



European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

The Case Study on Housing in Breda

The Netherlands



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Foreword

This report is part of the Eurofound project “Cities for Local Integration Policy” (CLIP), which started in 2006. Breda is one of the 20 European cities that are cooperating in exchanging information on their Integration Policies to start with on the terrain of housing and in the future on more terrains.

The project aims at collecting and analysing innovative policies and their successful implementation at the local level, supporting the exchange of experience between cities and encouraging a learning process within the network of cities, addressing the role of social partners, NGO’s, companies and voluntary associations in supporting successful integration policies, providing objective assessment of current practice and initiatives and discussing their transferability, communicating good practices to other cities in Europe and developing guidelines to help cities to cope more effectively with the challenge of integrating migrants, supporting the further development of a European integration policy by communicating the policy relevant experiences and outputs of the network to: European organisations of cities and local regional authorities, the European and national organisations of social partners, the Council of Europe and the various institutions of the European Union.

The CLIP network is also a cooperation between cities and research institutes. Five research institutes in Bamberg, Amsterdam, Vienna, Liege and Oxford are taking care of the publications of the CLIP project. The researchers of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) of the University of Amsterdam are responsible for this report on Breda. Together with the contact person of the municipal of Breda, Ria Bolink, the Diversity Manager, an enormous effort has been undertaken to find all necessary data on Breda for this report. Many officials and other parties that are involved with integration policy, housing policy, the statistical service and specific projects areas have been interviewed, as the list at the end of the report shows. They have provided us with reports, statistics and comments on the concept version of this report. Secondly representatives of a housing association, the provincial minority support organ, the Moluccan community and a representative of a more or less independent employment bureau have helped us. I want to thank all those who have cooperated in giving information and particularly Ria Bolink for coordinating the search of data. The author is completely responsible for the content of this report and the copyright of the report remains with Eurofound.

Anja van Heelsum

4 July 2007, Amsterdam

1. Background information on the country

1.1 History of migration and composition of migrant populations

The Netherlands was an immigration country in the 17th and 18th century, it was at that time a centre of trade and shipping and tolerant to religious refugees. The percentage of immigrants was around 10% diminished to a much lower level in the first half of the 20th century (Lucassen & Penninx, 2000). After the Second World War emigration was dominant, new farmlands were discovered in the United States, Canada and Australia. As table 1 shows, a negative trend (more emigration) in the fifties turned into a positive trend (more immigration) in the sixties.

Table 1 The Netherlands: estimates of the net number of migrants, by five-year intervals, 1950 to 2000 (in thousands)

Country	1950– 1955	1955– 1960	1960– 1965	1965– 1970	1970– 1975	1975– 1980	1980– 1985	1985– 1990	1990– 1995	1995– 2000
Netherlands	-123	-31	36	55	152	168	55	151	190	161

Source: MPI, calculated from United Nations Population Division (2001) *World Population Prospects: The 2000 Revision*. (POP/DB/WPP/Rev) 2000/1/F10.

The few immigrants that arrived in the period 1945–1960 came from the former colonies Surinam and Indonesia: Surinamese elite send their children to study and Indonesians with one Dutch parent could remain Dutch after the independence of Indonesia in 1949 and the former Indonesian army officials from the Moluccan islands that had fought in the Dutch army in Indonesia had to be resettled in the Netherlands because they were not safe in Indonesia. Around 1960 the immigration became more numerous. The first large influx was a result of the regulations around the independence of Surinam (in 1975). While the independence was meant to stop immigration, citizens of this former colony had the right to choose between Surinamese and Dutch nationality for five years and half of the inhabitants of Surinam decided to move to the Netherlands. A second large flow of immigrants was caused by the booming economy and the need for cheap labour from the sixties onwards. So-called guest workers were recruited by factory and shipyard owners, first in Southern Europe, later in Turkey and Morocco. After a period that this seemed temporary, their immigration became permanent. According to new legislation wives and children were permitted to join the head of the family. During the period that the European Union was further institutionalised, neighbouring countries, in particular Germany, also added to the number of immigrants. In the eighties the economy went down and the first measures were taken to stop immigration. A considerable refugee population was growing in that period, at first from the then east European communist countries but in the last decades mainly from third world war areas in the world: Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Somalia and other countries. Since 2000 the number of Chinese and Polish immigrants is increasing considerably. The number of Poles is expected to grow fast from 2007 onwards.

The percentage of people with a foreign nationality is stably around 4.3% since 1997. The number of naturalisations has been going up from 12 800 in 1990 to 82 700 in 1996 and down to 45 300 in 2002 according to the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics.

Table 2 shows the largest ethnic groups in the three categories described above, on January 1st 2006. On January 1st the total Dutch population was 16 334 210, of which 13 186 595 (81%) were considered as autochthonous Dutch (note that anybody with one or two parents born abroad is not considered autochthonous).

Table 2 Largest immigrant groups to the Netherlands based on country of origin and country of origin of parents, Jan 1st, 2006

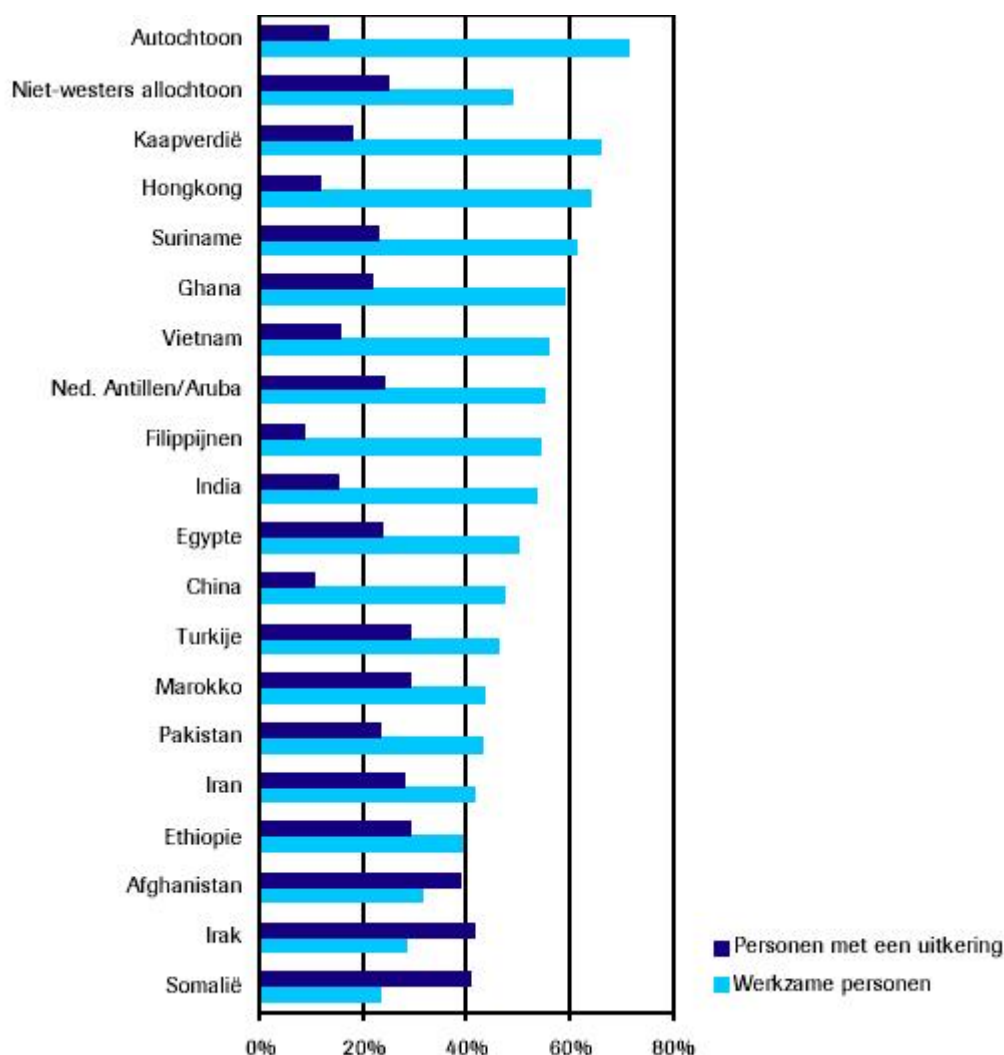
	Total	1st generation	2nd generation
<i>Western countries</i>			
Germany	383 941	101 718	282 223
Belgium	112 222	35 887	76 335
UK	76 270	43 755	32 515
<i>Non-Western countries</i>			
Indonesia	393 175	128 823	264 352
Turkey	364 608	195 947	169 661
Surinam	331 953	187 630	144 323
Morocco	323 272	168 566	154 706
Dutch Antilles	129 730	79 944	49 926
Former Yugoslavia	76 382	53 612	22 720
Former Soviet Union	46 058	35 343	10 720
China	45 568	32 332	13 530
Poland	45 568	29 731	15 833
<i>Refugees</i>			
Iraq	43 778	35 268	8 510
Iran	28 781	23 638	5143
Afghanistan	37 307	32 049	5258
Somalia	19 875	13 667	6 208

Source: Statline (Central Bureau for Statistics)

As table 2 shows, the older immigrant groups consist already of a large second generation. Within these groups the male/female ratio is around 50%. The refugee populations consist for a larger degree of men (for instance Iraqi 58% men, Iranians 53% men). The relatively new immigrant groups, Poles and Soviet citizens consist of a larger percentage of women (both 60 % women). The distribution in age groups also depends on the time of arrival. Among Indonesians an aging population is more and more visible. The first arrived Turkish and Moroccan guest workers are now in their sixties and seventies. Among the new immigrant groups we don't see many elderly. In general the first generation non-western immigrant groups have larger families than the autochthonous and western immigrants.

The socioeconomic status of immigrants from the neighbouring countries is either similar to the level of the Dutch or better. The socioeconomic standard of non-western immigrant groups is generally poorer than the Dutch level. This is particularly true for the former guest workers from Morocco and Turkey and for refugees. This general remark is not true for every particular ethnic group. Figure 1 shows the percentage of people working and/or on welfare per ethnic group. Welfare includes social security benefit, unemployment benefit, and health benefit or disability allowance.

Figure 1 Percentage of persons with work and/or welfare in 2004 (15–65 year old)

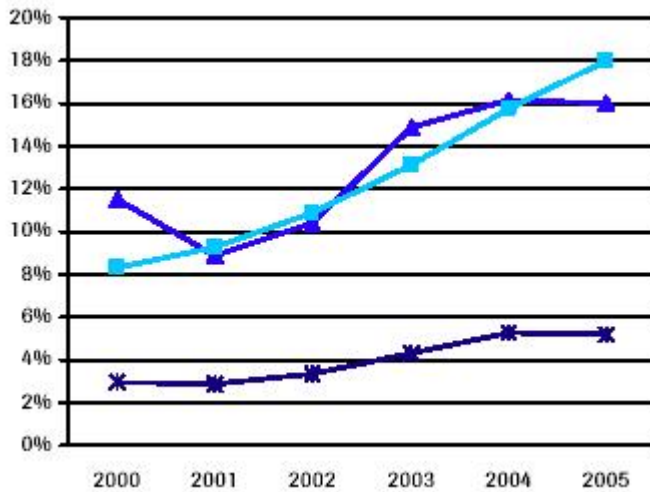


source: WODC, Integratiekaart 2006, p.26 (made from information by SSB)

As figure 1 shows, the percentage of working people is among all ethnic groups larger than the percentage of people on welfare, except for Afghani, Iraqi and Somali refugees. The highest percentages of working people and the lowest percentages of people on welfare are found among Dutch, and people from Hong Kong, the The Philippines and China. Though the three refugee groups from Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia are the most problematic group, not all refugee groups have a larger proportion of people on welfare than working: this is not true for Vietnamese (who arrived relatively earlier) and Iranians. The four largest non western immigrant groups, Suriname, Turks, Moroccans and Antilleans have relatively more often the net very low social security benefit while the Dutch have more often the net higher unemployment benefit. The Turkish groups counts more people with a disability allowance than on social security benefit.

As figure 2 shows the unemployment of Dutch is considerably lower than that of non-western immigrants and their children. Alarmingly this does not improve for the second generation, though we have to take into account that not all ethnic groups have a second generation.

Figure 2 Unemployment: Dutch and first and second generation non westerners in % (2000 –2005)



▲ non western immigrants first generation * Dutch ■ non western immigrants second generation

source: WODC, Integratiekaart 2006

1.2 General national integration policy

Rijkschroef, Duyvendak & Pels (1993) divide the national policies concerning immigrant in three phases. The first phase in the seventies was a categorical policy focussing at specific fields. There were special provisions for Moluccan ex-soldiers. We'll show later Moluccan neighbourhoods still have certain privileges. The Surinamese, who were not expected in such large numbers, were ad hoc supported by welfare associations, paid by several municipals. In the 'Nota Buitenlandse Werknemers' (1970) guest workers were stimulated to stick to their identity and culture of origin, not to have difficulties on return. Due to the assumption of temporariness, no attempts were made to provide courses with Dutch language and information on the society. A long-term consequence is that the language proficiency of these low educated men is often limited up to this moment.

The second phase starts with a WRR publication of 1989, which leads to the first policy document called 'Minority Policy' (Minderhedennota 1983). The Dutch government realised that the stay of guest workers was not temporary anymore and the thinking about immigrants shifted to more worry and concern. This policy was directed at stopping a trend that immigrants were acquiring a permanent disadvantaged social position and measures were taken on the terrain of education and labour market. Integration was considered a two-sided process, and respect for the cultures of immigrants was important in this policy document. There was a positive attitude towards the rights of religious groups, for instance on establishing mosques and Hindu temples.

Rijkschroef e.a. (2003) call the third phase 'integration policy', starting in 1989 with the WRR document 'Allochtonenbeleid' (Policy towards Allochthonous). Documents like 'Contourennota Integratiebeleid Etnische Minderheden' (1994) (Integration Policy Ethnic Minorities), 'Investeren en Integreren' (1994) (Invest and Integrate), 'Kansen krijgen, kansen pakken' (1997-1998) (Getting chances, taking opportunities) show an urge to motivate and mobilise immigrants to learn the language, increase information and to adjust to Dutch culture. Professional courses became obligatory for newcomers.

The problems of the children of immigrants in the educational system become clearer and are now targeted.

A fourth phase started around 2001 because representatives of the right wing parties became minister of integration affairs, first Nawijn (LPF) and then Verdonk (VVD). Both were known for anti-immigrant standpoints. Many proposals to limit the rights of foreigners to level below the rights of Dutch were discussed in the second chamber, but implementation was not always realistic because the inequality of law was too serious. The debate in the media became harsh and unfriendly to immigrants, and many of them felt very uncomfortable. This period lasted until the elections of 2006.

In this period the immigration laws became more restrictive. For instance non-EU future partners of Dutch citizens have to pass an exam on Dutch language and culture, before they can come to the Netherlands. When they pass this exam and arrive in the Netherlands, they have to continue to study up to a certain level, and pass an exam again to get a permit for unlimited stay or Dutch nationality. Fees have to be paid when the person doesn't pass the exam.

2 Background information on the city and its integration policy

2.1 General structural data of the city

Breda is a medium size city with a population of 169.883 inhabitants (per 1 January 2006, O&I Breda). It acquired the official status of a town (town rights) in 1252 around the castle of Breda. In the 14th century it was surrounded with a defence wall and canals.

1) Historically it is an army town. There are several institutes for middle and higher education in the army and even a small, but unique in the country, military university (since 1828 in the castle). These institutions are the result of connection with the royal family for over 750 years. Many historical buildings, in the centre of town (castle, cathedral, harbour, gardens) and outside the town (country houses, hunting grounds with facilities) also result from the royal connection. These buildings have become tourist attractions.

Breda's city centre is compact, the surface is well used and the density of building is quite high. From the 1950's onwards the city expanded its borders, large new housing areas were built and several villages and industrial areas were incorporated. Also in the last ten years new neighborhoods have been added. The villages have kept their special village culture and character. The housing projects from the 50's now need improvement. The map of Breda outside the city walls looks like a patchwork of industrial areas, housing areas and green village areas.

2) Breda has always been a centre of trade. Because of the central position in the province Brabant, on the crossroads from north to south, and right in between the big harbours of Rotterdam and Antwerp (Belgium), Breda is an ideal place for establishing the main offices of international companies. There has been some industry, like textile, chemicals, chocolate, beer and fruit products (juices, canned fruit, soft drinks), but almost all of them have closed their gates. There is and were no big factories, attracting low-skilled workers. This is the reason that Breda only hosts 10% non-western inhabitants. Breda is currently trying to present itself as a modern service-, high tech and culture based city. The high tech- and creative technical industry is leaping forward and Breda would like to address itself as "game-valley". Recently a "gaming-academy" was opened, to train future game-designers. Next to this Breda aims at logistic services, knowledge industry and hospitality.

3) In the field of culture Breda has one of the biggest theatres in the region, which attracts people from a large distance. The cultural climate is a bit conservative, although this is changing slowly in the last years. Experimental forms of art and theatre are not often found in Breda, in contrast to Tilburg, which is about 35 kilometers. Breda doesn't have a university, possibly this explains the conservative, somewhat "bourgeois" culture. Breda is a middle class town. Statistical research shows that Breda is often the perfect average in the Netherlands.

4) Breda has a central function in the region of Western Brabant, in terms of shopping, social services, hospitals and cultural facilities. Breda has a fast train connection with Rotterdam and Antwerp, the new High Speed Line (HSL) will pass through Breda. When the HSL is finished it will give Breda excellent connections to Antwerp, Brussels, Paris and Barcelona.

5) Breda is the first city after crossing the main rivers that divide the North and the South of the Netherlands. The South is supposed to be more easy going, which is related to Catholicism and a more 'Burgundian' lifestyle. This means people like to enjoy good meals, drink and like to party. This in contrast to the Calvinist culture that rules the north. Breda is known for its bars and of course the carnival.

2.2 Inter-city cooperation

On the European level Breda participates in this CLIP project. On national level Breda is also part of the G27 (27 largest cities of the country), this means they received extra money for specific large city problems. In the province of Brabant the five biggest cities (B5) structurally cooperate: Tilburg, Eindhoven, s'Hertogenbosch, Breda and Helmond. Breda is the only city in the western part of the province. The B5 work together in several fields under the name "Brabant-City" in order to form a partner of the mayor cities in Europe. Since the province has a long border with Belgium, Euregional projects are being developed.

Breda participates in the PaVEM group, to stimulate women from ethnic minority groups to participate in all fields of society. It is one of the five municipalities that take part in a pilot, where a new toolkit for women is tested. In 2003 a committee of former politicians and successful migrant women was formed, among which the crown prince's Argentinean wife, princess Máxima. This PaVEM committee (Participation of Women from Ethnic Minorities), challenged cities to promote the rights and possibilities of migrant women. It signed contracts with 30 cities, that all promised extra efforts to improve the position of migrant women, the so-called P(articipation) Agenda. When the committee was dismantled after two years, they left a testament of their achievements to several organisations, which had to develop this further. Besides the many successes they had, it was an example of a positive approach, which got many followers as a protest against the rigid and the negative national policy.

The PAVEM participation has led to a considerable increase of research on and projects for immigrant women. A quick scan was held to find out more about the social situation of immigrant women and money was made available on the terrains language, employment, social dialogue and a women's network was established. This is summarised in the document "Dunya, een wereld te winnen" (2004). (Dunya means in many languages "world", the subtitle means "A world to win")

As a result from the successes that have been made towards women, the city council decided to increase the structural budget on integration and diversity policy with € 200.000 per year.

Breda is also one of the six cities that is experimenting with voluntary work for migrant women as a step stone to paid work. This project is initiated by the Ministry of Social Affairs and is called '1001 forces'.

2.3 Municipal migration and integration – history and policy

A specific situation in Breda compared to most other Dutch cities, is that Breda has a Moluccan neighbourhood. In 1951 the former soldiers of the Dutch army in Indonesia KNIL were demobilised in camps in the Netherlands. The national government asked several cities to build neighbourhoods for these Moluccans, since they wanted to stay together and thought that they would one day get the chance to move back to the independent republic Moluccu Selatan on the Moluccan islands. Breda has build 93 houses for this specific group between 1963–1966, and another 15 in 1982. Currently 130 Moluccan families live in a neighbourhood, that is called De Driesprong and that also has a Moluccan Evangelical Church and a community centre. The fact that the Moluccan community existed of ex-soldiers (and their wives and children) made them feel at ease in a town with a military tradition like Breda. Because of the military academy in Breda it was one of the few places they knew in the Netherlands. Moluccans refuse up to now the Dutch nationality and have remained stateless. The Moluccan community signed an agreement with the local authorities to ensure that their culture and way of life is respected within the background of the special historic circumstances. Breda is one of the 70 municipalities that have a Moluccan area.

The second considerable immigration was of Surinamese, Antilleans, Turks and Moroccans. Of course Turks and Moroccans came for work, or were selected by the numerous agencies that 'imported' labour force", Breda is a so called "Antillean city" because more than 1% of the population comes from the Antilles (Dutch Caribbean)

The immigration by refugees in the last ten years is a consequence of the national policy. When asylum seekers receive their refugee status, their names are forwarded to municipalities everywhere in the country, that are obliged to provide them with suitable housing outside the normal waiting lists.

On Jan 1st, 2006 about 10% of the population of Breda consists on non-western immigrants (this includes the second generation with at least one parent of immigrant origin), while another 10% is of western origin.

Table 3 Composition of the population Breda in ethnic groups, per Jan 1st, 2006

	Number	Percentage
Dutch	135 509	79.8
Turks	2 816	1.7
Moroccans	4 941	2.9
Surinamese	2 015	1.2
Antilleans	2 008	1.2
Refugees	290	0.2
Others, incl. western immigrants and Moluccans	22 304	13.1
Total	169 883	100

The gender division of the ethnic groups in table 3 is in nearly in all cases 50/50, except among the Dutch and among 'others' where we find more women among whom East European and South Americans.

The age structure of the bigger migrant groups is very different from the average in Breda. Especially Turks and Moroccans have high percentages of young people, for instance: Turkey: 62% younger than 29 years, 33% is younger than 14 years. This is almost the same among Moroccans. Among Surinamese 27% is between 10 and 27 years old. Half of the population that come from the Antilles is between 9 and 29 years.

Among the Surinamese and Antilleans 30% lives in a one-parent-family, very often with only the mother, only 17% live in a two-parent-family. Of the Turks and Moroccans over 50% live in a complete family with father and mother.

The socio economic position of Surinamese, Turks, Moroccans, Antilleans and refugees is in general not very good. Most of the migrants have a low income, so they depend on social housing. They are also more often unemployed. Compared to the percentage of the total population, they are 1.4 to 2.8 times more often unemployed. Considering the fact that a lot of migrant women are not working, this rate is even higher.

The unemployment among people over 40 years old is very high, compared with the Dutch. This group is very often unemployed or on disability benefit or for a longer period and has limited chances to ever find work again.

The information on the Moluccan group comes from a different source. When the Moluccan neighbourhood is rank ordered in a list of all Breda's neighbourhood, it ends up in the 23rd position, while the neighbourhood where most Moroccans live ends up somewhere in the top of the list. This shows that the position of Moluccans have relatively improved in the last 20 years.

Figure 3 a Unemployment of Dutch, Antilleans, Surinamese, Turks and Moroccans on Jan 1st 2004.

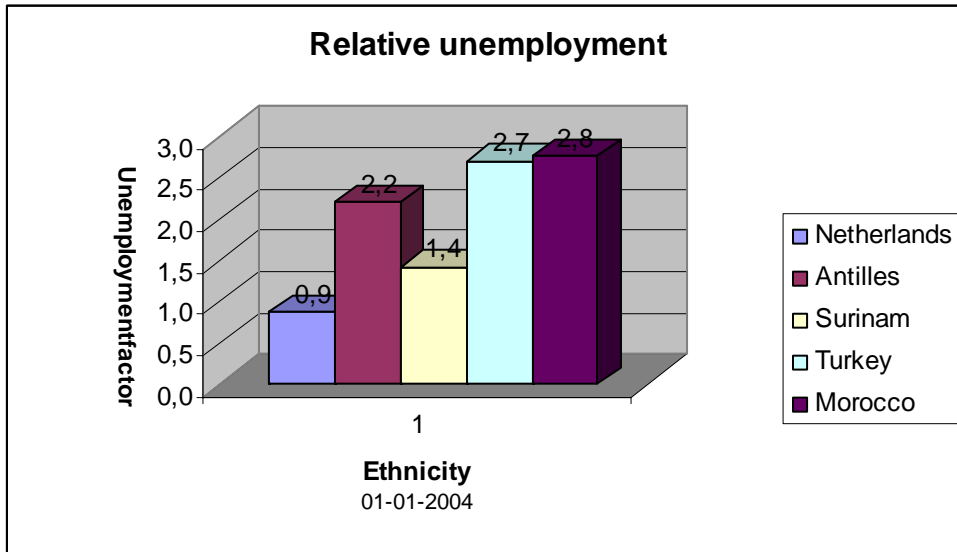
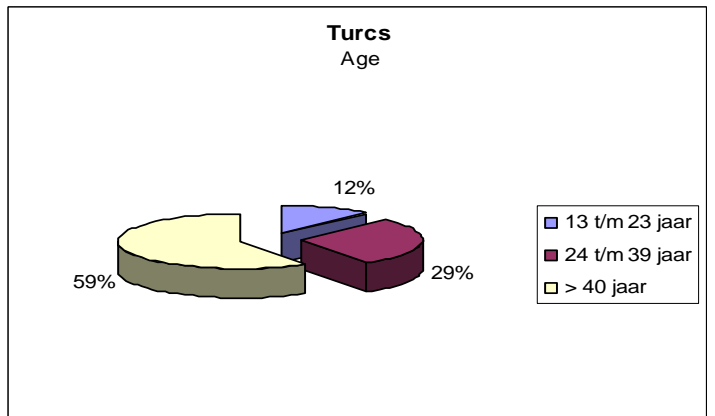
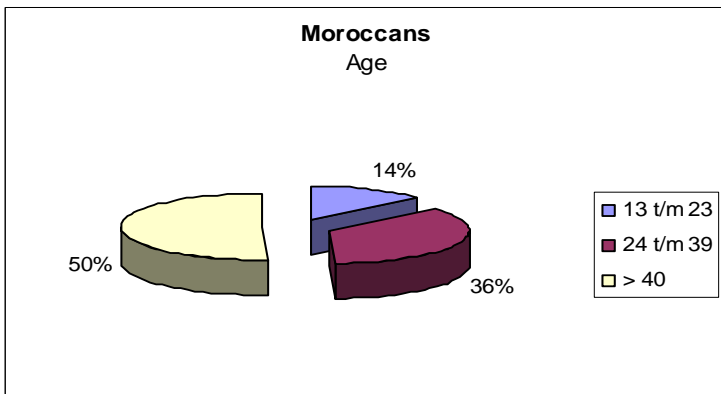
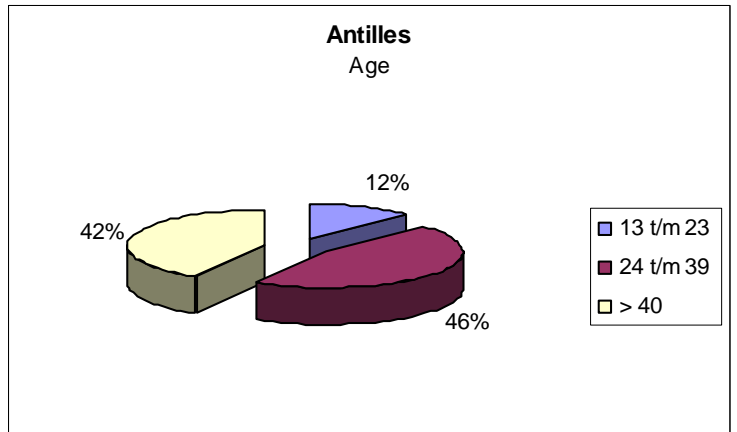
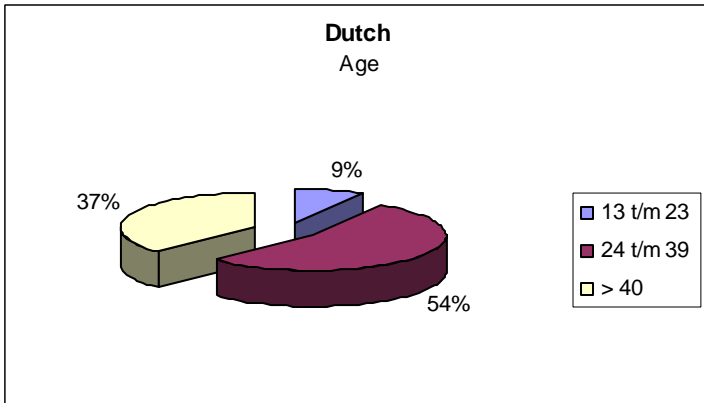


Figure 3 b-e Unemployment of Dutch, Antilleans, Surinamese, Turks and Moroccans on Jan 1st 2004, in age groups.



The current integration policy of Breda is described in the latest policy document 'Integratie Agenda 2005–2006'. This policy document was based on the earlier 'Monitor 2004' with research data on the ethnic groups in Breda and an overview of the existing projects and possibilities.

As the author of the documents explains, the policy is based on three principles: the equal value of cultures, equal chances and opportunities of immigrants and Dutch and reciprocity between them. Though it uses the definition of integration from a national document (Commissie Blok), it is fully based on the concepts and thinking of a diversity policy.

Both the monitor and the policy document consists of four main chapters, namely 1) housing (note that the word 'wonen' in Dutch means both housing and living, so this includes neighbourhood work and safety) 2) working 3) care, subdivided in education, well-being, health and 4) culture (performing arts). Subjects like political participation, migrant associations or religious services for migrants are integrated in the document. After this, we find a chapter that states that the implementation of the policy will concentrate on the areas that are subject of restructuring and that have high concentration of immigrants. Because of the combination of problems in these areas like bad quality houses, unsafety, unemployment and school dropout, a goal should be to offer coherent services on neighbourhood level. A direct consequence of the diversity thinking is, that the next chapter is devoted to interculturalisation of the services, and firstly the local administration. This includes the proposal to set targets on the number of immigrant staff and a project on developing intercultural competence among the employees. The last chapter of communication focuses also on intercultural competences, besides it aims to gain public support of the policy.

All chapters have lists of projects that are either implemented or wanted in the future, with their goal, the responsible department and partners and the source and amount of funds. Not surprisingly, the largest list of projects and allocated funds are found under 'care' and well-being.

A separate document, named 'Dunya' has been written in 2004 on immigrant women, because of the involvement in the PaVEM committee. It contains a quick scan with demographic and socio-economic information, the so-called Participation agenda, and a list of planned projects with possible financial sources. The Dunya approach focuses very much on language and work. It provides language lessons at home for women that cannot get out of the house, it tries to attract more women for the usual language programmes through schools and nurseries, and it provides a follow-up language courses if language proficiency after the first course is too low for labour participation (so called Taal-plus). The work programme in Breda includes: coaching 10 higher educated women to find work, lead at least 8 women to volunteer work, recruit 50 work placements by organising an employer breakfast, furnish an information centre with access for women to computers.

Another tool, which was introduced by the PaVEM committee, was the local "P-team" (P. for Participation). This is a group of 10–15 women with different cultural backgrounds, who advises the local authorities and organisations on cultural diversity and integration policy. Breda was the first to have such a P-team.

The three main and underlying theoretical concepts of the city's migrant integration policies are : equality of cultures, equal rights and possibilities, reciprocity. Concepts and thinking of a diversity policy are dominant. There policy seems politically left oriented, which shows in the choice of the main subjects. The city council and mayor and aldermen try to counter- balance the negative imaging in the national policy, even when representatives of their own political party proclaim it. The criterion for success is usually the participation rate in the different fields.

In Breda the national integration policy is contested. The last two governments have concentrated on restrictions on immigration and compulsion on the terrain of language and integration. The negative image on Muslims and the blunt statements of Dutch politicians in the media caused a very negative climate. Islam and the visible expressions of this religion were arduously discussed. A growing

resistance among Dutch towards immigrants and a growing resistance among immigrants against this policy lead to an increasing gap between them. In some cases immigrants withdrew in their own group, in extreme cases to fundamentalist Islam.

Breda has always proclaimed a positive policy. Its credo is: Breda is a city where everyone feels safe, welcome and respected. An approach of offering opportunities, facilitating dialogue and including immigrants in policy making, labour market and politics. In some cases the city ignored the national policy. According the official working on diversity policy working under these circumstances is not easy. The diversity policy on local level has to swim against the tide of national negative imaging.

3. Housing situation of the city

3.1 Housing stock and housing market in general

Breda has a total of 73,956 houses, of which 48,934 (66%) single-family dwellings, 14,279 (19%) apartments in maximum five floor dwellings, and 10,479 (14%) apartments in more than five floor dwellings.

The age of houses varies: the oldest section built before 1906 contains 5 % of the housing stock, 12% was built between 1906 and 1945, 30 % after the second world until 1970, 33 % was built between 1970–1990 and 1 % is built after 1990.

More than half of the housing stock (58%) is in the hands of private owners, who live in their own house. The city itself (grondbedrijf, the ground company) own only a very limited number of houses, 32% is owned by housing corporations and meant for social renting. The last segment exists of 5% owned by institutional investors and about 5% is rented out by private owners.

The allocation system for social housing has changed a few years ago from waiting list allocation trough a bureau for all housing corporations, into a system on Internet with options. The availability depends on age, family size and income. Houses with the lowest rents (<520 euro) are reserved for people with incomes below 27,000 euro per year (single inhabitant 20,000). This group can also apply for a housing subsidy through the tax office. In the case of single-family houses the number of rooms is related to the size of the family (2 persons 3 rooms etc). The house hunters apply on a website (www.woningloketbreda.nl) where they also see the estimated waiting period. For unpopular areas the waiting period is two years, for popular areas more than five years. The one with the oldest registration is first invited to see the house. Immigrants usually first try to get a small flat in the less popular areas, and then register again to wait for a better house. On overcrowding no information is available.

Rental housing in the more luxurious sector (>615 euro is called the free sector in Breda), student rooms and housing for disabled and elderly can be found on the same website in a separate section. Usually there are also income rules for these houses. Another step upwards, is to buy a house. For the lower middle class there are subsidies to stimulate house owning.

The neighbourhoods that were built in the period between the Second World War and 1970 are in need of renovation. As we will see below, Breda chooses to upgrade and diversify these areas from uniform social housing areas into a mixture of social housing, more luxurious rentals and owned housing.

Breda has three urban renewal areas, where spatial, social and economic interventions take place in order to improve and restore the self-sustainability of the area and its inhabitants and its position on the housing market.

The first is one is 'Heuvel' (Hill), an area south of the centre built between 1946 and 1959 and mainly consists of porch houses with maximum five floors and single family houses. The total number of dwellings is approximately 3000. The urban renewal aims at improving the quality of the houses, revitalising two squares (one for shopping and one for social activities), to stimulate economic activity and improve the educational chances of children, but to maintain the spatial character of the neighbourhood. The process of restructuring is an open plan process, which means that during the whole process, developments are being judged by the inhabitants can be altered.

The second neighbourhood that is on the list for improvement is 'Noord-Oost' (North East), with approximately 9000 houses, was mainly built in the sixties. In the part 'Geeren Zuid' about 50% of the dwellings apartment in a flat with more than five floors, and 42% single-family house, in the part 'Geeren Noord', about 43% consists of apartments in flats with more than five floors, 18% lower flats and 41% single family houses. This is the neighbourhood with the largest percentage of Surinamese, Moroccans, Turks and Antilleans and other nationalities. Some streets in this neighbourhood have 80% or more immigrants, according to a representative of the housing corporation Singelveste. Inhabitants say that most Moroccans are member of or related (f.i. by marriage) of two large families that in some cases want to stay close to each other. About 1999 problems started with troublesome youngsters, dirt and feelings on unsafety. Due to the aging of the Dutch population a lack of suitable houses for elderly occurred. In the last 5 years there have been many improvements, so the view of the inhabitants about the neighbourhood is slowly improving

The third neighbourhood on the list of improvement is 'Driesprong' (Three-Forked Road), 300 houses. One part is inhabited by lower class Dutch and another section by the afore mentioned Moluccan community. The small one family houses were built in the sixties, hidden between the railways, an important connecting road and an industrial area. The condition of the houses is bad, particularly in the Dutch part. Also environmentally the area needs improvement, reducing noise and resettling industry. Social problems like unemployment, alcoholism and criminality occur in the Dutch part. Since this part of the neighbourhood is known for anti immigrant voting (90%), they have also managed to keep foreigners out. Surprisingly the relationship between the Dutch and Moluccans in the neighbourhood is rather good. Table 4 shows how different the three areas in terms of type of houses.

Table 4 Type of houses in the three reconstruction neighbourhoods

	Single family dwellings	Apartments in max 5 floor dwellings	Apartments in > 5 floor dwellings
Noord-Oost (Geren Zuid)	42	8	50
Heuvel	49	47	3
Driehoek	100	0	0
Total Breda	66	19	14

Traditionally the housing career of Dutch generally started with marriage in a single-family house. Unmarried sons and daughters remained with their parents. In the last decades the number of people who start as in student rooms has increased. Also the percentage of single households (nationally 34 %, in Breda 39 %) and single-parent households (nationally 6%) is increasing every year. This means a more diverse pattern is visible. Very generally the housing career from a room to an apartment, to a

rented single-family house to a self owned single-family house is the aspiration of many, both Dutch and immigrants. In practise more Dutch remain in an apartment and the incomes of the poorer immigrant groups are often too low to reach the phase of a self owned single-family house. Because of the aging population, there is a high demand of elderly flats and houses.

The fact that the housing career of Surinamese is now much more similar to the Dutch than the housing career of Turks and Moroccans, shows that this is a long-term process.

3.2 Housing situation of residents with migration background

Most immigrants live in the social housing sector. Surinamese are forming a middle class and have started buying houses.

The clearest example of a very high concentration of residents with migratory background in Breda is the Moluccan area. This is an exceptional historically developed situation in a small area. The fact that the socio-economic position of Moluccans has improved a lot in the last decades shows that living outside the Dutch quarters does not necessarily mean that other aspects of integration are halted.

Spatial concentration goes together with the concentration of social housing. In the areas of restructuring this is being changed by building a mix of social housing, medium price and more expensive (own property) housing.

3.3 Accessibility of the housing market system for migrants and minorities

Immigrants that register in the municipal of Breda, have the same rights as Dutch citizens have. This means that low-income groups have to cover a waiting period of about two years with relatives or in shared apartments. After that they enter into the social housing in the less wanted sector where waiting times are low. Immigrants with enough money can rent in the 'free sector' or buy a house.

There are two exceptions: accepted refugees on the moment that they receive their permit are assigned a house outside the waiting list, and secondly children of the Moluccans in the Moluccan neighbourhood can get a house in that neighbourhood when one is empty.

The computerized system of housing allocation in Breda avoids structural discrimination. But in neighbourhoods like Driesprong, Dutch have managed to keep Turkish and Moroccan immigrants out by harassment. The examples of immigrants that were kicked out by pestering from the other neighbourhoods are very few. Housing corporations and police don't accept this.

4. Institutional setting and relevant actors

The relevant departments of the municipal of Breda that deal with housing are: 'outside space', 'town development' and 'social affairs'. The official responsible for integration is part of the social affairs staff, but operates between and through all departments. Though this is a difficult position the official has enough room for manoeuvring, since she knows the bureaucracy very well and gets easily access

to other departments. Beside that, the policy she carries out, is officially determined by the city council, so she can always fall back on that.

When city development or restructuring plans for neighbourhoods are made, the departments have to cooperate both internally and externally. Meetings are arranged with all concerned bodies, for brainstorming on the problem and on the contributions of the partners towards a solution. February 2007 a meeting was arranged on a particular square in the Noord-Oost neighbourhood. The parties that were invited were: the officials on integration affairs, town development and outside space, a representative of the largest housing corporation in that neighbourhood, a representative of social affairs who works in that neighbourhood, and a representative of an independent institution that is supposed to link initiatives between partners.

A lot of the financial power is of course in the hands of the housing corporations and the city planners from the town development departments. Housing corporations have a considerable say in the restructuring plan of these neighbourhoods.

In the last decades housing companies have work with less government subsidies. More than in the past they need to acquire capital before they can start large-scale renovation projects. Consequently corporations sell the qualitatively better parts of their property to private owners to acquire capital to cover the cost of breaking and building in problem areas. Since diversification is considered a good method to improve a neighbourhood, this is also in Breda the practice. Diversification means that income groups are mixed, that social housing, luxury rentals and owner occupied property are built and also that the size of building and the apartment blocks are mixed for a physically less uniform neighbourhood. The assumption is that this leads to a livelier neighbourhood and that in general the social standard goes up.

In the Netherlands companies usually don't own houses anymore. When guest workers arrived in the 1960's there were houses that they could offer to employees, but the last company housing was to our information sold in the eighties. When guest workers arrived, some powerful companies could force the municipal authorities to help to find suitable housing, but this has been abolished soon after.

The only NGO that had some access to certain housing in the past was the Refugee Council (VluchtelingenWerk). Before the current distributions system was set up, accepted refugees could apply for a house through the refugee council. Housing corporations had a certain number available for refugees. But this was only the case in some cities. In Breda the municipality set up their own bureau to divide the available houses. This was combined with income (social security) and education.

5. Discourse, concepts and policy concerning housing

5.1 Vision, concepts and policy of administration and Local Council on the issue of housing, segregation and integration of migrants

The housing policy of Breda aims at improving the choice for all income groups and people in different stages of their lives, in the different districts of the city to choose a suitable house to their needs and wishes.. The housing stock should fit to thits. In the urban renewal areas, formerly with large

concentrations of social housing, Breda tries to bring more variety by upgrading rental homes, selling rental homes, building new homes with a high quality and in different price categories (rental as well as owner occupied). On the other hand Breda tries to built approximately 30% of the houses in newly to develop areas for lower income groups or starters. There is no special policy for ethnic groups within this. It will take a number of years to see the effects of this diversification policy and to draw conclusions on matters as segregation and integration.

The minister of integration in the 2003–2006 cabinet, Verdonk, argued in recent years that ethnic concentration does not contribute to a succesful integration. But the housing minister in that period made no exception in her policy for specific ethnic groups.

According to Breda renewal of the physical infrastructure should always go together with social development. A diverse housing stock doesn't solve social problems, it actually spreads the problem cases in a wider area. Access to good housing is seen as the basis for a stable life. And interventions on social matters will be the next step to solve the problems.

There are no huge differences between Breda's housing policy and the national policy, except for a disagreement on the Moluccan area with minister Verdonk in 2005. The minister visited Breda and expressed her dislike of the concentration of Moluccans. Breda explained the special position and countered her attempt to intervene. The national policy sets basic rules on pricing and quality. Compared to the rest of the Netherlands, Breda has a lot of owner occupied property.

Events like 9/11 and Van Gogh have not changed the housing policy in Breda, although the discussions in the neighbourhood have become fiercer. It has made clear that more effort has to be put on social matters and the contacts between groups of different cultural backgrounds. In 2006 this has lead to employ two "bonding directors" who have the task of bonding groups, individuals and local authorities and politics.

5.2 Public discourse on housing, segregation and integration of migrants

The attempts in Rotterdam to stop concentrations of immigrants in certain neighbourhoods, have led to requests from individuals and parties to try and implement this elsewhere. Within the public discourse the argument of the legal inequality that such measure have, is not very well understood.

The public discourse has been influenced by the anti-immigrant statements of politicians like Pym Fortune, Rita Verdun and Greet Wilders. In disadvantaged neighbourhoods, Dutch citizens have become more open in expressing their dislike of immigrants. We've heard statements of Dutch that were convinced that the problems in their neighbourhood had started with the 'foreigners'. Others stress that mischief of youngsters is not specific for foreigners or for this era, but that Dutch youngsters caused similar trouble in the fifties.

Many Dutch think that any concentration that exceeds 50% of immigrants has to be avoided. Representatives of the Dutch association of renters in Noord-Oost, asked the representative of the local government, during the fieldwork of this project, for measures to stop the concentration of Moroccans in their area. They accused the local authorities of lack of daringness and inflexibility to change the allocation system and not looking at the most obvious solution. They also accuse the housing corporations of pushing the immigrants into certain areas. They added that the Moroccans in their circle, themselves also prefer to live in mixed areas with mixed schools, where their children can

learn Dutch more easily: no mother likes it that her children are hanging around in groups. Of course the fact that many Moroccans have chosen houses in streets with other Moroccans shows that some of them prefer to live with their countrymen. It seems probable that newer immigrants prefer to have Moroccan neighbours, while they see the disadvantages later. Authorities reply that the system of housing allocation does not allow segregation policies.

Media

The Dutch media are interested to show the trouble of problematic neighbourhoods and not so much to worry about improving the image of these neighbourhoods. They consider it their duty to stimulate the discussion between ethnic groups and to show the problems in poor areas, especially in times of elections. Several broadcasting organisations had series about the Breda's neighbourhoods, sometimes displaying them in a rather hilarious way. This leads to a biased image and not seldom protests from the inhabitants against this negative image. Some inhabitants agree on the problems in their neighbourhood, but are proud at the same time and don't want to move elsewhere.

A much-discussed example in Breda is the discussion VPRO programme "Erop of eronder in Noord" ("on top or down under") on March 5, 2006, just before the municipal elections¹. First a small movie was presented in this programme, focussing on the degradation and criminality of the area and the role of immigrants. A small movie was followed by discussion between inhabitants and mainly white representatives of the local authorities, housing corporations, police and shopkeepers associations. Immigrants complained that they didn't get chances, Moroccan youngsters accused the police of hunting after them and not getting jobs, and the Dutch representatives accused the immigrants of being too passive. It showed good intentions from both sides, the daringness from both side to join a discussion, but also the difficulty to bridge the gap.

Because of this broadcast on the national TV around the elections, the fact that Breda Noord-Oost had certain problems became a known fact for everyone in the region. The neighbourhood group was more and more offended about the negative image and decided not to talk with journalist anymore, except when they promise not to focus on the negative aspects of the neighbourhood. We didn't come across attempts to focus on positive aspects of the media.

There are differences between left- and rightwing newspapers. The right wing papers tend to stress the connection between crime and immigration. The left wing media are very aware of social problems. The local newspapers in Breda are rather neutral, according to our contact person and some articles we saw on Noord Oost.

Migrant organisations and other NGOs

We didn't manage to talk to Turkish or Moroccan representatives. In the Moluccan community the conviction is strong that the separate neighbourhood for Moluccans has worked out in a very positive manner. After their arrival, the Dutch government had promised them to support their return, and to support the independent republic of the Moluccan islands. When this never came about, Moluccans felt

¹ <http://www.vpro.nl>

cheated by the Dutch government and had problems to accept that they had to settle in the Netherlands.

Concerning their neighbourhood, they consider two points important: firstly that the Moluccans were most happy to have their place (their ground) in the city and felt more accepted because of that. This had an important meaning to them: they felt less like outcasts and the fact that they had the right to build their own church and to celebrate their cultural events in that neighbourhood was most important to feel accepted by the Dutch. They are allowed to have weddings in a tent on the main square, which could last the whole night without a permit. They feel that their separation from the rest of society has in the end, given them a more positive identity than they would have had if they had not lived separately. The successful socio-economic improvement of the Moluccans in Driesprong over the last 40 years is also partly attributed to the fact that they could feel peaceful about their Moluccanness at home. They understand that Muslim youngsters do not feel accepted, since their faith and culture is a constant subject of discussion on Dutch TV and in areas like Noord-Oost. Moluccans think that Turkish and Moroccan youngsters would do better in school and behave better in the street, if they felt that the Dutch would accept their religion and culture. If a beautiful mosque would become an attraction of the city, this would increase their pride and they would become more peaceful.

6. Interventions on housing and integration: measures and projects

6.1 Physical improvement of housing

The three neighbourhoods that are subject of large-scale physical improvement are also subject of improvement of open space, and social policy measures, since this is done as much as possible all together.

a) Noord-Oost.

Noord-Oost is the largest area of the three, as we said in paragraph 3.1. It consists of large flats and enormous boring areas with the same small red stoned single-family houses. Two third of the houses are owned by housing corporations and most are relatively cheap social sector houses. To reach the city centre one has to cross one of the most important transit roads of the city and the railway. The area has a shopping centre in the middle that consisting of shops from the usual Dutch chains, and only one toko with tropical products, owned by a Chinese shopkeeper. The rents in the shopping centre are too high for a Muslim butcher or a Turkish grocery. There are a few small shopping strips, but these are half or completely empty and decaying.



Both the quality of the houses/apartments and the social situation in the neighbourhood are a problem. The reconstruction is meant to improve the diversity on three terrains: appearance of the buildings (shape, colour, height), targeted inhabitants (both lower and middle class) and the type of house (apartment, maisonette, single family house, elderly house). Supply and demand in type of houses don't match: the high flats are less wanted by house hunters and there is a lack of houses for elderly. There is a lack of playing areas in the parks that surround the flats. The general furnishing of the neighbourhood needs improvement.

The development plan is using two issues as main themes: 'working together and liveability'. Three housing corporations and the municipal work together with an association that unites smaller renters associations and works in favour of better housing quality and neighbourhoods (Stichting Woonconsumenten Organisatie Breda). As much as possible the plan will be discussed with inhabitants and changed according to their wishes. The plan combines physical and social aspects. I will first treat the physical aspects.

According to the analysis of the problems in the development plan for this area, involvement of inhabitants with their neighbourhood has diminished in the last ten years, particularly in Geeren-Noord, where the unemployment is highest. In two flats (Wildestraat and Wensel Cobergherstraat) vandalism and drug use are a problem. Liveability is not yet a very big problem, but is expected to rise in the near future.



The developmental plan consists of four strategies that actually picture the neighbourhood in the future: city area, housing park, suburb and garden area. For Geeren Noord a 'housing park' is planned in the streets where the problematic flats stand now. That means it will exist of luxury apartments and town villas with collective gardens, service institutions, parking in buildings all in a park like surrounding that will be intensively maintained. The rest of Geren Noord will have the characteristics of a suburb. That means single-family houses with private gardens, with some architectural freedom for the owners and not many services. On the southern edge towards the shopping centre a strip will get the character of a 'city area with park elements'. This means that a combination of living and working is possible here, some shops, culture, horeca and services on the ground floor, and space for initiatives from the neighbourhood like ateliers.

For Geeren Zuid the plan mainly consists of garden area. This means that a mix of single-family houses and apartments will appear, pleasant for children, with small public gardens and without a lot of cars. Besides parents with children, also youngsters and elderly have a place. The edges of this area will have the character of a 'housing park' (luxury apartments and town villas with collective gardens, service institutions, parking in buildings)

b) Heuvel

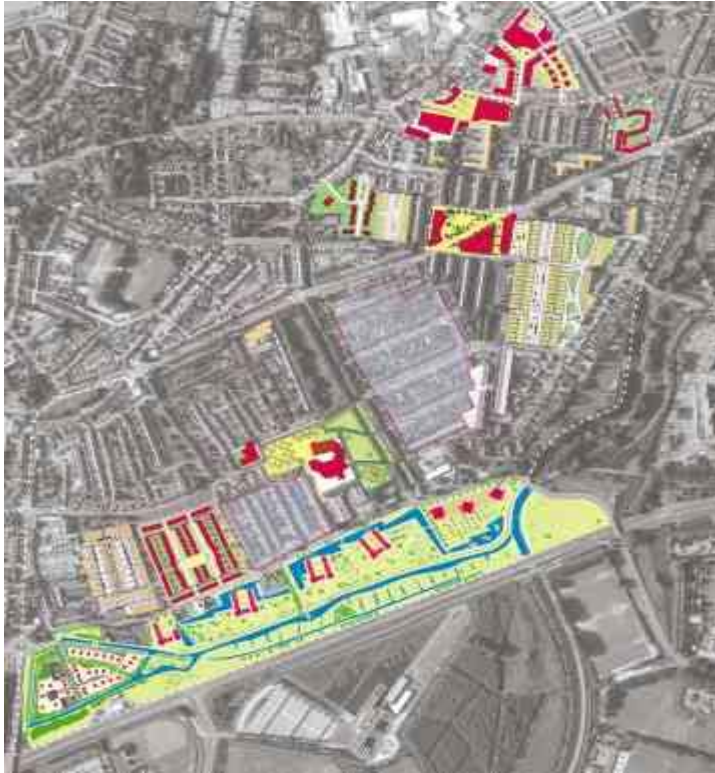
Heuvel is an older area, with a smaller surface and less empty space. It is less than 10 minutes on a bicycle to the city centre and well connected to the rest of the town. It is also easy to get to Breda's two main highways. Most of the inhabitants have a low educational level, which is also true for school leavers. The dominant porch houses are in urgent need of renovation, and two squares have lost their shopkeepers and look degenerated. Inhabitants live relatively long in this area, they like the attractive parks with huge old trees and the nearness to the centre, but in the last 10 years they have been complaining that the surrounding is becoming dirtier and less safe. The need for reconstruction became clear when harassment and criminality increased. Both physical and social aspects are part of the planned improvement.

The development document on Heuvel focuses on four issues: firstly the target is an integrated multicultural society with the necessary services for (language) education, services, shops, churches, mosques, etc. Secondly the area should be accessible to all kinds of inhabitants, also to richer renters, homeowners and new company owners. Thirdly improvement of the life of inhabitants themselves is a basis, both in homes and in work and education. Fourthly the involvement of inhabitants and other

parties in the area like shopkeepers and, social services is needed to implement all the changes that are needed. Important is that the character of the neighbourhood is preserved.



The map below shows which parts of the area will get attention. The green stripe in the bottom of the map – Talmazone – will be used to build a variety of medium expensive private property, both apartments and full houses with a garage, and expensive rentals. Also in several other streets, houses will be demolished (252 houses at Vierkantje, 85 in Heinsiusstraat, 206 houses in Hudsonstraat, 108 houses in Montessoristraat). The 655 new houses will be in the expensive and less expensive sector. Economic activity needs to be stimulated. On the one hand the area with the red triangles in the upper part of the map will be stimulated to have more small companies. And two main squares will get a more important function in the neighbourhood. The now rather empty Struyckenplein (red/yellow square at the right from the middle with a road straight through it) will get two high apartment buildings on the corners, a large supermarket and a library on the ground floor and an improved façade with attractive shops. The other empty square Mr. Nolensplein (small yellow left from the middle) is not meant for shops but for neighbourhood facilities. The old church will be rebuilt into a school with extra facilities ('Brede School'); the complex will house a nursery, a multifunctional space and several services.



A former park area will be used to build diverse more luxurious apartment blocks. Two squares will be improved, one will become a central shopping square; the other square will host an elaborated school ('Brede School') with neighbourhood services around it.

c) De Driesprong.

Driesprong consists from West to East of a Dutch part, a Moluccan part and the industrial part. A thorough investigation of the wishes of the people in the neighbourhood has taken place and scenarios are discussed to see which model they prefer.



As we showed in chapter 3, the state of the houses of the Dutch part is so bad that they have to be demolished completely. That the social problems in that part are also larger, adds to the conviction that such a concentration of problems should be avoided. Two streets of the Moluccan area that

became Moluccan after the rest are also in a desperate state and will be demolished. The houses of the Moluccan quarter are bigger and of better quality and will be renovated. The area has two neighbourhood centres, one for the Dutch and one for the Moluccans. Moluccans are eager to keep their church and neighbourhood centre. The industrial terrain now looks messy and is not completely used, the plan is to buy the left over companies out, find better locations for them and to dismantle it. This means that the three parts will become one mainly housing area, with some seven small units with in-house companies. Part of the new buildings will be several floors with a variety of housing types and part of it 'ground based' (unit with garden). A green strip will finish the most eastern part of the area.



6.2 Neighbourhood-based social policy measures and projects

As we already explained in 6.1 social policy measures are part of the same larger development plan as the physical policy measures. In the three neighbourhoods, the stress is slightly different.

a) Noord Oost

We will elaborate on four projects. Firstly the project 'Werk aan de Wijk (Working on the neighbourhood)'. The intention is to take care of all kinds of small improvements and repairs in the neighbourhood and to activate unemployed inhabitants to do socially desired work. The unemployed inhabitants are invited at the project office on the square of the shopping mall, and an individual plan is set up. Common problems of the unemployed in the Noord Oost are language proficiency, single motherhood, low education, problems with raising children, financial and health problems. According to the project leader there is a 'culture of welfare' among some groups. Immigrants took over this culture from lower class Dutch in the neighbourhood. Being on welfare is taken for granted, no efforts are made to get a job and sometimes illegal activities are considered the only way to survive. The office tries to identify a persons' problem and activate people to do something to improve their life. If the level of Dutch language is limited, which is often the case when people have only followed the obligatory courses, language training is offered. Breda offers the possibility for further training. When lack of childcare is stopping women from getting or keeping a job, an affordable solution is sought. If

lack of skills is the problem, a work placement is sought. On the other hand there is a lot of work to be done in the neighbourhood, for instance the maintenance of the parks and squares, concierges on large buildings and people who organise activities for the bored youngsters. The project leader showed how the project could help many parties. For instance, an elderly Dutch lady is known to have problems with shopping and repairs in her house. The project office looks for someone who can go there and help. In this case the elderly lady had always been negative on foreigners, but she likes the cheerful Antillean carpenter that did the repairs for her and her tone became more careful when talking about foreigners. Beside the direct usefulness to the two involved, the general effect is also considered important. The number of people that know each other in the neighbourhood increases, the feeling of responsibility and the social coherence increases. The number of inhabitants that is isolated and feels outcasts diminishes.

A second project that we see in both Noord Oost and Heuvel is the elaborated school with neighbourhood services ('Brede School'). At present there is a lot of unhappiness about the two schools in the area, particularly about the school with the highest percentage of immigrant kids. The two schools will merge and in the new building where many extra activities can take place, the music school will come to the same building, and an Internet cafe, a rock hall and more cultural activities for youngsters are planned here.

A third project is directed at care, adjusted to personal needs (Zorg op Maat (Tailor made care)). Because of the increasing number of elderly in the neighbourhood that prefer to live independently and not in an elderly institution, the request for services like house hold assistance, gardening assistance, ready made food delivery at home, and nursing assistance are increasing. In combination with the already described project on employment, existing care institutions and commercial partners (a large supermarket and a temporary employment agency) a service bureau with a larger variety of services at an affordable price will be developed.

b) Heuvel

In Heuvel the participation of the inhabitants is provoked, by asking them to present plans for the neighbourhood. The best plan is selected in a neighbourhood election that takes place on one of the squares and it is granted a subsidy of maximum 10,000 euro. This has been going on for some years and the result is that many plans have been implemented, for instance a teahouse organised by Turkish and Moroccan ladies that serves meals once a month for inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Among the immigrants, the women in Heuvel have turned to be the driving force in neighbourhood participation. A stable group has developed that is ready to talk and cooperate with housing corporations and local administration on the development of the neighbourhood. Since these women are in contact with less active Turkish and Moroccan ladies, the involvement is increasing too a wider circle.

Like in Noord Oost the elaborated school with neighbourhood services ('Brede School') is one of the aims of the social plan for Heuvel. In the whole area the percentage of special needs pupils", this is a category pupils that have either low-educated parents or parents that have been born abroad, is 60%, but on one of the schools it is even 95%. This is related to the low socio economic class and the educational level of the parents. One third of the inhabitants of Heuvel say they have problems to get by. Bad school results, low secondary school level and school dropouts are common. To break the cycle

of disadvantage, the preschool phase is considered the starting point and gets a lot of attention in this area.

c) Driesprong

The adjustments in Driesprong will lead to a new situation in which Driesprong is not a disadvantaged area anymore. The inhabitants will get support during the transfer. The level of services will increase and in a later phase a plan will be framed in discussion with the inhabitants on the required services.

6.3 Anti-segregation policy measures

The Netherlands has no quota on the maximum percentages of ethnic groups for the allocation of public housing. Some cities have tried to implement them in the past, like Rotterdam, but the court has never allowed this because of legal inequality. The most used method is indirect and positive: attracting the middle class into the district, not forbidding certain groups to settle in a district. In the three neighbourhoods that we studied above, bad houses were demolished and replaced by a mixture of expensive rentals, inhabitant owned and social housing.

There are also no specific arrangements for mortgages for migrants or specifically reserved building grounds for migrants. A side effect of the attractive mortgage conditions in one of the latest newly built areas (Westerpark), was that a considerable number of immigrant middle class members have moved there. There is a trend that in particular the Surinamese are developing a middle class that can afford to buy a house.

In several Dutch cities, discussion on building grounds can become heated when it concerns the building of a mosque. In the case of Breda there are three mosques, but there is currently no discussion on new mosque buildings.

Only Heuvel is near enough to the city centre, that the argument of attracting middle-class to the more central areas counts. Heuvel has a potential to attract young urban professionals, when the houses improve and neighbourhood becomes cleaner and safer. It is not probable that the middle class will move out from the green-belt periphery, but that social climbers from areas near Heuvel will remain there when their income goes up. The strategy to mix income groups and to build luxury apartments and houses will result in a larger proportion of higher educated young working singles and couples.

Intercultural housing projects

Breda is in a first phase of experimented with intercultural housing projects. A starting point for intercultural housing projects is to find out what immigrants want. So called 'housing ateliers' were organised in Noord Oost where women of different ethnic groups have talked about their specific wishes. This method has been developed and implemented by the national institute for multicultural development FORUM. Groups of 8 to 15 inhabitants from different ethnic groups in a neighbourhood meet in four to ten sessions. They talk about their ideal house and their ideal neighbourhood. These ideas are worked out with the help of an architect, and are presented during a mini-conference to all involved partners (housing corporations, city council, welfare organisations and NGO's in the neighbourhood). In the case of Breda Noord Oost the wishes of the immigrants were not very different from the wishes of Dutch. Dutch and Moroccans, Turks and Surinamese had the first criteria to choose

a house in common, for instance a spacious affordable house with enough bedrooms for the children in a clean and safe neighbourhood with shops and good schools. A few specific requests showed among the Muslims, like a separate kitchen with an entrance from the hall and a separate toilet.

The follow up will be to take up experiments with private mandate for housing of a multicultural group of future inhabitants. People will take responsibility for the complete design and building process and they are also the future inhabitants. According to their financial possibilities their house will be fitted in. So this can become a combination of (social) rent and private ownership in different prices.

6.4 Measures and projects for specific migrant groups

Breda is not an exception to the rest of the Netherlands. In the current setting there are no measures on the housing market for recent immigrants, except for asylum seekers, unaccompanied minor asylum seekers and accepted refugees. Asylum seekers anywhere in the Netherlands are centrally received and led to an asylum seeker camp, where they receive a bed in common rooms with usually four. When the asylum seeker is accepted as a refugee, his name is transferred to a municipal. In Breda an office within the department of Social Affairs is responsible for supervising refugees, in combination with the housing corporation they get a house. After that he is put in the standard integration programme for newcomers. For unaccompanied minor asylum seekers there are specific centres and follow up group housing with a supervisor from the Refugee Council.

The newly built care institute for elderly 'Raffy' is specifically designed for Indonesian and Moluccan elderly². Opposite Raffy, 30 houses are rented or sold to family members of the elderly in Raffy. Children can be near their parents and can take a part in their care. The elderly home itself is wonderfully decorated at the outside with tropical wooden panels, which are hand decorated with traditional Indonesian and Moluccan patterns.

To meet the special wishes of immigrants, a group with different cultural backgrounds from Noord Oost, is working with an architect on a plan for a sub-quarter. Together they will design a building. This will be realised in combination with social housing. The three social housing corporations work together and have employed a person to take care of the needs of special groups. This can be elderly, handicapped, but also immigrants. Because there is no special policy for immigrants, this work limits itself to the task of housing accepted refugees and special projects, like a coaching project for young Antilleans.

6.5 Measures supporting access to affordable and decent housing

As we have already explained, measures to support access to affordable and decent housing are based on socio-economic groups and not on ethnic groups. The only extra effort of the municipal is to provide information leaflets in other languages than Dutch. Since the housing system is completely

² Zie <http://www.raffyzorg.nl>

computerised, the neighbourhood centre also provides computers and computer assistance for people who don't know how to use the system.

6.6 Safety Measures

In neighbourhoods like Noord Oost and Heuvel police surveillance is more intense than in other areas. From the biannual research on living conditions and safety done by the municipal, it became clear that in the 'problematic' neighbourhoods, the feeling of safety is upto 10% less than in other parts of town. The police has no specific integration or diversity policy, although there is more attention for the skills that are required to work with a multicultural population. A measure in the last few years, is to extend the role of a specific neighbourhood police officer. This officers work is more preventive and social than it traditionally was. He spends a lot of time on the streets, often on a bicycle and has to have good contacts with inhabitants and organisations, both formal and informal. He knows 'his people' and they know him. He can give information, but also intervene in a more serious way if necessary.

Within the quarters, structural meetings take place between schools, police, municipality, social work, etc. In these meetings problems and possible solutions are discussed. In Noord Oost a so called 'safety director' has been established, who takes care of bringing partners together to improve the safety of the quarter. It seems that in general Breda is not different from other cities, concerning crime rate. In case of Antilleans, Breda has a lower rate than the average, in spite of having a large Antillean community

6.7 Financial incentives

The municipal, housing corporations and many others are always partners in restructuring of areas. The finances for innovative projects are usually shared.

6.8 Political round tables, expert committees

Breda has no official migrant advisory board. There are several groups that give advise on certain subject related to immigrants. There are frequent contacts with several associations and networks, and some networks are also financilly supported by the municipality. Frequent contact exists with: a) P(articipation) team, which provides policy advise on the topic of migrantwomen, b) Network Social Cohesion, which informs about multicultural problems in the city and takes initiative to solve small problems, c) Platform Migrant parents, which gives advise on matters of school and education from the perspective of diversity, d) Plataforma, which gives advise on the postion of Antilleans.

Breda has a system of neighbourhood councils. Only the council of the Moluccan area is chosen democratically. The other councils are self elected, but also try to make their voice heard in showing the problems of a neighbourhood and talking about solutions. When it comes to neighbourhood development, the local authorities try to work as much as possible with citizen participation groups. It is not always easy to compose these groups of representatives of all ethnic groups.

7. Highlights and Failures: Learning for CLIP

Breda is a medium size city with a large section of middle class citizens. The division between immigrant and non-immigrant neighbourhoods is very clear. In large parts of Breda there is not a single immigrant, except maybe from Belgium. Moluccans have their own 100% Moluccan neighbourhood. Most other immigrants in Breda live in a few unilateral lower class areas with mainly social housing areas like Heuvel and Noord Oost. The current policy is to diversify these neighbourhoods in terms of the appearance of the buildings (shape, colour, height), targeted inhabitants (both lower and middle class) and the type of house (apartment, maisonette, single family house, elderly house). An appearing middle class of Surinamese is moving out to the newest middle class neighbourhood

The specific situation of the Moluccan neighbourhood is something that is interesting for other CLIP members. Afterwards the Dutch government regrets that they have created these Moluccan areas. Though concentration is generally not very positively looked at in the rest of Europe either, unlike in US cities, this example shows that concentration can also become a mobilising source.

Though it happened everywhere in the Netherlands, building unilateral lower class areas with only social housing can be considered a failure with the current knowledge. The principle of diversification is now generally seen as a better option for future. Mixing of rentals and owner inhabited property, mixing of apartments/maisonettes and single-family housing and diversity of appearance add to a more interesting neighbourhood. Mixing the housing function with economic and cultural function could be added to this. Breda is focussing on the poor areas, because the problems have become clear there, but it might add to a complete approach to include also the many rich areas in the diversification approach. The example of Breda also shows that physical and social improvement should both be part of neighbourhood development plans has also become only clearer.

An advantage for Breda is that they could act early when the problems have not reached a level that is impossible to solve. The example of bigger cities that saw the same developments earlier made it possible to act timely. This can be considered a warning for other European cities with a specific social housing area and where the percentage of immigrants is still going up. Seeing the developments of Noord Oost in Breda, other cities could already start diversifying the housing stock before problems arise.

Interviews

Ria Bolink, Diversity manager Gemeente Breda (city representative)

Stan Sadee, Dienst Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling (Dept. Social Development), Gemeente Breda

Patricia Theuws, Stedelijke Vernieuwing, Ruimtelijke Ontwikkeling (Dept. City Planning, Gemeente Breda)

Nel de Bruin, projectmanager, Project- and Program management, Gemeente Breda

Gerard Hup, Projectleider Werk aan de Wijk in Noord Oost (Project coordinator of 'Work on the neighbourhood' Noord Oost)

Leo van Gerven, projectleider herstructurering Noord Oost (project coordinator restructuring Noord Oost)

Moniek van Winkel, Woningcorporatie Singelveste (representative of one of the housing corporations)

Crams Nikijuluw, contactpersoon Molukkers Palet Steunfunctie Noord Brabant (contactperson on Moluccans of the Provincial Organ to support immigrants)

Martin Voetman, Opbouwwerker Molukse wijk, Vertizontaal (social worker Moluccan area)

Twee vertegenwoordigers van de Bewonersvereniging 'Overleg Breda Noord' OBN (two representatives of the association of inhabitants in Noord)

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Gemeente Breda (2006) Visie Driesprong, scenario's en modellen voor herstructurering.

Useful links:

Eurofound <http://www.eurofound.eu>

IMES <http://www2.fmg.uva.nl/imes>

Municipal of Breda <http://www.breda.nl>