teacher does the lesson and six/seven persons have been fired. There is a also an emphasis on the present tendency of schools to try to classification pupils in most similar subgroups. The criteria vary although the main two are time of stay/level of language and age. Another alternative used is to **reduce the number of hours of lesson**/ to **suppress some subjects** together with the **promotion of autonomous work in larger groups**. In the two centres some sort of measures has been introduced. In one of them, they have created a space to work autonomously with two or three groups of students simultaneously. Several subjects have been suppressed and now they are only taught via this 'practicum', where students receive assignments to be done individually or in small teams. They solve like this the shortage in teachers and the shortage in teaching hours. Unless in classical lessons the quality of teaching would be expected to get worse in larger groups, this methodology of work allows few teachers to control a lot of students working on their own. In addition it allows students to develop work according to their own needs and levels, and it promotes self-autonomy.

Another perceived problem is that of the duration of the reception trajectory. In one of the centres the managers of the school want pupils from the reception department to be transferred one year sooner to the regular education. However, reception teachers oppose to this idea and defend the need for students to remain that extra year in the reception courses. Pupils, claim reception teachers, are transferred to regular education still without the minimum language basis to finish successfully their (regular) studies. It makes a whole lot of a difference if they receive the extra reinforcement in Dutch language for one more year. This refers in particular to students in higher tracks of secondary education. In this school students receive not only Dutch in their reception trajectory but also almost all the rest of subjects. The conflict here between managers and teachers is financial, since students are not subsidised by the State for longer than a year and a half. The school already pays for half a year, but a third year is too much. What the reception team has invented is to transform this group of students into a so-called regular class but with extra emphasis on Dutch language. In order to be a regular class they must receive less hours of Dutch per week, but what they do is receiving *transversally* language training combined with several subjects. The name of the methodology is 'language-

oriented education'. Within this model, students get biology lessons, e.g., where specific terminology of the subject in Dutch is introduced, so that the goal of the lesson is not only on the contents but also on the use of language.

Institutionalised practices often happen within one school and is therefore agreed by teachers, the coordinator of reception, and the school board. However, there are also two examples of agreements involving actors at the municipal level, that is, all the schools involved and even policymakers. The bottom-up origin of the policy itself is a clear illustration of these collective strategy where all the actors of the local policy network of educational reception are present. Schools with growing numbers of newcomer students created separated classrooms to teach them the Dutch language. In a second step, schools organised themselves and started lobbying to get political support. This was successfully achieved and the alternative initiated by schools was politically assumed without major changes and funded. The second example is the agreement on the program STER to teach same contents and using same textbooks in all the schools in Rotterdam.

Institutionalised strategies can be also the result of the specific commitment of an individual. An example of this was the personal decision of a school director to allow *illegal* newcomer students in the reception program of his school. Beyond ideological commitment there was a clear strategy to fund these students with other resources than those coming from the central administration, therefore defying the market rules of efficiency.

2) Individual practices

Teachers of reception classrooms, coordinators of the reception department, and school directors, all of them perform together with their strict duties within the reception program other activities that have an impact on the incorporation of pupils to the educational system and society. Research on street-level bureaucrats has shown that actors do something more than bring *neutral competence* to the task of policy delivery (Brodkin 2000). Teachers do more than simply teaching Dutch language (or any other subject), and school directors do more than managing. Teachers also **classify and select students** according to more or less explicit criteria, and **transmit Dutch general norms and values**. School directors, on their part may make an **altruistic use of own position**.

All these practices are mediated, on one hand, by what is conceived as a problem. On the other hand, practices are mediated by the teachers' perceptions and social images of 'migrants', 'education', 'incorporation of immigrant students', 'Dutch society', and 'integration policies'. As a consequence it might be expected that the result of this individual practices do not have a clear and unidirectional impact on the implementation of policy, i.e., individuals do not share same ideological values, visions of society, etc. Divergent social values will tend to counterbalance each other in their effect over policy. I contend this assumption for three reasons. First, because teachers tend to have an outstanding social commitment, to share social goals of promotion of equality and to support the redistributive policies and the welfare state. Second, Rotterdam has a very strong civil servant network in the ideological (and political) sphere of the Labour Party

(PvdA), and I tend to believe that public teachers may connect to that. And third, it seems that individual practices in principle do not directly modify the intended goals/means of the policy program, but even if they not they may have an unintended impact on the social inclusion of migrant newcomer students.

When an actor uses his/her position within the organisational structure to intercede in an individual case of a student or systematically, the logic behind the action is that he or she thinks that the general policy should make an exception here. Therefore this entails a modification of the goals of the policy and the assumption that 'they go wrong' here. Sometimes, this is an open opposition to the official position regarding the incorporation of immigrants. An example of this was the already mentioned case of the school director allowing *illegal* newcomer students in his reception classrooms, taken to the extreme of defying the police if they would try to enter the school to check *illegal* students. But even non-conscious individual practices may entail an opposition *de facto* to some of the principles or the whole ideological phillosophy behind the policy.

The formal and informal practices of **classification and selection of students** may have an unintended but not less important impact on the social inclusion of migrant newcomer students. This effect might have negative effects on their integration in Dutch society, fostering the concentration of students of immigrant origin in the layer of the labour market most affected by unemployment, and making coincide the class and ethnic segmentations.

Pupils are classified by their level of intelligence. This determines in which sort of secondary education they are placed. For newcomer pupils their selection process begins with the test of the reception office of the municipal department of education. This consists of a Dutch language test and an algebra one. According to their scores students get an 'advice' recommending to which track of secondary education they must go. There are fixed tables of correlation between intelligence levels of pupils and their possibilities to follow one or another sort of education.

In both ISK schools visited, they consider newcomer pupils not to have definitive 'academic advises', and therefore throughout the reception period there are constants reorganisations of classrooms, meetings of teachers to discuss the trajectory of each pupil, and pupils are placed accordingly from one level/group to another, etc. The target is to find their final level, where they must finish secondary education and then proceed. However, this formal strategy may be counteracted by the informal practices of teachers.

Teachers believe that the system is fair, and the tests are scientific, and they behave accordingly. They do not question the validity of tests. The results of the test are the ultimate reason. They teach them what to expect from each pupil. The discourse of teachers turns around terms such as skills, ability and intelligence, and relational sentences such as: "*That student is too weak to reach that*"; "*He would not be able to understand that*", or "*Let's give her a chance and place her in that class, but I think that she cannot follow that*".

The interaction of teachers and pupils is mediated by these expectations regarding their level of intelligence. Teachers have constant interaction with pupils which remind them what their place is. The constant transfer of pupils from one group to another is clearly translated by the students in hierarchical terms (up and down the scale). Another examples are daily subtle things in the classroom. For instance, in one of the centres of ISK pupils of different tracks share the same classroom. They have though different textbooks, different assignments, etc. If anyone would get the wrong paper with homework, the teacher would say immediately: "this is not for you; pass that paper to your neighbour. *This* is your assignment".

In this way segregation is built via individual differentiation. Pupils learn what is expected from them in school and learn to adapt to an image of themselves and their skills. They also learn that your skills determine what you can get in society. *Who performs better can study higher sorts of education and therefore earn much more money. This is known to be a fair system*[10] *(Jungbluth, 2004).*

7.3. Specific practical styles of the two schools studied

The reception centre of **Nieuw Zuid** offers first reception training (ISK) for newcomer pupils with low scores in the municipal in-take test. This pupils are expected to transfer later on to low or medium-low tracks in secondary education. The school offers as well medium-high tracks, but normally newcomer students do not transfer to these type of education. As an exception, in the present course, there is one group of students that are expected by the teachers to be able to score high enough in the final tests in order to transfer to this high tracks (MAVO-HAVO).

The reception department counts with 110 newcomer students (2004-05) and it is located in a separated section of a building. Despite the physical separation, newcomer students may meet their peers in the regular department in free time at the patio or cantina. The IKS department shares the building with lower tracks of education of regular education, also those with the larger proportion of ethnic minority students. In estimation of its coordinator the newcomers department has around 90% while in the whole school the proportion diminishes to 70%. Higher education tracks are located in other building, and have a smaller average of minority students.

In this school students are tested the first day, so that the results of the in-take test done by the municipality are not taken for granted. The in-take test of the school tries to better determine the level of Dutch of students, and whether or not they are illiterated. Afterwards homogeneous groups are made according above all on skills on Dutch language. Other criteria are considered in secondary place, such as size of the group, age, ethnic composition, gender composition, etc. Groups are constantly being reorganized as students progress in different paces. The two guiding principles in the method are teaching in homogeneous (small) groups and the individual approach.

[10] Own translation from Dutch.

The teaching of Dutch is the absolute priority of this reception style, although Dutch as a second language is not the only activity like in other reception schools. Subjects are also taught in the second year of reception, but it prevails the preparation of a sufficient level of language skills to be able to follow the regular lessons over the achievement of the contents.

This specialization in Dutch as a second language together with the arrival of asylum seekers in large numbers in previous years led to another specific characteristic of this centre. A specific group for illiterated or semi-illiterate pupils has been made. The coordinator is still struggling to get ad-hoc subsidies for this group, given its expensive costs. This sort of teaching, to illiterate young people of 12-16 who in many cases have never been to school before, requires to be particularly intensive in time and attention. Groups are kept extremely small and for a longer period of time. Even under the best conditions, the results of this groups are very moderated.

This school has been strongly affected by the cut-backs in the last years. As a consequence had to reduce their number of reception classes from eight in 2004-2005 to six in 2005-06, and to reduce the personnel. This has had a big impact on the organization and methods of the reception training. An illustration of this was the suppression of several subjects and their combination within a practicum for several subjects. Within this space students do their own assignments individually or in teams. Self-learning and autonomy are stimulated.

One characteristic of the practices of the reception team of this school, comprised by coordinator and teachers of reception, is the high level of creativity and constant search for new solutions. The coordinator follows very closely the policymaking developments looking for new opportunities, new subsidies, etc.

The reception centre of **Wolfert van Borselen** Students with advise for high tracks of secondary education.

The school offers education for high tracks of secondary education, and according to the director it has an image of ‘quality’ and ‘strictness’. The whole school has 1400 pupils, 150 of them in the ISK department (2004-05) where 16 teachers work. They make the selection of novae of pupils in their 3rd year, while the first two years they are mixed (MAVO-HAVO-VWO). Selection is always based on academic performance.

This school has been able of transforming the concentration of newcomer pupils into a strength to be exploited in their public image. The settlement of pupils coming from the family reunion let the school specialize in the teaching of Dutch as a second language. They have used that expertise to open another department within the school of Bilingual Training where education is done both in Dutch and English, oriented to higher income pupils. In this way, the initial “bad” image of a concentration school was changed into an image of quality and expertise in language trainings in general.

The reception department is located in a separated building, so that newcomer students have no contact with their peers in regular education until they transfer.

Students do not take a second in-take test in the school, but their scores in the municipal test are taken as appropriate. Groups are made based on two criteria: level in Dutch, and age. It is considered very relevant for the learning process that the pupil considers that he or she is in the age group that corresponds to him/her.

Emphasis in this school is put on achieving enough level in the subjects that he or she will have to follow after transferring to regular education. The idea is that, not only a sufficient level of Dutch is required in order to successfully follow all the subjects, but also that the basis in contents must be mastered in order not to fall behind when transferring. The principle is that in the reception training the student must be provided with the necessary tools to be able to follow the sort of education that corresponds to his/her level of intelligence. For this reason, the coordinator and reception team have struggle a lot with the school managers in order to keep the reception training long enough (two years minimum) to fulfil that goal.

Within this reception style, pressures to reduce the reception trajectory has not led to combination or eliminating of content subjects. On the contrary, what coordinator and teachers have invented here has been to give more room for other subjects while introducing Dutch as a transversal content within subjects. This also has to do with the relevance given to the acquisition of specific Dutch vocabularies of each subject, in order to facilitate the transfer to regular education.

8. Conclusions

1) Influence of shifts in formal educational policy for migrant students on the reception policies

The thinking about how sociocultural identity and socio-economic inclusion interrelate has changed along the shifts in policy models of integration in the Netherlands. This explains to some extent the changes in emphasis within the loose framework of first reception of newcomers in secondary education. In the beginning the teaching of Dutch was done in parallel with mother tongue teaching, and both were thought to contribute to the incorporation of young newcomers in society. Nowadays the emphasis is in the teaching of Dutch as key to success in incorporation. Equally, the tendency to reduce the resources and duration of the reception trajectory has to be attributed to the change of emphasis between the two roles of school. If in the 1980s and to a lesser extent in the 19990s the emphasis was on the socio-economic inclusion of migrants (and this was thought to be stimulated by the tolerance of minority cultures), in the 2000s the emphasis is on socio-cultural assimilation of migrants to Dutch norms and values. The level of Dutch necessary to transfer to regular education having the most chances of successfully complete secondary education (at least) is much higher and requires more time than the level of Dutch necessary for a basic incorporation and interaction in society.

2) Complex image of multiplicity of interacting strategies

When talking about strategies of ground actors of education, we cannot limit ourselves to simplistic descriptions. Practices of teachers and schools are not necessarily rational and conscious, and strategies often bring about unexpected outcomes. The final image is one of a great complexity, with actors in different levels developing distinct strategies, but also with actors' practices full of ambivalence and ambiguity. This multiplicity of strategies, intermingled, interacting, and influencing each other, is what policy at work is.

We found a remarkable situation of ambiguous and sometimes contradictory practices in the level of schools. Schools, are caught up within the requirements of their social goals of promoting equality and their economic goals of surviving in a competitive market. This situation is clearly shown in the tensions between teachers and managers.

In the de-regulated policy context of Rotterdam the role of the ground agents becomes enhanced. They can have much more influence on policymaking. Particularly, schools and school companies have nowadays the largest chances of influence. Despite the decentralization of educational policy, local authorities have a limited role, depending on their ability to get the cooperation with the big school corporations of the area. Since 2002 this limitation is even sharper.

My general conclusion is that policies and their outcomes are more dependant on their practical implementation than on their formulation.

Finally, a related conclusion is the need for more case studies of implementation of policies for minority students. The multiplicity of interacting strategies is context-bounded and therefore should be studied in specific cases.

3) Influence of the selection process on the opportunities of newcomer students

The present qualitative research cannot conclude which is the specific weight of each of the factors with an influence on the social-economic integration of ethnic minority pupils in Dutch society. But it does suggest that some of them play a greater role than others. Despite the effectiveness of the language training and the extra resources, in a selective system like the Dutch, the inclusion of the migrant student in society will be normally done in the lower skilled/ lower income classes. In other words, compensatory education is not able to make for the inequality that the system itself (re)produces.

In this sense, the Dutch system of secondary education seems to be the factor accounting in the greater extent for the socio-economic inclusion of migrant students. Not only the selective character of the secondary education system shapes the actual opportunities of newcomer migrant students, but also the non-conscious selection practices of teachers. Selection weights more than the reception program. Obviously, what the qualitative data in my research point out must be further researched.

Other research points out in the same direction. Crul and Doomernik (2003) found that selection practices on entering secondary education may have a negative influence on pupil´s opportunities.

Rijkschroeff et al (2004) found out that the integration policy mainly attempted to influence resources of ethnic minority students leaving largely untouched mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion (such as selection practices, or lower teacher expectations of minority pupils).

Gorard and Smith (2002) made also an international comparison using the PISA-data from 2000. The main conclusion points out that meritocratic and elitistic education systems, with high levels of selection in secondary school, were more responsible for the differences in academic performance than ethnic segregation. Differences in performance between ‘rich’ and ‘poor’ and ‘foreigners’ and ‘native’). They found that the different performances in reading abilities of 15-16 year olds (within a country) increased proportionally with the extent of the selection in secondary education regarding performance.

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