3 Urban policy and transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods in the Netherlands

ABSTRACT This paper reviews the relationship between immigrant integration and urban policies in the Netherlands in the period between the post-war until the 2010s. It shows how the gradual shift from a social democratic towards a liberal welfare regime since the 1980s has influenced urban policies, which in turn, have had a direct impact on the location and transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods. The review suggests that the outcomes of the urban transformation processes are detrimental for the social inclusion of the immigrant groups, which is the main objective of the integration policies.

3.1 Introduction

In the Netherlands, the relationship between immigrant integration and urban renewal processes has been a policy concern since the 1980s. This was the period after the legislation allowed guest workers' family reunification in 1974, which increased the demographic dynamics of Turkish and Moroccan immigrant groups. Since then, immigrant integration policy has aimed to include immigrants in Dutch society within socio-cultural, socio-economic and political domains (Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000).

The related policies consider that the residential concentration of disadvantaged groups, mainly immigrants, limits their inclusion into mainstream society, specifically within the socio-cultural sphere. Social mixing is considered as a policy tool to overcome this problem through the mixing of different socio-economic population groups at the neighbourhood level (van Beckhoven and van Kempen, 2003). Urban renewal policies have implemented social mixing by privatizing parts of the existing social housing stock, or by demolishing existing housing areas and replacing them with higher quality dwellings to attract better-off households (Kleinhans *et al*., 2000; Kruythoff, 2003).

This paper has two main questions. How has the relationship between immigrant integration and urban policies evolved in the changing political and economic context in the Netherlands? How have urban policies led to the transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods in Amsterdam? To answer these questions, the paper reviews immigrant integration and urban policies in the Netherlands, in the period between the post-war until the 2010s. It focuses on the changes in residential concentration of non-western immigrants in Amsterdam.

The following section presents the changing political and economic context in the Netherlands. The third section gives a brief historical account about immigration in the Netherlands and the emergence of immigrant neighbourhoods. The fourth section reviews the evolution of immigrant integration policy, while the following section does the same with urban policies (housing and urban renewal policies). The sixth section illustrates the situation in Amsterdam, in different periods between 1998 and 2018. The chapter concludes by answering the questions.

3.2 The changing political and economic context in the Netherlands

This section describes the political and economic context in which the spatial policies that influence neighbourhood transformation were conceived. Identifying the welfare regime of the country is a good way to understand the political and economic orientation and the main values underpinning policies and regulations. There are many variations of welfare regimes, which respond to countries' priorities in terms of social rights, social stratification, and arrangements between state, market, and family. Accordingly, welfare regimes can be categorized in three main types (Esping-Andersen, 1990): liberal, conservative and social-democratic, although no country is a 'pure' type, as they always have elements from other types. Figure 3.1 shows the main differences between these three types.

	LIBERAL	*CORPORATE*	*SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC*
SOCIAL RIGHTS	*Contains realm of social rights*	*Never contested - social classes*	*Universal*
SOCIAL STRAFICATION	*Blend of relative poverty and majorities*	*Class hierarchy*	*All strata*
STATE MARKET FAMILY	*Market differentiated welfare*	*Traditional family*	*Emancipation: market and family*

FIG. 3.1 Three main types of welfare regimes. (Source: Valeyeva, 2011:17)

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The Netherlands belongs to the social-democratic category, "in which the principles of universalism and de-commodification of social rights[3] were also extended to the new middle classes. We may call it the 'social democratic' regime-type, since, in these nations, social democracy was clearly the dominant force behind social reform" (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 27). During the 1950s, the Netherlands created one of the most generous welfare systems in Europe (Entzinger, 2006). Until the 1970s, the country enjoyed economic prosperity and growth.

During the 1970s, the post-war economic boom was followed by economic stagnation in Western Europe and North America, partly due to the Middle East oil embargo (UNDESA, 1979). Although in the early 1970s the Netherlands still enjoyed material prosperity thanks to the discovery and later exploitation of natural gas, the world crisis hit the country hard in the 1980s and unemployment grew to over 17 per cent in 1984 (see Figure 3.2), and economic growth remained close to zero during most of the 1980s (McMahon, 2000). In the context of the economic crisis, a clear turn towards a liberal welfare regime took place.

Helped by the gas revenues, the Netherlands still remained under a strong welfare tradition in the 1980s, and the proportion of public social expenditure was still higher than in any other country in Europe, with the exception of Sweden and Denmark (Entzinger, 2006). But since the mid-1980s, policy efforts were oriented towards increasing labour force participation, reducing social welfare benefits and reducing the size of the public sector (Crafts and Toniolo, 1996). Under the lead of Reagan and Thatcher, the western world adopted economic restructuring policies following a neoliberal agenda of decentralisation, deregulation, privatization, free trade, and reductions in the role of government in order to enhance the private sector in the economy (UNDESA, 1989).

3 Esping-Andersen considers de-commodification as the degree to which social services are provided as a matter of right, and the extent to which individuals can maintain a normal and socially acceptable standard of living without reliance on the market (Nadin and Stead, 2008). Pensions, sickness and unemployment rights are variables of his de-commodification index.

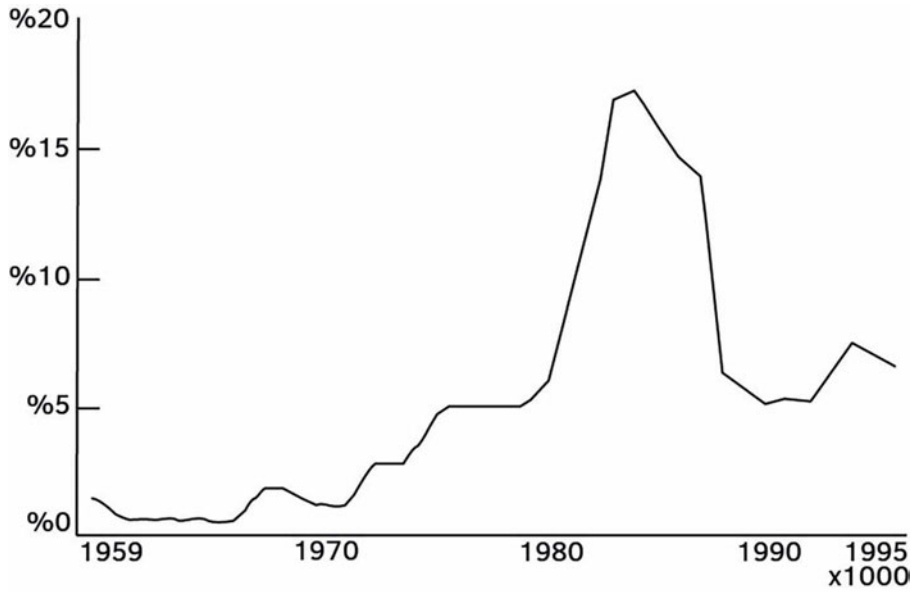

FIG. 3.2 Unemployment in the Netherlands 1959-1995 (Source: McMahon, 2000: p.105)

The early 1990s were marked by the collapse of the Iron Curtain, which opened up possibilities for competition between cities and regions defining a new global economy. Global competition further increased as the result of the wide diffusion of ICT, which liberated the flows of information from physical constraints (Wagenaar, 2011). The forces of economic globalization and global competition reinforced the neo-liberal turn even further. The decline of the welfare system became more evident during this decade, leading to a new concept of social protection emphasizing personal responsibility.

The early 2000s were marked by the September 11 terrorist attacks, which destabilized the global political and economic arena and led to geopolitical tensions. This was followed by another severe financial upheaval in 2008, triggered by a collapse in the housing market in the United States (UNDESA, 2009). Until the mid-2010s the global economy remained vulnerable, enhanced by geopolitical conflicts in various areas in the world. In the 2009-2013 recession period, unemployment doubled in the Netherlands. Since 2010, the Dutch government has implemented rigorous financial measures to improve the national budget, and institutional reforms in key policy areas, including labour market, the housing sector, the energy market and the pension system. In 2017, the government budget returned to pre-crisis levels (CIA, 2019).

3.3 Immigration and immigrant neighbourhoods in the Netherlands

During the large industrial expansion of the post-war reconstruction period, guest workers from Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal were invited to the Netherlands to compensate the lack of labour force. From the early 1960s, a trade recruitment agreement between the Netherlands, and Turkey and Morocco, brought new guest workers from these countries. Although they were initially considered temporal guest workers, in the 1980s they received a permanent status. Roma and Sinti migrant groups have also arrived intermittently to the Netherlands, as foreign workers from Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey in the post-war period. Although some groups of migrants returned to their home countries, this was not the case for the Turkish and Moroccan groups, whose population increased as a result of family reunification, marriage or asylum.

According to the Dutch Statistics Agency (CBS, 2015) there were approximately 3.6 million residents with a 'foreign' background in the Netherlands, representing 21% of the total Dutch population, which is approximately 16.9 million (CBS, 2015). CBS considers the first and second generation of migrants as 'foreign'. People with a foreign background are classified as western and non-western migrants. Non-western groups include migrants from Turkey, Morocco, Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, Suriname, and Asia, Latin America and Africa. Western migrants are not specifically mentioned in the demographic statistics. The rest of the population is categorized as native Dutch. Indo-Dutch population, Moluccans, Gypsies, Jews and others are not specifically mentioned too (Scholten, 2011).

As Figure 3.3 presents, people of Turkish origin conform the largest foreign migrant group (320 000 residents) in the Netherlands, followed by Surinamese (309 000) and Moroccans (272 800) (CBS, 2015). Foreign migrants mainly live in the largest cities. In Amsterdam and Rotterdam they represented 40,2% and 35,1% of the municipal population in 2015 respectively (CBS, 2015).

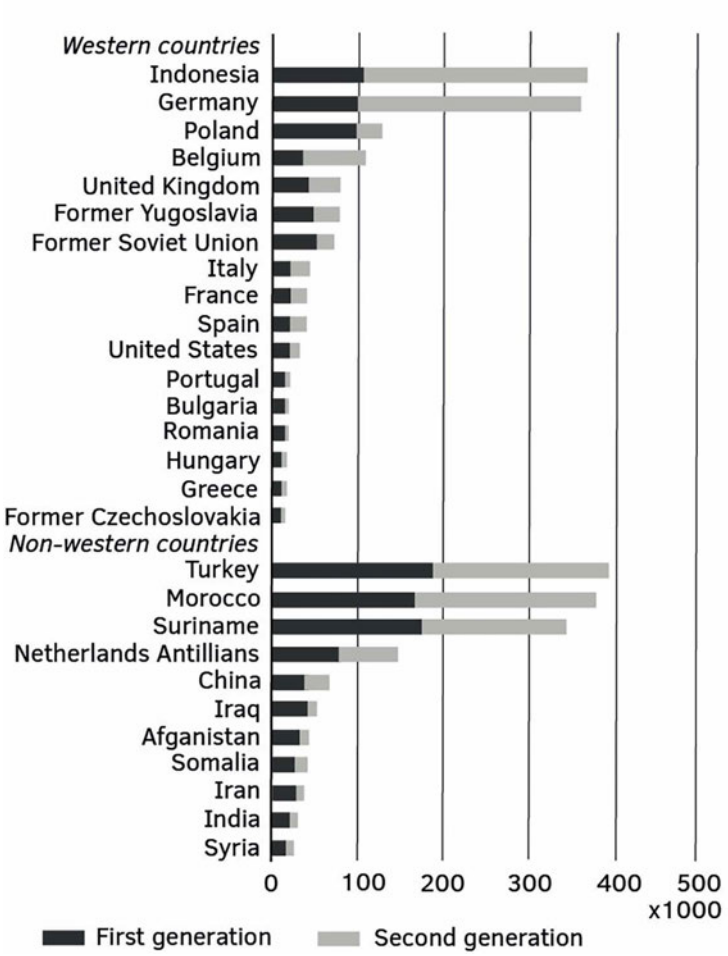

FIG. 3.3 People with a foreign background in the Netherlands 1 January 2015. (Source: CBS, 2015)

The early neighbourhoods of immigrant groups, who arrived during and after the 1960s, showed differences in terms of their location and types according to their purpose of immigration and immigration period. For example, Indonesian of Dutch descent were distributed in the large cities. During the period of construction of large social housing areas in Dutch cities, the government built wards in small towns special for Moluccans (Steijlen 2011).

From the 1960s until the 1980s, people from Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles arrived in the Netherlands as citizens of colonial countries. These groups preferred to settle in the three largest cities: Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague. The arrival

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of Surinamese groups coincided with the finalization of construction of Bijlmermeer, a large post-war estate of high-towers located at Amsterdam Zuid Oost. After large numbers of Surinamese and Antilleans settled in Bijlmermeer, it became the main symbol of the Dutch problem areas.

FIG. 3.4 A street view from Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam. (Source: Photo: Sezer)

3.4 Evolution of immigrant integration policy

Although there are different definitions and approaches towards immigrant integration, in a broad sense, it is understood as 'the process by which people who are relatively new to a country become a part of society' (OECD, 2003). Five significant periods have been distinguished in the Netherlands: (1) until the 1980s: denial of being a country of immigration; (2) in the 1980s: emancipation of minorities; (3) in the 1990s: integration of *allochtonous*; (4) in the 2000s: the

rise of a more assimilationist discourse; (5) in the 2010s: towards more restricted approaches. Table 3-1shows the different integration policies in the Netherlands since the 1970s.

TABLE 3.1 Integration policy frames in the Netherlands since the 1970s (Adapted from Scholten, 2011)

	No integration policy <1980	Ethnic Minorities Policy 1980–1994	Integration Policy 1994–2003	New Style Integration Policy 2003–2010	Beyond Integration Policy >2010
Terminology	Integration with retention of identity	Mutual adaptation in a multicultural society	Integration, Active citizenship	Adaptation, 'Common citizenship'	Individual responsibility to assimilate or 'return home'
Social classification	Immigrant groups defined by national origin and framed as temporary guests	Ethnic or cultural minorities characterised by socio-economic and socio-cultural problems	'Citizens' or '*allochtonen*', individual members of specific minority groups	'Non-Western *allochtonen*' defined as policy targets because of socio-cultural differences	Continuity: 'non-Western *allochtonen*' defined as policy targets because of socio-cultural differences
Causal stories	Socio-economic participation and retention of socio-cultural identity	Socio-cultural emancipation as a condition for socio-economic participation	Socio-economic participation as a condition for socio-cultural emancipation	Socio-cultural differences as obstacle to integration	Mythical mass immigration of 'disadvantaged' damages Dutch society
Normative perspective	The Netherlands is not a country of immigration	The Netherlands as an open, multi-cultural society	Civic participation in a de-facto multicultural society	Preservation of Dutch national identity and social cohesion	Limiting immigration, except some high-skilled flows

3.4.1 Until the 1980s: denial of being a country of immigration

Until the late 1970s, there was no policy addressing immigrant integration, as immigrants were considered 'temporary guests' in the Netherlands, because of the high population density of the country, as stated in policy documents (Scholten and Holzhacker, 2009). Although some groups of migrants (from Italy, Spain and Portugal) returned to their home countries, this was not the case for the Turkish and Moroccan groups, whose population increased as a result of family reunification. In 1974, legislation enabled the guest workers to bring their families to the Netherlands.

3.4.2 The 1980s: emancipation of minorities

Due to racial unrest from the Moluccan community, the Dutch government developed the first integration policy, which was called Ethnic Minority (EM) Policy, by the end of 1970s (Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010). It aimed at achieving integration of ethnic minorities in three domains: political, socio-economic and cultural (Bruquetas-Callejo *et al*., 2011). It targeted specific groups considered at risk: Moluccans, residents of Surinamese and Antillean origin, labour migrants and their families, gypsies and refugees. The range of policy initiatives of the EM was remarkable, and special attention was given to education, to facilitate inclusion of immigrant children in the regular educational system (Bruquetas-Callejo et al, 2011).

The policy placed special emphasis on the emancipation of ethnic minorities within their own communities, to support immigrant communities to gain an independent place in society. Later, it was called the policy of multiculturalism, because it aimed towards the preservation of cultural diversity and respect for cultural difference. Multiculturalism is clearly linked to the values of universalism of the social-democratic welfare regime of the Netherlands during that time. 'For many years this country had a reputation not only as a shining example of a respectful and successful institutionalization of cultural difference stemming from immigration, but also as a strong welfare state.' (Entzinger, 2006: p.177).

The economic crisis of the late 1970s increased the economic difficulties of migrants, who were the ones who most suffered from unemployment. In the late 1980s, it became clear that the EM policy was not successful in terms of education and labour market and strong criticisms toward multiculturalism emerged, verbalised by liberal politicians and debated in the media.

3.4.3 The 1990s: integration of allochtonous

Coinciding with the liberal turn of the welfare regime in the early 1990s, a new integration policy was launched in 1994, which shifted the focus from emancipation of immigrant groups to making bridges for their socio-economic participation, emphasizing 'good citizenship' and responsibility for the migrant's own situation. The primary aim of this integration policy was to increase the self-sufficiency of newcomers. The policy eliminated subsidies to immigrant organisations, and changed from group-based into area-based policies. The main sectors of the policy were education, housing and employment (Duyvendak and Scholten 2011). To facilitate job integration, civic integration courses were implemented at city level,

which included language courses and information about the functioning of Dutch institutions. These later became part of the national reception policy, under the Dutch Newcomers' Integration Law (Wet Inburgering Nieuwkomers) issued in 1998 (Bruquetas-Callejo et al, 2011).

3.4.4 The 2000s: the rise of a more assimilationist discourse

In the early 2000s, great criticism of the multicultural society, immigration and integration emerged. Pim Fortuyn, a populist politician, who made a zero migration approach his central political message, was assassinated in 2002. This tragic incident raised the popularity of negative views on immigration and Islam, which were escalated with the murder of film-maker Theo van Gogh by a migrant in 2004.

Integration policies turned into an assimilationist direction with the change of government in 2002. Persisting social-cultural differences were considered a burden to integration into mainstream society. The New Style Integration Policy was linked to public and political concerns about the preservation of national identity and social cohesion in Dutch society (Duyvendak and Scholten 2011). This policy restricted new flows of asylum seekers, family reunion and marriage migration. Several restrictions were applied for family reunification by limiting residence permits. New residents had to pass a language exam and prove their knowledge about Dutch culture and society to be able to enter the country. Once in the Netherlands, they had to follow civic integration courses to be able to renew temporary visas (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2011).

3.4.5 The 2010s: towards more restricted approaches

The public and political debates about immigrant integration have been intensified due to the mass arrival of refugees in the context of the European refugee crisis in the mid-2010s. On the one hand, it has been argued that the existing integration policies have not been sufficient for the needs of these particular groups, especially in the housing and education domains (Kraaij, 2017). On the other hand, the Dutch government has applied a more restrictive integration policy, which has limited family reunification and services for immigrants to prepare them for the integration exams. Additionally, the labour market access of immigrants has also been restricted as a result of the changes in the Foreigners Employment Law (Wet Arbeid Vreemdelingen). The political aim is to limit immigration, except for highly-educated professionals (Hoogenboom, 2015).

3.5 Evolution of urban policies

This section uses the same periodization to describe the evolution of urban policies in the Netherlands: (1) until the 1980s: post-war reconstruction; (2) in the 1980s: Adapting to the market economy; (3) in the 1990s: the revival of the inner city; (4) in the 2000s: Urban restructuring; and (5) in the 2010s: post-crisis recovery and the search for a new direction.

Figure 3.5 and Table 3-2 show the different urban policies in the Netherlands since the 1950s.

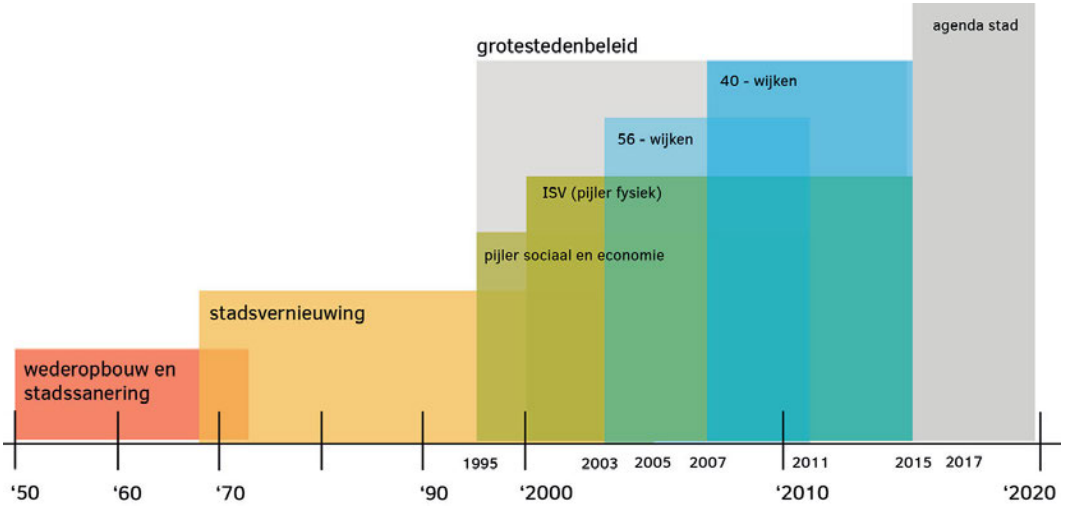

FIG. 3.5 Urban renewal policies in the Netherlands (Source: Uyterlinde et al, 2017:4)

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TABLE 3.2 Main urban policies in the Netherlands (Source: Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008:81)

Name of policy	Period	Definition of social issues	Typical policy actions
Creating CBD'S	TO 1970	None (stronger urban economy)	Demolition of old quarters
Urban renewal	1970-1980	Bad housing	New housing for neighbourhood residents
City renewal	1980-1990	Unemployment/strenght of economy	Improvement of economic climate
Multiple problem	1985-1990	Disadvanteged in several aspects	Moderate social policies, no physical upgrading
Social renewal	1990-1994	Lack of cohesion	Moderate social policies, stimulating participation
Big Cities Policy I	1994-1998	Homogeneous poor neighbourhood (segregated)	Neighbourhood restructuring attract better-off
Big Cities Policy II	1998-2004	Housing career within neighbourhood	Creating opportunities in the neighbourhood
Big Cities Policy III	2004-2009	Ethnic concentrations/integration	Neighbourhood restructuring, social mix
Big Cities Policy III+	From 2007	Ethnic and social integration	Neighbourhood restructuring, social mix, housing association involvement

3.5.1 Until the 1980s: the post-war reconstruction

The Dutch government has been involved in the production of good quality, affordable housing since the Housing Act (*Woningwet*) of 1901, which aimed to improve the living conditions of the poor by planning and subsidizing social housing production (Vermeulen and Rouwendal, 2007). In the post-war period, the government applied housing and urban renewal policies to tackle the huge housing demand and address the problems of its cities. The housing policy initially focused on building social housing estates on the outskirts of cities. Housing corporations (Woningcorporaties) played an important role in solving the housing shortage during the reconstruction years.

Urban policy in this period sought to demolish old buildings in the inner city to build new offices, modern shopping streets and new roads to promote the economy and the vitality of the city centre. After extensive negotiations between local government, housing corporations and residents during the 1970s, the policy focus shifted from demolition and reconstruction to 'building for the neighbourhood', which focused on the renovation of existing buildings for residents of the neighbourhoods (Gruis et al. 2006; Platform31, 2017).

In this period, the housing situation of immigrants was not addressed in housing and urban renewal policies, as they were considered temporary guests. Initially, guest workers mostly settled in dormitory accommodation close to the harbours and industrial areas, otherwise in rooms, pensions or dwellings in poor quality dwellings, which were located close to their working areas or in the inner-city (Cortie and Van Engeldorp Gastelaars, 1985). However, after the family reunification of guest workers in 1974, the housing demand of immigrants increased.

As soon as immigrants were considered permanent residents, rather than temporary guests, resident-dispersal programmes were devised by policymakers in major cities, such as Rotterdam and Amsterdam. The idea was to promote the integration of immigrants with an assimilationist approach. However, these policies were contested and never implemented, as they contradicted the Dutch constitution, which forbids discriminatory policies based on place of origin (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2009).

3.5.2 The 1980s: adapting to the market economy

In the 1980s, changes in the welfare regime resulted in changes in Dutch urban policies. The responsibility of housing supply was decentralised, and shifted from national to local governments, which then had to collaborate with commercial developers and housing corporations. The national government set ambitious housing production goals, focusing on the protection of natural and agricultural land while restricting the supply of land for new housing developments (Priemus, 1998).

A new urban policy, termed city renewal (*stedelijke vernieuwing*), was launched to strengthen the urban economy and improve the attractiveness of cities with the help of city-marketing strategies (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008). Its focus was to improve the housing conditions in post-war social housing areas and some inner–city neighbourhoods. The policy approach was to intervene exclusively in the physical aspects of the neighbourhood. By the end of the 1980s, an area-based policy, the 'problem-cumulating areas' (*probleemcumulatiegebieden – PCG-beleid*), was issued to address the lack of integration with socio-economic aspects (Platform31, 2017).

Since 1981, immigrants were considered ethnic minorities and, as such, were able to gain access to the social housing market. In the context of the ongoing suburbanisation process of this period, middle-income Dutch families moved to newly built social housing estates on the outskirts of cities. A large number of houses became available for immigrants in inner-city neighbourhoods (Van Amersfoort and Cortie, 2006). These areas, and some others in the outskirts, began to concentrate immigrant households.

In this period, the residential concentration of immigrants was still not considered a segregation problem. The Netherlands was still embracing multiculturalism as a model for societal cohabitation, in which the residential concentration of different immigrant groups was considered a right; indispensable to develop shared 'cultural norms, values and interests' (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2009: 1517).

3.5.3 The 1990s: the revival of the inner city

The urban policy approach was to improve both the physical environment and the urban economy of cities through urban renewal projects. The final objective was to strengthen the economic position of Dutch cities to compete in the global market. The result of these interventions was a gentrification of inner city neighbourhoods (Wagenaar, 2011).

The integration of physical and socio-economic aspects was further developed in a social renewal policy (*sociale vernieuwing*) and a policy for urban renewal in the future (*Beleid voor de stadsvernieuwing in the toekomst – Belstato*), which focused on disadvantaged post-war neighbourhoods. The emphasis was to combat social problems in the neighbourhoods, such as unemployment, and to strengthen social cohesion. Around the mid-1990s, these policies evolved into the big cities policies (*Grotestedenbeleid*).

Successive urban renewal policies (big cities I, II, III, IV) were launched to fight the socio-spatial segregation of deprived neighbourhoods. Their aim was social mixing and the diversification of housing to promote their liveability (van Kempen and van Beckhoven, 2006). The pillars of these policies – physical, social and economic dimensions – have framed most urban renewal interventions until now.

Housing associations, the owners of most housing units, and local authorities became the crucial actors and the financers of these urban interventions. In 1995, the status of housing associations changed and became private sector organizations. Although they remained non-profit agencies, this new status gave them financial independence to sell their property. Home-ownership was strongly promoted through financial mechanisms. Since then, the construction of social rental housing has decreased (Boelhouwer and Priemus, 2014; Elsinga, 2011). Figure 3.6 shows the changing proportion of social rented housing in the Netherlands since the post-war period.

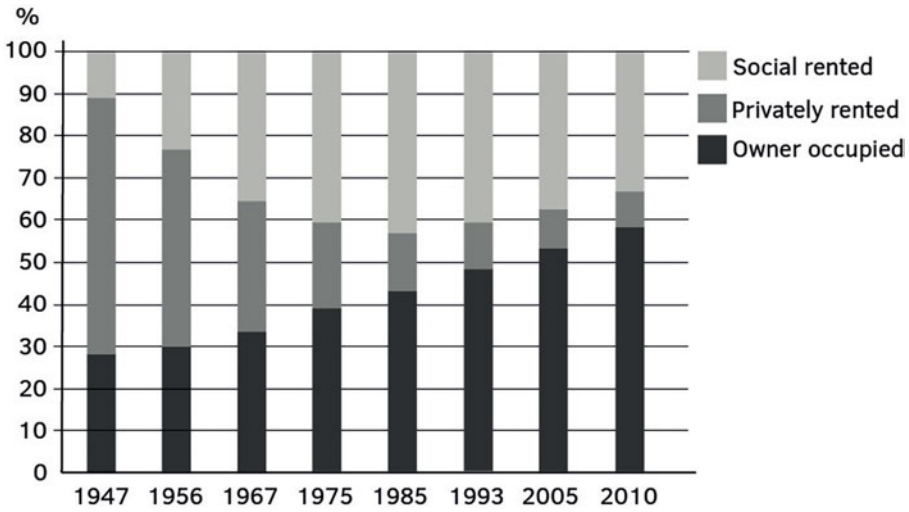

FIG. 3.6 Housing stock in the Netherlands by tenure, 1947-2010. (Source: Elsinga, 2011: 5)

The urban transformation processes of the 1990s period coincided with a turn towards an assimilationist approach within the immigrant integration policies (Botman and Van Kempen, 2002; Musterd and Ostendorp, 2008). The structural changes in the social housing sector had direct effects in urban transformation processes in the immigrant neighbourhoods, as many of these neighbourhoods were located in social housing areas. One of the most evident consequences of these changes was the gentrification of immigrant neighbourhoods located in the inner-city and adjacent areas.

3.5.4 The 2000s period: area-based urban interventions

Urban restructuring (*Stedelijke herstructurering)* was a pillar of the Big Cities policy. Its approach was to upgrade problem neighbourhoods through the demolition, selling or upgrading of social housing units, replacing them with owner-occupied dwellings for higher income groups. This policy attempted to promote spatial dispersion to reduce residential segregation, in a similar fashion to the policy attempts developed in the 1970s (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2009). The predisposition towards demolition and upgrading the housing stock was the preferred option of housing associations, the owners of this housing stock (Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013; Uitermark, 2003).

An important national effort was launched in March 2007, when the Ministry of Housing, Neighbourhoods and Integration (Wonen, Wijken en Integratie) appointed 40 'attention neighbourhoods' (aandachtswijken), which would receive special treatment for urban renewal. The idea was to enhance the position of these neighbourhoods in terms of living, working, growing up, safety and integration within the period between 2007 and 2017.

Meanwhile, the increased and unfulfilled housing demand, in the context of the more prominent role of the private sector, led to a constant rise in housing prices, especially in Amsterdam. Figure 3.7 shows the evolution of the average home prices in the three largest cities between 1995 and 2016, showing the difference with the national average.

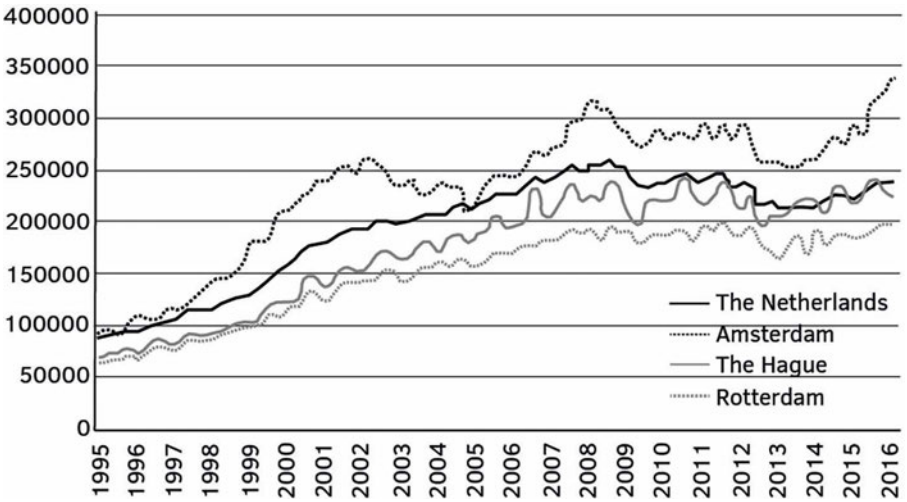

FIG. 3.7 Average price of homes sold in the Netherlands, 1995–2016, in euros. (Source: Boterman, 2016: 11)

Despite policies to encourage owner occupation, the rental housing market in the Netherlands still plays an important role in the housing sector, representing 33% of total dwellings of 7.4 million by the end of the 2000s. Most of the privately rented dwellings are rent-regulated. The proportion of owner occupied dwellings has increased to 60% of the housing market in 2011, from 42% in 1980, but still it is low in relation to other European countries (Vandevyvere and Zenthofer, 2012).

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In this period, the debate on social mixing gained a stronger tone along with the increasing assimilationist approaches of the immigrant integration policies. 'The Dutch government's June 2002 policy programme explicitley stated that the development of homogeneous ethnic neighbourhoods had to be lessened by creating mixed-housing neighbourhoods.' (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2009, p.1518). The residential segregation of immigrants was considered an obstacle for their integration into arrival societies. The Yearly Memorandum on Integration Policy (Ministry of Justice, 2005) stated that:

'…Concentration is especially disadvantageous for integration because it results in an accumulation of social problems which may eventuate in a state of affairs that is very hard to handle (…).Concentration is also disadvantageous because it makes the ethnic dividing lines more visible in a more concentrated way. That harms the image of ethnic minorities (…). Finally, concentration is particularly disadvantageous for the possibilities for meeting and contacts between persons from different origin groups (…) the diminishing contacts with native Dutch indirectly influence the social chances of ethnic minorities' (Ministry of Justice, 2005, p.19, cited in Van Kempen and Bolt 2009, p. 464).

3.5.5 The 2010s: post-crisis recovery and the search for a new direction

In 2011, following the economic stagnation and the establishment of a new Dutch government in 2010, urban restructuring projects dedicated to the 40 'attention neighbourhoods' policy were stopped or put on hold. A report of the Social and Cultural Planning Office (*Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau* – SCP) showed that there had been no significant improvement in the liveability of the 40 attention neighbourhoods in the period between 2008 and 2011. The minister of housing and central government (*wonen en rijksdienst*) announced that the urban renewal policy would end by 2015. Since then, the national government has limited its role in urban restructuring projects. However, there has been an increase in the socio-economic status of the residents of these neighbourhoods, due to restructuring of the housing market and consequently the arrival of the new residents from middle and higher income residents (Uyterlinde *et al.*, 2017).

In 2015, the Dutch national government developed a new policy instrument, the Dutch Urban Agenda (*Agenda Stad*), inspired by the UN New Urban Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Its main focus is to promote the position of the Dutch cities as international centres for urban growth, innovation and liveability

(Agenda Stad, 2019). The key focus areas are: (1) developing cities as centres of innovation and start-ups; (2) creating conditions for system innovation such as open data, energy networks and good transport concepts; and (3) promoting cooperation within and between urban areas through joint-efforts across administrative boundaries. Different than the previous period, there has been no emphasis on urban renewal, which has been replaced by concepts such as smart cities, circular city, urban food production, and inner-city development and transformation. The concept of the Dutch Urban Agenda is still in its developing phase, despite some on-going city-based urban initiatives in the Netherlands (e.g. 'circular city' in Amsterdam, 'electricity mobility in urban development' in Den Haag).

In this period, the consequences of urban restructuring projects have been strongly felt within immigrant neighbourhoods. The restructuring of the housing market in order to overcome the concentration of low-income groups, along with market trends have created a strong pressure for change in central neighbourhoods, including those immigrant neighbourhoods, specifically in the major cities, such as Amsterdam, Den Haag and Rotterdam (Uitermark and Bosker, 2015). These trends have led to processes of commodification and gentrification in central neighbourhoods, visibly changing the composition of their population, whilst immigrant groups are increasingly moving into outskirt locations (Ostendorf and Musterd, 2011).

3.6 Location and transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods in Amsterdam

Amsterdam is an interesting case to examine how the previously mentioned policy changes have played out in the transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods. Today, the population of the metropolitan area has reached almost one million people, half of which are of foreign origin (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015). Dutch native and western immigrants generally have higher education and income, while non-westerners generally do not. They also have different housing situations: Dutch and western immigrants live in the better-off neighbourhoods, while most non-western immigrant live in social housing estates in inner-city areas or the post-war estates on the outskirts. Evidently, the limited choice of housing resulted in the concentration areas of this group in specific areas.

This section focuses on the location and changes in residential concentrations of non-western immigrants in Amsterdam, to show the significant differences. It does so by mapping the location of non-western immigrants in 1998, 2008 and 2018.

The first map presents the residential concentration of non-western immigrants in 1998 (Figure 3.8). Turkish and Moroccans households tended to concentrate in the Amsterdam Nieuwe West district – a post war social housing area – and in the Oost district, a 20th century working class' neighbourhood close to the city centre. Turks are also clustered in the Amsterdam North district. Surinamese and Antilleans are generally concentrated in the Zuid Oost area.

The residential concentration map for 2008 (Figure 3.9) shows the following differences in comparison to the situation in 1998: the residential concentration areas gradually decreased in the inner-city neighbourhoods of the Zuid and Oud West districts, while they increased in Buitenveldert, Zuid Oost and Noord districts. This trend became even more evident in 2018 (Figure 3.10) with the intensification of residential concentration areas on the outskirts, and reduction in the inner-city.

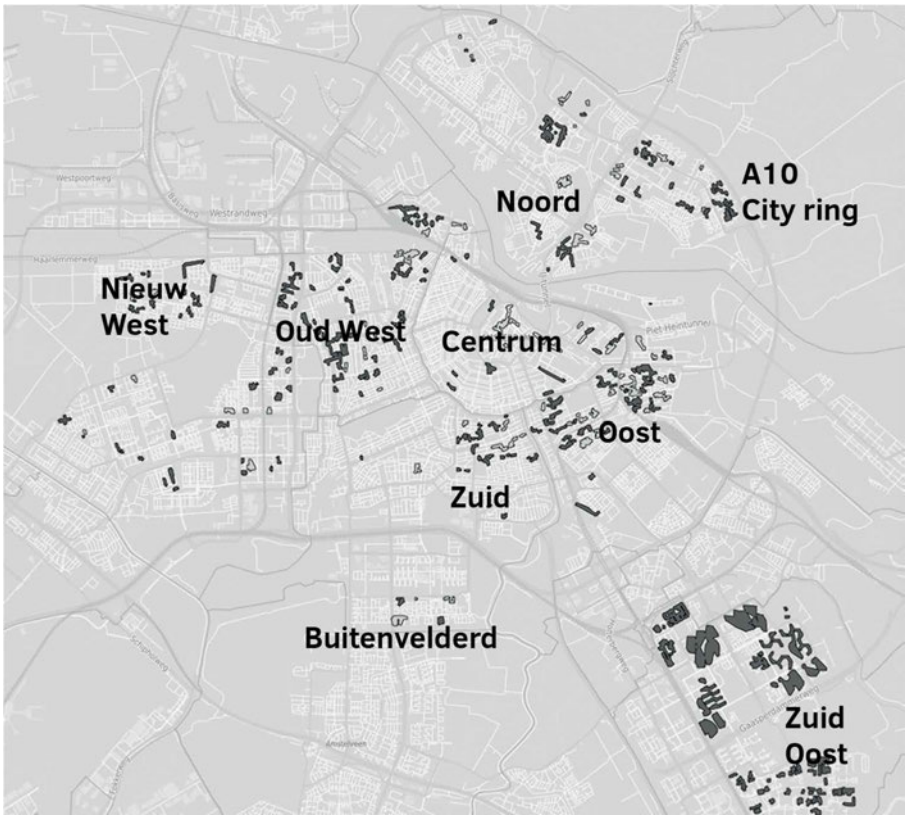

FIG. 3.8 Residential clusters areas of non-western immigrants in Amsterdam in 1998 (Source: Author's own elaboration with data from Regimonitor Groot Amsterdam, 2017)

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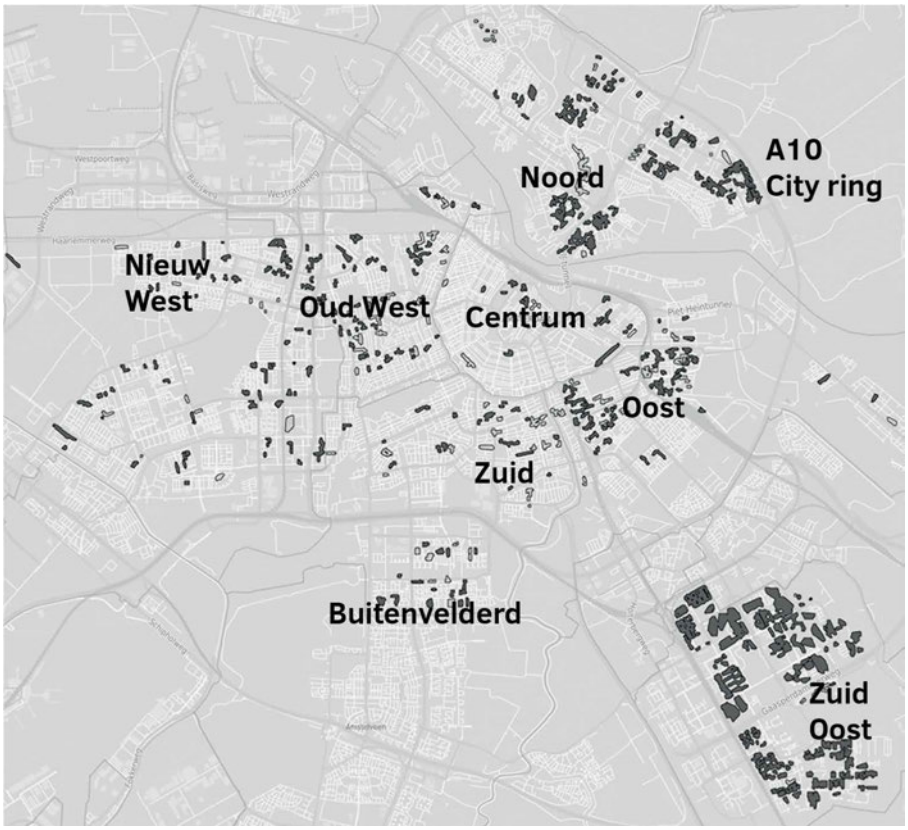

FIG. 3.9 Residential clusters areas of non-western immigrants in Amsterdam in 2008(Source: Author's own elaboration with data from Regimonitor Groot Amsterdam, 2017)

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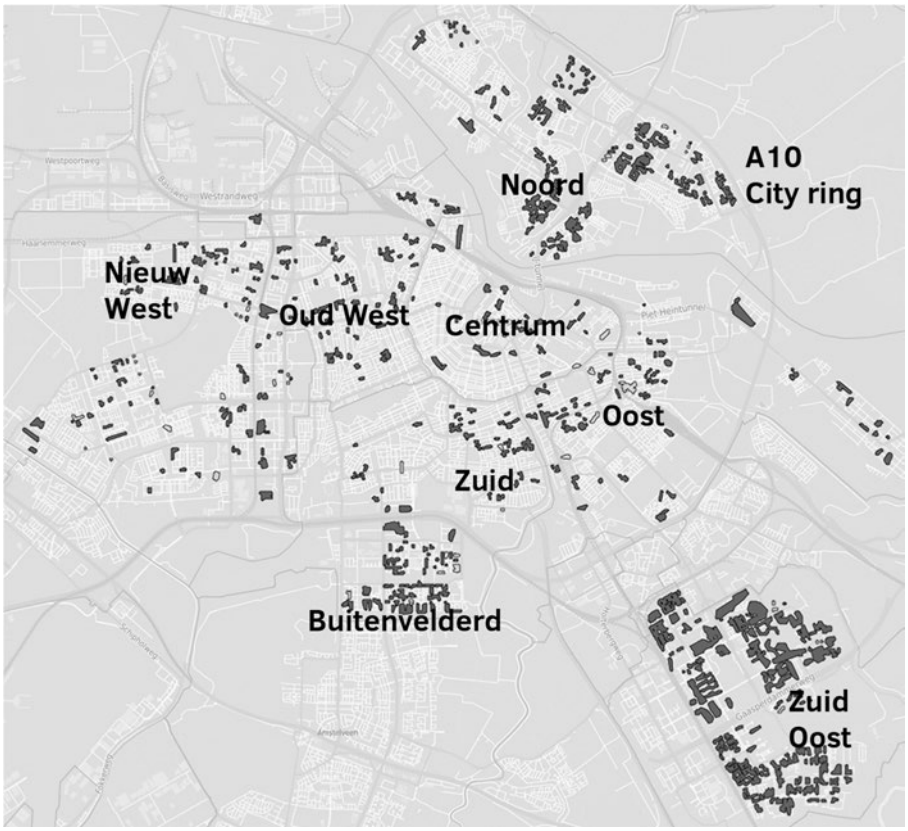

FIG. 3.10 Residential clusters areas of non-western immigrants in Amsterdam in 2018(Source: Author's own elaboration with data from Regimonitor Groot Amsterdam, 2017)

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Amsterdam's plans have also played an important role in the changes of residential concentrations of non-western immigrants. The plans were described in the *Nota Stedelijke Vernieuwing* (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999), which focused on increasing housing quality and differentiation; promoting quality of life; and optimizing land use. This meant that 'modest ambitions and gradual transformation are passé; it is time for the "total makeover". The middle class must be held onto or hauled in, and therefore the proportion of public housing must be drastically reduced in order to make the neighbourhood safer and increase its liveability.' (Uitermark, 2009: 179).

Meanwhile, Amsterdam steadily became an attractive destination for tourists and young professionals, which has led to an increased housing demand. The increased and unfulfilled demand, in the context of the more prominent role of the private sector, has led to a constant rise in housing prices and created an overheated housing market (De Nederlandsche Bank, 2017).

Gentrification is not anymore a forbidden word for some local policy-makers, which is seen as a means of achieving a vital urban economy. 'While in other countries, the word gentrification is rarely used by policy-makers directly, in the Netherlands it is a central, explicit aim which policy-makers are open about promoting' (Ernst and Doucet, 2014: 192), as the head of the Planning, Space an Economy Section of the municipality of Amsterdam clearly stated in a column entitled 'Let the gentrifiers come' (Gadet, 2015). This constitutes a striking shift away from the previous Amsterdam urban justice goals, towards economy and market-driven solutions (Uitermark, 2009).

3.7 Conclusion

This paper has reviewed the main policies and strategies related to immigration and urban renewal in the Netherlands in order to identify the main trends and factors underpinning urban transformation processes in Amsterdam related to the immigrant groups and neighbourhoods.

The review has showed that there has been a gradual shift from a social democratic towards a liberal welfare regime in the Netherlands since the 1980s, which has influenced successive urban policies. Immigrant integration policies still aim at the inclusion of new arrival immigrants into mainstream society in socio-cultural, economic and political spheres. But the purpose and the tone of the policies have changed along with the changing economic and political context at both global and national levels.

Urban policy, more specifically urban renewal policy, has aimed at improving the physical, social and economic characteristics of deprived neighbourhoods, many of which were characterized as immigrant neighbourhoods. The residential concentration of immigrants has been regarded as something negative for neighbourhood development in policy documents, although studies have showed that the residential concentration of non-western immigrants does not create 'segregated' neighbourhoods in Dutch cities. Social mixing has been regarded as the best policy tool to overcome social problems that exist in these neighbourhoods.

Along with real estate trends in Amsterdam, which have significantly increased housing prices, the city's successive urban strategies have led to processes of the commodification and gentrification of Amsterdam's central neighbourhoods. As presented in the previous section, in the last two decades the population composition of central neighbourhoods has significantly changed. Vulnerable groups who cannot afford the increasing housing prices, such as non-western immigrants, have been gradually displaced towards the outskirts.

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