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INTRODUCTION

Background of the study

1. The CERI of the OECD has recently launched a new research project, focused on the theme of social exclusion. It is aimed at two groups of children who would seem a priori to have greater chances than other children of becoming socially excluded: the disabled and disadvantaged (including ethnic minorities).

2. In January 1998 an invitational conference brainstormed on the possibilities of research into the processes involved in becoming excluded, including the methodologies and conceptualisations.

3. There was general agreement that a conceptualisation of social exclusion should go beyond ideas based on poverty and employment, and is best considered in the sense developed by Sen. Nobel prize winning economist and social philosopher, Amartya Sen stresses the development of ‘capabilities’ which are intended to ensure that everyone has the material, cultural and emotional resources to develop their capabilities to the full. He distinguishes three areas of relevance to social exclusion: community integration, participation, and the social basis of self respect.

4. As one of the next steps, CERI invited Sardes Educational Services to conduct a case study of two Dutch communities and the ways in which they are building up civil approaches to respond to the needs of children and their families. The report should compare and contrast the outcomes of different community governance styles on the development of civil society approaches to preventing the social exclusion of disabled and disadvantaged children in the Netherlands.

Methodology

5. The data for the analysis were gathered through interviews, site visits and review of written materials, such as statistical and annual reports, policy papers and project plans, as well as results of research or self-evaluation.

6. In the case of Arnhem, schools were visited and interviews were held with students, parents, and professionals at different levels. The main written sources were annual reports of the co-ordinators of the educational priority policy as well as the policy to reintegrate disabled students into mainstream education (‘Going to school together’, the Dutch acronym is WSNS) . Those reports included the results of self-evaluation.

7. In the case of Amsterdam use was made of an extensive evaluation study (Bosdriesz and Van Veen, 1999).
The selection of the cases

8. In selecting the cases both formal and informal routes were taken. The informal way was to ask professionals in the areas of educational priority policy, integrated preventive youth policy and welfare policy for examples of good practice. This yielded some useful information, in particular about areas that used to be well co-ordinated ‘educational priority areas’ until recently, when central government delegated the responsibility for educational priority policies to local governments, under the name of ‘local compensatory policy’.

9. The more formal approach was to analyse research findings for exemplary practices. That yielded information about, for instance, neighbourhoods in cities with over 100,000 inhabitants, where the risk of social exclusion is high, judging by scores on several dimensions of social integration and social well-being. In the policy jargon of yesterday these areas were called accumulated problem areas. A high-quality national daily paper, the NRC Handelsblad, published analyses of the 2,049 neighbourhoods in those 33 cities (these analyses were later published in a booklet: NRC Handelsblad, 1998). To analyse these neighbourhoods, five dimensions of ‘quality’ were used:

- composition of households (the proportion of one-person households, one-parent families and pensioners in a local community is considered to make a difference, because the presence of children in a neighbourhood facilitates the creation of social networks, both directly and through the parents),
- income of households (especially: belonging to the poorest 20% or richest 20% of the population)
- ethnic composition (as a measure of ‘distance to the Dutch culture’),
- participation in society (in particular in terms of paid employment),
- living surroundings (home ownership, density of houses, frequency of moving house).

10. Combining the results of the informal and formal search for information led to the selection of neighbourhoods in Amsterdam and Arnhem for further investigation.

11. When the 33 cities with over 100,000 inhabitants are ranked by the number of citizens who are living in areas of below-average urban quality (as measured by the NRC Handelsblad), Amsterdam ranks first place, Arnhem eleventh. The ‘top 20’ neighbourhoods with the lowest overall score includes three neighbourhoods in Amsterdam; the same goes for the percentage of citizens from ethnic minority backgrounds (Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans). Seven of the twenty neighbourhoods with the largest number of one-parent families are in Amsterdam. The list of the twenty neighbourhoods with the highest number of one-person households includes three neighbourhoods in Amsterdam and three in Arnhem. Six neighbourhoods in Arnhem belong to the top twenty of neighbourhoods with a high number of jobless people and three are among the twenty neighbourhoods with an extremely low income.

12. In order to make a meaningful comparison, we also looked at some differences between Amsterdam and Arnhem. With over 715,000 citizens, Amsterdam is the largest city in the Netherlands, whereas Arnhem, with less than 135,000 citizens, is considered to be a middle-sized city. Arnhem is known as a city with a strong tradition in policy making for disadvantaged groups, as a participant in the national educational priority policy programme (OVB). That is why the OVB co-ordinating team in Arnhem played a major role in the transition from OVB policy to local compensatory policy. In
Amsterdam, as a result of decentralisation within the city’s administration, the situation is fundamentally different in several respects.

13. In political and administrative terms, there is a complex division of tasks and responsibilities between the city’s central administration and the boroughs, which have a certain degree of autonomy. In the domains of welfare, youth affairs, education and care, the institutions that provide these services also have a say in policy making at the central level and/or at the level of the boroughs. For example, welfare policy has been decentralised to the boroughs and in education, responsibilities have been divided between the city administration and the school boards. The responsibility for youth care, on the other hand, lies with a regional body. This situation makes it difficult to integrate policies in different fields, although attempts have been made and are still being made.

14. As a result of these differences in political-administrative structure and in size, Arnhem and Amsterdam also differ considerably in governance style.

The national context of the cases

Which children and students?

15. Since CERI is the OECD institute for education, we shall start our investigation into the social exclusion of disadvantaged and disabled children and youth in the field of education. That field will also be at the heart of the solutions we will analyse to prevent exclusion.

16. The question of how to organise education for children who are in need of special care, has been one of the main issues in educational policy making in the Netherlands for the last 15 to 20 years.

17. In education, there are three strands of policy aimed at three categories of children at risk:

a. For children with educational disadvantages caused by social, economic and cultural characteristics, a compensatory policy programme operates at the national and the local level. This category includes children from low SES families and children from a number of specific ethnic minority groups. At national level a system of pupil weightings is used to allocate additional resources to primary schools with children from these categories. For example, a Moroccan child counts for 1.9, a Dutch child of parents with little education for 1.25 and a child from a middle-class family for 1.0. The sum of the weightings of all the pupils in a school is used to determine the number of teachers (or rather, staff hours) allocated to the school. The accuracy of the criteria used for these pupil weightings is gradually diminishing, but the government has decided not to change the system at short notice. Apart from the resources allocated to schools on the basis of pupil weightings, municipalities with a high proportion of educationally disadvantaged children receive a special budget for local policies aimed at reducing educational disadvantages. A policy framework including specific goals that are considered important by the national government has been provided as a guideline for municipal authorities, but these have considerable freedom to make their own choices with regard to policy goals and instruments. Municipal authorities were required to develop local plans for reducing educational disadvantages by August 1998. These plans must be approved by the city council and developed in consultation with the local school boards. Most municipalities have managed to produce a plan. The most frequently chosen priorities in these local policy plans are: improving early childhood education provision, reducing dropout rates and improving Dutch language teaching. Municipalities with a high proportion of ethnic minority children with limited
Dutch language proficiency can claim budgets for education in the home language of these children. These budgets may be used for providing minority language teaching in the primary years 1-4 in school or for offering minority language teaching for older children outside school. Ethnic minority parents must be consulted before definitive policy choices are made.

b. For children with learning and behavioural difficulties the ‘Going to school together’ policy programme has been developed. This policy aims at stabilising or reducing the number of children referred to special education. More of these children should be catered for in mainstream primary schools. Teachers from special schools help primary schools to provide the appropriate care for these pupils. In 1998 the Primary Education Act introduced a new system for financing the care for this category of children. The former schools for children with learning and behavioural difficulties are now called ‘special schools for primary education’. All primary schools must participate in a network with one or more special schools. In August 1998 250 of such networks had been established. Each network is required to develop a special needs plan describing how the care for special needs children will be provided. The networks must also establish an ‘individual needs committee’, which decides whether a pupil should be kept in a mainstream school or be admitted to a special school. The budget for special education is sufficient to finance special school places for 2% of all pupils in the network. If more pupils in a network are referred to special schools, the mainstream primary schools have to transfer money from their own budgets, to the special school in their network.

c. For disabled children a new educational policy was introduced in 1997, to be operational in 2001. This policy includes a system where disabled pupils receive a personal budget, which the parents can spend on their child’s education. This is called the ‘Rucksack’ funding model, because pupils can take their personal budget to the school of their parents’ preference. The new policy was developed to in response to the needs of parents of disabled children, who tend to prefer to enrol their child at a school nearby the home. This new policy makes it possible for parents to enrol their child at a mainstream school. The main elements in the new system are:

- Parents have the right to choose between a mainstream school or a special school for their child.
- An independent regional ‘referrals committee’ has been established, which decides whether a pupil is eligible for admission to a special school.
- Pupils are allocated a personal budget for the period during which they need special care.
- For pupils with serious or multiple handicaps, educational goals must be defined which are related to the attainment targets of regular education.

What policies?

18. The Rucksack funding programme is aimed at primary and secondary education. Compensatory policies and the ‘Going to school together’ programme are mainly aimed at primary education. In secondary education, policies for pupils at risk (other than those who fall under the Rucksack programme) are focused on reducing dropout rates and extending the educational opportunities for pupils who have difficulty obtaining a qualification that gives access to the labour market. In junior vocational education, experiments are going on to develop learning pathways that are better suited to children with special needs.
These pathways may be of a theoretical or practical nature, and learning support is provided for pupils who have difficulty in obtaining a qualification. The government has announced that policies aimed at reducing dropout will be intensified. At the regional level, agencies for registering and co-ordinating information on pupils who have dropped out of school (RMC) have been established. A system for monitoring dropouts is currently being developed. In 1999 a new plan of action with regard to reducing dropout was presented.

19. In the period 1999-2002, the budget for providing care for disabled persons will be increased by NLG 386 million. The capacity of care provisions will be expanded. An important aim of policies for disabled persons is to facilitate their participation in society and to provide care in the family, at school and at work. Enabling people to participate in social networks, in the labour market and in all kinds of organisations is considered crucial. The implementation of these general principles often involves various domains of policy, both at national level and at municipal and regional levels. The impact of these principles on educational policies has already been illustrated. Most buildings in the Netherlands have been made accessible to disabled persons and initiatives to encourage the integration of the disabled in the labour market have been successful. Even though disabled people still run a risk of being socially excluded, their opportunities to participate in all kinds of social and economic activities have increased enormously in the past 30 years. There is wide agreement among citizens and organisations in the Netherlands that disabled persons should have the opportunity to participate in society and that obstacles to this participation should be removed. The law on provisions for disabled people is the most important policy document in this field. Implementation of the social aspects of integration policies is partly a responsibility of municipal authorities; that is one reason why we do not know about the actual effects of the law.

20. The educational policies for disadvantaged and disabled pupils fit in with broader policies aimed at integrating disadvantaged and disabled persons. The most important policies in this regard are: local social policy, preventive youth policy and integration policy.

21. Local social policy is promoted by the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport. In 1998, this ministry presented a policy framework for the development of local social policies (‘Sturen op doelen, faciliteren op instrumenten’, Rijswijk, 1998). The goals of this policy are to:

− foster social cohesion by organising a social infrastructure offering care, developing social networks and improving leisure provisions (this should be achieved through welfare agencies working for youth and for elderly people, social and cultural welfare provision, playgrounds, pre-school play groups and child care centres and sports provision).

− promote the social integration of disadvantaged people through intervention programmes aimed at (re)integration

− support disadvantaged children and families, by encouraging co-operation between schools and welfare agencies (pre-school provisions, youth health care, special youth care)

− offer integration programmes for newly arrived immigrants

− stimulate participation in society by inactive people, by providing jobs, education, voluntary work and by encouraging the development of social networks and participation in organisations

− care for homeless people and further their reintegration, by encouraging their participation in society and by offering shelter and providing care
identify new problems with regard to social participation

22. A year before this policy framework was published, the ministry’s department of social policy published a policy paper which identified poverty as a priority theme of action and which recommended investments in the social infrastructure as a major solution to problem of poverty (VWS, Het aanboren van onvermoede mogelijkheden, 1997). The mission statement of the department reads as follows:

“To prevent and remedy social exclusion, and to further social cohesion, by acting as a mediator between policy and relevant institutions in society.”

23. In April 1999 the government published a new white paper on its welfare policies (Welzijnsnota 1999-2002). Although welfare policies have for the greater part been decentralised to local authorities, central government still has a role to play when it comes to improving social infrastructures and encouraging social participation. Preventing marginalisation and social exclusion are explicit targets of the policies presented in the white paper, with special attention being paid to furthering social participation, easing access to provisions for groups at risk and improving the professional networks surrounding families and children. Central government seeks to facilitate the role of local governments as ‘directors’ of local social policy.

24. In December 1999 the government published a white paper on youth policy (Jeugdbeleid in Balans), which aims at concerted enhancement of the activities of the government at the national, provincial and local level. A common vision on integrated youth policy is presented: youth, parents and government have a shared responsibility for growing up and education. Five criteria for youth policy are formulated:

a. youth and parents will be involved in policymaking;

b. youth policy will not only focus on problems, but also on investment in general provisions for all youth;

c. youth policy will try to prevent problems in focusing on at risk situations;

d. the provisions on offer should give an adequate and co-ordinated response to the questions and needs of youth and parents;

e. in addition to the structural provisions special projects will be put in place, in a co-ordinated manner.

25. The overall aim is, to enhance and co-ordinate the chain of responsibilities and provisions for children and youth and their parents. The age group of zero to six year olds will get special attention, because prevention needs to start as early as possible. Social cohesion needs to be stressed and will be one of the items to be monitored and evaluated.

26. When the new government took office in 1998, it appointed a separate Minister for Urban Policy and Integration. His field of work includes education, employment and preventing discrimination (Van Boxtel, Kansen krijgen, kansen pakken, 1999). The minister’s policies are aimed at “furthering the self-reliance and independence of all citizens in our democratic society”. Cohesion and co-operation are central concepts in these policies. Four action programmes are being developed, including one for children and youth, which is based on a longitudinal approach: a continuous line of development from pre-school, via primary and secondary school, to further education and employment. Special attention is paid to youth participation and youth crime. The other action programmes include such relevant issues as parental involvement, the community school, ‘communities that care’ and the struggle against poverty.
27. Local preventive youth policies have been promoted by a three year programme. Over 100 municipalities received assistance in developing local preventive youth policies. The pillars of these policies are:

- paying more attention to children and youth in (local) policy making
- encouraging the involvement and participation of youth in policy making
- strengthening the co-ordinating role of municipal authorities

28. Preventive youth policies are focused both on youth in general and on disadvantaged youth. According to researchers, 85% of children and youngsters in the Netherlands grow up without serious problems, some 10% have serious problems and 5% are really at risk.

29. A series of publications about these aspects of youth policy has been published in the past years and it appears that the goal of furthering the development of youth policies has been reached to a considerable extent. It is expected that initiatives to promote the further development of preventive youth policies will be continued in the years to come.

30. Integration policy is aimed at the integration of ethnic minorities in education and the labour market and at reducing discrimination. This policy is developed for and in co-operation with the authorities of the four largest cities in the Netherlands by the Minister for Urban Policy and Integration. The policy framework includes the following priorities for youth policies:

- improving the conditions for an uninterrupted process of development in children aged 0-18 years
- enhancing the ‘interculturalisation’ of organisations working in education and welfare
- involving migrants’ organisations in policy making
- providing intensive language programmes for young children
- promoting the creation of community schools via compensatory policies
- strengthening pupil guidance and structuring leisure time
- reducing school dropout rates
- encouraging parental participation
- promoting individual guidance for juvenile delinquents
- introducing the “communities that care” programme

**Partnerships between education and youth care**

31. In Holland the barriers that have arisen between the various areas of youth policy and the systems of service provision are rather strict. At national level there are various departments involved in policy focussing on young people, for instance policy concerning the labour market, youth care, education,
income and public health. Therefore it is not surprising that from the point of view of coherence and consistency of youth policy continual co-ordination between the various policy sections in central government is needed. The 1993 Government Memorandum (Youth deserves a Future) speaks of inter-sectoral youth policy and the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture provides this continual co-ordination.

32. Barriers are also visible in the relationship between the various administrative levels, in the different systems of financing, control facilities and policy cultures. The Dutch Government supports a process of administrative renewal that will lead to a new relationship between local, regional and national policy shifting from separation of tasks to a more complementary mode of administration. Thus the various policy objectives and systems of service provision can be better co-ordinated. This ideal of complementary administration has not yet been achieved in practice. The barriers between the various departments, administrative levels and systems of service provision turn out to be very persistent.

33. In the Netherlands the call for consistency and coherence of youth policy, the cry for inter-sectoral youth policy, overshadows a great number of problems we face in practice:

- the accessibility, effectiveness and efficiency of the various provisions and service sectors in our multi-cultural society, especially in large urban areas;
- youngsters and parents turn away from the traditional provisions because the don’t answer their questions and needs;
- quality issues related to personnel, programmes, organisation and client participation;
- parents, teachers, social workers and other professionals in the youth arena perceive their task as more difficult, they point at youngsters, a growing number of children at risk, inadequate support systems for youngsters and themselves, and uncertainty about the objectives, tasks and structure of the living, learning or treatment environment.

34. The situation is complicated and confusing. The various institutes and sectors (education, health care, youth care, youth work etcetera) have their own independent developmental pace, objectives and coping strategies. In a lot of cases internal problem solving, integration and differentiation precede cooperation with other sectors. For instance the ‘Going to school together’ programme did not include the expertise of the youth care system in working with children with psycho-social problems and their families. Similar developments take place in other sectors.

35. For a long period of time the various support and care systems in the Netherlands dealing with children and youngsters with problems and special needs are characterised by an autonomous development. Growth, differentiation, specialisation and - typical Dutch - polarisation were the outcomes of this development. During the 1970s the Dutch Government begins to promote planning and coordination within the various care systems. New ideologies and policy options were formulated. Special institutes (schools, residential treatment etcetera) were no longer popular. Integration became the magic word, supporting youngsters and their families in their own environment (with day care facilities, hometraining) and more emphasis on prevention. During the eighties this trend was continued and in some care systems and sectors - partly because of the decentralisation – acquired a more regional basis.

36. However, co-operation and collaboration between sectors is fraught with difficulties. The barriers make it very hard to systematically recognise young people’s problems at an early stage and to design and execute effective multi-component strategies. This often leads to inadequate help for youngsters and their parents or shopping from one service to another.
Fortunately, there are many initiatives at local and regional level to break down the bureaucratic obstacles. There is a growing co-operation between schools, youth services, police and welfare institutions in helping and guiding youngsters with problems and in developing preventive strategies and supportive living and learning environments, and - even more important - local and regional co-operation and networking show promising results. Especially in large urban areas demographic and socio-economic changes and the cumulative effects of poverty have created social environments that challenge educators, practitioners of health, mental health and social services, community leaders and policy makers to invent new kinds of (institutional) responses.

The process of professionalization in the health and human services since the nineteen fifties, with its features of differentiation, specialisation and labour division, have cast long shadows. The current system of child-related service delivery is fragmented, often characterised by duplication, waste, and lack of co-ordination. This creates major difficulties and risks, especially for vulnerable children who come to school with multiple problems that cut across conventional health, social, and educational systems boundaries; problems that schools are ill equipped to handle alone. Too many of them fall through the cracks and don’t receive the services they need.

So far we have tried to describe some of the characteristics and developments in relation to youth (care) policy in the Netherlands. Indeed, the current need for more comprehensive, integral approaches in practice and in policy can be explained partly by the failure of the sectoral, provision oriented approach. Especially in urban areas alternative approaches have to be developed because schools and other institutes cannot meet the complex needs of today’s youngsters. A measurable segment of the society is not going to make it without massive changes in the way that they are educated, supported and cared for. This problem is much easier to frame than are the structures and strategies for its solution. New kinds of arrangements of community resources have to be brought together to ensure that children can grow up to be participating members of this society. Many believe that human services institutions in urban environments can be much more effective if restructured toward a complementary and co-ordinated system of children and family assistance. Fortunately, new and promising partnerships between education and youth care that serve disadvantaged children youth and their families are emerging. The two selected cases of Amsterdam and Arnhem are good examples of that partnerships.
ANALYSIS OF THE TWO CASES

Basic Data

40. In chapter 1, we explained the selection of the cases for this study. Amsterdam and Arnhem were both identified as cities with over 100,000 inhabitants where the risk of social exclusion is rather high. Judged by scores on five explicit dimensions of social integration and social well-being, the two cities are both in the ‘top 20’ of cities with below-average urban quality of living. Amsterdam is the largest city in the Netherlands and ranks first place, whereas Arnhem is a middle sized city that ranks eleventh. Relevant for our comparison is the difference in styles of governance between the two cities. In Amsterdam there is a complex division of administrative and political tasks between the central administration and the boroughs which have a certain degree of autonomy. Since some issues are dealt with at the regional or provincial level as well, it is extremely difficult and complex to integrate welfare, education, youth care and other fields into one preventive youth policy. In Arnhem, on the other hand, there is a stronger city-wide tradition in co-operative policy-making for disadvantaged children and youth. Here the balance between the co-ordinating role of a more centralised task force and the field workers in the neighbourhoods with their own responsibilities seems to facilitate co-operation at the operational level. Accountability of the ‘street level’ or operational professionals is more of a tradition in Arnhem than in most of the Amsterdam boroughs.

Strategies and Structures

41. The structure in Arnhem is: a task force at the local level with direct communication lines with policy-makers and local government officials, a task force with special emphasis on educational issues and co-ordinating professional work; and relatively autonomous neighbourhoods where relevant disciplines are asked to co-operate effectively to meet the needs of the people living there, and where the community is asked to participate in decision-making and prioritisation.

42. Inviting people to participate requires a non-patronising way of working with them, which is more difficult with groups at risk than with other citizens (e.g. because many professionals are middle class).

43. Strategies used in Arnhem include:

1. educational priority or local compensatory (educational) policy as well as the ‘Going to School Together’ programme

2. school contact persons

3. social renewal and community work per neighbourhood (‘wijkgericht werken’)

4. parent involvement.
44. These four strategies were put in place to ensure the development of as many children and youth as possible, to develop their capabilities to the full and to help them participate in society.

45. The first strategy aims at helping students at risk of failing at school because of either their socio-economic or ethnic background and/or their learning difficulties or physical handicaps. The starting point is: to keep students in regular schools as long as possible, and to use a network of supportive institutions around the school to accomplish that goal.

46. Since many children at risk in Arnhem have an ethnic minority background – they come from Morocco and Turkey for a large part – school contact persons have been installed to bridge the gap between the different cultures at home and at school, and to improve communications between parents and teachers. A school contact person therefore has the same ethnic background as the minority groups he/she works with, and has the capability to work in both cultures and be a serious discussion partner in both cultural contexts. There are four school contact workers in Arnhem who work in primary as well as secondary education and who also address problems such as crime and drug addiction.

47. This second strategy is directly related to the fourth, since parent involvement is known to be one of the key factors in school success and school contact persons aim to bring as many parents as possible into the school environment. The involvement of parents can take the form of participation in in-school activities, school-related outings organised for the children, a cosy get together for coffee with mothers sharing experiences, or courses for parents on supporting education or helping young children learn through play. The core problem with parent involvement has to do with the level of formal education of the parents, e.g. many Moroccan parents are not able to read or write. This explains in part why involvement in the form of participation in the school’s parents’ council is appropriate for only a few parents.

48. The third strategy shows the community approach in combatting social exclusion and supporting the school careers of all children and youth. The approach also has to do with the physical environment in the neighbourhoods where most of the people at risk live.

49. In Amsterdam the structure is a more complex one, with tasks divided between the central administration of the city and the boroughs and differing from one field of policy to another. As a consequence, an educational support agency that works in the whole city for instance, needs to make arrangements with all the education departments of the boroughs about their specific needs and how to address those needs.

50. In order to act more effectively in the Western part of Amsterdam, Youth Care Advisory Teams have been set up in primary education, that use the same method in all seven boroughs of that part of the city. As an elaboration of the outcomes of an evaluation study on a three-year experiment with Consultation Teams, the strategy of the Youth Care Advisory Teams (YCATs) now comprises the following elements:

- The YCATs serve as outposts for the Youth Care Office, and possibly also for general welfare work; they are multidisciplinary teams consisting of professionals from different youth care disciplines, e.g. welfare, youth protection and mental health care; additional expertise is available from a school doctor, child psychiatrist and family welfare worker; for specific problems links are established with the municipal school attendance officer, police, school support bureau and welfare institutions;

- the work of the YCATs is aimed at opening up the existing capacity for support and assistance by screening children, direct intervention or assistance with school intervention, and referral to more specialised organisations;
next to the pupils, especially the ones with behavioural, socio-emotional or family problems, their parents/families may also be involved and will be provided with adequate assistance; all 66 primary schools and 12 special primary schools are served.

51. By providing instruments for the early spotting of risks and problems as well as other preventive support and ambulatory assistance, the goal is to establish social inclusion of both the children at risk within the school and their families within the community.

52. Immediate assistance during crisis situations is part of the support the YCATs offer, as is contributing to the development of inter-sectoral co-operation within a network of the school and professional organisations.

53. The YCATs will stimulate the professionalisation of the school team or special staff members in order to gradually enable them to handle more problems themselves and at the same time they learn to see exactly when outside help is needed. The building of a more adequate internal structure that caters to pupils is part of that process. The strategy of using YCATs was prepared in close co-operation with the project group on the policy programme ‘Going to School Together’, and the teams have a place within the infrastructure of that programme.

Outcomes

54. The outcomes of the four strategies used in Arnhem are relatively positive. The policy programmes on educational priority and on ‘Going to School Together’ have a higher success rate than the national average. School contact persons offer people from disadvantaged backgrounds a person to identify with, and make it easier for them to ask for information and help. Relations with parents from groups at risk of social exclusion are therefore dealt with more adequately. That is not to say, that all parents want to integrate fully into Dutch society. Some do, but others do not want to at all and want to sort of conserve their culture as it was the moment they left their country of origin (although their country is changing as well). Some do want to adapt to their new cultural situation, but not all of them have the power or resources to do so. All these individuals and groups need to be approached in different ways, which is one way of showing the subtle capabilities school contact workers need to have.

55. In Amsterdam in September 1999, two YCATs were put into place, which makes it too early to evaluate any outcomes. The YCATs have been designed, however, in such a way as to prevent making the same mistakes as their predecessors, the Consultation Teams. The evaluation study on three years of work with Consultation Teams for ten primary schools revealed the following pitfalls and outcomes

- the goals were not met and the support of the teams did not meet the expectations of the school
- the costs per pupil were too high
- the Consultation Teams merely advised and did not offer direct assistance to the children and their families
- the schools still had to search for adequate assistance for children with behavioural, socio-emotional and family problems.
56. To avoid similar outcomes the YCATs operate within a framework in which direct support from youth care for children, families and schools is seen as a regular task, as is referral to specialised institutions.

57. The good news about the Consultation Teams was that they fortified co-operation and consensus within the seven boroughs regarding education and welfare towards a more integrated youth policy. The YCATs will build on that result and try to enhance both co-operation and co-ordination in service delivery. Since the YCATs are placed relatively near the school, deliver services which are less fragmented than in earlier days and aim to prevent problems, some crucial conditions for further success have been met.
CONCLUSIONS

58. As we know, poverty is not a natural phenomenon. The situation and financial position of poor households in a highly developed care society such as the Dutch society can be influenced to a great extent by governmental policy. The past four editions of the Dutch Yearbook on Poverty and Social Exclusion describe the policy that is pursued as well as its results. The fourth Yearbook (Engbersen et. al., 1999) for instance shows the outcomes of a broadly set up evaluation of local poverty policy. It appears that a broad majority of cities are currently involved in the formulation of objectives and activities that are part of a poverty policy, but the extent to which the implementation of this policy has proceeded is not yet clear. Most of the policy intentions pertain to income support and social participation. The reduction of the non-use of existing measures is often one of the points of attention. Other studies show that some groups are still not reached, while those who are, differ in the degree to which they succeed in improving their financial and social position. This is a paradox of policy: the groups that are in the most problematic situation cannot be helped (and in some cases help is not even allowed, e.g. with illegal immigrants). Another paradox is that there are signs of a change taking place from policy geared towards social rights, to policy in which the principles of economic rationality take a more central place, while a number of normative principles of social integration and a decent subsistence level have been maintained. As regards the last point, there is another fundamental issue at play: the fact that there is still no adequate definition of poverty for the Dutch situation which is agreed upon by all.

59. The results of the various policy evaluations, according to the editorial board of the Yearbook, make clear that the fight against poverty and exclusion is a long one. In this respect, one can learn from the experiences with related policy offensives such as educational priority policy, the policy on which these case studies focus.

60. In the most recent Yearbook there is a chapter on educational priority policy and the negative consequences of poverty (Dronkers et. al., 1999: 173-191), which describes how various methods of combating educational disadvantages have been employed in the Netherlands since the 1960s. With the meritocracy becoming the ideal, a political need arose to fight inequality in educational opportunities: only then could social positions become the result of personal accomplishments achieved through the deployment of talent and diligence. In order to determine who would be eligible for extra help, the level of education of the parents and their ethnic background were always taken as the basis for the decision - both researchers and policy-makers agreed on this method. In other words, one looked particularly at the cultural and social resources, and not so much at the financial ones. It appears from the Yearbook that now, parental income also has a small yet statistically significant effect on the language and arithmetic scores of (5985) children of about 8 years old (group 4, measured in 1994/95). That effect also occurs if relevant other characteristics of parents and schools are taken into account. Besides, it appears that living below the poverty limit does not lead to additional educational disadvantages on top of the effect of parental income.

61. One aspect of the educational priority policy pursued between 1984 and 1998 is the financial support to educational priority areas, which are similar to the educational action zones in the UK. The expectation seems justified that in schools in these areas, the effect of parental income will be smaller than
in schools outside such areas. However, tests show that this is not the case, the difference in parental income has the same significance for all types of school.

62. Both conclusions are important in view of our case studies: if, in addition to the level of education of the parents and the ethnic background, parental income also affects educational success, and if this is regardless of these accomplishments being achieved at schools in educational priority areas or outside of such areas, then cities that want to fight poverty and social exclusion by means of educational measures will have to be extremely target-oriented in their method if they are to expect any effect at all. That is why the question of the final paragraph is relevant: How efficient and effective were the measures taken in Amsterdam and Arnhem?

What works and why?

63. In Arnhem the policy programmes addressing the educational needs of groups at risk are relatively effective, mainly because, over the years, the co-ordinating task force has established a good working relationship with both policy-makers and their officials and with the practitioners and their strategic directors in education and welfare. Arnhem ranked among the best educational priority areas during the years those areas were in existence, 1984-1998, which allowed for a rather smooth transition to the new situation in which the city council is responsible for local educational disadvantage policy – a task the council was quick to share in part with the existing co-ordinating task force.

64. The strategy of school contact persons works reasonably well, because it offers people from disadvantaged backgrounds a person to identify with, which makes it easier for them to ask for information and help, or to understand differences between their original culture and ‘the’ Dutch culture. The role of school contact persons makes the heavy task load of the school team somewhat more bearable.

65. An important outcome of our case study is that in general both the parents and the students we talked to did not give any signals of their feeling socially excluded and that they were positive about the performance level of the schools. The parents felt the school meets the needs of their children well and that they can come to the school with their problems. They had a realistic view about the opportunities and risks of the (school) future of their children, and were proud to offer them more than they had themselves when they were young. The students held comparable realistic views and seemed at ease with their future possibilities.

66. The Amsterdam case shows that the weak sides of the governing style of that city can be overcome by using teams that work for schools in several boroughs. Such a formula allows for a high level of expertise as well as close relations to a network of specialised institutions (mostly working at the city level). Recent experience shows that co-operation and consensus are enhanced in using such a strategy. At the same time the strategy is aimed at avoiding the pitfalls of the preceding Consultation Teams.

67. The fact that the strategy has evolved from the existing partnerships of the ‘Going to School Together’ programme has the effect that existing linkages are being used. The advantage for individual schools in such an expanded network is that they are supported with rather specialised work for children who have serious problems in ways that allow them to gradually enhance their possibilities in that respect but still keep concentrated on their core capacities.

68. Another reason why the YCATs might bring better results than the Consultation Teams is that now both the children and their families are targeted, and addressing the needs of children from a more ecological point of view seems a key factor in combatting social exclusion.
Weak points in the strategies

69. One of the weaker points in the Amsterdam strategy might be that it remains to be seen whether the implementation of the YCATs will succeed in using all the existing parts of the network around the primary schools. There is a danger that the extra energy and money the YCATs bring to the schools, may lead to the replacement of existing practices of assistance without a proper evaluation of those practices and the continued use of the good parts. In other words, the YCATs need to be part and parcel of a whole school approach in order to be optimally effective.

70. In Arnhem the respondents from the task force are explicit as to what they want to improve in their (four) strategies in order to be more effective. Although the school contact persons are doing well, especially as far as prevention is concerned, the relationship between school and family is not acknowledged sufficiently and therefore curative actions are often still very difficult. What is needed in this respect are school social workers, among others, to complement the work of the school contact persons. By bringing in school social workers and building stronger links with other professionals around the school, the respondents envisage a less limited role of the school. What is also needed, are (more) persons from the groups at risk who are relatively successful, who can be a role model and with whom children and youth as well as parents can identify with.

The three elements of the model of Amartya Sen

72. SEN stresses the importance of the development of ‘capabilities’ which are intended to ensure that everyone has the material, cultural and emotional resources to develop their capabilities to the full. He stresses three areas of relevance to social exclusion: community integration, participation and the social basis of self-respect.

Community integration

73. There is a trend in the Netherlands, especially in the cities with over 100,000 inhabitants, to see neighbourhoods as the basic social and political unit. The needs and problems of citizens should be dealt with at that level as much as possible, the assumption being that it is easier for professionals to address those needs and problems in a combined effort and co-operative way in a neighbourhood, than it is in a large city. Also, if social cohesion is (perceived as) diminishing and seen as one of the roots of all types of problems, rebuilding that cohesion and/or enhancing it should start as close to the citizens as possible, which is in their neighbourhood communities. Since even those communities are no homogenous entities as far as socio-economic status, culture or ethnicity is concerned, community integration starts there as well.

74. Our respondents from the task force in Arnhem reflected on the concept of social inclusion/exclusion in a somewhat critical way. They argued that sometimes a certain degree of segregation can have its advantages, especially until some conditions for integration on the terms of the people involved are met. Disabled youngsters for instance want to be able to carry out a number of tasks well before they feel at ease participating fully in regular education. And certain individuals or groups of youngsters at risk are happier among their own social group – even though theirs may be perceived to be a
limited context by outsiders. Pushing someone into a direction he/she does not want to go or is not ready to
go into yet, may have negative effects on well-being and self-esteem. All this leads to the crucial question:
integration into which community? The geographical community of all the people in their neighbourhood
or city? Their own social, cultural and/or ethnic community? Or the dominant one in a country?

75. It might be politically correct to talk about integration, but in an OECD Study one needs to be
more specific about what is meant by that. Our respondents in Arnhem stressed that integration takes place
on an individual level. That is one reason why role models are so vital, because they show youngsters
possibilities of ‘making it’ in society that they might otherwise not have thought of as realistic. A more
systematic way of working with role models is asking ‘successful’ people from at risk groups to act as
mentors to youngsters; unfortunately, that method is used only on a very small scale in the Netherlands and
not in the cases we investigated here.

76. In discussing the concept of social integration, our Arnhem respondents pointed out another
feature of the existing situation: the refined system of segregation into social, cultural and/or ethnic groups.
This system is to be acknowledged and the positive sides need to be recognised, for instance for the self-
esteeem and well-being of individuals.

77. As a consequence of the critical questions from Arnhem, it is important to work with groups at
risk of social exclusion in a non-patronising way at all levels. This means among other things, that ‘the’
community cannot impose standards and/or obligations regarding social integration. We need to respect the
feelings of all members of society, in this case about whether or not they feel excluded. And, one might
add, we need to address all members when it comes to discussing the forms of community we all would
like to be integrated in. Some groups in society can take care of their own inputs in those type of political
discussions, because of their resources in terms of social, cultural, financial and other forms of capital.
Other groups may want some help, which is preferably given as a means of empowerment. As to the
question of how to empower individuals and groups at risk of social exclusion – that is touched upon here
only indirectly, since we focus on educational measures for youngsters at risk.

Participation

78. To evaluate participation in society we asked the parents and students in Arnhem about what they
actually did and what they would like to do. The (four) parents are well aware of the quality of the
neighbourhood they live in, would like to change the level of vandalism and the busy traffic because of the
possibilities for their children to play, but they feel all in all it could be worse. Their children do sports or
go to a hobby club, which is sometimes costly but they want to offer their children more than they
themselves could be given when they were that age. The school asks for a fee which is used for trips and
other activities for the children, which all the parents we talked to were paying. In fact they do not
understand why some parents do not pay the fee for their children, because there is child allowance for
everyone in the Netherlands. The parents feel they can give their children what they want to give them,
which is whatever they can. The children are stimulated to save pocket money from an early age onwards
and have small jobs later on, for instance to contribute to clothes if they want those of a special brand.

79. As far as language as an obstacle to participation is concerned, the parents say they do not
experience problems with the different cultures among parents.

80. The (five) students of a pre-vocational school in the same neighbourhood we talked to, showed
an obvious positive appreciation of their situation. Money-wise they feel they are doing alright, for some
because they get an allowance from their parents they feel is sufficient, for others because they had
(additional) jobs. Also as far as participating in sports and other hobbies is concerned they feel that they
can participate in what they want. They are all on their way to attending vocational education and for the most part harbour a concrete picture of the work they want to do after finishing school.

81. A summary of the outcomes of the interviews in our case studies reveals that none of our responding parents or students in Arnhem gave any indication of feeling socially excluded. That is consistent with outcomes of other Dutch studies into poor households, which show that people have all sorts of coping strategies and often do not actually feel ‘poor’, for instance because having wonderful children and grandchildren makes them feel rich.

82. These subjective feelings may contradict the more ‘objective and measurable’ condition researchers find the people are living in. In other words: there often is a difference between the perspective of the insider and the outsider when it comes to social exclusion or poverty, between their definitions of the situation. As outsiders we feel no doubt about the fact that the people we spoke to live in some of the seriously deprived urban areas in the Netherlands, and we might even think that their level of participation could improve if we look at some ‘average standard’, but the fact of the matter remains that in this case study the people themselves seem to feel otherwise. One could speculate about the reasons for the differences in evaluating their situation – for instance that they chose to express their feelings to us in other ways than they really felt for some reason, or that they were so numb after years of poverty that they do not allow themselves to dream of better times, or some methodological bias; but apart from the fact that our impression during the interviews was that they were expressing their genuine feelings, who are we to disregard the feelings they expressed anyway? We need to take their words seriously.

**Self-respect**

83. The social basis of self-respect is fundamental for every person’s functioning as an individual. In the development of a child, the enhancement and broadening of the basis of self-respect is a vital part of growing up. Being able to fulfil a series of developmental tasks in each consecutive phase autonomously and/or together with others, makes youngsters feel competent and strengthens their self-esteem. The role of parents, school persons and/or other significant adults in that process is crucial: they can give the necessary feedback and ‘feed forward’ in being supportive, or they can fail to do so with considerable, negative effects. Growing up in a less supportive environment is part of being at risk of not reaching one’s full potential. As far as growing up in a different culture is concerned, ethnic minority children face the huge task of both forming their own identity as a person, as well as their identity in or between two cultures.

84. The tradition of educational priority policy in the Netherlands at large shows, to a larger extent than the cases of Arnhem and Amsterdam, an adequate awareness of the role of education and parental support regarding self-esteem and self-respect. Without neglecting the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic, there is a growing attention for the development of social and emotional competence – which can be regarded as at least a critical building block of self-esteem.

**The Dutch cases and the model of SEN**

85. The model of Sen is highly relevant to the issue of social exclusion. It identifies three vital aspects from the viewpoint of an individual’s role within our society, a viewpoint and role which most politicians, practitioners and researchers in the Netherlands will strongly support. The key question how to design and implement strategies that bring about those effects, was not the assignment of this paper. Our task was to analyse what two Dutch cities with different governing styles are currently doing to combat social exclusion, especially as far as educational measures are concerned. The educational strategies in Arnhem and Amsterdam are exemplary for the Dutch situation in that they start with building self-respect of all children and youth preferably in regular schools. One way of phrasing recent developments in Dutch
pedagogy and didactics in primary education is that schools need to adapt to the differences between children more adequately and give priority to their feelings of competence and autonomy on the one side and to interaction between pupils on the other. Working on social and emotional competence therefore is recently given more priority than it was ten or fifteen years ago. That also goes for secondary education, where changes are being made to help students to gradually take more and more responsibility to direct and monitor their own learning processes. The role of teachers is changing dramatically in that they become more of a coach and consequently need to have quite different or additional skills, for instance socio-emotional skills.

86. Such priorities and changes within the schools might pose an extra risk to children and youth from the groups we are dealing with in this paper, however. Generally speaking their social and cultural capital will make it harder for them to adjust to the new methods of learning than it is for middle class youngsters. That risk is an additional reason to enhance and enlarge the network of services in and around schools in order to address the problems of children and youth at risk more effectively. The current high place that the ‘broad school approach’ has on the Dutch political agenda offers a chance to work on that. In the old days the Indians in America knew that “it takes a whole village to raise a child”, and building on experiences such as the ones gained in Arnhem and Amsterdam, the Dutch could try and find structures and strategies, as well as human and material resources to realise that ideal in a modern welfare state.

Final remarks

87. The 1999 Yearbook on Poverty and Social Exclusion shows that parental income has a small but statistically significant influence on school results of children, and also that there was no difference between schools that were part of educational priority areas and those that were not. This new insight calls for new policy initiatives.

88. The Yearly Poverty Monitor of 1999 shows that, for the first time in the 1990s, there is some small improvement because the number of households regarded as ‘poor’ decreased slightly over the last two years. If this turns out to be an ongoing trend in the years to come, it may be proof of an important first lasting effect of the policies pursued in the past years. But since the fight against poverty and social exclusion is a long one, there can be absolutely no reason to sit back and relax.

89. A yearly event in the Netherlands is the meeting of the Social Conference of people living in poverty and their organisations together with government officials and practitioners working on combatting poverty and social exclusion. The 1999 Social Conference agreed on four recommendations:

- the possibility for women with children up to 12 years old, partially incapacitated and unemployed people to supplement their benefit (which can be voluntarily lowered to 70%) with income from paid labour for two years and up to a certain maximum (of 130% of the social minimum);

- to have a substantial increase of the income of people who have lived at subsistence level for a long period and who have no chance of improvement;

- to give youngsters from poor families an extra amount to pay for school and related expenses;

- to oblige cities to pursue policies aimed at social activation and participation.

90. The first recommendation can be regarded as a way of helping people who see opportunities to do some paid work in the currently booming economy to possibly break their cycle of poverty. The second
recommendation is a way of letting people who do not have such opportunities share in the growing wealth of the nation.

91. The last two fit the framework of this case study perfectly. Giving students from poor backgrounds some extra money for school will help to overcome the small but significant role of parental income on school success, and at the same time will facilitate their social inclusion. The cases of Arnhem and Amsterdam are two fine examples of what educational measures can do to help children and youth at risk in their school careers.

92. The last recommendation will help all people living in poverty to be more active socially and to participate in society, which is of course one of the three aspects of the model of Sen. This is one of the ways in which the Social Conference shows its agreement with this approach, which is based on the point of view that social exclusion is not primarily a problem of those who suffer from it, but a larger societal shortcoming. The Conference will sympathise with labelling a society that tolerates social exclusion as intrinsically deficient, as it fails to grant basic rights or capabilities to its citizens (Klasen, 1999).

93. Unfortunately, though not unexpectedly, the two (junior) ministers present at the closing session of the Social Conference saw all sorts of practical and political objections to agree with the recommendations and refused to support and implement them. Despite the examples of good practice, an awful lot of work still needs to be done in the tough fight against poverty and social exclusion in the Netherlands.
SOURCES

Interviews

Peter Burgers, co-ordinator Educational Priority and Social Renewal, Arhem.

Jos Rijs, co-ordinator ‘Going to School Together’ programme, Arnhem.

El Abbes Ouali, school contact person, Arnhem.

Jolanda Brugman mother of child(ren) in primary school in the neighbourhood in Arnhem.

Mukadder Coskuner mother of child(ren) in primary school in the neighbourhood in Arnhem.

Sultan Karacam mother of child(ren) in primary school in the neighbourhood in Arnhem.

Babs van Wessen mother of child(ren) in primary school in the neighbourhood in Arnhem.

Damian student at the pre-vocational school in the researched neighbourhood in Arnhem.

Maike Nezjaa student at the pre-vocational school in the researched neighbourhood in Arnhem.

Saba student at the pre-vocational school in the researched neighbourhood in Arnhem.

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Appendix 1 The case of Arnhem

94. Social exclusion, like integration, is a broad concept which can be perceived in very different ways. This became apparent during conversations about and with youngsters in Arnhem. What exactly does one take social exclusion or social integration to mean? When are you socially excluded? Are you socially excluded when experts somehow assess you to be, or when you yourself feel that you are?

95. In this appendix covering the case study, we start by giving a general picture of the situation in Arnhem. We do this by way of an interview with two people who have a good overview of activities in the area of social exclusion and educational measures to prevent such exclusion: Peter Burgers (co-ordinator Educational Priority and Social Renewal) and Jos Rijs (co-ordinator ‘Going to School Together’). In addition, literature about Arnhem has been used for an outline of the situation.

96. An important measure used in Arnhem to combat exclusion of ethnic minorities is the deployment of school contact persons from the ethnic minority groups concerned. We describe this intermediary function on the basis of the work and experiences of one school contact person: El Abbes Ouali. Next, the parents of primary school students from a disadvantaged neighbourhood are heard, and finally students attending (individualised) pre-vocational education have their say.

97. After these interviews are described, the distinction between ‘objective’ and ‘subjective’ exclusion can be explained in more concrete terms.

98. Following that, we will (further) analyse the strategies used in Arnhem to prevent and combat social exclusion.

Conceptualisation: refined segregation or negative integration?

99. At the start of the interview with the urban co-ordinators, we were asked about the definition of social exclusion as used in the OECD study. Moreover, it was said that clarity is needed about what one means by its opposite: social integration. Is this to mean the striving towards a situation in which all youngsters can participate in the life youngsters (should) live? At the moment, there is a great deal of talk about integration in the Netherlands, one could even speak of an integration hype. The integration of the disabled into regular education for instance is important from a politico-strategic point of view. However, sometimes a certain degree of segregation can have advantages, especially until some conditions are met. Disabled youngsters for instance want to be able to carry out a number of tasks well themselves before they participate fully in regular education. Moreover, certain groups of youngsters at risk are happier among their own group, even though it may be perceived to be a limited context by outsiders - with again, disabled youngsters serving as an example.
100. According to our respondents, a distinction can be made between a refined system of segregation, that is broadly existent, and social integration. In certain situations parents do not feel excluded, even though they may not have the money to pay for their children’s football club for instance. If other parents from a disadvantaged neighbourhood do decide to have their child play football, there is a chance of the child still being excluded in some way because he or she does not have a cellular phone or the right brand of clothes. Such status symbols particularly play a role for the group that is the target of the educational priority policy rather than for the group of disabled persons.

101. Our respondents emphasise that integration takes place on an individual level. Persons one can identify with, such as teachers and school contact persons, can be important in this respect. Public figures can also fulfil this role, as is the case in the Netherlands for instance with the deaf, the blind and the disabled (or the chairman of a parliamentary party in the German Bundestag who moves around in a wheelchair). Negative role models also exist of course, such as drug couriers in the Spijkerkwartier neighbourhood in Arnhem who have a lot of money and are still in school. An additional point is that youngsters can end up in the criminal circuit as a result of their disadvantaged situation - in that area too, they are youngsters at risk after all.

102. It is important that we work with groups at risk in a non-patronizing way on all levels. This means that the community cannot impose standards and/or obligations regarding social integration. On the other hand, the existing refined social segregation would have to be acknowledged, and its positive sides would have to be recognised. One should bear in mind the boundaries between that positive segregation and the negative aspects of integration.

Basic information about the community

103. Arnhem has about 135,000 inhabitants. From an analysis carried out by the NRC Handelsblad into neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, mentioned earlier in this study, the following conclusions appear:

- Arnhem has the neighbourhoods with the highest unemployment rate, together with Rotterdam. Two neighbourhoods in Arnhem are in the top three of neighbourhoods with a high number of jobless people: Klarendal-Noord and Presikhaaf I. In both neighbourhoods, according to 1994 figures, about 30 percent of people receiving an income were dependent on an unemployment benefit. With seventeen neighbourhoods in the worst category, Arnhem comes right after the three largest cities in the Netherlands. Over a quarter of the population live in such a neighbourhood. The city also has six neighbourhoods in the best category, but only 7 percent of the population live in these areas. Sterrenberg and Bakenberg belong to the group of richest neighbourhoods.

Education

104. Arnhem is no exception to the general rule of thumb for the Netherlands, that there are about 20% ‘vulnerable children’ meaning children that belong to one of the three groups described in paragraph 1.4. More than half of those 20% finishes primary education with some difficulties, about 5% has learning difficulties that are dealt with within the regular school setting, and the other 5% attends special education. One might compare these general figures on education with the 85 - 15% division on welfare, referred to earlier. One can deal with these children in different ways. In Arnhem, a choice has been made to raise and educate these children by way of the regular system, and to have them attend special education only when absolutely necessary.
The Netherlands has a large number of schools in the area of special education. The most important reason given for the fact that there are so many children attending these schools, is that the possibility of transport to these schools has been organised so well (also financially). It appears that the greater the possibilities to get to these schools, the greater the number of children attending. However, there are fewer different types of special education than there used to be: in the past, there were about 20 different types and they were based on a medical model, while now the number has been reduced to less than 5 types. As a result of this, students who would have gone to a school for children with learning and behavioural difficulties (LOM schools), are now found in schools for children with severe behavioural difficulties (ZMOK schools) - meaning schools for children with a more severe type of problem. This is certainly true for Arnhem.

Experience shows that children who attend a middle-class school after having moved from a disadvantaged to a middle-class neighbourhood, are often assessed by teachers at the new school to be children with an educational disadvantage who should really attend special education. These children quickly fall by the wayside in a new neighbourhood, whereas they showed no different results from their peers at their previous school where the teachers have learned to deal with these differences. It also appears that parents often feel less at home in their new setting. As a result, they often move back to the disadvantaged neighbourhood.

Health

One constant outcome of research is that the health situation in neighbourhoods with a lower socio-economic status is worse than elsewhere. This is certainly true for the children living in such neighbourhoods. Moreover, it is pointed out in Arnhem, that the situation for women in disadvantaged neighbourhoods is often difficult because they are doubly disadvantaged. Firstly, as a woman they have a lower status, especially in some ethnic minority groups. Secondly, they often feel insecure about raising their children and they feel they lack support from their men. In the case of women from ethnic minorities this often also has to do with a lack of knowledge and expertise about raising children within a Dutch context. It proves difficult to discuss the problems these women are confronted with in their direct environment. The use of pills and other drugs often offers a temporary solution to these women. The number of sick people in this group is high.

Socio-economic factors

The educational priority policy and the local compensatory policy are implemented in neighbourhoods that are weak from a socio-economic perspective. As mentioned, Arnhem has 17 neighbourhoods in the worst category, and the schools we visited are located in one of these neighbourhoods, the Spijkerkwartier. A part of that neighbourhood is known for its problems with drug trafficking and prostitution, but the schools we visited are in a different part of the neighbourhood. However, unemployment or dependence on other benefits is high in this part too.

Ways in which these groups are included or excluded

The efforts made to implement compensatory policy can be expressed in financial terms by way of the finances for the city’s educational compensatory policy. One can also focus on how to stimulate the means for participation/development within the community. The question is always: what do we want to accomplish with disadvantaged groups? Do we want to change the social position? Do we want to give people a chance to develop themselves socially? Or do we only want to exert influence on the school career in order to prevent or reduce problems? In the past decades, it has proven to be practically
impossible to raise the entire group of disadvantaged students to a different level, yet there are always a few students who stand out. The emancipation of the entire group seems unattainable, yet with an individual approach we can contribute to improvement.

110. One may also wonder whether education is the key to improving social position, as some politicians say. It results in putting people on one and the same level, and one wonders if that is really the intention.

111. It appears that, of late, the city of Arnhem has been focusing more on providing the disadvantaged groups with the means to help themselves and obtain greater political power. However, the major part of what the city undertakes can be characterised as ‘merely sticking it out’. By adding idealistic objectives, a co-ordinating or implementing organisation can go much further than that, by stimulating development and growth within the group, for instance. This way, one can still work towards integration indirectly, because further personal development ultimately makes integration easier.

112. In addition, there are a number of ways in which one can try to influence the socially acceptable behaviour of these groups: by way of diplomas, work, and involving parents in education for instance.

113. Recently, the city has set up mixed neighbourhoods in the hope of advancing the integration of the various social groups. However, it seems that this is not the way to accomplish the goal intended. Both parents and children find their own way, go to their ‘own’ shops, schools and sports clubs, and the different social groups hardly mix. It seems that the two groups do not want to integrate. In this regard, the city’s energy would be better spent on other projects, according to the respondents.

114. The advantage of the refined segregation as it exists now, is that students/people from the same social group appear to function better when within their own group. Educational priority (OVB) schools should therefore as much as possible make their teaching fit the developmental level of the child, with goals that are not too high. Children who are now in the LOM and MLK schools, could then be taken care of within a regular setting.

115. It is remarkable that at Mytyl schools (for children with multiple disabilities) and at schools for the deaf and the blind, there is a much more mixed company of students. That is because at these schools, a selection takes place at the time of intake, based on physical or psychological handicaps, not on social poverty, one-parent families or unemployment. Those latter criteria seem to play an implicit role at other schools for special education. As a result, here too, one finds a refined net of segregation. For families that fall by the wayside here, the consequences are always more considerable because it is difficult for them to get help. The OVB team in Arnhem focuses on these problems and offers mobilised help by: setting up broad education; creating social support (also by way of research and the dissemination of its outcomes); providing financial stimuli; deploying additional teaching staff; and ensuring more youth care in the neighbourhoods. According to the OVB team, the role of the school in this is as yet too limited. The relationship school - family is not acknowledged sufficiently, making curative actions difficult. The initiative to change this is taken by school social workers and school contact persons.

**The work and experiences of a school contact worker**

116. During the interview with El Abbes Ouali, we discussed the purpose and content of school contact work. We also discussed social exclusion and the measures taken to combat it.

117. The purpose of school contact work is to improve and promote contacts between the school and the parents. After all, of the learning and development of children only a limited part takes place at school (18% according to some) and the rest happens outside the school: at home, on the street and in other
settings. For this reason it is important that parents participate in order to establish a good (future) match between what happens at home and at school. A contact person bridges the gap between parents and the school, but always makes sure the child remains at the centre. To achieve this, contact persons organise courses about raising children in the Netherlands, the participation council and the parents’ council, or about dealing with adolescents and aggression. They also organise information meetings at schools, covering such subjects as the development of children, special education or compulsory school swimming lessons. These themes are also discussed during house calls paid on Moroccan families, and the school contact worker can act from his own cultural background in persuading people and sometimes negotiating with them or forcing them by using the Compulsory Education Act if he needs to. Often questions about how to tackle a problem and how to deal with cultural differences are also discussed at these occasions.

118. Arnhem has had school contact workers since 1981. At this moment there are four of them working in primary education, coming from a Turkish, Moroccan and Antillean background. Apart from being involved with students, parents and the school, they also follow national developments. Other school contact workers work in secondary education and are involved in teaching, but also in community work, crime prevention and care and treatment of drug addicts. El Abbes focuses particularly on the pre-school period and on primary education. General problems and individual cases are discussed via the network of community workers (such as the network of Moroccan organisations and the city council of Moroccans). The more isolated families are less accessible, and in these cases, a joint search is made for a key figure who has a good relationship with the family, for instance a brother, sister or uncle, and who can stimulate the contact between the school and the community centre.

119. Research shows that Moroccan children often start out with a language disadvantage of 4,000 words, which may result in an accumulation of problems. Parents often do not notice this backwardness, because the child speaks Dutch in spite of it. During conversations with the parents and during information meetings about raising children and backwardness, El Abbes tries to show the parents how children can learn a great deal through play. He often uses metaphors to explain this: the school career is described as a journey that has to be prepared well and which requires small steps to be taken. He also stimulates parents to enrol children in kindergartens early, where programmes such as ‘Opstap(je)’ and ‘Speluitleen’ (toy library) are being used.

120. El Abbes has worked for the Moroccan community since 1991 and is now school contact worker for the entire Arabic-speaking community. He started in 1991 by organising meetings, initially at schools, but when only a few people turned up, he moved to the neighbourhoods. “You have to go to the people, and then organise activities on a Sunday preferably because people have nothing else to do then. This way you slowly build up trust. You have to show them that you too belong to their group. To earn respect, that’s what it’s all about.” A side effect of this is that once you are known within the Moroccan community, people come to you with all kinds of problems.

121. For a school contact worker who works with the Islamic target group, it is important to take some aspects from the Islamic culture and combine these with aspects of the Western world. This proves to be a good method to make certain issues clear to the parents. Knowledge about the Islamic culture creates a bond and evokes trust. In addition, there are various strategies to convince someone, to negotiate, persuade, and force someone, you just have to pick the right one. There are many examples from practice illustrating cultural differences: such as when the police bring a child to the door of his parents. The father opens the door but says he does not know the child. He literally says: “that is not my son”, because he does not want to know that his son is a criminal.

122. As regards the cultural differences: it is not the case that ethnic minority parents are not interested in the school their children go to - they too want the best for their children and they want them to do better than they themselves did. However, language barriers do exist and there is a difference between entering
into agreements and laying things down in writing and dropping by and arranging things by verbal agreement. To interfere with the school is unusual and not done in Mediterranean cultures - this makes the involvement of parents a problem also in Morocco. Another issue is that in the Netherlands the distance of power between parents and teachers is limited, while in Morocco the teacher is usually regarded as a scholar who should be obeyed.

The word integration is one the parents mostly learn in the Netherlands. In Morocco for instance, you accept each other with openness and tribal relations are often important, especially with the Berbers who constitute the largest group of Moroccans in the Netherlands. There is a ‘group’ culture, in which participation in group activities around the mosque is very important. There is social control and support in the group - different from the Dutch ‘individual-centred’ culture in which children too are approached as individuals.

El Abbes assumes that the core of the problem of parent participation is to be found in the educational level of the parents. The group of parents often involved here, consists of people who have come from the rural or mountain regions in Morocco. It appears to be difficult to participate without any baggage: the language poses problems, but also the fact that the father and the teacher are the boss proves a source of conflict for Moroccan children growing up in the Netherlands. The children have to show respect at home, yet in school they learn very different values and standards. A Moroccan child is taught not to criticise whereas this is perfectly normal for children in the Netherlands.

Another possible reason why this group of Moroccans perhaps makes less of an effort to learn the language and to integrate, is that they still have a home in Morocco, which leaves open the opportunity to go back.

The group culture diminishes in strength with the young Moroccans currently living here (second or third generation in the Netherlands), they tend to become individualised to a greater extent. Yet, there still seems to be an emotional need for the group. If you do not belong to a group, it is easy to get isolated. You become a member of such a group by regularly going to the mosque, for instance, and by meeting the norms and values of the group while there. If you do not do that, you will be marginalised. Actual social isolation does not occur often in the Moroccan community. If it does there are obvious reasons for it: if someone has been in contact with the police or has engaged in drug trafficking, there is a considerable chance that such a person will be excluded. Because, as is the prevailing thought in Moroccan culture, “your friend is who you are”. Money also plays a role in belonging to a group. To use once again, the example of the mosque: to belong to this group you have to be able to pay the contribution fee. Lately, more activities have been organised in the vicinity of the mosque. In addition to lessons in the Koran, parties and sports events are organised now.

The Moroccan community is built up of different groups. The first group has received education in Morocco and has found a way in Dutch society. This group is always present whenever anything is organised. The second group is excluded, isolated, powerless and has many problems. For them it is difficult to support their child. Moreover, this group does not accept any help. The third group stimulates children to be active in the criminal circuit.

Moroccan parents in the Netherlands have many problems with their sons especially. The daughters perform well, both at home and at school.

It is remarkable that the Turks are further in respect of their integration in Dutch society. Their culture is closer to the Dutch culture and there are fewer illiterates. They have greater insight which helps them to stimulate the development of their children and to organise themselves.
130. The urban co-ordinators added that there are quite a few demands made on the school social workers and school contact persons. They have to operate both in primary and secondary education. They mediate between the school and the parents. They have to be bilingual and able to think from two cultural perspectives. Sometimes it is difficult to establish the link between the two cultures. There is a 14-year-old Turkish girl for example whose rural father says she no longer has to go to school. This father is convinced that it is of absolutely no use. Some things are deeply embedded in the cultural perception of people. It is not easy to bridge the gap between cultures, and the problem is more complex than mere social exclusion.

131. There is a great demand for school-oriented social workers. Teachers do not have the time to carry out such tasks. School-oriented social workers have not yet been active in the city of Arnhem (because youth care is governed by the province). However, there are school contact persons, and there is a bureau for student affairs. And there are neighbourhood networks in Arnhem, making the communication lines between the school, parents and institutes relatively short. Due to the so-called broad school approach (with several institutes in and around the school and students working together), the complex situation can be discussed and the disciplines can attune their activities.

132. Urban co-ordinators find that it is important for many people in disadvantaged neighbourhoods to have a person to identify within the group. This has to be someone from within the group, who has received education, but does not rise too far above the group. It proves difficult to find this kind of person, and the lack of such people is sorely felt. The difference between people to identify with and school contact persons is that the latter are often patronising in their ways. People from disadvantaged neighbourhoods mainly need someone they can emulate, someone who sets a positive example. This would explain why people with a visual or auditory handicap have integrated well into society. They often have people to identify with who are successful in spite of their handicap.

133. Of the different ethnic minority groups in Arnhem, there is a large group of Turks who are very active. They can be regarded as the forerunners. There are various groups to be distinguished in one culture. A group that wants to integrate, a group that absolutely does not want to integrate, a group that wants to but does not have the power to integrate, and a group of powerless. These groups have to be approached in different ways. The second and third group in particular can be offered preventive help in the way of advice and support. These groups therefore receive most attention from an educational priority point of view. The ‘powerless’ group is most visible, most often scores in the media, and costs the most money.

**Experiences of some parents and students**

134. We spoke with four parents who have children attending primary education, Jolanda Brugman, Mukadder Coskuner, Sultan Karacam and Babs van Wessen, all mothers. It appeared in the conversation that they are very happy with the school. The school meets the needs of their children well. They also feel that they can come to the school with their problems. The mothers are hoping that their children will get a fair chance to continue their education after this school and to get diplomas.

135. The children of these parents show a variety of backwardness: a motor, language or speech backwardness. The school deals with this by giving them extra lessons, and the school itself indicates what the children need in the way of extra lessons. Speech therapy is provided as well as an after-school ‘language acquisition through play’ group. According to the parents, the school provides sufficient health care to the children. During the lessons, for instance, individual differences are taken into account and vision-impaired children are placed in the first rows. Parents are asked to help their children at home in their learning, by letting them read books aloud.
136. The parents do not find the neighbourhood in which they live the most perfect place, but they feel it could be worse. There is a lot of vandalism. Two of the parents live in a busy street where the children cannot even play on the pavement because there are youngsters tearing on and off it with scooters. There are playgrounds in the neighbourhood however. A discussion evolved about whether it was safe to send your children there on their own.

137. All children of the interviewed mothers do sports or have a hobby club they can go to. They cannot go to too many. One parent said that now that her daughter has chosen a hobby, and the right clothes have been bought, she cannot change her mind in the next few years.

138. The school occasionally organises hobby afternoons. There is a community centre, but it is located in the ‘wrong’ part of the neighbourhood. There is a lot of trouble in this part, the children who live there are extremely insolent and the general mentality is different; children are not raised properly and there is a lot of hatred and anger in the interaction between people. The mothers agree that they do not want to send their children there.

139. The parents all pay a school fee which is used for trips or activities for the children at school. There are some children who are not allowed to go on these trips, because the parents do not pay the school fee. This is too bad for those children, but not a reason for others to exclude them socially. The mothers do say however that they do not understand why a parent would not be able to pay this fee. They all get child allowance, don’t they?

140. The parents feel they can give their child what they want to give. They have enough toys. The children are stimulated to save money at an early age. When they are a little older, they will probably get a job, like a newspaper round. In their childhood, the mothers lacked all kinds of things, and now they want to give their children whatever they can. Children can learn to save for more expensive things, such as a scooter, but even then parents can always make up the difference. If they want to buy the popular brand of clothes, the children have to use their savings.

141. The parents do not experience any problems with the different cultures. At school, everybody speaks Dutch. Children are not allowed to speak Turkish for instance, because all children play together. The two Turkish mothers we spoke with are members of the parents’ council. They help organise activities and meet once every six weeks. If they could change anything in and around the school, the parents would like to see less vandalism, have a community centre in the neighbourhood, have more play equipment and less traffic.

142. We spoke with five students of a pre-vocational school in the same neighbourhood. Three of them were in the third grade: Maike (studying bread/confectionery), Saskia (bread/confectionery/cooking) and Damian (electrical engineering); and two were in the first grade: Saba and Nezjaa. The conversation took some time to get going, maybe because it was a new experience for them to answer all kinds of questions from two adults from outside school. Or maybe because it was a group interview and the students did not really know each other very well.

143. To start with, we asked the student what aspects they like at school. The answer is the parties and sports days, but also some of the practical classes. If they could change anything, it would be punishment from strict teachers. The way students interact with each other is not mentioned as one of the points to be changed. There are a lot of small groups and there is some bullying, but then ‘there is always something’ and if you are bullied you can always react somehow. The students feel comfortable at school. During the interview there was a fight in the hallway, when asked about this, the students said they never get involved in such fights. They have no problem with fights, it does not leave them with a sense of insecurity or fear.
144. When asked about their ideals, they mention quite realistic plans for the future. Maike has always wanted to be a confectioner, so this school is a logical step for her. Saskia wants to work in a kitchen or bakery. Damian wants to be a manager in a technical computer company; when we ask further questions he says he would also like to be a professional football player. He will soon be undergoing an examination for Vitesse, a professional football club in the Netherlands, but is not yet quite sure whether this is an attainable goal or not. Nezjaa who is from Iran wants to join the navy or maybe go to Wageningen University to study. Saba does not know yet what she wants to do. She does not mention any hobbies, just like one of the others. One of the girls has multiple hobbies: drawing, judo and swimming. Both Damian and Nezjaa say their hobby is football.

145. Saskia and Maike have a job in the supermarket or bakery in addition to school, and they have no problems with that. Saskia no longer gets an allowance from her parents because she has a job, but that too is no problem. Nezjaa has a paper round and the other two students say they get an allowance that is sufficient.

146. Both with regard to these questions about money and to more indirect questions about their involvement and participation in certain preferred activities, the students show an obviously positive appreciation of their situation. We have seen no indications of feelings of social exclusion. This could be due to the interview situation or the interviewers, but we have noticed no clear signs of reserve or of giving answers that are socially acceptable.

147. Insofar it is possible to label these students as a group at risk of social exclusion - which remains to be the question - we have had no indications regarding such exclusion. It can be said that the students accept their current situation. And who are we to say that situation is a risky one? They are all on their way to attend vocational education and for the most part harbour a concrete picture of the work they can and want to do after school. In other words, these are certainly not students who can (already) be labelled as potential, premature school-leavers without qualifications.

148. We found a similarly realistic acceptance of their situation with the parents, linked to a clear picture of their own possibilities. If in both these instances, methodological distortions are absent, the interviews offer an interesting glimpse into the world of this group of people. The term ‘group of people’ needs further reflection, however. Outsiders might see a group of people as homogeneous, while insiders can differentiate between several subgroups. Further (ethnographic) research may reveal the existence of those subgroups; for instance studies on people who were getting social benefits for more then three or five years showed, that several subgroups had quite different coping strategies. Provisions to help one subgroup effectively can be counter productive with another subgroup. We had no intention to generalise our findings from the interviews with parents and students, and the reflections on ‘subgroups’ adds a strong reason for that.

**Strategies to prevent social exclusion**

149. The most important strategies used in Arnhem to prevent social exclusion are the following:

1. **Going to School Together (WSNS)**

   This is a policy programme that aims to help as many students as possible by means of regular education and thus curb the growth of segregated special education. The problem here is that this policy programme has been administratively disconnected from the educational priority programme. It would have been better if there had been a single angle from which we could look at and work with these vulnerable children. As a result of tradition, the political division was made the focal point rather than the children: because
the co-ordination of the educational priority policy was primarily a matter to be dealt with by public schools and municipalities, the co-ordination of WSNS was assigned to one of the denominational support organisations. The knowledge and expertise with ethnic minorities and other target groups accrued by the OVB field was therefore unfortunately rarely used. Due to the fact that this was regarded a great loss, a sub-project WSNS-OVG was started in Arnhem with the aim to feed this important OVB information back to the WSNS.

2. VO-VSO project

The WSNS project is directed at primary education, and in secondary education the regular schools and schools for secondary special education are working together with regard to vulnerable students. An SOS group has been formed in Arnhem that works toward taking in truants, giving them a social setting. Through this channel, one tries to get the students back to school/education, or to a job. The OV-SV co-ordination team puts a lot of effort into this.

3. PROS project

This project is aimed at premature school-leavers. Because this category includes many disadvantaged groups, it helps us get a better picture of youngsters from ethnic minorities and other risk groups.

4. Involving parents by:
   − courses in supporting education
   − other courses for mothers
   − special activities for trailer camp mothers.

**Strategies to improve access to possibilities and services**

150. Urban co-ordination has obtained a special position within education. School boards have become stronger. School boards with strong positions often appeal to the co-ordination team.

151. There is a committee that makes up the school board of public schools, placing it at a distance from the municipality.

152. A great deal of attention is paid to the differences in problems between the neighbourhoods. Community-oriented work means: networks through which schools develop a strategy together and with others. Such networks are useful in the fight against social exclusion, especially when they have a broad basis. The instalment of neighbourhood consultants who can also carry out school-oriented social work is advocated in that respect, but in Arnhem, that role has not been completely filled in.

153. LOM/MLK education is decreasing in size, other forms of special education are increasing. These schools are reinforcing their own position rather than focusing on disadvantages. They have little knowledge of cultural disadvantages and are not geared to tackle backwardness. The student affairs bureau helps keep students from trailer camp in sight.
Existing links between local policy and practice and central governmental bodies, and related problems

154. The urban co-ordination team is one of the parties in discussions with the city. From conversations it has become clear that the OVG project is a political reality. The interest of politicians in it is twofold: firstly, they want to score success with quick actions. Secondly, youth policy is the city’s most important spearhead in policy (with three million guilders available per year), making the question how one can deal with a problem group less important. The city of Arnhem is therefore sometimes said to be in charge of the direction but lacking a vision; this makes it difficult to communicate with the city. OVG is after all not just a matter of ‘setting up a youth centre and that’s the solution to all your problems’. In addition to investing money, it is mostly a matter of perseverance because the OVG mainly involves long-term developments.

155. Co-operation with the city is made more difficult by their adherence to the mobility (of jobs) principle. The OV-SV team noticed this is not working well in policy functions because these involve not only the management but certainly also the substance of policy. An enhancing factor in the co-operation with the city is that the OV-VS team has a certain degree of freedom. Further, there is political willingness in this labour party city and there is enough room for ideas (however, by being very subjectively determined, it makes for a fragile structure).

156. In Arnhem, the transition from OVG to GOA went well because the former OVG team is strong in respect of content. In many other cities the fact that many OVG co-ordinators were managers of structure proved a restrictive factor. Quality and quantity in the city is no longer sufficient to give shape and form to GOA.

The multi-cultural or multi-ethnic society?

157. In the Netherlands, there is a great deal of talk about the multi-cultural society. In Arnhem this is taken to mean cultures that mix to an increasing extent, which then renders a new form. However, what we see in the Netherlands are various separate groups of people with their own shops, and who go to their own football club etc. These are systems that co-exist but do not mix. This is a multi-ethnic society. This development can be noticed both in society and in the schools. Due to the socio-economic situation, among other factors, every group has its own network.

158. The ultimate ideal would be to have every community get the resources to develop itself and to stimulate development and participation. Providing the resources to let communities help themselves is a strategy that is as yet rarely used in this country; discovering hidden talent and then cherishing and facilitating it is also not common practice. The starting point is the social basis for self-respect and tolerance between groups and cultures, and that is an area to which education can certainly contribute.

Appendix 2 The case of Amsterdam

1. Basic information on the community

159. Amsterdam has about 715,000 inhabitants. From an analysis carried out by the NRC Handelsblad into neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, mentioned earlier in this study, the following conclusions appear:

- Amsterdam has 42 neighbourhoods rating ‘well under average’ (the worst category) – more than any other city; 60% of Amsterdam’s population lives in those neighbourhoods. Between
those neighbourhoods there are substantial differences. Seven neighbourhoods are in the top twenty of districts with one parent families, and three in the top twenty of districts with ethnic minorities.

2. Youth care advisory teams for education in Amsterdam-West

160. The growing complexity and volume of the problems that confront young people demand new ways to meet the need for care and assistance from children, youth, and their parents.

161. On the one hand, primary and secondary schools have become aware of their responsibilities in this regard. This is especially obvious from the discussions and activities aimed at the broadening of pupil care. Recent policy initiatives that aim at co-operation between schools (e.g. “Weer Samen Naar School” – WSNS) and between secondary education and secondary special education (e.g. “VO/VSO”), but also local educational policy and the many initiatives for the prevention of truancy and school drop-out, support and stimulate this development.

162. On the other hand, through the establishment of the Youth Care Offices, youth welfare work aims at easier access to the various forms of assistance, tries to offer its services closer to the spot, and has an open eye for the actual needs.

163. Besides this, youth health care, general welfare work, school attendance officers, RIAGG’s (regional institutions for mental health care) etcetera, also provide services for children in need.

Youth Care Advisory Teams

164. In order to improve the links between, on the one hand, pupil care within the schools and, on the other hand, the assistance provided by the institutions for youth care, we have seen developments in the past few years throughout the Netherlands in which education and youth care in a broad sense start to co-operate.

165. Characteristic for this co-operation is that the assistance from broad youth care is being brought closer to the school. It also concerns forms of co-operation in which more than one school and more than one institution for youth care is involved, and in which the new Youth Care Offices are involved as well. This co-operation is usually formalised in a structural association.

166. These associations differ from, for instance, the care networks in which schools and institutions discuss matters within the setting of a certain neighbourhood. This is because Youth Care Advisory teams not only discuss, advise and refer, but also provide fast and direct assistance to pupils, parents, or schools.

167. We have used the generic term “Youth Care Advisory Teams for education” for the associations in inter-professional teams that provide care and advice for young people and their parents and/or schools. In the following few paragraphs is a condensed version of the descriptions provided by Bosdriesz & Van Veen (1999) is given.

Consultation teams and Youth Care Advisory Teams in primary education in Amsterdam-West

168. In Amsterdam, the co-operation between education and youth welfare work has a longer history than in most other cities in the Netherlands. It was mainly the Amsterdam Institute for Psychology and Pedagogy (PPI) that drew attention to the need for co-operation and has, over time, developed a broad
offering. Nowadays, more than three quarters of all schools for secondary education in Amsterdam are being represented in a committee that also includes the school attendance officer and a youth welfare worker from PPI.

169. Youth care still pays less attention to primary education. There are, of course, several forms of daytime treatment (medical centres and Boddaert) for children from this age group, but there are hardly any offerings from preventive youth care and ambulatory youth welfare work. Recently though, new initiatives were undertaken to support primary education in which youth care was also represented. At the request of seven boroughs in Amsterdam, preparations have been underway to establish Youth Care Advisory Teams for primary education in Amsterdam (West). These were based on an earlier form, the so-called Consultation Teams in primary education.

Consultation Teams in primary education

170. During the past three years ten primary schools have been supported by a Consultation Team. This team regularly visits the schools in order to support teachers and mentors in their care for children with problems that cannot be handled by the school itself. Usually these are medical and psycho-social problems and truancy, often combined with learning difficulties. The teams consist of a medical officer from the local Health Care Office, an officer from ABC (the Amsterdam educational support bureau), a youth welfare worker from PPI, and a school attendance officer. The teams meet eight to ten times per year in order to provide assistance and support for pupil care within the schools. The objective has never been to place this care for pupils with problems into the hands of the Consultation Team itself. The school remains responsible for starting and continuing assistance. The consultants are prepared though to provide some elements of this assistance, but only in consultation with the school.

171. Usually the school present a case during the meeting of the Consultation Team, after which a discussion follows and agreements are made with regards to whom undertakes what actions. An evaluation report (Verhoeven & Cochius, 1997) states three goals:

- providing integrated care at schools, in addition to the internal pupil care system;
- offering support and enhancing the expertise of school staff members with regard to the mentoring of children with psycho-social problems;
- improving the transfer of pupils with problems from primary to secondary education in order to prevent school drop-out.

172. The evaluation study concludes that these goals are not being met. Two of four schools that have been studied do not wish to continue the experiment because the results do not live up to their expectations. The schools still feel the need for support with regard to problem pupils, but the Consultation Teams does not provide the direct assistance that the schools would like to see. The report mentions three areas of criticism:

- costs per pupil or school are too high;
- Consultation Teams merely advise and do not offer direct assistance to children and families;
- the school still has to search for adequate assistance for children with behavioural, social-emotional and family problems.
173. The experiments with Consultation Teams for primary schools do demonstrate the importance of an adequate preparation and introduction at schools. Experiences from elsewhere in the country show that better results are indeed possible. But in Amsterdam (West) it was decided not to continue the Consultation Teams, mainly because of their high cost that made it almost impossible to introduce such a system on a larger scale (Van Veen, 1999). The choice was made for an approach in which support from youth care for education was seen as a regular task and in which this support would be placed within an structural framework. Furthermore, it was argued that more direct and concrete support for children, families and schools was needed, rather than consultation.

174. Therefore, the seven boroughs in Amsterdam (West) have decided on a more efficient, effective, and direct connection between youth care and primary schools in the form of the so-called Youth Care Advisory Teams. All in all, 66 primary schools and 12 special primary schools are involved in this initiative. They are served by two Youth Care Advisory Teams that are being prepared at the moment and that will be in effect in September of 1999. The Youth Care Advisory Teams will operate as outposts for the Youth Care Office and possibly for general welfare work. They are high quality, multidisciplinary teams consisting of representatives from broad youth care, and they are aimed at screening, direct action, assistance, and, where needed, referral.

**Objective and target group of the Youth Care Advisory Teams**

175. Youth Care Advisory Teams aim at establishing a clear and simple structure for communication and co-operation between education and youth care, in order to open up the existing capacity for support and assistance of high-risk pupils, their parents and schools, and to speed up its implementation and improve its performance.

176. The Youth Care Advisory Teams target these groups:

- pupils with problems at a behavioural, social-emotional and/or family level that cannot be addressed through school internal care and for whom assistance is required from youth care;
- parents/families of these pupils;
- staff members of the primary schools.

177. When this general goal is combined with the three target groups, we can distinguish these concrete goals:

- early spotting of problems and risks;
- adequate possibilities for preventive and ambulatory assistance for the pupil in and around the school (social inclusion rather than social exclusion);
- fast and effective assistance during crisis situations in the school;
- adequate possibilities for fast and effective assistance for parents/families;
- efficient and effective referral to external welfare institutions;
- contributing to the realisation of quality intersectoral care programmes;
− a good co-operation between the school, school network, and institutions for youth care.

178. For the school, these goals are important:
− improving the expertise of teachers in the field of spotting problems and risks at the social-emotional, family and behavioural level;
− adequate internal support and assistance with regard to (specialised) pupil care;
− adequate possibilities for external preventive and ambulatory assistance in and around the school;
− adequate possibilities for consultation of and preventive support by team members;
− structural and quality communication and co-operation of the school and institutions for youth care;
− co-ordination of the internal care structure, the external care structure, and the Youth Care Advisory Teams.

**Tasks and functions of the Youth Care Advisory Teams**

179. Youth Care Advisory Teams have the task to provide assistance and advice at or close to the school for pupils, parents and team members when there are problems that cannot be handled by the internal pupil care of the school or where it seems necessary to make an early appeal to specific, professional expertise in youth care.

180. In order to realise the goals mentioned above, the Youth Care Advisory Teams have the task of providing information and advising pupils, parents, and schools. They are also responsible for improving the expertise of teachers and mentors in the schools. Direct assistance by the Youth Care Advisory Team consists of screening and diagnosing, drawing up assistance or treatment plans, providing light ambulatory aid, providing assistance to families, providing crisis interventions in schools, and referring to specialised institutions through the Youth Care Office.

**Participants in the Youth Care Advisory Teams**

181. The Youth Care Advisory Teams consists of a core group of specialised experts. Among these are youth welfare workers with broad experience in the fields of youth protection, youth assistance and mental health care for young people. They might be schooled in disciplines like remedial education, psychology and welfare work. Additional expertise is provided by a school doctor, a child psychiatrist and a family welfare worker. When a case is discussed, a representative of the school has to be present. The necessary expertise will be recruited from existing institutions like the Youth Care Office, PPI Amsterdam, and offices for (mental) health care.

182. For specific problems, the Youth Care Advisory Team can establish links with other experts like the school attendance officer, the police, the school support bureau, welfare institutions etc.
Method of multidisciplinary work

183. Each Youth Care Advisory Team works with circa 30 to 40 primary schools. Problem pupils will be presented by the designated representative of the school. The school doctor might play a supportive role in this. It is also possible for parents to draw attention to problems.

184. The Youth Care Advisory Teams will be situated in offices close to the schools. These will have to be manned during regular office hours. Regularly, team members will be present at meetings in the schools themselves. Team members will preferably work in pairs. Once a week the whole team meets.

185. The Youth Care Advisory Teams do not relieve schools of their tasks with regard to pupil care – on the contrary. The internal pupil care of the school had to be improved and this remains the responsibility of each school and school management. Because the work methods of the Youth Care Advisory Team will be highly visible to teachers, this might positively influence initiatives aimed at improving the internal care structure. The teams contribute by providing information and advice.

Financing of the Youth Care Advisory Teams

186. The finances for the Youth Care Advisory Teams include:

- part of the regular budgets of the institutions and boroughs involved;
- reallocation of parts of the budgets of the institutions involved, and
- temporary extra budgets provided by the city or the boroughs.

Positioning of the Youth Care Advisory Teams within local youth and educational policy

187. A development of major importance in local educational policy is the project “Weer Samen naar School” (WSNS), aimed at co-operation within primary education in Amsterdam. Within this framework a broad care plan is being prepared by representatives from all sectors in primary education. The plans for establishing Youth Care Advisory Teams originate from a close co-operation with the project group WSNS and they will be placed within the infrastructure that is in preparation. This also means that local authorities (boroughs and policy makers) are involved in the development of the Youth Care Advisory Teams.

188. The Youth Care Advisory Teams also aim at co-ordination with recent developments in youth care, like the establishment of Youth Care Offices. These offices are now involved in the discussions. Support from PPI Amsterdam has been available for a long time.

Success and value added

189. Results are clearly not available at this stage, but it may be pointed out that a sound basis had been provided for realising the co-operation in the near future. The pilot project in Amsterdam (West) has indeed fortified co-operation and consensus within the seven boroughs with regards to youth policy (education and welfare work).

190. There are of course expectations with regard to the extra value that the establishment of Youth Care Advisory Teams will have for children, parents and schools in Amsterdam (West). These are:
The Youth Care Advisory Team is a place near the school where assistance can be provided fast. There is not only talk and discussion, but real assistance.

With the introduction of Youth Care Advisory Teams, the assistance for children in primary education will be less fragmented and therefore more effective and efficient. The needs of the child, the family or the school are central, not the offerings of youth welfare institutions.

The Youth Care Advisory Teams provide additional assistance in the field of youth care, on top of the pupil care that the school can provide. This means that the school does not have to maintain contacts with many institutions and can concentrate on its core tasks.

191. Youth Care Advisory Teams will improve co-ordination of youth care. At present, various welfare workers might be involved with the same child or family without being aware of this fact. In the Youth Care Advisory Team, information from the various sources will come together and co-ordination can be established.

192. Youth Care Advisory Teams maximise support in an early phase and contribute to prevention and early intervention in the context of mainstreaming and social inclusion. They also challenge issues of social justice and equity in that they ‘democratise’ the distribution of services.

**Major issues for development**

1. Co-ordination and co-operation of the Youth Care Advisory Teams with WSNS.

2. The relationship of the Youth Care Advisory Teams with other identification functions outside the school (neighbourhood networks).

3. An adequate co-ordination with the existing services for the age group of 0 to 4 year olds (consultation bureaux).

4. The improvement of pupil care in secondary education and relationships with the Youth Care Advisory Teams.

**Evaluation**

193. An evaluation of the Youth Care Advisory Teams in Amsterdam (West) cannot yet be provided. This will be an important part of the project though. During the preparation phase, much attention will be paid to the quality of forms for reporting and diagnosing. Process and product evaluation is also of prime importance, even more so because the experiment in Amsterdam (West) – if successful – could be extended to the whole city of Amsterdam.
EXCURSUS: LESSONS FOR THE NETHERLANDS FROM INDIA: THE CASE OF POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN ARNHEM

Pradip Prabhu and Jaap Huurman-Sobczak

In this text we analyse an experiment in exchange between North and South: a visitation to The Netherlands of an Indian expert. He was one of two professionals with long experience in combating social exclusion in, who was consulted on methods of dealing with poverty and social exclusion in the Karendal district of Arnhem more effectively. At the community level in that neighbourhood, some inhabitants wanted to learn from the experience of experts from the Southern and supposedly ‘less developed’ countries. Their experiment shows some of the possibilities and constraints of such a learning process. We deal with the analysis from India, the recommendations and the story of what was done with the advisory reports.

1. The advisory report on Klarendal from India

The expert invited was Pradip Prabhu, an advocate, social activist and a social scientist from India. In June 1998, he and his colleague from Costa Rica lived for a month in the neighbourhood of Klarendal, in a two

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1. For the past thirty years Prahip Pradhu worked with socially and disadvantaged communities of subsistence peasants, migrant workers and other working class groups in the region around Bombay, in a peoples organisation called Kashtakari Sanghatna (Workers/Toilers Organisation). He works to empower communities to take responsibility for their own welfare, to act collectively to establish their rights to land, livelihoods and common property resources, to eradicate exploitation and to take steps to improve their economic and social conditions. His organisation and its NGO associates actively explore, articulate and implement alternative strategies for integrated community development, housing, health and sustainable livelihoods, as well as alternative educational strategies for disadvantaged children.

As a social scientist, Prabhu is associated in both the theoretical and practical training of social work professionals, civil servants, cadre of peoples organizations and community leaders. During the last decade, Prabhu has been in the leadership of a national campaign of indigenous people, numbering 80 million, to develop an alternative paradigm of governance. As the National Convenor of the National Front for Tribal Self Rule, he has been at the centre of the political process of transfer of power and control from the state apparatus to local communities. The important feature of the law, in the nature of a constitutional amendment, is that it places a major stress on effective devolution of powers to the people and restrains the higher echelons of government from abrogating the powers and authority of the people’s assemblies. There is no parallel to this legal intervention anywhere in the world.

Ana Leon is a feminist activist working with the disadvantaged communities in San José, the capital of Costa Rica. In 1982 she founded a non government organisation ‘Vecinos’ (Neighbours). The NGO works to build neighbourhood organisations of the disadvantaged groups in the slums, to search for solutions to problems of unemployment, drug addiction, cost of living, quality of education, living conditions and initiate collective action for a common future. Ana’s main focus is children and youth, two groups hardest hit by the problems that affect the community and whom she sees as ‘the centres of hope for the future’. Through activities developed together with those groups at risk the centre tries to engage all social powers in the boroughs with the aim of social change. One of the main aims with children and youth is to enhance their identity and improve their development and quality of life.
room house offered to them by a local housing corporation. During that month they had intensive talks with many people living in the neighbourhood, including professionals locally and at the city level. What follows here is an extract from the report of Pradip Prabhu, specifically his analysis (additional points from the analysis of the expert from Costa Rica) and the recommendations Prabhu phrased and both agreed upon (par. 1 and 2). The follow up on the reports is described in paragraph 3.

Analysis of the situation

The report of my analysis is not the end, but only the beginning of a long process, a search for emancipation. This report is an attempt to integrate the perceptions of the various actors of Klarendal and our own, into a coherent picture which at the outset makes no claim to completeness or to finality. Klarendal is a neighbourhood of Arnhem, populated largely by Dutch and non-Dutch lower spectrum working class, unemployed, unemployable, students, and lower middle class aged. It was built on the fringes of the old town to house the Dutch work force who migrated into Arnhem at the heyday of its industrial growth at the turn of the century. It has a rich working class history spanning ten decades, and its spatial and social geography is reminiscent of working class neighbourhoods in other towns of Europe.

About two decades ago, Klarendal was targeted for demolition, to be replaced by higher income housing. This re-kindled the spirit of working class struggle and galvanised the community. Led by spirited local leaders, the residents resisted the physical and social demolition of the neighbourhood they considered ‘theirs’. The spontaneous resistance prompted the Municipality to shelve the demolition agenda and begin urban restoration. The struggle evolved into a pro-active participation for change in the physical environment. The collaboration was individual in its thrust as each householder had to engage herself/himself in the renovation of the house. But the process of renovation itself continuously called for negotiation with the Municipal authorities, the architects and contractors, hence individual neighbours leaned on the other neighbours. This led to the emergence of the framework of community support and over time took on an institutional form as the ‘Work Group’. With many men away at work, women took charge of the restoration, joined the Work Group as representatives of sub-neighbourhoods under renovation and took over its leadership.

During the same period the neighbourhood experienced substantial change due to migration. As a result, the community configuration of Klarendal underwent a major change, with internal differentiation based on economic and social status superimposed with ethnic and religious backgrounds. The relatively homogeneous neighbourhood of Dutch working class and poor was converted into an amalgam of ‘micro neighbourhoods’ of varied ethnic groups. This changed the social fabric and dynamics of the neighbourhood, there was less of a shared history, shared culture and shared consciousness. Given the socio-cultural disparity and limited cross cultural exchange, each sub community became an island to itself. Relations of internal community solidarity and ‘shared poverty’ withered even in the resistance to demolition and although the urban restoration work stimulated participation.

With the completion of restoration, a common agenda ended and a lessening of active involvement is apparent. This went hand in hand with the wider process of de-politicisation, disempowerment and a collapse of the structures of community action. On the surface, the neighbourhood appears content, with every resident going about his daily chores. Beneath the veneer of calm and indifference, the community is

Ana is active in the Movement of Working Children in Central America and feminist organisations in the country. She considers herself a peoples’ educator; as an actress she uses street theatre as a medium to raise consciousness and mobilise the people. She also conducts workshops for socio-cultural volunteers working with other NGOs.
hoping for change, a change for a better future, which has not evolved into ‘common agenda’ and is blurred by complex problems both within the community and in its socio-economic environment, some of which lie beyond their control. Within this matrix, the residents now face the challenge of becoming change agents in collectively articulating and concretely actualising a better future. How this can be achieved is the task before us.

Poverty in Klarendal - The drama and its actors

Absolute poverty, in terms of deprivation of basic survival needs like food, clothing, shelter and health, is not visible in Klarendal. The elaborate system of social security, institutional support systems and urban renovation programme ensure that the visible indices are clear. Within Klarendal the de facto lack of basic education leading to ‘employability’ particularly for the migrant, could be considered a symptom of poverty. The perception of the people in Klarendal is that the ‘access’ of the poor to social security in the present system is not adequate.

The satisfaction of basic needs through the social security system coupled with economic advancement in the Netherlands, however, has raised the issue of ‘well-being needs’. Food, clothing, shelter and health are passé; adequate rest, enabling recuperation, meaningful relaxation and secure retirement, earlier categorised as ‘wants’, are being seen as ‘basic well being needs’. Within traditional societies, these needs were met within the family or immediate community. Rapid changes in European society during the twentieth century radically altered the composition and relations in the family and community. Economic and material advancement made Dutch society progressively individualistic and materialistic. The family and community could no longer satisfy well being needs, which are commodified and purchasable. The ability or inability to satisfy these needs (deprivation) needs to be the new indicator of poverty and has become the new dividing line between sections in Dutch society (advantaged and disadvantaged or deprived). In addition, ‘inclusion needs’ being integrated into the Dutch mainstream, i.e. through meaningful employment and acceptance by the Dutch speaking majority, are rapidly emerging as new indicators of poverty.

Deprivation of well-being needs and inclusion needs could safely be considered manifestations of relative (social) poverty. ‘Social poverty’ is a term that is closely linked to both the satisfaction of well-being needs within ‘society’ or ‘community’ and is associated with alienation and what we now call social exclusion.

Social poverty is present in abundant measure in Klarendal. But bringing ‘social poverty’ within the ambit of the term ‘poverty’ calls for political will to redefine the term ‘poverty’. Hence most advanced nations, while admitting to social poverty, have chosen to call it a social problem, a choice which has far reaching consequences. As a social problem, social poverty in many countries did not fall in the realm of direct state intervention through legislation and welfare, but was to be addressed by the non-government sector. Traditionally non government or voluntary action was a community activity, generally associated with the church or institutional charities. Dutch society had rapidly ‘secularised’ and ‘individualised’ itself and here the state took on the mantle of ‘welfare’. While there were non government or voluntary groups which took care of the severely physically, socially or economically handicapped, there were few agencies that took care of the problems arising from social poverty. Government stepped in to set up its own non-government institutions, sponsored the formation of independent NGOs and progressively began to financially support the rest. The realm of voluntary action, therefore, moved slowly but inexorably from the community to the government (both national and local), from the realm of ‘voluntary initiatives’ to that of paid professionals, from the realm of relations of internal solidarity to that of institutional networks, from a fundamentally collaborative environment to a competitive one, from multiple safety nets of community solidarity to webs of confused dependence. The community surrendered its right to collective
well-being and its duty to sustain each other. Voluntary action became institutional, while the disadvantaged changed from ‘neighbour’ to ‘client’ to ‘customer’.

The actors: professionals

There are a large number of institutions and social workers active in Klarendal. All the institutions are government set-up and sponsored or supported. The main thrust of the institutions is to mitigate social problems arising out of social or relative poverty and a few assist their clients to evolve better survival strategies or coping mechanisms. Given the growing complexity of the problems arising out of social poverty, these institutions are progressively managed and administered by professionals. Functioning within the government support environment, institutional thinking has changed the way the disadvantaged and fringe are viewed from clients to customers. Institutional character is moving from a social work orientation to one with a ‘commercial’ outlook and ‘profit centred’, with profits being measured in terms of services offered and customers served. The number of satisfied customers attracted by the institution becomes the basis of government financial support. Within this perspective, institutions multiply services and become competitors. As a result there is little genuine co-ordination and in this perspective, the institutions are at the other end of the spectrum from structures of internal community solidarity with regard to their value bias.

From our interaction with the numerous institutions in Klarendal, we were impressed with the professional competence and the personal commitment of the social workers. We are not making any argument here against the institutions as they have a major function to play in present day society. What I am analysing is the character and role of the institutions vis-à-vis the structures of internal solidarity within the community. With this proviso, we explore some issues emerging from institutionalisation of the welfare solutions and the strategies of intervention in social poverty which have emerged from the feedback of a wide cross section of Klarendal.

Strategies

The discussions in Klarendal on the question of institutionalisation of strategies to solve social poverty issues, have broadly shown three positions. The first and most common position, which in the present socio-economic scenario appears logical, is that there is no alternative to state sponsorship of welfare institutions, though the corporatisation of the institutions appears problematic. Another group argues that the rise of the institutions reflects the failure of the welfare state, though they see no way out. The third group believes that, while at present an institutionalised response to social poverty is inevitable, it remains problematic in the long run. We elaborate on the grounds put forward for this last position: firstly, the development and proliferation of institutions handling problems of social poverty absolves a welfare state of its primary duty to care for the well being of its citizens; secondly, it de-links the community from the fragile and marginal groups and could suppress the emergence of its own structures of social solidarity; thirdly, the community progressively withdraws from its role and responsibility to care for the less privileged of its members.

On the first count, we start with the premise that the eradication of social poverty is a duty of a welfare state. This duty is met by responding to citizen rights through taxation finance which provides social security. Since the state is basically re-distributing social surplus, the eradication of social poverty is a legitimate right of all citizens and not a favour. This right can be agitated in political and legal fora and therefore has the potential for wider citizen action, which in turn could galvanise internal community solidarity and self-help in various forms. In institutional welfare, the ‘rights’ nexus is absent as institutions provide a service. On the second count, the community both marginalises itself, and is marginalized, in
finding collective solutions. Though easier said than done, community solidarity and involvement with marginalised groups develops both complementary and creativity in evolving survival strategies that are associative, relatively egalitarian, mutual and integrational. On the third count, as marginal groups search for survival solutions, the locus of their activity moves out of the arena of the life of the community, while their nexus with the neighbourhood is mediated through the institution and its volunteers and is circumscribed within the institution’s objectives, which may not be those of the ‘client’. The disadvantaged become peripheral to the life of the community except in the ‘events’ which try to bring their issues to sharper focus. Given the extensive and complex range of problems arising in modern societies and the wide range of points of access to services, survival strategies require the intervention of ‘socially skilled persons’, i.e. professionals who share little of the conditions of the life of their clientele or the community. The professional lives his/her own life which is separate and removed from the life of the beneficiary and in a distinct socio-economic niche. The benefactor gains economically (salary) while the beneficiary gets a favour. The professional becomes ‘powerful’ precisely in mediating the ‘powerlessness’ of the beneficiary. Therefore, the professional reminds the benefactor of his/her own dependence to achieve his/her own well being. As the institutions become the new repositories of power and influence which they mediate, they become ends in themselves. Each time the institution mediates power, it becomes progressively more powerful while the beneficiary is dis-empowered. The relationship is impersonal and sterile, notwithstanding the genuine concern of the institutional worker. The act of assistance is uni-polar and uni-lateral and lacks the mutuality and complementarity of social solidarity. This dynamic has prompted a variety of reactions, the strongest being the opinion that institutions make money out of people's misery.

The disadvantaged, suffering social poverty are exposed to alienation at multiple levels: being unproductive (unemployed or unemployable) members of a society with a strong work ethic (economic exclusion); being incapable of satisfying wants in a growing hedonistic ethos, being on social security or the dole in a materialist consumerist society (social exclusion); and finally being clients of an institution, persons incapable of handling their own problems (political exclusion). The cumulative effect of all these contributes to a sense of loss of dignity. The institutionalisation of strategies to mitigate social poverty coupled with the breakdown of community solidarity, therefore develops a more acute form in the loss of ‘social, economic, psychological and emotional well-being’ which is reflected in various forms like the lack of coping or problem solving mechanisms, lack of meaningful activity, extinction of structures of intra-group (micro community) and inter-group (macro community) solidarity, loss of dignity, low self-image, and in the worst scenario, the loss of hope. Deprivation, and disadvantage thereby result in personal isolation leading to social alienation.

**The actors: inhabitants**

Social poverty affects different sections of the population in different ways. For a fairly large section of the aged, loss of well-being is seen in the absence of savings (many move from unemployment to retirement), significant loss of social interaction (opportunity to enjoy the company of friends over a beer in a bar), the lack of recreation (inability to attend cultural events because they cannot afford it), lack of family relations (inability to attend a family event because they cannot buy gifts), lack of social space for interaction with other age groups in the community. (absence of a town square where people can meet and interact), weak structures of community solidarity resulting in loneliness, dependence and loss of dignity.

For the unemployed, social poverty is reflected in lack of meaningful activity, rapid skill obsolescence, highly restricted access to ‘dignified’ jobs, failure related lethargy, limited opportunity for social interaction, compounded indignity resulting from inaccessibility of consumer status symbols, bleak hope of a meaningful future, dependence on welfare, growing frustrations in and outside the home, and domestic violence resulting from weak relationships.
Youth are having to cope with the fear of unemployability, lack of social interaction, poor skills of social interaction, absence of meaningful role models and standards resulting in warped self images, fear of the future compounding the indignity of dependence on welfare and curtailed budgets, lack of physical and social space leading to drug addiction, violence and a growing propensity to low level crime. For the children, domestic violence and ‘homelessness’ haunts them and pushes them to the street. Their parents' own weak socialisation leads to poor problem solving strategies and coping capacities in a vicious cycle. The absence of concrete possibilities in the future compounds the lack of ‘normative motivation’ and ‘standards’ in the school. The lack of facilities for healthy sports and adequate ‘social space for interaction’ outside the institutions keeps them on the street. Other problems include lack of social integration, poor skills of social interaction, absence of meaningful role models and standards, warped self images, fear of the future increasing the propensity to low level drug addiction, violence and low level crime.

For the migrants, high needs for ‘group or community security’ lead them into concentration in localities with the attendant risk of forming social and cultural ‘ghettos’ and the resulting marginalisation which in turn threatens meaningful integration. This leaves the community in a fragile state of discontinuity between the past of their homelands, the present of the Netherlands and an uncertain future posing a greater risk of anomie and alienation. For each sector within the migrant community, the problems faced by the respective sector are compounded by the problem of ‘non-integration’ in the Dutch dream. For the community, social poverty is expressed in low self image, lack of concrete vision and the necessary social skills, poor distribution of informal leadership, absence of coping strategies to face the challenge of growing ‘individualism’ and ‘atomisation’, disempowerment that is both concomitant with and consequent to increased institutionalisation, increased intervention of the ‘state’ in the community realm, weakening infra-structure of social solidarity and the absence of a concrete realisable vision.

The actors: an overview

So behind the scenes in the community called Klarendal, a drama is being enacted. The community consists of seven sets of actors. Some of the actors move across multiple sets. The various actors are:

- the disadvantaged individuals, groups or communities who mainly constitute the clientele or customers of the institutions.

- a large section of the Dutch residents who constitute two thirds of the community. A sub set with this set are the younger generation striving to move up in society and away from Klarendal.

- the migrant communities.

- the groups on the fringe. They are constituted by a fair section of the youth who opt to drop out because they see no future in staying in the rat race.

- the outside agents, a large number of professionals, community developers, social workers and service providers of the numerous institutions, intervening in the community to extend ‘services’ to disadvantaged individuals.

- the municipality and the authorities.

- a smaller group of formal and informal leaders and ‘volunteers’, acting within the community, generally in problem solving efforts.
Additional analytical observations from Costa Rica

Pradip Prabhu and Ana Leon both wrote their own analytic report on the Dutch situation. We will here add some points from the report of Ana Isabel Leon Sahoria.

One element that Ana Leon stresses in her analysis, is xenophobia, homophobia and hate towards women. Calls for mutual respect and solidarity between the groups at risk of social exclusion, for a different attitude towards integration and social equality, in order to enable active participation of all groups that form the community. Talking about children and youth, Leon reminds us of the saying that they ‘have the future’, but that what matters first is the present. Their opinions, needs and interests ought to be taken into account, they have a right to participate as social actors in the building of their community.

When Ana Leon asked the people from Klarendal about the problems in their community, everyone talked about youngsters. Some thirty problems were mentioned and only three positive points. The first point is that youngsters are proud to come from Klarendal, although they are stigmatised by many adults as being a nuisance. A second point is, that youngsters from Klarendal are well known for their hard work and the third point is the explicit wish of youngsters to become more social-culturally integrated.

If adults were to try and get to know the youngsters, by overcoming their fear for them, and let them participate, that might help an integral development of Klarendal. The quality of being able to work hard comes in very handy were they to organise themselves and given a say in community development as well as alternative work programmes to combat unemployment. Maybe if adults and organisations would ask youngsters what they want and how they could be helped, that would be a good start.

Ana Leon asked primary school children about their dreams, and was amazed by their universal and specific character: that all children live in freedom, without poverty, play with their friends, respected by adults, in a nice neighbourhood. Against that background it comes as no surprise that some children in Klarendal organised activities to improve the neighbourhood, or that youngsters organise voluntary work for children under 15 years of age. These are signs of hope, and Ana Leon advises that more room is given for participation of children in decision-making about their own environment, in building their present and future world.

2. Towards Change in Klarendal - An Agenda for Emancipation.

The visitors from the Third World agreed on a set of recommendations. Underlying the recommendations are two themes:

− engagement, empowerment and emancipation;
− self reliance, self respect and self determination.

These elements are mutually related and must be seen in an integral manner. Some of the reflections made are long term in nature and would require policy changes, some are implementable in the short term. The recommendations are tentative, exploratory and are not listed in any priority, but broadly follow the pattern that was elaborated in a threefold scenario.

A. From Turbulent Sea to a Firmer Shore – The Community as Anchor

Our recommendations seek to locate the process in the community, without suggesting that the government abrogate its responsibility for the welfare of the citizens. The emphasis is on revitalising the structures of
community solidarity and routing the welfare interventions and institutions of the state or municipality through the community. With this perspective, we recommend: Creating and Implementing an Organic and Integrated Vision for Klarendal.

1. A Vision of Klarendal for Klarendal

The whole community, supported by the institutions and the Municipality, prepares an integrated vision, the social, economic and physical plan for the renewal of Klarendal. This integrated vision takes into consideration the wide range of issues confronting the community, the various actors with their respective strengths, the complementarity of the roles that the various actors will play in the collaborative effort, clearly expressed and time bound objectives and the methodology of evaluating the efforts. Some concrete possibilities are:

   a. An initial workshop with the volunteers and informal leaders to examine how and where organic communities exist or can be formed. This would be followed by discussions at the micro community level on the problems, plans, hopes, vision and complementary roles that the members of the micro community can play as well as a program for community action.

   b. The next step would mean translating the community vision into a Concrete Master Plan for Time Bound Implementation. The institutions and the civil servants involved with Klarendal are invited to reflect and look at the community vision, to clarify it if necessary with the micro-communities and subsequently the group of representatives. The master plan should include in its strategy, the identification, selection and training skills of community activists or cadre who will function as ‘para-professionals’ in the community.

   c. Communications from the community should be posted on the micro-community notice board kept in the custody of one of the members of the micro-community.

   d. Conducting workshops with various sections of the community to work for the implementation of the community vision.

   e. A campaign that involves all the sectors in the community working with five popular communication forms – namely the ‘song’, ‘symbol’, ‘slogan’, ‘story’ and ‘skit’ to create an atmosphere of climate of ‘hope of Community Renewal’.

2. Identifying Persons and Projects as Signposts of Achievement and Centres Of Hope

This reflection is based on the feedback that the youth and adults of Klarendal have no local heroes, no persons to look up to, no projects to be proud of.

   a. Encourage interaction of Klarendallers who have come up in life, socially, economically, culturally and politically with the youth of Klarendal to create new hopes and new standards.

   b. Building on histories and events of ‘success’ within the community.

   c. ‘Community projects’ within sub neighbourhoods with assistance to supplement voluntary contributions and labour.
3. Creating a Positive Image of Klarendal as a Place Where ‘Good Things’ Happen

This would consist of organising social, cultural or musical events which would attract both residents and visitors to the neighbourhood.

4. Restructuring Klarendal’s Calendar of Event

Increasing the frequency of community celebration, inviting various ethnic groups and artists to present their history and culture and inviting speakers to address the community on topics of interest will increase the spaces for community interaction. It also makes for cultural cross fertilisation.

5. Investing in Women as Actors of Change

Women can play an important role in the process of change, because of their experience in evolving effective survival strategies and coping mechanisms through networks of mutual solidarity; their experience of dis-advantage and discrimination in a patriarchal society; and their experience of developing concrete strategies directed at improving the quality of life and social environment.

6. Investing in Children and Adolescents as Standard Bearers of Change

Any vision that is forward looking is incomplete without integrating children in its articulation and implementation. Children can change attitudes and are able to see the neighbourhood through eyes of hope.

B. From Islands of Tranquillity to Beacons of Change – The Institutional Challenge

7. Re-Orienting operational methodology to bring the community to centre stage

This recommendation concerns the methodology of the work of the institutions and aims to ensure that all activity is routed through the community and involves the community at every stage of the project. It would involve, among other things, sub-dividing the neighbourhood into smaller communities and forming action-committees at the street or sub-community level, with representatives to the representative organisation of the whole community like the Work Group.

8. Restructuring institutions for greater accessibility and collaboration with people

This recommendation is made with a view to developing within the community, a cadre of para-professionals who can serve the community more effectively. The participation of volunteers of various communities in providing services and in planning and managing the institution itself, would not only allow the institution to respond to the needs of the different ethnic groups more effectively, but would also contribute to their self worth and stimulate greater community participation, thus giving the project a greater chance of being sustainable and self managed.
9. Restructuring Spaces for Various Age and Interest Groups

This recommendation deals with the creation of specialised spaces for special need groups. This would not require new buildings, but the multiple use of existing structures (e.g. for social and cultural events and sports).

C. From Entangled Lifelines to a Safety Net - Social Security to Social Solidarity

10. De-centralising Power to Make and Implement Decision to the Sub-Neighbourhood

Although the policy of the government has been to decentralise decision making, power has not been decentralised to the people but transferred from the national government to the local government. Changing the face of Klarendal will imply: empowering the people with the power and the capacities to make and implement decisions; progressively handing over financial powers; and strengthening democratic traditions and practices. Social spending would be submitted to community audit.

11. Ensuring Active Involvement of the Community in Social Projects

An example of the above is increasing security through ‘neighbourhood watch’ or ‘neighbourhood patrols’, encouraging neighbourhood participation in problem solving with community workers, catalysing community involvement and only supplementing their efforts and not supplanting them.

12. Re-Structuring Physical Spaces to Encourage Greater Social Interaction

The physical structure of the neighbourhood is an obstacle to the development of an organic community. An important indication is that Klarendal has no shared physical space in the form of a town square, where the events of the community take place, where all sections of the community can gather. Another part of this recommendation is creating sub-neighbourhoods around a community space to allow for greater intra-community interaction.

13. Restructuring Social and Economic Neighbourhood Spaces

This set of recommendations is with a view to progressively change micro-communities of Klarendal from being a uni-polar community of disadvantaged groups to a multi-polar community representing a wider segment of society. To achieve this, we would recommend, among other things: distributing families from different ethnic communities to avoid ‘ghetto formation’ and for increased social integration; encouraging the growth of ‘small shops’, ‘small workshops’ to provide self employment and to encourage community enterprise; forming self help, small savings and interest groups in the neighbourhood; and offering grants and loans for the co-operatives to set up self-employment enterprises.

14. Sharing Visions and Survival Strategies with Third World Organisations

All over the world disadvantaged communities are engaged in agendas of emancipation. Their conditions might vary a little, but the creativity that is seen in their responses to their own oppressive conditions and the wealth of their experience merits a people to people exchange to share ideas and experiences of their
own struggles. We recommend a people to people sharing between children, women and men in Klarendal and their counterparts in the third world.

3. Follow up on the advisory report

The recommendations described above were completed in June 1998 and presented at a conference. About a hundred people attended, from Klarendal, other parts of Arnhem and also from other cities. The national importance of the theme was clear from national press coverage as well as the participation of a member of parliament as chairperson of the conference and a former vice president of the largest trade union as a speaker. One of the outcomes of the conference was the founding of a national support committee for the follow up of the experiment, chaired by the man from the trade union who by then was active in the combat against poverty, Herman Bode. He was mildly critical of the observations and recommendations of Prabhu and Leon.

Professional welfare organisations were more critical - some did not even want to talk to Prabhu and Leon during their stay in Klarendal. Professionals from the Klarendal neighbourhood centre labelled the recommendations as ‘simplistic’ and ‘not acknowledging realities in the centre’. The chair of the conference, social democrat MP Adri Duivesteijn was positive about the experiment, because he felt it offered a mirror to Dutch policy-makers and professionals.

Discussions on the actual follow up on the recommendations had an odd start in August 1998. A brainstorming session was organised with some female key-role-players in the neighbourhood, as suggested by Pradip Prabhu. This led to critical reactions of the Working Group of Klarendal inhabitants and professionals. In the next month it was decided that an evaluative discussion was to be held first. The report on the Klarendal experiment was to form the basis of the evaluation. The evaluation meeting took place in November. It was led by professional facilitators, and some of the outcomes were that the communication between the organising Foundation and the Working Group needed improvement and that it had not been wise to organise the brain-storming-meeting with the women without having involved the Working Group. At the end of this meeting the co-ordinator of the social and cultural workers in Klarendal announced he did not want to be involved in any follow-up of the recommendations. At the meeting about the follow-up in December representatives of the Working Group presented a letter to the same effect.

This posed an implementation problem. That is why, at the end of 1998 the Foundation that had organised the experiment initiated an evaluation of the question why the Working Group rejected further co-operation. The main hypothesis of the Foundation was that there were communication problems and that the advisory reports were not in line with the interests of the municipality and the social institutions and their approach to social problems. Another hypothesis was that the city of Arnhem should have been more involved from the start of the project. The research was conducted by the Habitat Advice and Research Platform, sponsored by the National Habitat Foundation. Unfortunately, the vice-Mayor of Arnhem, responsible for social affairs, declined to be interviewed by the investigators. From the list of respondents suggested by the Foundation mainly the social workers were interviewed, while others were neglected. Also, the investigators did not follow up on the suggestion to include the Foundation's hypotheses in their research; they just reported what was said in the interviews. As a result, the outcomes of the study were not nearly as useful as the Foundation had hoped.

At the national level, there were some NGOs that were interested to explore further what might be done with the community building approach suggested by Pradip Prabhu and Ana Leon. Such an interest was apparent within the social democratic party, in particular its centre for local policy and its organisation for development co-operation (Evert Vermeer Foundation). Prabhu was invited to a conference of the Foundation in Utrecht in April 1999, focused on The Power of Change. Participants in Prabhu's workshop
generally agreed that the Netherlands could learn a lot from third world experiences with community building and self empowerment. They also recognised that there is social poverty in some parts of the Netherlands, and mentioned commitment and integration as important building blocks. Prabhu visited five cities in the Netherlands and one in Belgium to talk with inhabitants of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and members of the city council. The idea was to use the model of Klarendal for other neighbourhoods as well by inviting two experts from third world countries to live there and give their advice. So far none of the cities involved have decided to go along with that scheme.

We must conclude then, that, so far, none of the proposed activities to follow up on the advisory reports from the experts from India and Costa Rica, be it in Klarendal, in Arnhem or at a national level, has born fruit. However, in the Summer of 2000 discussions on an international follow up started. The organiser of the Klarendal experiment, Jaap Huurman-Sobczak, and MP Adri Duivesteijn are exploring the possibilities of funding a comparative action research project, designed to replicate improved versions of the experiment in local situations in different European countries.
4. Conclusions

The experiment in the borough of Klarendal in the Dutch city of Arnhem turned development aid the other way round, by asking experts from India and Costa Rica to reflect and advise on dealing with poverty and social exclusion.

Could this be an eye opening exercise comparable to the one anthropologists had in the earlier decades of the last century? When after decades of Western and Northern researchers going to Asia, Africa and Latin America to study the daily life in mostly small communities, some anthropologists from those regions came to Europe and Northern America to do the same there? That depends on the openness on the Western side to questioning rituals and habitual practices in our countries. We can only gain from such an analysis and the suggestions for improvement linked to it, if we have a willingness to learn from it.

That openness and willingness was apparent in the group of people taking the initiative to invite Southern experts to the neighbourhood of Klarendal and organising their visit, including the Working Group. When the report and the recommendations were presented, however, some people from the neighbourhood - especially the ones in the Working Group and many working in the neighbourhood – opposed the solutions and perspectives suggested. It seems fruitful here to try to validate and evaluate the analysis and recommendations against inter-subjective criteria. The model of Sen seemed a good choice to do this, since it is has proved of good use in our case study on educational programmes in Arnhem, and because it reflects the common ground between the case study on educational practice and the advice from India. Sen's model is highly relevant to the issue of social exclusion. It identifies three vital aspects from the viewpoint of an individual’s role within our society, a viewpoint and role which most politicians, practitioners and researchers in the Netherlands will strongly support. A key question is how to design and implement strategies that bring about those effects. In this excursus we analysed one type of strategy: what the experts from India and Costa Rica advised.

The analysis and recommendations of the experts from India and Costa Rica are well in line with the model of Amartya Sen – incidentally a man born in the Bengal region of India –, as the following conclusions show.

Social integration is the result of the dynamic interplay of three processes that go on constantly in society, namely accommodation, association and assimilation. In a sense, integration is the goal of the exercise, accommodation, association and assimilation are its constituent processes. The goal of social integration admits of two strategies which can be placed at two ends of the spectrum: mediating social integration or negotiating social integration. These two strategies are based on different sets of presumptions.

In the first case, the mainstream community seeks to integrate the minority or groups at risk of social exclusion and invites them to integrate themselves into the mainstream community with its ideological substratum. The mainstream, thereby, is in a stronger position in the power equation and invites, the groups at risk to be part of the mainstream, with greater or less sense of egalitarianism.

In the second strategy, the mainstream community, initially in a stronger position in the power equation, acts on the stimulus of the minority groups seeking integration and invites them to integrate themselves into the mainstream community with its ideological substratum. The mainstream community at large, is in a stronger position in the power equation and the paradigm of integration. The process of negotiated integration is a dialectical process in which the thesis of the mainstream community is confronted by the antithesis of the minority or excluded community, leading to a synthesis.
that involves both the thesis and antithesis but is also qualitatively different. Hence, it is not the minority or excluded community that is being integrated in the mainstream paradigm but both communities being integrated into a radically new paradigm. Sen’s model appears to be founded on the praxis of negotiating integration. Both the mainstream and the minority groups are continuously in a dialogical stimulus response interplay of these processes. The overt or covert communication that takes place between the mainstream and minority groups either reinforce these processes or reject them.

Though the Dutch government is committed to establish integration, the processes at work in Klarendal indicate a combination of many processes which mainly subscribe to the strategy of mediating integration. At the official and professional level, an overall seriousness about integration is clearly seen. However an attitude of *laissez faire* prevails on the surface and the mainstream community, which is the target of the process of integration, accommodates the minority groups with greater or lesser degrees of equanimity. The minority groups, still close knit and hierarchical, with the elders of the family and community influenced by the socio-cultural processes at work in the countries of origin, seek to affirm their tradition and cultural identity as independent of the Dutch without totally rejecting the need for social integration. However they do not see themselves as the subjects of the process of integration nor do they believe they have the power to negotiate integration and within this matrix take distance from the process of integrating with the mainstream community. A generation in school, not yet of age to affirm either the process of mediated integration or to reject the relative exclusionism of the elders, go along with the processes at work in school.

**On Participation**

The term ‘participation’ or ‘community participation’ has been repeated ad nauseam by the World Bank and other multilateral donor agencies so that it has been reduced to a fetish. Few, however, go beyond the practice of ritual participation and a few have gone further to mediating participation. In the Klarendal experiment also, ‘participation’ was an important concept that was to be worked on. However, the understanding of term participation, as with the concept of integration, the term was understood in a specific manner. Participation in the case of communities at risk or communities facing exclusion, is intimately related to ‘empowerment’, meaning negotiated participation in decision making, participation in power to change. In this equation participation flows out of power, it mediates power and enhances it or else, particularly in the case of communities at risk, can be easily reduced to a ritual. It is easy for the mainstream community to mediate participation, it is the dominant praxis because it does not disturb the status quo. The powerful remain powerful, the powerless ‘participate’ but don’t share power. Excluded communities, precisely, exercise their power in rejecting ‘participation’ because they perceive that the only power they have is to say no. Exclusion thereby becomes both a self-fulfilling prophesy and a self defeating tactic. It is however a challenge for mainstream groups to negotiate power, which implies providing the space for the communities at risk to exercise their own power in their participation, which in turn changes the equations of power in the community and creates new spaces for participation in decision making. Participation and power in that sense are auto-reflexive, they turn on themselves affirming and asserting the other, thereby resulting in a qualitative development not only in participation but also in the exercise of power through participation. Just as power cannot be given, it has to be taken and experienced, so too participation cannot be permitted, it has to be asserted and acted upon. This matrix allows marginal, excluded or communities at risk to transform their power in negation into a power in affirmation, the basis of self-power.
On Self Respect

The restoration and re-affirmation of dignity in the lives of the poor and the marginalised was central to the examination of the human situation in Klarendal. It was clear that ‘social poverty’ as we termed it, though it can be called by any other term, resulted in deprivation, defeatism, dependence disempowerment and a consequent loss of dignity. We understood self respect as the result of an appreciation for and affirmation of a positive self image. The self image is a product of a variety of forces internal to the self and external. Internally it reflects the degree of self knowledge and recognition of ones strengths and weaknesses and acceptance of one’s entirety. Externally, the wider world, mainly the mainstream community, among other things, sets standards and expectations and judges the others according to those standards. It formulates the parameters for and the qualities of what it considers to be ‘great’, ‘good’, ‘beautiful’, ‘successful’ etc. The degree that the person internalises these standards, expectations and qualities and compares oneself to them as well as internalises the comparisons of one’s peers goes to make up a self image and shapes the extent of personal power. It is observed that self images determine behaviour. The deprived, defeated, dependent and disempowered almost always have a negative self image and as a consequence low self respect. The combination of loss of dignity that is a cumulative result of social poverty and the negative self image that is internalised and the low self respect essentially dis-empower the self as a ‘self determining’, ‘self-directing person’. In the Klarendal study we tried to build on ‘empowering the self, individually and collectively’ as the source of strength for change in one’s situation and circumstances.

Discussion on the impact of recommendations

We concluded, that so far the recommendations from the Third World experts has hardly any follow up. But does this mean the advisory report is a failure? Another possibility is to say that the report is ‘before its time’. To a large measure, the advisory report is speaking of power of the ordinary women and men in Klarendal. It is speaking of self power that comes from self respect which in turn follows from positive self images. It calls for space from the ‘mainstream’ so that the ‘socially poor’ can assert themselves, affirm their dignity and negotiate change. The report makes a departure from mediating integration to negotiating social integration, not at people at the fringes but an empowered community at the centre of decision making. It calls for empowered participation in the process of change.

In fact, the advisory report called for radical changes and was a radical shift from the regular views and activities in Arnhem. One might conclude that the ‘mainstream’ in Arnhem was not ready for it. In other words, the distance between the advisory report and the regular practice was too wide to establish good communication skills, of being open and hearing one another. It was not the distance of a little drummer girl walking some steps too far ahead of the brass band, because the entire perspective offered by the advisory report was rejected. It is a distance of a more complex and profound character, as if advisors and advised live in different ‘realities’, have different belief systems and different ‘rationalities’.

Learning from evaluation studies and advisory reports is a process of organisational learning. One condition for that type of learning to actually happen is, that the criteria for evaluation and the basic assumptions underlying policies link up. A second condition is the link up of organisational and social aspects, such as taking the evaluator seriously (for instance because of past performance) and being committed to react seriously to the outcomes of the evaluation. So the link up needs to be cognitive as well as social and organisational. A facilitating factor can be, when another actor, with a strong link to the advised organisation, reacts actively to the advisory report and urges the advised organisation to do likewise. For instance, when parliament urges national government or the city council urges the local government.
In the case of the Klarendal advisory report neither conditions were met, and neither was there another actor who urged the local decision makers to react. That is why the report was marginalised, one might even say it was almost excluded from official discussions. What we have learned from the experiment is that next time we ought to take the conditions for organisational learning into account and we will mobilise other actors to press for reactions. We will involve key persons from the ‘dominant mainstream’ in the process from the start, and will keep closer contact with key persons from the ‘dominated excluded’ in the Working Group.

Reference