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Residential Segregation and Integration in the Netherlands

Sako Musterd and Wim Ostendorf

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In many Western European cities politicians express concerns about the lack of integration of immigrants from the so-called less-developed countries. A core issue in the debate is the relationship between the residential segregation of ethnic minorities and integration or assimilation processes. This paper deals with the relationship between segregation and integration in the context of two opposing visions in the debate in the Netherlands. Empirical evidence is presented on both the level of segregation and the indicators of integration as well as the relation between the two. A major conclusion is that the relationship between segregation and integration suffers from too much political and too little scholarly attention. Politicians focus too much on large-scale spatial social engineering projects. The empirical evidence shown in this paper provides support for more policy attention in the domains of education and labour market access. Policies in these fields have had much more positive effects in the past than many want us to believe. It is underlined that education appears to be a key factor for successful integration, both in socio-economic terms and in social and cultural terms.

Keywords: Segregation; Integration; Ethnic Minorities; Mixed Neighbourhoods; Social Cohesion; The Netherlands

Introduction

Cities have traditionally accommodated different population categories. This has occurred through the key functions of cities: to be centres of trade, culture, knowledge production and innovation. These functions require openness, diversity, and the willingness to learn from others. In this respect, cities have retained a position they have had since ancient times. Yet, nowadays many people seem to prefer a break with the past, and are making active efforts to reduce diversity. They fear other

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cultures and hence reduce the atmosphere of openness. According to their viewpoint, if something 'foreign' comes to the city, this element should be assimilated as soon as possible. This is also expressed in debates regarding segregation and the geography of diversity. Even where groups are only moderately segregated, this is regarded as a threat to integration or the assimilation process.

This paper addresses this relationship between segregation and integration and discusses the existing knowledge on these phenomena in the Netherlands. We first briefly introduce two opposing views of the relationship between the city and ethnic minorities and discuss their implications for the segregation and integration debate. Next we outline empirical evidence regarding the development of the level of segregation. The third section of the paper deals with indicators of integration. These first three sections are designed to give a more accurate view of the current state of integration as well as the actual levels of segregation and the dynamics behind them. The fourth part of the article focuses on the relation between residential segregation and integration, which includes a critical review of the different opinions on the association between the two central concepts. The final section draws conclusions on segregation and integration in the Netherlands.

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Two Views of the Relationship Between the City and Ethnic Minorities

In the international debate on integration and the city, there are two contrasting visions of the relationship between the city, the immigrants who settle in it, and integration. The first vision adopts the view that the integration of various categories of the population is closely and positively related to the aforementioned wider roles of the city, in the sense that the influx of immigrants contributes to the functions of the city as a centre of innovation, knowledge production and cultural exchange. In this vision integration is not automatically addressed as a 'problem', but instead as a long-term process in which people find their way; ultimately this will have positive effects for urban society. An open attitude towards immigrants may support the introduction of new ideas from outside. These outsiders may create new stimulating environments and a dynamic and more innovative culture.

Hall (1998) and Simmie (2005) have suggested that several cities have reached their high levels of innovation through immigration and an open attitude towards 'outsiders' who entered the city. Several scholars point to the fact that the so-called 'Golden Age of Amsterdam' was clearly related to large-scale immigration of people from abroad with different lifestyles and new skills that complemented the knowledge and skills already available. Currently, it is suggested that the development of urban economies is characterised not just by expanding business quarters that accommodate large multinationals and their international employees, but also by newer and smaller firms in internationally oriented cultural and creative industries. Moreover, it is said that this latter type of industry, especially, is attracted by open, tolerant and diverse urban cultures (Florida 2002; Jacobs 1961). These characteristics allow for the development and accumulation of creativity and stimulate the smooth integration of

various population categories. We should note that openness to and acceptance of outsiders is not confined to the immigrant population, but extends to attitudes toward a wide variety of lifestyles and socio-economic differentiation. An open attitude towards 'the other' is often regarded as an important factor for attracting young and highly educated people. Since these are required for filling vacant jobs in the knowledge economy, diversity may also contribute to the growth of the economy.

A second—and contrasting—vision, however, presumes a more negative relationship between the city, immigration and integration. Expressions of xenophobia with regard to recent immigrants from less-well-off sections of the world predominate in this view. In the context of Dutch urban policy, the so-called Big Cities Policy, many politicians expressed fear of increased criminality, polarisation, residential segregation, spatial concentration of problems, lack of integration and the growing risk of exclusion for parts of the population. Moreover, there appears to be a growing and strongly held belief that people should be worried not only about the lack of integration in and of itself, but also about the high level of residential segregation, since segregation would have a negative impact on integration.

These ideas are underpinned by a set of assumptions (Musterd 2003). The first assumption is that segregation is substantial enough and increasing in a way that we can indeed find significant spatial concentrations of specific vulnerable population categories that may result in negative effects. This assumption is based on the experiences of a number of American cities (Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson 1987). A second assumption is that current integration processes are unsatisfactory, and that some sections of the population lag far behind in areas such as education, the labour market and in social and cultural spheres. A third assumption, most crucial to the present study, is that a negative relationship exists between the levels of residential segregation of vulnerable population categories and the level of societal integration. In other words, a high and increasing level of segregation and/or a strong spatial concentration of specific population categories are assumed to have a negative impact on integration and upward social mobility.

The idea that segregation indicates a lack of participation and integration in society is not a new one. Beginning in the mid-1970s an increasing number of policy-makers in the Netherlands became aware of the fact that the guestworkers they had welcomed during the heyday of the manufacturing boom would stay more permanently; as a consequence they began developing dispersal programmes in major cities like Rotterdam and Amsterdam. These policies were aimed at rapid integration, in fact at assimilation, but were never implemented. This was because the Dutch constitution prohibited selective policies based on place of origin (cf. van Praag 1981). The segregation debate almost disappeared from the public sphere in the subsequent era, when the so-called multicultural model of cohabitation was adopted. Ethnic minorities from various cultural backgrounds were 'allowed' to live together and (sub-)cultures were granted the right to develop their own (sub-)cultural norms, values and interests, insofar as these were compatible with the Constitution and with Dutch fundamental values (e.g. separation of Church and State, equality of men and

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women). This multicultural attitude also allowed for the development of ethnically segregated cities.

The political climate changed again in the mid-1990s, when Dutch policies towards immigrants were reformulated. An increasing number of politicians started to express their worries about the continuing influx of immigrants and—in their eyes—increasing segregation. As a result, Dutch policies towards immigrants again stressed rapid assimilation. Although some tried to develop spatial dispersal policies similar to those of the 1970s, most politicians opted for more subtle ways to reduce residential segregation. They used concepts such as 'urban restructuring' and started stimulating housing mixes and mixed neighbourhoods, while targeting homogeneous ethnic neighbourhoods in the hope of reducing segregation (see Botman and Van Kempen 2002). The Dutch government's June 2002 policy programme explicitly stated that the development of homogeneous ethnic neighbourhoods had to be lessened by creating mixed-housing neighbourhoods.

Residential Segregation in Dutch Cities

What is the actual level of segregation? Is segregation increasing? Are the existing concentrations of ethnic minorities growing? For an answer to the first two questions we refer to the information in Table 1, which presents a comparison of residential segregation at the neighbourhood level (average population per neighbourhood is around 8,000). The Index of Dissimilarity has been calculated for 1980 as a starting year to indicate longer-term changes, and more recent years for current trends. We focus our analysis on Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans. The Turks and Moroccans first came to the Netherlands as guestworkers between 1965 and 1975; later immigration was mainly related to family reunification and family formation. The colonial immigration of Surinamese and Antilleans has a longer history, in particular for the middle class, but Surinamese immigration peaked around 1975 when the former Dutch colony of Surinam became independent. That peak migration mainly consisted of lower-class migrants. Recent migration from the Dutch Antilles, still being a colony of the Netherlands, is also characterised mainly by lower-class immigrants.

The four ethnic minorities mentioned above are four to six times over-represented in the largest cities of the Netherlands and are also central in most of the political debates. Therefore, these groups are suitable examples for a discussion about integration in large Dutch cities—here we take Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague.

International comparison of levels of segregation is rather complicated due to differences in definitions, scales applied, and years of measurement (see Musterd *et al.* 1998). Yet, we feel comfortable in stating that the level of segregation in large Dutch cities is moderate or average by European standards and certainly not generally increasing. There was a moderate increase in the level of segregation for the Turkish and Moroccan populations in Amsterdam over recent years. However, in The Hague, levels first dropped and then stabilised, whereas in Rotterdam the levels of segregation

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Table 1. Segregation indices (ID) in the largest Dutch cities in 1980, 1998, 2000 and 2004

	Amsterdam				Rotterdam				The Hague			
	1980	1998	2000	2004	1980	1998	2000	2004	1980	1998	2000	2004
Turks	37.3	40.1	41.2	42.4	–	50.1	47.8	44.1	66.4	51.3	51.3	51.1
Moroccans	38.6	39.0	39.5	40.0	–	44.5	42.6	39.7	64.7	48.7	48.8	48.3
Surinamese	27.8	33.7	33.3	32.9	–	25.9	24.1	21.1	–	37.8	37.0	33.5
Antilleans	26.2	36.6	37.1	33.3	–	27.8	30.2	29.7	–	26.2	27.3	28.1

Sources: Social Cultural Planning Agency, the Netherlands; Central Bureau of Statistics, the Netherlands.

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for these two groups are steadily declining. Surinamese tend to show decreasing levels of segregation in all three cities, and Antilleans show a more stable level in Rotterdam and The Hague.

Segregation and spatial concentration are strongly related but not identical concepts. Segregation is measured by statistical units, in which over- or under-representation of a population category relative to another category determine the level of segregation. However, a more in-depth analysis of concentrations may add to the understanding.[1] In Table 2, information is presented for Amsterdam about the extent to which the four main ethnic minorities live in concentrations and about the share of these populations that live in such areas. This table follows the structure of analyses of Philpott (1978: 141) and Peach (1996: 232) in their critical discussions of the 'ghettoisation' of ethnic groups. The difference is that here the focus is not on the ghetto or the enclave, but on concentration. In 2004, 5.1 per cent of the population of Amsterdam had a Turkish background (this figure includes both the first and the second generation); in Turkish concentrations (so, in areas with a percentage of Turkish inhabitants at least four standard deviations above the city-wide average) 23.8 per cent of the population had a Turkish background. Of all Turkish inhabitants in Amsterdam, 39.2 per cent lived in a Turkish concentration area. More Moroccans tended to settle where large concentrations of other Moroccans were living (45.2 per cent of all Moroccans lived in a Moroccan concentration), although their average share of the population in these concentrations did not exceed 33.3 per cent.

Spatial concentrations of the four ethnic minorities in Amsterdam do not follow the same patterns. Turkish and Moroccan residents can be seen in fragmented concentrations in the western sections of the city, whereas various Surinamese and Antillean concentrations can be found in the south-eastern parts of town. Differences between the patterns can be explained by various factors such as the year of immigration, type of migration (guestworker, colonial link, family reunification, family formation), duration of stay, or access gained to social housing. However, rather than discussing these differences in this paper, we want to elaborate on new evidence of the dynamics with regard to these concentrations.

Figure 1 shows some changes that occurred in the period from 1994 to 2004: the share of Surinamese and Antilleans in (respectively) Surinamese and Antillean concentrations stabilised in the sense that the yearly figures did not differ very much

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Table 2. Concentrations of ethnic groups in Amsterdam, 2004

1	2	3	4	5	6 = (4/5)*100	7 = (4/2)*100
Ethnic group	Group's city population	Group as percentage of city	Group's population in concentrations	Total population in concentrations	Percentage of group in its concentrations	Group's percentage of population in concentrations
Turkish	37,585	5.1	14,733	61,877	23.8	39.2
Moroccan	63,078	8.5	28,655	85,994	33.3	45.4
Surinamese	71,248	9.6	21,424	56,133	37.5	29.5
Antillean	11,998	1.6	2,952	25,380	11.6	24.6

Source: City Monitor Amsterdam. Geography, University of Amsterdam and O+S Amsterdam.

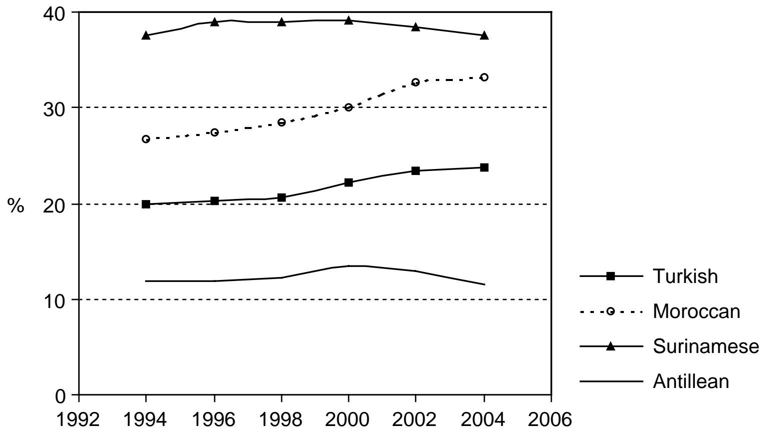

Figure 1. Percentage of the group's population in its ethnic concentrations, Amsterdam, 1994–2004
Source: City Monitor Amsterdam. Geography, University of Amsterdam and O+S Amsterdam

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(just to be clear, Figure 1 plots the time-series evolution of column 6 in Table 2). However, the share of Turkish and Moroccan residents in their respective concentrations increased. In 2004 approximately a quarter of the population within areas of strong Turkish concentration (average + 4 standard deviations) is from a Turkish background (first or second generation), and roughly a third of the population in Moroccan and Surinamese concentrations turned out to be of Moroccan or Surinamese origin, respectively. Musterd and De Vos (2007) have shown that these developments in ethnic concentrations can be mainly ascribed to population dynamics in the city as a whole: increasing shares of Turks and Moroccans in Amsterdam result in the expectation of higher shares of these residents in their respective concentrations. They also investigated what happened with the Turkish and Moroccan concentrations that existed in 1994 over a ten-year period between 1994 and 2004; they showed that over 50 per cent of each of the two population groups left the concentrations where they resided in 1994. The 1994 concentrations combined experienced a net negative migration balance for Turkish and Moroccan residents, respectively, over that same ten-year period. Simultaneously, new concentrations developed. So, the concentrations showed a considerable dynamic and people appeared not to be locked in their concentrations.

The differences between Turkish and Moroccan residents on the one hand, and Surinamese and Antilleans on the other, are also evident when we look at the share of a particular group's members living in 'their own' ethnic concentration (see Figure 2; again, to be clear, this graph plots the evolution over time of the data in column 7 of Table 2). Their development patterns almost mirror each other. Surinamese show the highest stability in terms of the proportion that lives in a Surinamese concentration. In recent years they settled to a lesser extent than before in 'their own' concentrations.

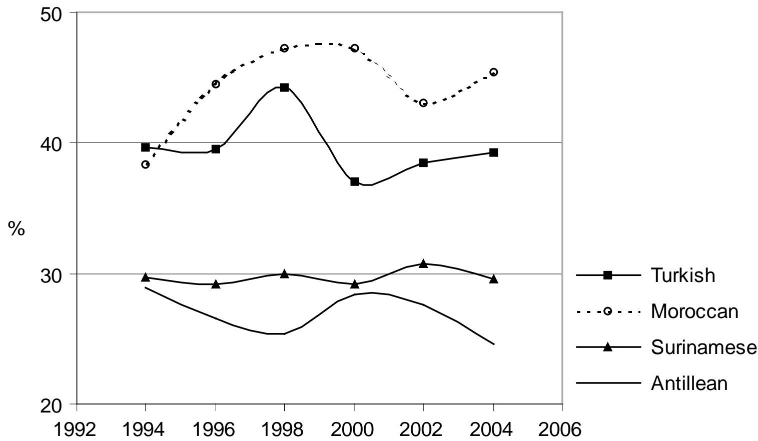

Figure 2. Percentage of ethnic group living in an ethnic concentration of that group, Amsterdam, 1994–2004
Source: City Monitor Amsterdam. Geography, University of Amsterdam and O+S Amsterdam

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Antilleans show a similar recent trend. These trends are most likely related to the fact that both groups changed their housing behaviour and began to move into suburban areas starting in 2000.

The pictures with regard to the share of Moroccans and Turkish residents who are living in their own concentrations are more complicated than the Surinamese and Antillean developments shown in Figure 2. For Surinamese and Antilleans, the shares living in their own concentrations are rather low and stable. For Turks and Moroccans, however, we see a very dynamic pattern. Until 1998 the shares of both groups in their own ethnic concentrations increased substantially. However, later on, many settled outside of such concentration areas. This is indicated by the reduction of the share of each group in concentration areas after 1998. Since 2002, however, unlike the Surinamese and Antillean patterns, there has been a stronger concentration of both Turkish and Moroccan inhabitants in their respective concentrations. In 2004, the proportion of these groups living in their own ethnic concentrations was highest for Moroccans (45 per cent) and for migrants from Turkey (39 per cent). We may speculate that there is a relationship between these developments and the public debates regarding the integration of Muslims, which—at least partly—were more explicit and even xenophobic during the period 2001–04 than before that period. This leads to the hypothesis that the Turkish and Moroccan population might be retreating into their concentrations because of the negative attitudes experienced since 2001.

However, the just-mentioned trend with regard to the share of Turks and Moroccans in Turkish and Moroccan concentrations is unrelated to the total influx of Turkish and Moroccan residents into the city, which is characterised by very stable and regular increases over the entire period. The concentration developments are also

unrelated to the level of segregation, which is actually decreasing due to the fact that more and new concentrations are developing and older ones are dissolving.

Multi-Dimensional Integration

Here we first outline key aspects of the integration of some ethnic minority groups in Dutch society before turning to the relevance of residential segregation and ethnic concentrations for processes of integration. Integration has become a key word in current politics almost everywhere in Europe, and certainly in the Netherlands. But it has different meanings to different people: for some integration means assimilation ('disappearing' in society), for others integration could also occur in a multicultural setting. According to Milton Gordon (1964) acculturation (learning the language, following the laws, and participation in economic life) forms a process experienced by all ethnic minorities. Following Gordon, structural assimilation is the second stage of integration in which inter-ethnic contact networks develop, such as friendships and marriages. However, not all ethnic minorities will proceed to structural assimilation. As a result various 'host–stranger' relationships will be found (see Alexander 2003).

In the Netherlands, for a long period of time it was widely accepted by politicians and academics that full integration in all spheres of life could best be reached through socio-economic participation in the labour market and in education. In other words, full participation in these domains was thought to provide the basis for further integration into Dutch society. This position, however, has changed over the past decade. Currently, there is an increased focus on the socio-cultural dimension of integration (Brassé and Krijnen 2005; Van der Laan Bouma-Doff and Van der Laan Bouma 2005). Gijsberts and Dagevos (2005: 34) speak about 'segmented integration'; they believe that the socio-economic and the cultural dimensions of integration have become disconnected from each other; while integration has improved in the socio-economic domain, it seems to have become worse in the social-cultural domain.

In short, the Dutch discourse on integration has shifted from the model proposed by Gordon (1964) towards a position in which acculturation and assimilation have become disconnected. Following this discourse, we next present some recent information on these different dimensions of integration. In the socio-economic domain, labour market participation and education are the key issues we will pay attention to; in the social-cultural domain, language skills, interaction between ethnic minorities and the longer-established population, and attitudes, norms and modern values will be presented. Notice that Gordon positions language skills in the acculturation domain, whereas the Dutch discourse links it more to the social-cultural domain.

Socio-Economic Integration: Labour Market Participation

Economic cycles have a strong impact on the labour market position of ethnic minorities. During periods of economic decline, unemployment rates of ethnic

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minorities often rise much faster than the rates of the Dutch; during economic upswings the reverse occurs. In the economic revival between 1994 and 2001 unemployment rates among ethnic minorities dropped significantly, to well below 10 per cent. However, from 2001 onwards (the start of an economic slump), unemployment rates went up rapidly to 22 per cent for Moroccans in 2004, 14 per cent for Turkish residents, 12 per cent for Surinamese and 16 per cent for Antilleans. The (lower) figures for the Dutch population changed in the same direction, but much more moderately. Unemployment among the young ethnic minorities (15–24 years old), 24 per cent in 2004, was twice as high as the unemployment of Dutch youth. Unemployment figures are clearly related to educational background but, even after controlling for educational levels, differences remain between ethnic minorities and the Dutch population (*Jaarrapport Integratie 2005*).

Another indicator in this domain is the net labour market participation rate.[2] Data for 2003–04 revealed that the labour market participation of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands is still significantly lower than the participation level of the Dutch. Surinamese are doing quite well, while Moroccans show the lowest level. Male dominance in labour is highest in the Turkish population. If we look at the development between 1994 and 2004, however, a steep rise in net labour market participation for Turkish residents could be registered, and also to a lesser extent for the Surinamese and Moroccans. All ethnic minorities succeeded in narrowing the gap. In the '*Jaarrapport Integratie 2005*' (2005: 89), where these data were derived from, differences in unemployment and participation rates are ascribed to age and education-level differences, household category and gender. However, further factors play important roles, such as language competency in Dutch and whether the person was educated in the Netherlands or elsewhere.

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Socio-Economic Integration: Participation in Education

The level of education of ethnic minorities remains lower than that of the Dutch. However, the gap between the two groups has decreased over the past fifteen years; the gap in language skills was reduced by one third. For schools with a majority of pupils from ethnic minorities this reduction was as high as 50 per cent (we say more on this in the next sub-section). Between 1995 and 2003 the share of Turkish and Moroccan youth who started a higher education track (polytechnic) almost doubled from approximately 10 to 20 per cent. Although a 20 per cent enrolment level is still far below the rate for the Dutch (32 per cent), the Dutch rate seems to be stagnant. Differences at the university level are somewhat greater, but Turks, Moroccans and Surinamese are closing the higher education gap as well. In 2003 among ethnic minorities, the share of the second generation in the age cohort of 30–34 years old with higher education was twice as high as for the same age cohort in the first generation (*Jaarrapport Integratie* 2005). Generally stated, the educational performance of the second generation is much better compared to that of the first generation.

Social-Cultural Integration: Contacts, Language Skills and Role Models

There is a general belief (see Gordon 1964) that one of the most relevant indicators of social and cultural assimilation is the level of contact between ethnic minorities on the one hand and the Dutch on the other. To measure this, we use the proportion of ethnic minorities who say that their contacts (outside of the workplace) are predominantly within their own ethnic group.

Findings of a recent research project (see Gijsberts and Dagevos 2005) show that there are significant differences between ethnic groups in terms of the level of contact with other ethnic groups. However, there are clear age and generation cohort effects, and also an effect of the level of education, which refers to the socio-economic domain. Members of ethnic groups who are young, higher educated, and second-generation have more contacts outside their own ethnic group than members who are older, less educated and first-generation. Yet, differences among different minorities remain. Surinamese and Antilleans have more contact with people who do not belong to their own group than Turks and Moroccans, who appear to be more own-group oriented. But even among the Turks and Moroccans, cohort and education effects can be seen.

What Gijsberts and Dagevos found striking was the fact that, although second-generation ethnic minorities have more contacts with others, the share of those who have contacts with others decreased over the years (based on cross-sectional comparison). They interpreted this as evidence of declining levels of integration. However, it is in fact logical that the number of contacts with Dutch decreases if the Dutch are part of a declining group. This same logic is reflected in another finding that the Dutch had more contacts with ethnic minorities in neighbourhoods with a higher percentage of ethnic minorities. Nevertheless, existing differences in the level of inter-ethnic contacts should not be disregarded.

Differences in skills in the Dutch language reflect a similar difference between ethnic minorities as for own- and other-group contact. Turks and Moroccans have the worst language skills, whereas Surinamese and Antilleans, coming from former Dutch colonies, have the best. These differences can further be explained by taking the age and level of education into account. Children whose parents are of non-Western origin perform at lower levels in language courses. However, a cross-sectional comparison shows that their marks have risen and that most of them appear able to completely close the language skills gap.[3]

The level of socio-cultural integration may also be derived from opinions on gender roles in the household. Van der Laan Bouma-Doff (2005: Table 4) found research outcomes on gender role opinions of Turkish and Moroccan respondents that remind us of 'traditional family life' in the Netherlands before the 1960s (male dominance in the household and responsible for household income; the female responsible for housekeeping).

As far as the social-cultural dimension of integration is concerned, we do not share the rather pessimistic view that integration seems to be declining. Although much

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social interaction takes place within the own group, the young, higher educated and second-generation populations clearly show more contacts with other groups. Moreover, differences in language skills rapidly decline. Large differences still exist regarding gender roles between Turks and Moroccans on the one hand and the Dutch on the other hand. The attitudes of Turks and Moroccans seem to be more comparable with the generation of Dutch who, in the 1950s, moved from rural to urban areas to find employment in the manufacturing industries.

In short, extensive analysis of the various dimensions of integration reveals that there still are substantial differences between ethnic minorities. There are, however, promising positive developments. Even though economic cycles strongly impact upon the position of ethnic minorities in the labour market, the gap between people of Dutch and non-Dutch origin has become narrower over time. With regard to the educational performance of the young and second-generation populations, we can also see improvement compared with the older and the first-generation cohorts.

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Understanding the Relation Between Segregation and Integration

We concluded above that, while there is residential segregation, levels are neither high nor increasing. We also concluded that integration in the socio-economic and assimilation in the social-cultural domains is progressing slowly, but is not 'blocked'. This may still imply that there is a relation between segregation and integration/ assimilation as expected: it may be due to a reduction in residential segregation that integration is improving and assimilation is taking off. This could indicate that the link between segregation and integration/assimilation can be understood in terms of a neighbourhood effect of the social or ethnic environment of individuals on their socio-economic integration or socio-cultural assimilation in society.

Segregation and Socio-Economic Integration

Several studies have found that the social and ethnic composition of an individual's direct residential environment affects their socio-economic performance.[4] The dominant tone in these studies is that there are neighbourhood effects on social mobility, but they also find that these effects tend to be small, that they may partly be due to selection effects, and that the longitudinal data to offer the real insight required are only sparsely available.

We were able to carry out large-scale longitudinal research projects in both the Netherlands and Sweden aimed at estimating the effects of the social and ethnic composition of individuals' immediate residential environments on their opportunities for social mobility (Musterd and Andersson 2005, 2006; Musterd *et al.* 2003, 2008). Regarding the socio-economic composition of the residential environment, our research in the Netherlands, based on data for taxpayers in 1989 and 1994 and representing one third of the population, indicated only small effects on the social mobility of people with a weak social position. The share of people on benefits in

1989 and in 1994 hardly changed when the environment contained a larger share of the disadvantaged (i.e. on benefits) population. The fact that there were only weak effects might be ascribed to successful and direct intervention strategies by the state and other institutions to stimulate social integration (see also van Amersfoort 1992). This argument is actually supported by analyses that focused on neighbourhood effects for people with somewhat stronger social positions, who therefore did not receive extra government attention. For those who started with a somewhat stronger social position, we found that environments had stronger negative effects (Musterd *et al.* 2003). Similarly, in the Dutch case studies that were part of the European Commission URBEX Project,[5] only marginal signs of neighbourhood impacts on integration were found (Musterd *et al.* 2006).

Large-scale longitudinal analyses of the impact of ethnic concentrations on economic opportunities in Sweden (Musterd *et al.* 2008) reveal that own-group concentrations initially pay dividends for immigrants, but that these benefits turn into significant net disadvantages over time. These findings may be interpreted as follows: ethnic concentrations can help migrants to find their way in a new environment, but when they have passed that initial stage more economic advantage is associated with living elsewhere. This process is earlier described as spatial assimilation (Massey and Mullan 1984).

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Segregation and Socio-Cultural Integration

Many researchers believe that social mobility is the key variable for integration in a number of spheres. Thus, they focus on socio-economic performance, and studies of neighbourhood effects are limited to social careers. However, we have noticed that the socio-cultural domain of integration appears to have become separated or disconnected from the socio-economic domain. In this paper we used 'contact with others' as an important indicator of socio-cultural integration. Gijsberts and Dagevos (2005) argued that ethnic residential segregation might no longer be relevant for social mobility, but might still have serious impacts on social and cultural integration. Based on a sample of some 3,000 respondents, they tested their hypothesis by analysing the relationship between the share of non-Western population in the respondent's neighbourhood and the level of in-group contact (outside of the workplace). In comparison with Surinamese and Antilleans, Turks and Moroccans have fewer contacts with others. However, such contact is even less when the respondent lives in an area of ethnic concentration. Van der Laan Bouma-Doff and Van der Laan Bouma (2005) arrived at a similar conclusion on the basis of an analysis that looked into the relation between ethnic concentration and the level of contact between ethnic minorities and the Dutch. Their analysis controlled for differences in age, gender, education, labour market participation and language skills. However, two comments must be made here. First, the definition of ethnic concentration that was used is problematic. Ethnic concentrations were defined as areas with a high share of residents of non-Western origin,

assuming that in such areas the individual has a higher probability of having more interaction with people of his or her own group. That is not necessarily true, due to the fact that areas with a high share of non-Dutch population are often highly mixed in terms of countries of origin. However, this ethnic diversity may actually force individuals to rely more upon contacts with members of their own group because they are the only ones they understand. Second, there may be more contact with others in less segregated neighbourhoods, but we do not know what effects that may have.

So, the idea, often expressed in the Netherlands, that there exists a strong link between segregation and integration, does not find confirmation in empirical data. A negative effect on the 'social career' of members of ethnic minorities living in areas with few Dutch is a very important hypothesis, but this hypothesis is not confirmed for the Dutch situation.

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School Segregation and Integration

In the aforementioned analyses, we pointed to the possibly crucial role of the state. State intervention in the spheres of education, labour market access, social support, etc. may have reduced the potentially negative effects of residential segregation on the integration of ethnic minorities in the 'host' society. In this regard, but also in and of itself, it is interesting to look more closely at another form of segregation—school segregation—and its effects on students. Free school choice has a long tradition in the Netherlands, rooted in the existence of religious and social democratic 'pillars', which serve as a basis for organising Dutch social and political culture. This tradition also allowed for Islamic schools to be established, for example. Levels of school segregation are high, especially in large cities in the Netherlands. These high levels of segregation are based largely on the location of the child's residence and on traditional mechanisms for choosing a school, which are now based on social and ethnic factors (Karsten *et al.* 2006). In many Dutch cities, school segregation was also influenced by the location of elite schools, typically located in high-status residential districts and dominated by white students from the higher socio-economic strata. The current situation is one of relatively high levels of segregation, including extremes in the form of the almost pure Islamic schools and the almost pure white elite schools. In regard to the integration debate, schools with very high shares of Muslim students supposedly have a negative impact on integration, and many express their fear that separate worlds may develop.

However, Karsten *et al.* (2006) argue that the basis for this fear is rather thin. They have the support of other scholars in the field, such as Gramberg and Ledoux (2005: 19–24). They argue that there is no conclusive evidence in the Netherlands that supports the assumed negative relation between school segregation and integration, neither in terms of educational achievements (the socio-economic dimension), nor in terms of attitudes and self-image of the pupils (the social-cultural dimension). Although the assumption that school segregation has negative effects on educational

achievement is quite widespread (for instance Gijsberts and Dagevos 2005: 55), evidence does not support this. After controlling for individual child characteristics, schools with a majority of pupils from ethnic minorities hardly had negative impacts on the scholastic performance of their pupils. Moreover, the school effects decrease over time, and children from ethnic minorities make more progress in primary school relative to their Dutch counterparts. Jungbluth (2005: 45–7) showed that school achievement differences are almost entirely explained by parental socio-economic differences.

Again, these findings may be due to fierce government intervention. Schools receive almost twice the subsidies for pupils with parents coming from a non-Western country and having a low education than they receive for other students. These types of policy may have had marked positive impacts on individual performance scores.

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Conclusion

There are many reasons to develop policies aimed at changing the physical, social and economic characteristics of neighbourhoods, as Gijsberts and Dagevos concluded in their 2005 study on the relationship between ethnic concentrations and integration. They described the decreasing number of contacts between ethnic minorities and others as 'alarming', and stated that 'mixed neighbourhoods are good for contact'. We would like to question this assumption. Even in highly mixed neighbourhoods, one may only have contact within one's own group. Furthermore, it is unclear whether more contact between very different people does indeed result in higher levels of integration and increased individual opportunities. Van der Laan Bouma-Doff and Van der Laan Bouma (2005) found that, in neighbourhoods with only a small share of non-Western population, more contacts between the Dutch and the non-Dutch existed, but they did not measure the effects. In the political debate, these findings are quickly interpreted as 'more contact is good for social cohesion'. Because social cohesion is regarded as good for people, this is valued positively. Yet it is still unclear whether more inter-group mixing will result in more inter-group contact and subsequently enhanced social cohesion; social contact may remain superficial. Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that not all social cohesion is positive. Very strong social bonds are usually regarded as negative because they prevent interaction with the rest of society (Granovetter 1973). In addition, there is not much information about the way social cohesion is related to other vehicles for integration. For example, does social cohesion result in higher levels of education? Or does social cohesion result in higher levels of labour market participation?

Regarding the political debate, the promotion of mixed neighbourhoods as a panacea for societal ills and as a guarantee for social cohesion should be treated with scepticism. Too much mixing may actually result in the opposite of what politicians desire. If it is the case that individuals seek relatively small social distances between

themselves and people in their environment—an important foundation of many sociological theories—then living together in a small space may actually increase residential segregation and perhaps also drive groups further apart; thus resulting not in an increase of social cohesion, but in a decrease instead. This is not a black and white issue; most people accept certain levels of mixing, but large inequalities in terms of lifestyles may result in counter-productive effects and bring a substantial number of households to search for more homogeneous, perhaps even gated, communities. This seems to be a tendency already, especially for households who are starting a family.

In regard to the relation between school segregation and integration, we think that fear is a bad counsellor. Although international literature and political views might suggest otherwise, in Dutch research there is no support for the view that school segregation along ethnic lines and integration are negatively related. This holds true both for the achievements of pupils and for their attitudes and self-image in society.

Altogether, the relationship between residential segregation and integration has attracted extraordinary political but very little scholarly attention. Large-scale research projects will be able to tell us more about the relations we have discussed in this article, and such studies should precede large-scale spatial social engineering projects. If politicians do not want to wait, it seems safe in the meantime to continue with pre-existing policies for education, labour market access and social support. The policies in these fields may have had much more positive effects than is often assumed and seem more important for structural integration than interventions into settlement structures.

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Notes

[1] Concentration areas could be constructed on the basis of very detailed spatial data, available at six-digit postcode level. When a certain level of the group was present, here at least four standard errors above the mean, that area was selected; when neighbouring areas were selected, these were taken together and presented as a larger area. For further details on the techniques used, see Deurloo and Musterd (1998).

[2] Net labour-market participation is the share of the population 16–64 years with a paid job for at least 12 hours per week.

[3] This statement is made on the basis of a longitudinal measurement in which pupils were individually followed through their basic education track.

[4] See Ellen and Turner (1997) for a review of these studies; Atkinson and Kintrea (2001) for a cross-sectional survey in this area; Galster (2002) and Friedrichs *et al.* (2005) for a comparison between neighbourhood effect research in North America and Europe; Musterd and Andersson (2005, 2006); and Andersson *et al.* (2007) for studies that apply large-scale longitudinal datasets in order to measure individual social opportunity in relation to housing mix, social make-up and other neighbourhood characteristics.

[5] URBEX is the acronym for the project 'The Spatial Dimensions of Urban Social Exclusion and Integration: A European Comparison'.

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