

Preparation for participation

The impact of the increase in immigration in 2015 on the framing of Newly Arrived Migrant Students and their integration in local secondary preparatory education policies in Rotterdam.

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Summary

This thesis analyses the impact of the increase in immigration in 2015 on the policy content and framing of Newly Arrived Migrant Students (NAMS) and their integration in local secondary preparatory education policies in Rotterdam. The local-level policies are analysed in a multi-level context setting. The content and frames applied to NAMS and their integration in both local and national-level policies are researched in two timeframes, centred around June 2015. The increase in immigration in 2015 has resulted in a significant creation of additional local and national secondary preparatory education policies. In terms of the frames used to describe NAMS, policies created after June 2015 tend to be more mainstreamed and do not frequently target NAMS as a group. However, some groups within NAMS, such as drop-outs and unaccompanied minors, are still distinguished and negatively constructed. The expected acculturation of NAMS is referred to as integration by local and national-level policies before and after the increase in immigration. Policies created up until June 2015, however, tend to pursue more assimilationist goals. The goals described in the documents created after June 2015 are more in line with the definition of integration. When comparing the local-level policies of the municipality of Rotterdam with the national-level policies, the policies are related to each other. The national-level policies tend to be more generic, while local-level policies develop the generic national policies into more pragmatic policies to apply in the local-level context.

Chapter 1. Introduction

As the Netherlands keeps on receiving a growing number of migrants every year, the last few coalitions of the national government have made integration an essential aspect of the political agenda in their coalition periods (Wijffels, 2007; Rutte & Samson, 2012; VVD, CDA, D66, & ChristenUnie, 2017). For this reason, the Netherlands has experienced multiple turning points concerning its integration policies. Since roughly 2007, the Netherlands has undergone a new shift in integration policies. According to Scholten (2012), the government is focusing less on migrant integration but placed the reduction of immigration higher on the policy agenda. Moreover, integration appears to be no longer the responsibility of the government. Instead, integration is more individualised as migrants are held more responsible for their integration.

A clear example of the new focus of the government on integration is the ‘Bed, bath, bread’ regulation. This policy aims to provide asylum seekers who exhausted all legal remedies with sober facilities until their expected return to their country of origin (VNG, 2015). Additionally, Poppelaars and Scholten (2008) discuss the framing of integration as achieving common citizenship, where common citizenship is the goal of integration. This frame of integration emphasises commonalities of one citizenship for all, instead of targeting specific groups through multiple policies. Being a member of society means accepting basic norms and values and being able to speak the national language.

Schools have to take responsibility in the process of creating ‘common citizenship’ through integration as well. Since 2006, the Inspection of Education (2006) has legally required schools to stimulate integration of, amongst others, newly arrived children. Children between five and eighteen years old who live in the Netherlands both have the right and obligation to participate in education (Leerplichtwet, 1968). This law also applies to children who migrated to the Netherlands from other countries. Children who speak little or no Dutch are enrolled in preparatory education classes to acquire adequate language skills and subsequently enrol into regular education after a trajectory of one to a maximum of two years. Municipalities are responsible for establishing preparatory education for incoming minor children. In turn, municipalities hold local schools accountable for the execution of preparatory education (Maarse, van Es, & Schilder, 2017).

Literature referring to education for migrant children often uses diverging definitions to describe students with a migration background, including asylum seeker, status holder,

newcomer, and/or first-generation migrant. In their rapport on national policy measures, the European Commission defines students with a migration background as follows:

“... newly arrived/first generation, second generation or returning migrant children and young people. Their reasons for having migrated (e.g. economic or political) may vary, as may their legal status – they may be citizens, residents, asylum seekers, refugees, unaccompanied minors or irregular migrants. Their length of stay in the host country may be short- or long-term, and they may or may not have the right to participate in the formal education system of the host country. Migrant children and young people from within and outside of the EU are taken into account” (European Commission, 2019, pp. 11).

The Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW) applies the definition “newcomer” for secondary education to “students without a Dutch nationality and who have been in the country less than two years” (Bilgili, 2019, pp.20).

This thesis uses the elaborate definition of the European Commission (2019) in combination with the definition of the ministry of OCW and refers to these students as Newly Arrived Migrant Students (NAMS). The combination with the definition of the ministry of OCW means that second-generation migrant students, that are part of the definition of the European Commission, are excluded from the definition NAMS in this thesis. Second-generation migrant students are excluded because this group does not attend preparatory education. The focus of this thesis lies on newly arrived migrants because of the increase in immigration that occurred in 2015.

In 2015, the world experienced an increase in migration flows. The Netherlands was one of the countries of destination. The CBS reported about the start of the increase in immigration when 32.000 migrants under twenty years old arrived in the Netherlands in 2012. This number rose to over 40.000 in 2015 and over 52.000 in 2016 (CBS, 2016 in Bilgili, 2019). As a consequence, the Dutch government faced the challenge to enrol all NAMS into preparatory education within the legally bound period of three months that was set by the European Commission (2019). However, despite the government’s efforts to provide NAMS with enough skills to participate in regular education after two years, NAMS are still underrepresented in higher tracks of secondary education and overrepresented in lower tracks of prevocational education, when compared to native students (Bilgili, 2019; Ministry of OCW, 2017). The high numbers of NAMS in lower levels of prevocational education show that many NAMS are likely

to fail the integration goals set by the Dutch government. For this reason, it is important to research the impact of the increase in immigration in 2015 on preparatory education policy documents to provide NAMS with adequate secondary education.

As municipalities are responsible for the organisation of preparatory education, this thesis focuses on policies on the municipal level, namely the policies of the city of Rotterdam. The municipality of Rotterdam is a particularly interesting case because about almost half of Rotterdam's citizens have a migration background. Since 2015, the foreign migration rate has risen every year, while mostly non-Western migrants have moved into the city. Additionally, the municipality has nine secondary preparatory schools, which is higher compared to other cities in the Netherlands (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020; Maan, van Breugel, & Scholten, 2013). This highly diverse population which characterises Rotterdam combined with a large number of secondary preparatory schools distinguishes the context of Rotterdam from other large Dutch cities such as Amsterdam, Utrecht, or The Hague. Consequently, the secondary preparatory education policies of the municipality of Rotterdam function as a critical case study. Simultaneously, national-level policies are taken into account as local-level policies are always created within a multi-level context. In sum, this leads to the following research question:

How did the increase in immigration in 2015 impact the policy content and framing of Newly Arrived Migrant Students and their integration in local secondary preparatory education policies in Rotterdam?

Chapter two of this thesis presents the theoretical framework which serves as the basis for the data analysis and expectations. Chapter three describes the formulated sub-questions that support the main research question, the sensitising concepts, the method of data collection and data analysis, and lastly, relevant ethical considerations. The fourth chapter explains the selection of Rotterdam as a case study, the focus on the migrant increase in Rotterdam, and its secondary preparatory education. Chapter five provides an overview of the collected data. This chapter is followed by an analysis of these results based on the theoretical framework and a discussion of the findings in chapter six, the conclusion in chapter seven, and policy recommendations given in chapter eight.

Chapter 2. Theoretical framework

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework of this research by explaining the policymaking process, discourses and the frames about NAMS used in policy documents. This thesis focuses on the local level of Rotterdam. Yet, because local level policymaking cannot be seen separately from the national context, the last section explains multi-levelness in policymaking.

2.1. Public policy

To understand the way NAMS are framed in policies concerning preparatory education it is important to understand what policies are and how they are developed. Policies can be described in numerous ways. A more basic definition is given by Birkland (2001, pp. 132, cited in Knill & Tosun, 2008) who defines policies as statements of the government explaining what they intend to do or not do. *Public* policy, in its essence, is the process of actors trying to pair a societal problem with policy means in order to eventually solve the societal problem (Dunn, 1991). This process is characterised by Howlet, Perl, and Ramesh (2009, pp. 4) as “applied problem solving” and refers to governments taking multiple decisions which then collectively lead to an outcome.

This thesis looks at policy formulation in Rotterdam to analyse whether the increase in immigration in 2015 had an impact on the policy content and framing of NAMS and their integration in secondary preparatory education policies. To perform the research, national-level policies within the same policy domain are also taken into account. Policy formulation is one of the stages of the policy cycle, as described by Knill & Tosun (2008). The full cycle consists of five stages: agenda setting, policy formulation, policy adoption, implementation, and evaluation. The policy cycle starts with the agenda setting when a societal problem is identified and placed on the policy agenda. During policy formulation, various policy solutions to the given societal problem are defined, discussed and eventually accepted or refused. In the process of policy adoption, one policy measure is formally selected. Policy implementation means putting the adopted policy into action. Finally, the extent to which the implemented policy tools have fulfilled the formulated policy goal is assessed, resulting in either policy succession or policy termination (Dunn, 2018). Hence, depending on the evaluation outcome, the policy is continued, adapted or terminated. In practice, the cycles are not as straightforward, as stages can be executed in different orders or not be executed at all (Knill & Tosun, 2008). To understand the process of policy formulation, different approaches for the interpretation of the

policymaking process need to be explained. Public policy is researched according to four different approaches: rational, political, institutional and cultural.

First, within the *rational* perspective, public policy is considered to be driven by goal rationality, depending on knowledge and information. Actors seek to achieve policy goals by using the most efficient and effective policy tools. Whereas there is a clear distinction between politics and administration in the rational perspective (Wilson, 1887 cited in Bekker, Fengers, & Scholten, 2017), politicians are perceived to be the central actors that steer the bureaucratic process through their specific political perspective. Second, the *political* perspective identifies various driving factors, namely power, dependency and interest. Depending on the amount of power, a stakeholder is able to shape public policies by convincing others to gain support. Third, while the other perspectives perceive rational actors or political negotiations to shape the policy process, within the *institutional* approach, the existing system of rules determines the available options to achieve the policy goal. In this way, the system of rules, also called institutional rules, predetermines the outcome of policy processes (Bekker, Fengers, & Scholten, 2017). Due to the politicised and complex character of making integration policies, this thesis solely focuses on the last approach, the cultural approach. However, in reality, all approaches are often intertwined.

2.1.1. Cultural approach

The cultural or constructivist approach to examine policymaking acknowledges the fact that people understand the world through their experiences, beliefs, values and positions, resulting in a biased perspective of the world. To make sense of the world and create a shared understanding (Entman, 1996; Weick, 1969; Stone 1989, 2003), actors use language, symbols, images or metaphors to create similar understanding and translate these into common frames. Frames are used to look at policy issues from one perspective and exist within a discourse (Bekker, Fengers, & Scholten, 2017). Discourses are a collection of ideas, categories and concepts which give meaning to phenomena (Hajer, 2002). There often exist multiple frames to make sense of one subject. Based on the fact that frames are social constructs, Rein and Schön (1993) describe framing as possibly problematic. Framing results in understanding the world in multiple - at times contradictory - ways and subsequently shapes various social realities that can lead to conflict. Within the cultural approach, actors are understood as seeking to persuade others to examine issues in a way that fits their constructed frames. Persuaded persons subsequently may share a similar understanding concerning the highlighted issue. Eventually, the dominant frame of reference is decided upon by the incorporation or refusal of

frames or parts of frames (Bekker, Fengers, & Scholten, 2017). Which frame becomes the dominant frame within a discourse depends on the cultural climate, economic interest, and political contestation (Schrover & Schinkel, 2013). Applying a cultural approach, the policymaking process is considered continuous and shaped by the emergence of multiple frames which are constantly being developed, altered and reproduced (Bekker, Fengers, & Scholten, 2017).

Public policies function as a tool to integrate the diverging ideas concerning policy issues that exist in society into one shared understanding. This means that policies are perceived as socially constructed perspectives on reality, an outcome of ongoing interactions between actors involved in policymaking processes (Stone, 2003). Within the cultural perspective, there are two approaches to look at policy instruments and power. First, to solve a societal problem, policymakers should always protect the process of open communication between the stakeholders that are involved in the policymaking process. The only power used to convince stakeholders is the power of argument (Bekker, Fengers, & Scholten, 2017). Second, involved actors are continuously framing and reframing issues to persuade others to look at issues in the same way as they do. Persuading others is not done by exerting political power, but by discursive and persuasive strategies aiming to convince others of their standpoint (Bekker & Moody, 2015). The whole communication process of coming to - and constructing - one shared understanding is more important than the actual content, meaning that there is no such a thing as “objective knowledge” (Bekker, Fengers, & Scholten, pp. 62, 2017). Both aspects are referred to in this thesis. The relevance of framing and reframing issues is explained in terms of policy discourses concerning migration issues. Furthermore, the importance of open communication between involved stakeholders is analysed in the context of multi-level governance. For a better understanding of these aspects, first the process of policy formulation is discussed from a cultural perspective.

2.1.2. Policy formulation

As previously mentioned, policy formulation encompasses tasks such as defining, discussing and accepting or refusing possible policies to solve societal problems. Policy formulation does not solely include designing or developing a policy program but incorporates the decision-making process as well (Bekkers, Fenger, & Scholten, 2017; Howlet, Perl, and Ramesh 2009). Each perspective understands the different stages in the policymaking process in its own way. To develop a policy program, actors need to consider policy goals and means. Simultaneously,

actors need to be aware of relevant stakeholders and take their interests into account (Bekkers, Fenger, & Scholten, 2017).

According to Bekkers and Moody (2014) the cultural approach examines the process of policy development, which is part of the act of policy formulation, as the promotion of stories that describe the cause of a societal problem and what measures are required to solve the issue. It is the goal of policymakers to develop a policy program which stimulates the formulation of - and identification with - a shared understanding. Both stakeholders and the wider public base the legitimacy and effectivity of a presented policy program on its symbolic representation, i.e. how issues are being represented, the way they are written down and visualised (Stone, 2001). Altogether, the description of the issue and solution forms a frame of reference which eventually leads to a shared understanding (Bekkers, Fenger, & Scholten, 2017). For example, uneducated NAMS are often considered an issue because it is assumed that without education, they would not be able to fully integrate. Another frame refers to the idea that all NAMS are considered a 'societal problem' as they are perceived as competition for citizens of the host society on the labour market. When policymakers create a storyline that finds substantial support among stakeholders and the wider public, policymakers and their supporters share a similar understanding of the issue and of the actions that need to be taken (Bekkers, Fenger, & Scholten, 2017). The frame with the most support concerning the issue and actions that need to be taken most likely becomes the dominant one.

Due to the importance of seeking and getting support, deciding on how a subject is depicted to appeal to the understanding of involved actors and the general public is critical during policy formulation. Within the culturalist approach, group-thinking is considered a driving force in this decision-making process. In times of crisis or situations in which extreme polarisation between various groups of policymakers exists, the role of group-thinking is deemed to be even more important (Bekkers, Fenger, & Scholten, 2017; 't Hart, 1994). Polarisation between policymakers may create a distinction between "us" who share a similar frame, and "them" who believe in a different frame, resulting in diverging policy formulations (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008). The occurrence of a distinction between us and them, however, is not necessarily permanent. When unexpected events occur, the existing dominant frame of reference might lose support which reopens the interaction process and allows for the introduction of different frames (Bekkers, Fenger, & Scholten, 2017). An event such as an increase in incoming migrants may cause a shift in the dominant frame regarding preparatory secondary education for NAMS. Subsequently, new policies are formulated in line with the new dominant frame. In the context of this research, the culturalist approach is a useful way to

understand the policy formulation and to analyse whether the increase of incoming migrants resulted in a shift of frames over time in preparatory education policies. By focusing on policy formulation, all accepted policy documents concerning preparatory secondary education for NAMS are included in this thesis, irrespective of whether a policy is eventually implemented or not. Simultaneously, rejected policy suggestions are excluded to ensure that only relevant policy documents are incorporated.

2.1.3. Policy discourses

Besides analysing the actual policy content, it is important to understand discourses to explain a possible shift in frames that may have occurred due to the increase in immigration in 2015. All existing frames come together within one discourse (Hajer, 2002). Discourses concerning migration and integration issues frequently focus on problems which consequently problematises the subject, i.e. in this context 'the migrant'. Problematizing means that a subject is considered a problem and is often defined through generalised categorisation and classification to be more recognisable. This process frequently involves the introduction of a new and catchy term to add meaning to the problem and create support which is part of the policy formulation process. Words used to describe the subject can either have a positive or negative connotation. Migrants could, for example, be seen as a true refugee who fled the warzone, or contradictory as a disguised, economic refugee (Schrover & Schinkel, 2013). Schrover and Schinkel (2013) name four topoi concerning frames of migrants and migration, functioning as principles that justify arguments without comprising the argument. These topoi are economic (migrants are depicted as economically beneficial for the host society or as competition in the labour market while also being a burden on social security or the welfare state), humanitarian (countries want to be seen as humanitarian and simultaneously do not want to attract too many migrants by being humanitarian), endangering (migrants are depicted as a threat to social hierarchy, cohesion, sovereignty and security) and cultural (this topos poses migrants as being different from the 'home' population). The topoi can have both a negative and positive connotation, depicting migrants as either a problem or addition to society, except for endangering which only has a negative connotation.

The discourse on integration is based on a difference between what is included in society and what is outside society. In this way, problems are removed outside society. Integration policies have shifted towards achieving common citizenship, based on features such as a common language, democratic norms and values, and active participation. For this reason, the integration of citizens has started to be framed as ultimately acquiring citizenship (Poppelaars

& Scholten, 2008). Conversely, marginalisation can be linked to migrants as being non-integrated and therefore existing outside society (Schrover & Schinkel, 2013). Growing cultural differences are no longer perceived as characteristics of a multicultural society. Instead, they are framed as problematic cultural distances (Scholten, 2011). These problems are discarded as not our problems. Analysing the dominant frames before and after the increase in immigration, helps to understand how policies are formulated and subsequently how NAMS and their integration are framed.

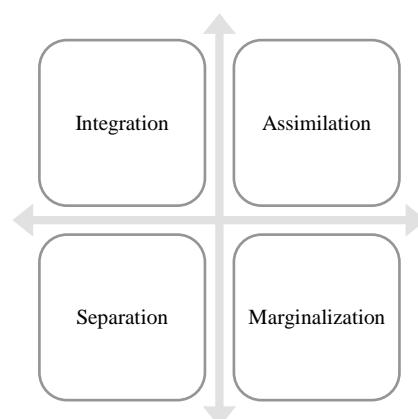
2.1.4. Integration models

As previously mentioned, the integration of incoming migrants is framed by the host society. These frames, in turn, influence integration strategies on both sides. There are multiple integration models to describe the way in which minority groups adapt to society. In this context, Berry (2011) describes different acculturation strategies. Acculturation strategies both depend on the adaptation of dominant and non-dominant ethnocultural groups living in a plural society. Applying the integration models of Berry's (2011) theory when analysing policy documents, allows assessing the way NAMS are expected to adapt to society. For this reason, this thesis focuses on the (expected) acculturation strategy of the non-dominant group in larger society in preparatory education policies.

Based on two axes, Berry (2011) identified four strategies. The first axe is the maintenance of one's own cultural heritage. The second one refers to the amount of contact with and participation of a non-dominant group in the larger society and with other

Figure 1

Acculturation strategies



ethnocultural groups. When intersecting these axes, four acculturation strategies are defined: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation (Figure 1). Either a positive or

negative orientation towards the maintenance of one's own cultural heritage or the level of contact and participation in larger society determines one's strategy. When individuals of the non-dominant group do not seek to maintain their own heritage in combination with having regular interaction with the dominant group and their culture, this is called the *assimilation* strategy: One is blending in with the dominant group. Assimilation is the opposite of the *separation* strategy where individuals wish to hold on to their own cultural heritage and simultaneously avoid having contact with others outside their own ethnocultural group. In the case of *integration*, individuals hold on to their cultural heritage to some degree and at the same time seek to participate actively in larger society while being a member of a non-dominant ethnocultural group. The last strategy is called *marginalisation*. This strategy applies to individuals who do not hold on to their cultural heritage, either willingly or mandatory. At the same time, these individuals do not actively participate in larger society or do not wish to have relations with others, mostly for reasons such as discrimination or exclusion (Berry, 2011). The content of public policies tries to steer non-dominant ethnocultural groups into adopting one of the acculturation strategies. While being a target group of the policy, individuals of non-dominant ethnocultural groups do not solely determine which acculturation strategy is applied. Members of the receiving society have a share in the process as well (Berry, 2003). In the case of integration as acculturation strategy, the dominant group has to be willing to include and interact with non-dominant groups to form a plural or diverse society.

2.1.5. Target populations

On the receiving end of the preparatory educational policies are NAMS aged from 12 to 18. Being the target group, NAMS are described, or labelled in a specific way, to add meaning to the subject or issue. Depending on the connotation of this label, NAMS are described as either an addition to or a problem for society. Schneider and Ingram (1993) underline the importance of the social construction of target group populations in public policy. Social constructions are related to the public discourse and therefore have political meaning. Target group constructs are based on distinct features of particular individuals or groups whose behaviour and well-being are, in turn, influenced by the effect of the concerning public policy. According to Ingram et al. (2007) the way a policy is designed structures opportunities and assigns different measures to various constructed target groups, regarding the way the government operates and how the government will treat them.

Target group populations are categorised along two dimensions: a social construction dimension and a power dimension. Whether a group is perceived as deserving or undeserving

of a policy measure, depends on their position on the social construction dimension. Moreover, target groups are placed on a gradient of powerful on the one side to weak on the other side of the power dimension. Both dimensions are shaped as continuous axes that intersect and together form a matrix which shows the four types of target populations created by Schneider and Ingram (Pierce et al., 2014). The four types of target group populations are advantaged, contenders, dependants and deviants. *Advantaged* populations are perceived as powerful and are positively constructed. It is expected that they receive an unreasonable share of benefits and little burdens. *Contenders* are seen as powerful with excessive resources but are negatively constructed. They are expected to receive secretive benefits and a few burdens that are effortlessly eroded. *Dependants* are considered weak but are positively constructed by the public and are therefore considered deserving. The dependants are expected to receive rhetorical and insufficient benefits and simultaneously little but obscure burdens. *Deviants* are considered both weak and undeserving as they are negatively constructed. This results in the expectation that this group receives minimal to no benefits and an excessive share of burdens (Pierce et al., 2014; Schneider & Ingram, 1993). The way NAMS are perceived as deserving of policy instruments depends on their position on both axes of the matrix.

Pierce et al. (2014) state that groups that have been categorised based on the target group matrix are not permanently framed in this category. When a target group changes its power (higher/lower) or how it is socially constructed (positive/negative), these populations can move from one category to another. Hudson and Gonyea (2012) determine multiple causes for the changes that can be categorised as internal and external factors. Similarly, Schneider and Ingram (2005) have written that a shift from one target group population to another could be the result of various situations, such as external dramatic events that influence the policy subsystem. Whether the social construction of target groups changed due to the increase in immigration in 2015 is part of the analysis of this thesis.

2.1.6. Mainstreaming

The opposite of targeting populations in public policies is the mainstreaming of policies. An increase in diversity in Europe in general and in the Netherlands in particular has made it difficult to create and adopt policies that target all population groups individually, especially due to rising numbers of *different* migrant groups and categories (Vertovec, 2007). Mainstreaming is a recent trend to cope with this challenge in policymaking. Scholten, Collett and Petrovic (2016) state that mainstreaming is mostly defined as a shift in both policy focus and governance. Instead of directing policies at specific target groups, mainstreaming moves

towards generic policies that target all people in society. In terms of the social construction of target groups, diversity requires to be reframed as a phenomenon that includes the whole society instead of solely focusing on non-dominant ethnocultural groups.

Additionally, mainstreaming involves a shift towards a more poly-centric mode of governance, instead of a state-centric one. Polycentrism is part of a governance method which is described as multi-level governance. Mainstreaming policies started within fields such as gender, disability, and environment, and have more recently been concerned with migrant integration as well. Even though mainstreaming in this field seems to be only partial so far, efforts that have been made do show acknowledgement for diversity as a fundamental part of society. The trend of mainstreaming migrant integration policies is relevant for this research because it may also be applied in preparatory education policies. If this is the case, preparatory education policies can be interwoven with generic education policies.

2.2. Multi-level governance

The context in which policies are created influences the policy formulation process. Municipalities are responsible for facilitating preparatory education. This contributes to acquiring a comprehensive understanding of the formulation of local-level policies. First, the context of multi-level governance is described, followed by an explanation of the relationship between national and local-level policymaking which is referred to as the local turn.

During the last decades, a shift took place from 'government' to a form of 'governance'. The former is a state-centric structure in which state actors are responsible for societal steering. Conversely, the latter form involves multi-actor networks which are both governmental and non-governmental, containing various strategies to solve societal problems. Open communication between involved stakeholders is important to convince them of the value of a policy (Bekker, Fengers, & Scholten, 2017). One way to do convince them, is by involving these actors by executing policymaking in a multi-level governance setting. Multi-level governance is a form of governance which involves cooperation and involvement of personal relations that exist between multiple levels of governmental and non-governmental organisations. This type of governance is characterised by the lack of a clear dominant governmental level or actor (Scholten & Penninx, 2016). To describe the interdependent relations that exist between the involved organisations, Campomori and Caponio (2016) refer to a vertical and a horizontal axis to visualise the structure of a matrix. The organisations involved in the policymaking process who are not on the same hierarchical levels are located on the vertical axis which refers to the 'multi-level' aspect. The horizontal axis refers to the

interdependent governmental and non-governmental organisations that collaborate on the same level of government, which refers to the ‘governance’ facet of the concept (Bache & Flinders, 2004 cited in Campomori & Caponio, 2016). In other words, combining governmental and non-governmental organisations of multiple hierarchical levels in the policymaking process, fits the literal description of multi-level governance.

According to Scholten (2012), multi-level governance is not always successful. Different frames of policy problems are battling to be the dominant political discourse and consequently determine the political agenda for policymaking. An existing multiplicity of frames causes different angles regarding policy definitions and perceptions of reality (Fischer, 2003, cited in Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008). In case there is a lack of consistency in a problem definition, the process of multi-level governance becomes more complicated. This is because differently defined issues might require contradictory instruments to be solved. Such issues are described as ‘wicked’ policy problems (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008). Policy issues such as immigration and integration can be understood as such ‘wicked’ problems as their numerous contradictory frames often result in a lack of consensus on the problem definition and solution.

2.2.1. The local turn

This research focuses on policy formulation of a local government, the municipality of Rotterdam, which is executed within the context of multi-level governance. Previously, immigration policies have mostly been researched with a focus on the context of the national government. However, in recent years various scholars have shown that the local level – most importantly the city level – had an influence. The local level therefore gained an important and entrepreneurial role regarding migrant integration policies (Glick-Schiller & Çaglar, 2009; Zapata-Barrero, Caponio, & Scholten, 2017). Zapata-Barrero, Caponio and Scholten (2017) describe the recognition of the role of the local government in immigration policies as a local turn which allows for the understanding of the diverging responses of cities or regions to comparable challenges. Looking at the policy response of Rotterdam to the increase of NAMS in preparatory education generates more insight in the role of Rotterdam as a local actor in the process of policy formulation in this domain.

Dekker, Emilsson, Krieger and Scholten (2015) researched the role of national and local governments in the policymaking process of integration policies based on three theses. First, the local dimension thesis argues that local governments would respond differently than the national government due to the confrontation with migrant integration challenges on the local level. Simultaneously, this thesis states that different local governments respond comparably.

Their results found partial support for the ‘nationalist models of integration’ and the ‘localist’ theses. In light of the horizontal and vertical dimensions, the local dimension thesis assumes congruency on the horizontal dimension, referring to similarities between local policies, and incongruency on the vertical dimension which implies differences between local and national integration policies. Secondly, the localist thesis states that integration policies between local and national levels differ. Meaning that incongruencies exist on the vertical and horizontal dimension, resulting in largely decoupled integration policies (Dekker, Emilsson, Krieger & Scholten, 2015). Lastly, the national models of integration, also described as centralist by Scholten (2013), assumes that top-down hierarchical governance structures result in local policies aligning with national policies. This thesis assumes congruencies on the vertical dimension and incongruencies on the horizontal dimension, i.e. between local governments in varying countries or within one country.

In the context of Rotterdam, this research found partial support for both the localist and the national models of integration theses. Local integration policies in Rotterdam appear to be in line with integration policies on the national level. However, simultaneously Rotterdam functions as a policy entrepreneur in the context of multi-level governance. For this reason, Rotterdam cannot be considered a simple implementer of national policies. Instead, there exists a reciprocal multi-level interaction between local and national governmental organisations. Accordingly, Poppelaars & Scholten (2008) conclude that national-level policies might have an important symbolic value but are limitedly useful to be applied in practice on a local level. To find out whether there exists a discrepancy in policy formulations between different governmental levels, policy documents concerning preparatory education for NAMS are analysed within the context of multi-level governance.

2.3. Gaps in literature

It is valuable to specifically research the impact of an increase in immigration on preparatory education policies for NAMS in a multi-level governance context, because of the growing focus of the government to integrate immigrants into active citizens. Researching the formulation of local-level preparatory education policies in a multi-level governance context contributes not only to the existing theory concerning integration policies with an explicit focus on education for children between 12 and 18 years old. It further contributes to the existing theory on policy formulation of a local-level government in the context of multi-level governance.

There has been substantial research on integration policies. Various articles cover the discourse of integration policies using a multi-level governance perspective (Campomori &

Caponio, 2016; Scholten & Penninx, 2016; Caponio & Jones-Correa, 2018). This has also been done using the Netherlands as a case study and taking discourses and frames into account (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008; Scholten, 2012). Other articles explicitly examine the changing role of discourses and framing in integration policies (Rein & Schön, 1993; Scholten, 2011; Schrover & Schinkel, 2013). However, the main focus is on integration policies in general, leaving out a more specific focus on preparatory education policies.

Integration policies in the Netherlands and Rotterdam have been researched previously, but there exists a lack of focus on preparatory education policies for NAMS. For this reason, the specific focus on preparatory education policies is especially important to acquire a full understanding of the existing policies and the impact of a critical event such as the increase in immigration in 2015.

Additionally, more research is needed on the influence of local level governments, including cities, on national integration policies (Zapata-Barrero, Caponio, & Scholten, 2017). The research of Zapata-Barrero, Caponio, and Scholten (2017) specifically highlights the demand for level-specific studies. This thesis does not research the effect of the local-level policies of Rotterdam on national-level policies. Instead, it analyses whether the local policies are in line with national policies.

2.4. Expectations

When looking at the impact of critical events on dominant frames, considering that integration is a highly politicised subject in Rotterdam, it is expected that a shift in frames has occurred as a result of the increase in immigration. According to Fengers, Bekkers, and Scholten (2017), external events may cause the dominant frame to be replaced by another one. The municipality's focus on the reduction of immigration, while simultaneously making incoming migrants responsible for their integration process (Scholten, 2012), leads to the expectation that incoming migrants would be framed as being *Dependant* in the target group population categories of Schneider and Ingram (1993) before the increase in immigration and leaning more towards being framed as *Deviant* after the increase.

Focusing on the multi-level governance context in which preparatory education policies are made, it is expected that the local-level policies will be largely in line with national policies. The municipality of Rotterdam is expected to formulate more pragmatic policies (Dekker, Emilsson, Krieger, & Scholten, 2015). When compared to the national level, the municipality of Rotterdam has to cope with more practicalities as it is a local government.

Chapter 3. Methodology

This chapter provides an overview on how the data was collected, the number of documents that were found, and which method was applied to perform the analysis.

3.1. Research question

The goal of this research is to assess whether preparatory education policies in Rotterdam have been impacted by the increase in immigration in 2015. To examine the impact, the possible change in policy content and used frames was analysed before and after the increase in immigration. Moreover, the research was executed in the context of multi-level governance. This was done through comparative analysis to determine whether the content of local policies matched the content of policies on the national level. In sum, the data collection and analysis were based on the following research question:

How did the increase in immigration in 2015 impact the policy content and framing of newly arrived migrant students and their integration in local secondary preparatory education policies in Rotterdam?

To answer the main research question, the following sub-questions (SQ) were formulated.

- *SQ1: What is the difference in the content of policies regarding preparatory education for NAMS before and after the increase in immigration in 2015?*

This sub-question provided an overview of the content of policy documents concerning preparatory education before and after the increase of incoming migrants in 2015 to examine potential organisational or practical changes.

- *SQ2: What is the impact of the increase in immigration in 2015 on applied frames within preparatory education policies?*

To answer this sub-question, the frames applied to NAMS and their integration before and after the increase in immigration were analysed. The goal of this sub-question was to assess whether there existed a difference in frames used in policies before and after the increase in immigration.

- *SQ3: To what extent is the local policy formulation in Rotterdam in line with national policy formulation?*

This sub-question answered the question whether policies regarding secondary preparatory education on the local level in Rotterdam were formulated similar to policies on the national level.

3.2. Research design

This thesis executed qualitative research. Traditionally, qualitative research is inductive and does not compose a hypothesis or a specific coding frame before starting the data analysis (Bowen, 2006). A popular research approach to construct theoretical ideas on empirical data is the grounded theory approach. The grounded theory approach uses patterns in raw data to construct a new theory. However, multiple authors advert that grounded theory has not been able to develop theories due to its solely inductive focus (Emerson, 1987; Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). Without taking into account already formulated theories, research could be influenced by ignorance or even lead to the rediscovery of already existing knowledge (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012).

Based on this criticism, this research used an abductive form of analysis which means that a set of theories were used as a base to execute this research. Before the data analysis, sensitising concepts that were based on the theoretical framework were formulated. The sensitising concepts functioned as a guide while coding the policy documents. To answer the research question, the data as analysed in two parts: before and after the increase in immigration in 2015. This is done for both the local and national-level policies which in the end were compared to assess whether the policies were in line with each other or show a different pattern.

Sensitising concepts

In the 1950s, Blumer (1954) introduced sensitising concepts to meet separated theories and the empirical world in the middle. While definite concepts or codes refer directly to its subject through clear definitions or descriptions, Blumer (1954, p.7) describes sensitising concepts as missing this clear link (to move directly) to the subject. Instead, sensitising concepts provide an orientation when looking at empirical data. Where predefined codes impose a certain perspective on the subject, sensitising concepts solely suggest different angles regarding the analysis.

According to Given (2003), using sensitising concepts in qualitative research has three benefits. First, sensitising concepts are a useful methodological instrument to enter the world of meaning of the target group. Secondly, they offer a solution to the inherent problem of inductive research for the structuring of raw and unique data, particularly for the researched

subject. Lastly, sensitising concepts enable researchers to recognise developed concepts that have already been empirically grounded. For this reason, sensitising concepts were used to perform the data analysis in this research. During the analysis, these concepts were edited, supplemented or removed, following the content of the analysed documents.

3.3. Operationalisation

In line with abductive research, sensitising concepts were identified based on the theoretical framework (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). Accordingly, the sensitising concepts functioned as a guide while coding the documents (Given, 2003). This led to the incorporation of all important aspects of the theory. Table 1 provides a visualisation of the sensitising concepts and their corresponding dimensions.

First, the category Acculturation Strategy describes the expectation of the government concerning the acculturation strategy of migrants. Based on the theory of Berry (2011), two groups were depicted as participating in society and two groups were depicted as unwilling to participate and as separating themselves from society. Based on these two groups, the two corresponding dimensions of acculturation strategy were labelled as *Participating* and *Separated*. Integration and assimilation were categorised in the Participation group, while the acculturation strategies separation and marginalisation were categorised in the Separated group.

Secondly, the target group populations, as described by Schneider and Ingram (1993), were added and used to research in which category NAMS were placed in the policy documents. While remaining open to additional categories that could be found during the analysis, two concepts were added to the table: deserving and undeserving. Advantaged and Dependants were listed under Deserving, whilst Contenders and Deviants were listed under Undeserving, depending on the positive or negative construction of these groups.

At last, the category Discourse was added and divided into two sub-categories: Problematisation and Addition. These codes present the way NAMS were framed. The category Problematisation consists of frames with a negative connotation, while the category Addition consists of positive frames. The categories that were described by Schrover and Schinkel (2013) were subdivided assigned to both dimensions. Economic (migrants as competition in the labour market and persons becoming a burden on social security or the welfare state), Humanitarian (the country does not want to attract too many migrants by being humanitarian), Endangering (migrants are depicted as a threat to social hierarchy, cohesion, sovereignty and security) and Cultural (describes migrants as other than 'home' population, threat) were assigned to Problematisation. The categories Economic (migrants as economically beneficial for host

society), Humanitarian (countries want to be seen as humanitarian), and Cultural (describes migrants as other than ‘home’ population, enriching) were assigned to the category Addition.

Table 1.

Sensitising concepts and dimensions

Sensitising Concepts	Dimensions	Further dimensions
Acculturation Strategy	Participating	Integration
		Assimilation
	Separated	Segregation Marginalisation
Target group population	Deserving	Advantaged Dependants
	Undeserving	Contender Deviants
Discourse	Problematization	Economic burden Cultural Humanitarian Endangering
		Addition

3.4. Methods

3.4.1. Data collection

To answer the research question, a discourse analysis was performed to examine policy documents concerning preparatory secondary education. The policy documents were collected through the websites officielebekendmakingen.nl and rotterdam.raadsinformatie.nl. The first source mainly provided documents concerning national policies while the latter gave access to documents regarding policies on the local level in Rotterdam.

In preparation for the analysis, documents were collected on both websites using the keywords *EOA, *Eerste Opvang Anderstaligen, *ISK, *Internationale Schakelklas,

*Nieuwkomersonderwijs *Nieuwkomers Onderwijs, *Nieuwkomerskinderen, *Vreemdelingenkinderen and *Migrantenkinderen. Relevant documents from 01-01-2012 up until 31-12-2018 were included in the data analysis to acquire a full understanding of the existing policies.

The website officielebekendmakingen.nl was used to collect documents concerning secondary education for NAMS on the national governmental level. These documents were letters to the parliament, policy documents, nota's and Government Gazettes. Files covering parliamentary debates, external researches, and municipal documents were excluded. In case a document was edited and published multiple times, the latest version of the document was included in the analysis.

Collecting relevant documents on officelebekendmakingen.nl led to 36 relevant results, of which five documents were created up until 06/2015 and 31 documents after 06/2016. The executed queries led to 15 relevant results on the website Rotterdam.raadsinformat.nl. Of the relevant documents, four were created up until 06/2015, and the remaining 11 documents were created after 06/2015. The files were policy documents or letters to the local council. An overview of the number of documents that were found by specific keywords per website is given in Table 2.

Table 2.

Results per keyword

Source	Keyword	Results	Relevant
Officiële bekendmakingen	EOA	32	6
	Eerste Opvang Anderstaligen	15	2
	ISK	181	10
	Internationale Schakelklas	112	9
	Nieuwkomersonderwijs	29	2
	Nieuwkomers Onderwijs	2	0
	Nieuwkomerskinderen	15	2
	Vreemdelingenkinderen	31	4
	Migrantenkinderen		
	Totaal	36	

Rotterdam Raadsinformatie			
EOA		3	0
Eerste Opvang Anderstaligen		0	0
ISK		69	10
Internationale Schakelklas		11	1
Nieuwkomersonderwijs		1	0
Nieuwkomers onderwijs		8	1
Nieuwkomerskinderen		0	0
Vreemdelingenkinderen		0	0
Migrantenkinderen		33	3
		Total	15

3.4.2. Data analysis

The documents were analysed qualitatively, using the analysis software Atlas.ti. The coding was executed by analysing the content and the frames used in the policy documents. This was done by applying and adjusting the sensitising concepts as described in the operationalisation, which resulted in 45 codes. The full coding tree is illustrated in Appendix 1.

An extra element called Policy Goals was added during the coding. Coding the goal of the policy was helpful in describing the content and direction of the policies. Mainstreaming was added to look for policies that applied this specific method of policymaking. Finally, a dimension labelled as Shift was created. This dimension focused on identifying the shifts in the number of NAMS and the priority of the government in the organisation of preparatory education. Sensitising concepts were not removed from the coding tree when not used during the coding. The motivation to preserve these codes was to be able to reflect on the result that these codes were not found during the analysis.

The acculturation strategies that NAMS apply or are expected to apply was analysed through the acculturation models of Berry (2011). The positive or negative connotation or problematisation of NAMS was analysed using the theory of Schrover and Schinkel (2013). Lastly, the framework of Schneider and Ingram (1993) served to analyse the frames concerning NAMS as target group population.

In a last step, the similarities or differences between the local policies of Rotterdam and national-level policies were analysed. This was done to gain insight into the difference in policy formulation between both levels, which provides insight into the relationship between the national government and local government of Rotterdam in the multi-level governance context.

To create a clear overview of the coding, the documents were grouped into four separate groups in Atlas.ti: national-level policies up until June 2015, regional level policies up until June 2015, national-level policies after June 2015, and regional level policies during and after June 2015. The documents were analysed accordingly.

3.5. Ethical considerations

The policy documents that were used to perform the research are all located on public websites. For this reason, no additional measures were needed to be taken to protect sensitive or private data. Through performing a qualitative research results were influenced by personal bias in the data collection and analysis. That is why it is not possible to claim pure objectivity in the research findings.

Chapter 4. Case Description

The object of analysis in this thesis are secondary preparatory education policies for Newly Arrived Migrant Students in Rotterdam. This chapter explains the choices that were made to focus on secondary preparatory education policies for NAMS and Rotterdam as a local level within the multi-level governance context.

4.1. The city Rotterdam

A high level of diversity characterises the population of Rotterdam. About 50 percent of its citizens have a migration background. Currently, mostly non-Western migrants are moving to the city. Due to the high number of incoming migrants, Rotterdam has the most secondary preparatory schools in the Netherlands (Bilgili, 2019; Maan, van Breugel, & Scholten, 2013). Similar to the national government, municipalities create policies to stimulate integration. Initially, Rotterdam's migrant integration policies were relatively accommodative, i.e. policies primarily focused on the socio-economic dimension of integration regarding the labour market and housing (Dekker, Emilsson, Krieger, & Scholten, 2015). During local elections in 2002, a new right-winged party called 'Liveable Rotterdam' won, resulting in its participation in the local coalition (Maan, van Breugel, & Scholten, 2013). From this point on, integration has become a highly politicised topic in Rotterdam. Liveable Rotterdam has capitalised on the resentment towards diversity, mainly associated with Muslim migrants. Integration policies shifted from a multiculturalist towards a more assimilationist approach. Starting from 2006, this assimilationist shift has been followed by a more universalist approach in which integration policies were mostly mainstreamed and integration was no longer specifically mentioned within policies (Dekker, Emilsson, Krieger, and Scholten, 2015). The combination of Rotterdam's highly diverse population with a large number of secondary preparatory schools, and integration as a highly politicised topic, make Rotterdam a unique case to research.

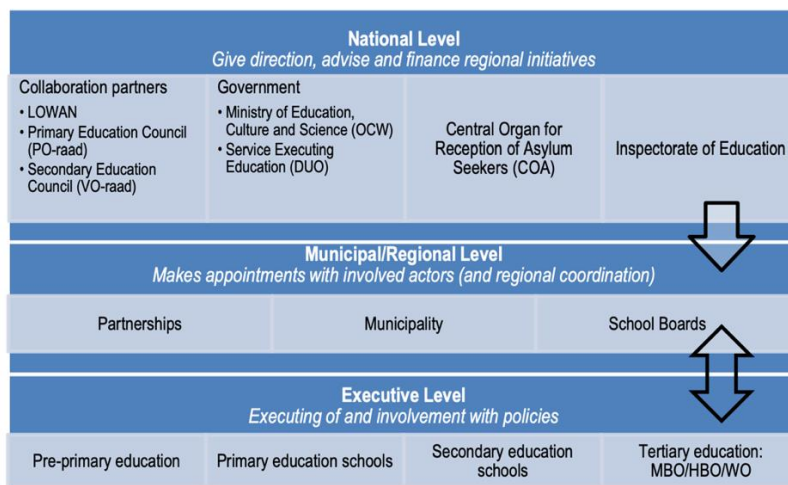
This thesis focuses on the local level dimension in multi-level governance, specifically on the context of the municipality of Rotterdam. Current debates on the development of integration policies concern the dynamics between national and local governments. Research of Dekker, Emilsson, Krieger, and Scholten (2015) finds that Rotterdam's integration policy development shows multilevel interactions in the form of mutual exchanges between national and local governments. Meaning that local dynamics play a role in shaping national integration

policies and vice versa. To understand Rotterdam’s local-level policies, the national context is involved in the analysis.

4.2. Actors

In the policymaking process for education in the Netherlands, there are governmental and non-governmental actors involved on a supra-national, national, regional and local level, making it inevitable to apply a multi-level governance perspective when analysing educational policies. This research solely incorporates policies of involved governmental organisations. On the local level, this comprises the local council of Rotterdam and the councillor of Education, Youth and Health. On the national level, these are the Ministry of Education and Service Executing Education (DUO). However, to understand the policy field and content of preparatory education, a complete overview of all actors involved in the field of preparatory education is illustrated in Figure 1, which are explained in the following section.

Figure 1. Actors involved in preparatory education for NAMS



(Maarse, van Es, & Schilder, 2017)

National level

On the national level, there are multiple actors involved that steer the other, lower levels by providing guidelines, advise and financial support (Maarse, van Es, & Schilder, 2017). LOWAN is a non-governmental organisation that supports school boards and schools with information about preparatory education to NAMS. In collaboration with the ministry of OCW, LOWAN (2017) designed an action plan for schools to provide tools to set up preparatory secondary education for NAMS.

Local level

According to Scholten and Penninx (2016), integration policies have experienced a local turn where local governments of larger cities in Europe have taken up more initiative to create their own integration goals. Especially in integration policies, which are likely to differ from national policies due to a more practical nature, multi-level governance is applicable. Guiraudon (1997) argues there might be a difference in openness towards migrant groups between local government groups and national authorities. Possible reasons for this are invisible policy negotiations and greater proximity between the national government and migrant associations than between local governments and migrant associations.

Organisations involved in preparatory education for NAMS on a local level are the municipalities themselves, school boards, and partner organisations (Maarse, van Es, & Schilder, 2017). Actors on this level formulate policies to provide NAMS with sufficient education, while they simultaneously need to take the policies on the national level into account. An important partner in secondary preparatory education in Rotterdam is Koers-VO. This is a collaboration of municipalities, social services, education, and parents in the Rotterdam area. The municipality or a family member of a NAMS can contact Koers-VO. Subsequently, Koers-VO tests the NAMS on its language and math skills. Based on the test results, the NAMS is enrolled into a preparatory class of a particular level of secondary education (Koers-VO, n.d.): pre-vocational secondary education (VMBO), general secondary education (HAVO) and pre-university education (VWO).

Executive level

Actors on the executive level are responsible for the execution of the policies that are formulated and eventually implemented. For multi-level governance to be successful, there needs to be consistency between national, local and executive-level regarding preparatory education for NAMS. (Maarse, van Es, & Schilder, 2017). This level, however, is not specifically included in this research as the focus lies on policies formulated by the municipality of Rotterdam.

4.3. The increase in immigration in 2015

Migration is a continuous process that has always been part of human history. The European Union (EU) has been an area of destination for years. However, in 2015 the EU experienced a sharp increase in incoming migrants. This increase has been framed as the “European refugee crisis”: a political and humanitarian crisis for the European Union (Sigona, 2018). Media

sources covering migration-related issues are mostly dominated by problem-orientation, associating incoming migrants or refugees with illegality, terrorism and crime. Such associations have caused a shift in public opinion towards questioning the legitimacy of asylum claims and the deservingness of help (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). This is what Sigona (2018) describes as a shift in frames from “welcome refugees” towards “unwelcome migrants”, which depicts incoming refugees as disguised economic migrants.

The dominant problematisation concerning incoming migrants in combination with integration being a highly politicised concept in Rotterdam makes it interesting to analyse the impact of the increase in immigration in 2015 on preparatory education policies. To be able to find changes in policies a timeframe was selected. The frame starts from January 2012 up until June 2015 for documents before the increase in immigration and from July 2015 up until December 2018 for documents after this increase.

4.4 Secondary preparatory education

Preparatory education is provided for NAMS of all ages: preschool education, primary education, and secondary education. As a result of the increase in immigration, there has been more pressure on creating sufficient preparatory education facilities for NAMS. In September 2015, 750 NAMS attended secondary preparatory education in Rotterdam, while in June 2016 this number increased to 960 NAMS (De Jonge, 2016). It is the responsibility of the municipality to enrol all NAMS in preparatory education within three months.

Despite the governments’ efforts to provide NAMS with enough skills to participate in regular education, research shows that when compared to native students, students with a migration background are underrepresented in higher tracks of secondary education and overrepresented in lower tracks of prevocational education (Bilgili, 2019). One possible explanation is the highly stratified education system in the Netherlands (Maarse, van Es, & Schilder, 2017). Children are assigned to different levels based on their cognitive and emotional skills when they are 12 years old (Bilgili, 2019). Stratification starting from a young age makes it more challenging for children to move upwards to a higher educational level. Due to the overrepresentation of NAMS in the lower levels of pre-vocational education, this thesis focuses on secondary preparatory education policies specifically.

Chapter 5. Results

This chapter first describes the results based on the formulated sub-questions one and two. Sub-question three is answered by using the provided answers of sub-questions one and two. After describing the results, they are analysed based on the theoretical framework, which is provided in chapter two.

In the data collection, 15 local-level policy documents have been found: 4 (27%) were created up until June 2015, versus 11 (73%) documents that were created after June 2015. A similar pattern is visible for the creation of national-level policy documents, where 4 (11%) documents were formulated up until June 2015 and 31 (89%) after. This is a total of 35 national-level documents (Table 3). The codes that have been formulated during the policy analysis are presented in Table 2 in Appendix 1.

Table 3.

Overview policy documents

Level	Up until 06-2015	After 06-2015
Local	4	11
National	4	31

Sub-question 1. What is the difference in the content of policies regarding preparatory education for NAMS before and after the increase in immigration in 2015?

To find out the difference in content between preparatory education policies for NAMS before and after the migrant increase, the documents have been grouped based on the date of creation. The analysis starts by analysing the local-level policy documents of the municipality of Rotterdam, this is followed by the national-level policy documents. The section is ended with an overview on the most important findings.

Local-level policies

Before the increase in immigration, the municipality of Rotterdam created four documents concerning preparatory secondary education for NAMS. One of the topics which mostly came to light in these documents was funding. The documents highlight that that preparatory schools are not able to apply for regional funding allocated for education. Preparatory schools receive

funding of the national government. This is not organised through Rotterdam's local policies¹. Koers-Vo is the organisation that tests all NAMS to determine if they are enrolled in a preparatory school for functional illiterate students and that offer pre-vocational secondary level education. The group of functional illiterate students is very small². Additionally, the policy document mentions that "parental involvement is highly valued in schools in Rotterdam (in preparatory schools as well) ... Schools with relatively many NAMS already inform their parents about particular subjects. Schools stand the closest to the parents and their children and therefore know where there exists a need for information"³.

Remarkably, two of the local level documents specifically focus on NAMS that migrated from Middle- and Eastern-European countries. In 2013, an implementation agenda was published that specifically focuses on EU labour-migrants and that encompasses a chapter concerning the education of their accompanying children as well. A possible explanation for the focus on these ethnocultural groups is that schools are aware of the possible increase of Bulgarian and Romanian children, due to the removal of working permits as of the 1st of January 2014⁴. The municipality of Rotterdam aims to reduce problems of labour migrants' children in education by informing parents on the Dutch educational system, including their rights and obligations. In March 2015, the municipality of Rotterdam published 'Integration 010', which is a policy document concerning Integration. Preparatory education is explicitly mentioned in this nota, describing education as the key to a good future⁵. One of the focus points that is mentioned is that the municipality of Rotterdam is discussing with the educational field, the Minister of OCS and partnered cities to improve the quality of preparatory education for these students⁶, showing the intention to offer NAMS better education at the beginning of 2015.

When looking at the content of local-level documents that were created after June 2015, the number of local-level policies shows a significant increase (four before versus eleven documents that were created after June 2015). Multiple points of interest come up frequently, such as funding, the increase in NAMS enrolling in preparatory education, multi-level

¹ Schoolbesturen van scholen die vallen onder de WPO en WVO. Deze subsidie geldt niet voor de Internationale Schakelklassen (ISK). De ISK hebben een aparte regeling via het Rijk. Deze loopt niet via deze beleidsregel (Document 45, 2012, p. 20).

² Koers VO is de organisatie die alle kinderen vanaf 12 jaar screent en test alvorens ze op een Internationale Schakelklas (ISK) geplaatst worden ... Het ene type is een ISK voor laaggeletterden en VMBO leerlingen en het andere type is ISK havo-vwo. Op grond van de test worden kinderen geleid naar het juiste schooltype (Document 39, pp. 2-3).

³ Op Rotterdamse scholen (ook op ISK) is ouderbetrokkenheid een item wat hoog in het vaandel staat. ... Scholen met relatief veel nieuwkomers geven al voorlichting over verschillende onderwerpen. Zij staan het dichtst bij deze ouders en weten waar de informatiebehoefte ligt (Document 40, p. 4)

⁴ De scholen zijn zich bewust van de mogelijke toename van het aantal Bulgaarse en Roemeense kinderen door het wegvallen van de werkvergunning per 1 januari 2014 (Document 50, p. 3).

⁵ Onderwijs is de sleutel tot een goede toekomst (Document 47, p. 15).

⁶ Op dit moment is de gemeente Rotterdam in gesprek met het scholen- veld, Ministerie van OCW en partnersteden om het onderwijs aan deze leerlingen een kwaliteitsimpuls te geven (Document 47, p. 15).

governance collaboration structures, and challenges such as hiring adequate teachers, transferring from preparatory into regular education, and different backgrounds of NAMS.

Preparatory education policies frequently report on the increase of NAMS in the municipality. In a letter to the Commission of among which Education, the Minister of Education, Youth and Care (EJZ) stated that the influx of preparatory education (ISK) students increased since September 2015. In January, two extra classes have been established. In May, supplementary places have been created⁷. A subsequent letter obtained more specifics, stating that the five preparatory schools experienced an increase in the number of enrolled students. The total grow amounts to 28% (and 210 absolute)⁸.

The Minister of EJZ stated that he was negotiating with the national government, the VNG, the PO-raad and other parties concerning the financial consequences due the increase in immigration⁹ in early January 2016. However, financing for preparatory schools is regulated through the national government instead of municipalities. This can be derived from a document describing the organisation of preparatory education in June 2016. The document stated that schools expanded the number of classes themselves. Schools were able to do so because of the extra resources that were allocated by the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science (OCW)¹⁰. As finances for preparatory education are facilitated by the national government, formulated local-level policies do not thoroughly mention finances.

When looking at the local-level, signs of multi-level governance show clearly. Except for funding for preparatory schools, the responsibility to organise this form of education is almost fully decentralised to municipalities. Besides housing refugees, municipalities are responsible to collaborate with school boards to enrol children of school age in education¹¹. By collaborating on the local-level, municipalities can provide education close to students' homes. In January, the existing five preparatory schools were examining the possibility to create additional preparatory schools in suburban districts¹². In that time, both national and local governmental organisations made agreements and took measures in channelling the immigrant

⁷ Ook de instroom van ISK leerlingen blijft sinds september 2015 stijgen. In januari zijn er twee klassen extra gerealiseerd. In mei worden er weer nieuwe plekken gecreëerd (Document 37, 2016, p. 2).

⁸ Dit schooljaar hebben de vijf ISK locaties ook een groei in leerlingenaantal doorgemaakt. De totale groei bedroeg 28% (en absoluut 210) (Document 36, 2016, p. 2).

⁹ Het gesprek met het rijk, de VNG, PO-raad en andere partijen over de financiële gevolgen van de verhoogde instroom (Document 38, 2016, p. 1).

¹⁰ De betrokken scholen hebben zelf gezorgd voor uitbreiding van nieuwe klassen. Het totaal aantal groepen is aan het einde van het schooljaar 60. De schoolbesturen zijn zelf in staat om met de OCW middelen te zorgen voor extra capaciteit (Document 36, 2016, p. 2).

¹¹ De gemeente heeft een taakstelling om statushouders te huisvesten en er samen met de schoolbesturen voor te zorgen dat leerplichtige kinderen onderwijs krijgen (Document 38, 2016, p. 2).

¹² Meer regionale samenwerking is nodig om ... onderwijs dichtbij huis aan te bieden. De vijf ISK locaties zijn met een aantal middelbare scholen in de regio in gesprek om te onderzoeken of ISK ook in de randgemeenten te starten is (Document 38, 2016, p. 3).

influx¹³. Later, the plan to start three new preparatory schools in the suburbs of Rotterdam was realised. In total, these schools have a capacity to educate 60 NAMS, which reduces pressure on preparatory schools located in Rotterdam¹⁴.

Of the eleven documents, four documents describe challenges that are experienced in the organisation of preparatory education in Rotterdam. One of the policy documents concerning the children of MOE-labour migrants, state that the children that do not attend schools or do not have a legal guardian are hard to track by through registrations¹⁵. This makes it hard to check whether all NAMS are attending school. In April 2016, Minister de Jonge noted that finding competent teachers remains a bottle neck. For this reason, schools start recruiting teachers in advance¹⁶. By recruiting in advance, schools can anticipate better on uninspected increases in enrolling NAMS.

Transferring from preparatory education into regular education remains one of the challenges on the local level, especially concerning NAMS of sixteen and seventeen years old. Children of this age enrol into preparatory education but have limited time to enrol into regular secondary education and obtain their diploma before turning eighteen¹⁷. Simultaneously, schools have an influence in this complexity, as vocational schools are hesitant to accept NAMS that apply for an educational program. Vocational schools believe that NAMS still benefit from attending secondary education¹⁸.

Additionally, schools are required to be highly flexible in anticipating on the fluctuating number of NAMS attending preparatory education. NAMS might move to a different municipality or need to leave the country. For this reason, NAMS often attend a class for only a couple of months. On top of this, new children arrive in asylum centres throughout the year. These children enrol in already existing classes in the middle of a school year¹⁹. Because NAMS often have great differences in education which they received, there exist great differences between NAMS as well²⁰. This complicates teaching this specific group of students.

¹³ Zowel landelijk als stedelijk worden maatregelen genomen en afspraken gemaakt om de vluchtelingeninstroom in goede banen te leiden (Document 38, 2016, p. 5).

¹⁴ Er start per 1 september een ISK in Nissewaard met een capaciteit van 60 leerlingen. In Capelle a/d IJssel start per 1 september een ISK klas voor 16 leerlingen. Door deze ontwikkelingen zal de druk op de Rotterdamse ISK scholen afnemen (Document 36, 2016, p. 2).

¹⁵ De kinderen die niet naar school gaan en/of geen wettelijke voogden hebben, zijn moeilijker via registraties te achterhalen (Document 48, 2015, p. 2). (MOE)

¹⁶ Het vinden van de juiste docenten blijft een knelpunt, daarom beginnen ze eerder met het wervingsproces (Document 37, 2016, p. 2).

¹⁷ Tot slot is de aansluiting van het ISK op het MBO een punt van aandacht. De 16- en 17-jarige leerlingen stromen in op het ISK, maar hebben te weinig tijd om voor hun achttiende de ISK te doorlopen en een diploma te halen (Document 38, 2016, p. 4).

¹⁸ Gelijktijdig zijn MBO instellingen terughoudend met het aannemen van deze leerlingen, omdat ze vinden dat deze jongeren nog baat hebben bij voortgezet onderwijs (Document 38, 2016, p. 4).

¹⁹ Een uitdaging is het grote verloop van de leerlingen. Omdat kinderen een woning in een andere gemeente toegewezen krijgen, of het land moeten verlaten, zitten zij vaak maar een aantal maanden in de klas. Bovendien arriveren er met regelmaat nieuwe kinderen in het azc, die midden in het schooljaar bij een bestaande klas aansluiten (Document 43, 2017, p. 9).

²⁰ Daarnaast hebben de scholen te maken met grote niveaoverschillen (Document 43, 2017, p. 9).

National policies

On the national-level, four documents were created concerning preparatory secondary education as well. All national-level policy documents that were created up until June 2015, cover the subject funding. This is the primary focus of all policy documents. Schools who hold more than four NAMS can apply to extra funding that is made available. All schools that provide secondary education to newcomers, can rely on this regulation, whether they are an ISK or not²¹.

Additionally, it was highlighted in 2012 that minors both have the right and are required to attend education. The obligation to attend education terminates when a minor turns eighteen years old. By providing minors with education, the Netherlands fulfils the obligation of the European Directive minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers, which restricts the right to education to minor asylum seekers²². The Minister of OCW stated that there are no formal hindrances for minor asylum seekers to participate in education. However, research to analyse whether there exist practical hindrances to attend education, needed to be executed in the future. Subsequently, in 2013, the Inspection of Education (hereafter Inspection) stated that in 2014 27 out of the total 80 preparatory schools will be visited. The first results of these visits will be shared in the Educational Report of 2015 and the final findings in the Educational Report of 2017. The primary goal of the research is to perform a problem exploration²³. This resembles the content of local-level policies, which seeks to improve the quality of preparatory education as well.

The number of documents created after June 2015 increased significantly (4 versus 31 documents), like the local-level policies after the increase in immigration. The topics funding, the increase in the number of NAMS, multi-level governance, and challenges in organising preparatory education such as enough adequate teachers, transferring from preparatory into regular education, and traumas of NAMS. The results section follows this order.

In a letter directed to Chairman of the House of Representatives the Minister of OCW states that the number of asylum seekers in the Netherlands has been increasing for some time. In 2013, 16.477 asylum seekers reported themselves at the Central Agency for the reception of

²¹ Er is overigens aanvullende bekostiging beschikbaar voor de eerste opvang van vreemdelingen en nieuwkomers. Alle scholen die voortgezet onderwijs geven aan nieuwkomers, kunnen een beroep doen op deze regeling of er nu een ISK is of niet (Document 17, p. 42; Document 18, p. 2)

²² Voor minderjarigen geldt de leer- en kwalificatieplicht. De plicht om onderwijs te volgen eindigt met het bereiken van de leeftijd van achttien jaar. Hiermee voldoet Nederland aan de verplichtingen uit de EU-Richtlijn minimumnormen opvang asielzoekers, waarin het recht op onderwijs beperkt wordt tot minderjarige asielzoekers (Document 10, p. 10)

²³ De inspectie bezoekt in 2014 27 van de tachtig EOA-scholen. De inspectie zal over de bestandsopname rapporteren in het Onderwijsverslag 2017. De eerste uitkomsten van deze bezoeken zullen worden gebruikt om verslag te doen in het Onderwijsverslag van 2015. Het onderzoek is primair een probleemverkenning (Document 8, p. 13)

Asylum Seekers (COA), in 2014 this number increased to 29.790²⁴. At that moment, both governmental and non-governmental organisations experience an increase in workload to assure all incoming NAMS are enrolled in education facilities within the given timeframe.

The general goal of the above-mentioned letter is to inform the House of Representatives about more flexible funding measures, to support preparatory schools who are facing high fluctuating rates of NAMS²⁵. High rates of incoming NAMS cause financial shortcomings in education. Preparatory schools do receive funding, but often too late²⁶. Adequate, flexible and customised financial solutions remain one of the primary focus points of the policy documents regarding preparatory education after the migrant increase, as finances are covered in almost half (13 out of 31) of the documents. The financial aspect is less prominently highlighted on the local level when compared to the national-level policies. An explanation for this is that funding for preparatory education is organised by the national government.

While organising enough preparatory education facilities, the Minister of OCW maintains contact with all parties involved. In a report concerning questions and answers regarding the budget of the Ministry of OCW, it is noted that the Minister had meetings with the Ministry of OCW, the Council of Primary Education (PO-raad), the Council of Secondary Education (VO-raad), the Council of Vocational Education, LOWAN, the Association of Dutch Municipalities (VNG), G4, the Ministry of Security and Justice (VenJ), the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment (VWS), the General Education Association (AOB), the National Federation of Christian Trade Unions in the Netherlands (CNV), the Inspection of Education, and the COA²⁷. Involvement of these various governmental and non-governmental parties in this policy domain, shows the presence of multi-level governance.

Lastly, the national documents describe several challenges that arise while organising preparatory education. Hiring enough and adequate teachers to educate NAMS is one of the challenges that arises in almost half (three out of eight) of the national-level documents after the migrant increase. Short after the peak of the increase, in October 2015, the Minister of OCW

²⁴ Het aantal asielzoekers in Nederland stijgt al enige tijd. In 2013 meldden zich 16.477 asielzoekers bij het Centraal Orgaan opvang Asielzoekers (COA), in 2014 nam dit aantal toe naar 29.790 (Document 29, p. 1)

²⁵ De leerplichtige kinderen van deze asielzoekers stromen gedurende het hele schooljaar in. Dit stelt scholen voor de uitdaging ook deze leerlingen onderwijs te bieden. Hiervoor is een toereikende bekostiging een voorwaarde ... Tevens heb ik aangegeven dat ik nader onderzoek of, en zo ja op welke wijze, de huidige regelingen aangepast moeten worden om te kunnen voldoen in geval van sterke fluctuaties in de leerlingaantallen. In deze brief informeer ik u over de resultaten van het onderzoek en de in het kader daarvan ontvangen signalen (Document 29, p. 1)

²⁶ Kern van de problematiek in het voortgezet onderwijs is een grote toename van nieuwkomers na 1 oktober, waardoor financiële tekorten kunnen ontstaan. Scholen krijgen in dit geval wel een adequate bekostiging, maar ontvangen deze middelen vaak te laat (Document 29, p. 4)

²⁷ Het Ministerie van OCW blijft in gesprek met alle betrokken partijen. Zo heeft op donderdag 24 september een bestuurlijk overleg plaatsgevonden met het Ministerie van OCW, PO-raad, VO-raad, MBO-raad, LOWAN, VNG, G4, het Ministerie van VenJ, het Ministerie van SZW, het Ministerie van VWS, AOB, CNV, Inspectie van het Onderwijs en het COA (Document 35, p. 36)

to the Chairman of the House of Representatives that in that moment education is mostly facilitated by *Pabo*-graduates [primary education teachers], who are not certified to teach in secondary education²⁸. The Minister explained that schools tolerated this due to the pedagogical skills of these teachers, which fit the needs of NAMS often better than skills of qualified secondary education teachers²⁹. As a solution to the teacher shortage in preparatory secondary education, the government provides supplementary training and an exemption to be qualified to teach to NAMS in secondary education³⁰. Both LOWAN and secondary schools signal that not all teachers are capable to teach to NAMS, as they have to deal with great discrepancies in educational level, backgrounds, students' competences and a continuous influx of students³¹, which is reconfirmed in a letter to the House of Representatives on behalf of the Minister of OCW in February 2016³². However, at this moment *Pabo*-graduates are still officially unqualified to teach NAMS in secondary education³³. In July 2016 the Minister of OCW informed the House of Representatives that the size of current and prospective possible shortages of NT2 [Dutch as a second language] teachers³⁴.

A second aspect which is described as a challenge is the transfer of NAMS from secondary preparatory education towards regular secondary or vocational education. LOWAN and ITTA (Knowledge Institute for Language Development) stated in June 2015 that they started executing the creation of a development perspective, which aims to improve these transfers³⁵. One year later, the Minister of OCW reports that now refugee children have been enrolled in preparatory education, the transferal to regular education will initiate. Mastering a foreign language takes multiple years, so the level of linguistic development can be of influence on transferals between levels of education. That is why after an ISK-trajectory, newcomers

²⁸ Op dit moment wordt het onderwijs aan nieuwkomers vaak verzorgd door pabo-gediplomeerden. Zij zijn niet bevoegd om les te geven in het vo (Document 16, 2015, p. 4)

²⁹ De specifieke onderwijsbehoefte van deze leerlingen sluit niet altijd aan op de gebruikelijke bekwaamheden van een docent in het voortgezet onderwijs. Scholen wijzen erop dat zij vaak leraren met een PABO-opleiding en leraren met een specialisme in het NT2-onderwijs hiervoor hebben aangetrokken (Document 29, 2015, p. 4).

³⁰ Toch achten scholen dit wenselijk, omdat asielzoekers en vergunning- houders baat hebben bij een pedagogisch-didactisch klimaat dat aansluit op de stijl van lesgeven van pabo-docenten. Daarom zorgen we ervoor dat meer pabo-gediplomeerden met bijscholing en een ontheffing in aanmerking komen om bevoegd les te geven aan nieuwkomers (Document 16, 2015, p. 4)

³¹ Zowel de scholen als het LOWAN geven aan dat niet elke leraar geschikt is om les te geven aan vluchtelingen ... Leraren moeten kunnen omgaan met de grote verschillen in taalniveau, achtergrond, competenties van leerlingen en de continue instroom (Document 15, 2016, pp. 4-5).

³² Scholen willen in het onderwijs aan nieuwkomers, in zogenaamde internationale schakelklassen (hierna: ISK), pabo-afgestudeerden voor meerdere vakken kunnen inzetten. Deze leraren zijn veelal bekwaam, omdat de pedagogisch-didactische vaardigheden die zij bezitten goed aansluiten bij de behoeften van nieuwkomers (Document 14, 2016, p. 6).

³³ Pabo-gediplomeerden zijn echter niet formeel benoembaar, tenzij zij in opleiding gaan voor een volledige tweedegraads lerarenopleiding voor het vak dat zij geven (Document 14, 2016, p. 6).

³⁴ Het CAOP voert op dit moment een verkenning uit naar de omvang van de mogelijke tekorten aan NT2 docenten nu en in de nabije toekomst (Document 12, 2016, p. 22)

³⁵ In het voortgezet onderwijs vormt de doorstroom van leerlingen naar het regulier onderwijs een knelpunt. Het LOWAN en het ITTA zijn recent gestart met de uitwerking van een ontwikkelingsperspectief om de doorstroom te bevorderen (Document 29, 2015, p. 4).

possibly enrol less well into upper secondary education. Upper secondary education has a strong focus on the final exam, which requires mastering a level of the Dutch language that most students who are newcomers have not reached yet³⁶. In the same document, the Minister mentions that Dutch language tests should not be an unnecessary obstacle for NAMS to transfer into the correct level of vocational education, which might be the case for students who enrol into vocational education without obtaining secondary education diploma. Through adjustments in the institutional exam, adequate testing methods can be applied to assess language skills of NAMS, without decreasing the diploma requirements³⁷.

The last challenge mentioned by the policy documents concerns NAMS themselves. Shortly after the experienced peak in December 2015, the Minister of OCW informed the House of Representatives about preparatory education. In this document, he stated that all involved parties argue that high-quality education for NAMS brings different issues when compared to education to regular students³⁸. This is motivated by reasoning that teachers working in preparatory education need to be able to cope with large discrepancies between language skills, backgrounds, students' competences and the continuous influx of students³⁹. Later, in 2016, the Minister informs the House of Representatives about methods to increase teachers' competence to deal with trauma⁴⁰, aiming to increase the quality of preparatory education.

Despite the national government faced challenges in organising preparatory education, the Inspection acknowledged in the end of 2015 that the quality of these education facilities showed great improvements during the last years⁴¹. However, the quality of small-scale preparatory education facilities with one or two special classes for newcomers, still needs substantial improvement⁴². Improving quality within preparatory education is supposed to go hand in hand with realising sufficient facilities, but the latter appeared to be the highest priority.

³⁶ Nu de vluchtelingenkinderen in het onderwijs zijn ingestroomd zal ook de doorstroom binnen het onderwijs op gang komen. Omdat het gemiddeld genomen een aantal jaren duurt voordat iemand een vreemde taal volledig beheerst, kan de mate van taalontwikkeling een rol gaan spelen bij overgangen tussen onderwijsniveaus ... Nieuwkomers kunnen na een isk-traject mogelijk minder goed instromen in de bovenbouw van het vo. De bovenbouw is sterk gericht op het eindexamen, dat vraagt om een beheersing van het Nederlands waar nog niet alle nieuwkomersleerlingen over beschikken (Document 12, 2016, p. 5).

³⁷ Het is van belang dat de verplichte examens Nederlandse taal geen onnodige belemmering vormen voor instroom op het juiste niveau in het mbo. Dat zou zo kunnen zijn voor leerlingen die zonder vo-diploma in het mbo instromen ... Nederlands is evenzeer van belang voor anderstaligen. Wel kan er via aanpassingen in het instellingsexamen voor gezorgd worden dat bij anderstaligen op goede wijze het juiste taalniveau getoetst wordt, zonder de diploma-eisen te verlagen. (Document 12, 2016, pp. 8-9).

³⁸ Alle betrokkenen geven echter aan dat kwalitatief goed onderwijs aan deze jongeren andere vraagstukken met zich meebrengt dan het onderwijs aan reguliere leerlingen (Document 15, 2015, p. 1)

³⁹ Leraren moeten kunnen omgaan met de grote verschillen in taalniveau, achtergrond, competenties van leerlingen en de continue instroom (Document 15, 2015, p. 5).

⁴⁰ Er is gewerkt aan een aanbod om de deskundigheid van docenten over trauma's te bevorderen (Document 12, 2016, p. 6)

⁴¹ In dit verband is het overigens positief dat de inspectie in een tweetal rapporten concludeert dat de kwaliteit van het nieuwkomersonderwijs van de azc-scholen en grotere nieuwkomersvoorzieningen de laatste jaren flinke verbeteringen heeft laten zien (Document 16, 2015, p. 3).

⁴² De kwaliteit van het kleinschaligere nieuwkomersonderwijs op scholen met één of twee speciale klassen voor nieuwkomers verdient volgens de inspectie nog wel een flinke verbeteringsslag (Document 16, 2015, p. 3).

This can be derived from a statement of the Minister of OCW in 2017, which states that the attention for creating sufficient education and realising adequate financing is redirected towards organising qualitatively good preparatory education. The goal is to accommodate and prepare NAMS to enrol in regular education and the labour market⁴³.

Most important findings

This sub-question gives an answer on how the increase in immigration in June 2015 impacted the content of secondary preparatory education policies of the municipality of Rotterdam and the national government. Both the local and national-level policies show a significant increase in the number of created documents after the increase in immigration in 2015. Because only a few documents existed before the increase the content of the policies in this period is limited. However, one explicit shift in content does come forward, which is the focus point of both the local and national government.

The initial focus point of the government is to deal with an increase in NAMS, who have a right to education. To be able to guarantee education for everyone, the government aims to realise enough facilities and hire teachers to educate all NAMS. On the local level, this shows more clearly as when compared to national-level policies. Local-level policies described more pragmatic solutions to create sufficient facilities, while national-level policies observed the increase but remained evasive in providing solutions.

Subsequently, a gradual shift started towards a focus on improving the quality of secondary preparatory education. In 2013, the Inspection announced to research the quality of preparatory schools. The intermediate results were shared in the Educational Report of 2015. However, the final results and conclusions would be published in the Report of 2017. Meaning that there was limited overview over the quality of education that was provided to NAMS, which can be linked to the challenges that were acknowledged by the created policies while the number of NAMS was rising. In the end of 2015, the Inspection reported that preparatory schools were doing well in quality improvement, however, small-scale schools still had substantial catching up to do. In July 2017, the Minister of OCW actually stated that instead of prioritising the establishment of sufficient facilities and adequate funding, attention is shifted towards focusing more on improving the quality of preparatory education. The local-level

⁴³ Inmiddels verleggen wij onze aandacht van het creëren van voldoende onderwijsaanbod en een adequate bekostiging in het funderend onderwijs naar het organiseren van kwalitatief goed asielzoekersonderwijs, zodat vluchtelingenleerlingen opgevangen en voorbereid worden op een overstap naar het reguliere onderwijs en de arbeidsmarkt (Document 21, 2017, p. 2).

policies did not explicitly mention quality improvement. Instead, policy documents describe specific challenges that need to be solved to improve the quality of preparatory education.

Sub-question 2. What is the impact of the increase in immigration in 2015 on applied frames within preparatory education policies?

Similar to sub-question 1, the policy documents were grouped based on the date of creation as a starting point to outline the results. The findings of sub-question 1 cannot be completely separated from the frames that are interwoven in preparatory education policies, as it coheres with the content of the created policies. For this reason, some aspects that have been discussed under sub-question 1, come back while looking at the results concerning sub-question 2. This sub-question is answered by looking at the frames found. It starts off with local-level policies, followed by national-level policies and ended with the most important findings.

Local level policies

First, the results concerning NAMS' acculturation in the policies is examined. Second, the way NAMS are defined in the preparatory education policies is illustrated. The results of documents that were created up until June 2015 are presented first, followed by the results of the documents created in the timeframe after June 2015.

Among the documents created up until June 2015, it is stated that preparatory schools seek to provide NAMS with sufficient Dutch language skills to quickly enrol into regular education. When enrolled, NAMS receive extra support to eventually be able to participate in a level which fits their cognitive skills⁴⁴. To achieve this, preparatory schools seek to involve parents of NAMS in the educational process. Based on this information it is hard to decide whether NAMS are expected to integrate or assimilate. On the other hand, the Implementation Agenda states that most labour migrants are located in particular neighbourhoods in Rotterdam, which insinuates that they cluster together, not connecting with other citizens of Rotterdam. This could be a sign of segregation.

The Integration Nota of Rotterdam states that efforts are made on spreading the message concerning the importance of integration. Not integrating is not an option and is assumed to put

⁴⁴ De ISK is er om snel de taal te leren en wordt op verschillende niveaus gegeven. Zodra leerlingen het Nederlands voldoende beheersen kunnen ze instromen in het regulier onderwijs. Daar zijn voldoende steunmogelijkheden om elk kind (ongeacht de achtergrond van de leerling) naar het juiste niveau te brengen (Document, 39, 2014, p. 3)

an undesirable burden on society⁴⁵. This does not specifically focus on education, however, does shine light on the general message and expectation of the government towards migrants and NAMS. Mainstreaming comes to light as the municipality mentions that a lot of the efforts focusing on the integration of migrants is incorporated in multiple regular policies, which focuses on all citizens of Rotterdam.

The description of NAMS as the Target Group Population is more concrete in local-level policies. As previously discussed, there are three documents that focus on NAMS of Middle and Eastern European countries. In these documents, that were created in 2013 and 2014, NAMS of Polish and Bulgarian descent are specifically mentioned and compared based on i.e. educational achievements and drop-out rates. One document highlighted how Bulgarian NAMS, although a small group, skip schools more when compared to Polish NAMS, insinuating this group to be more deviant. On the contrary, when discussing the abilities of Bulgarian NAMS, the mayor declared that there exists no illiteracy among them and only an extremely small share of them is functional illiterate⁴⁶. By explaining this fact, the mayor reduces the framing of Bulgarian NAMS as illiterate and more difficult to educate.

In the Implementation agenda of Labour Migration, parents of Bulgarian NAMS are described as struggling with complying with school hours, school holidays and enrol and unenroll their children in or out of education. To improve integration, schools inform parents about the school system. This causes NAMS to be perceived as even more dependant of policy instruments, in order for them to integrate and participate in society. It is demonstrated that the stratified educational system in the Netherlands has a more negative effect on migrant children, when compared to native Dutch children. The government states to compensate for this by the possibility for NAMS to transfer from vocational to higher education⁴⁷. NAMS that are able to participate in higher levels of education are stimulated to do so. The municipality seeks to facilitate the process of NAMS transferring into higher education.

Later in 2015, the municipality of Rotterdam created their Integration Nota 010. In this file, NAMS were not distinguished by ethnicity. However, there were other terms applied to describe NAMS. In the Integration nota, NAMS are categorised as not-knowers, not-abled, not-allowed or not-willing⁴⁸. The goal of the policy to turn these categories, by offering policy

⁴⁵ Onze inzet is gericht op de boodschap dat niet willen integreren geen optie is. Deze boodschap wordt vanaf het begin uitgedragen, omdat niet integreren een onwenselijke druk op de samenleving legt (Document 47, 2015, p. 18).

⁴⁶ Bulgaarse kinderen (hoewel een kleine groep) laten veel meer spijbelgedrag zien dan Poolse (Document 39, 2014, p. 2).

⁴⁷ Onderzoek heeft uitgewezen dat vroege selectie negatiever uitpakt voor migrantenkinderen dan voor autochtone kinderen, maar dat deze vroege selectie in Nederland voor deze groep voor een deel gecompenseerd wordt door de mogelijkheid door te kunnen stromen via het mbo naar het hbo (Document 47, 2015, p. 3).

⁴⁸ De activiteiten zijn onderverdeeld naar de vier 'doelgroepen' die in de integratienota worden onderscheiden: 1. Niet-weters. 2. Niet-kunners. 3. Niet-mogers. 4. Niet-willers (Document 37, 2015, p. 11).

measures, into NAMS that are knowing, able to, allowed or willing. It is implied by the Nota that without these instruments, NAMS and other migrants will not be able to function well in society. Next to these four categories, the children of European labour migrants are described as ‘commuting-children’ (*pendelkinderen*). These children travel back and forth with their parents between their country of origin and the Netherlands⁴⁹. Despite the fact that these children have similar rights and access to education as all children have, the label commuting-children depicts them with a stigma, such as victims of their parents’ travel behaviour. The Nota additionally states that all children of migrants, NAMS, can attend preparatory education, irrelevant of their legal status. For this reason, preparatory education can be placed within all four previously mentioned categories: not-knowers, not-abled, not-allowed or not-willing⁵⁰. Additionally, the Integration Nota frames education as the key to a good future, suggesting that not finishing education would interfere with integration and therefore a good future⁵¹.

The documents that were created after June 2015, focused mostly on the (expected) acculturation of NAMS in Dutch society. Also, in these documents the municipality states that, as all children in the Netherlands are obliged to go to school, NAMS in asylum centres are allowed and expected to do so as well. First in preparatory schools to master the Dutch language, and subsequently in regular education⁵². In the beginning of 2016, 25% of the NAMS enrolled in preparatory schools in Rotterdam was living outside the city. To improve integration, additional preparatory schools and classes have been established in the suburbs of Rotterdam⁵³. This allows NAMS to attend school closer to their homes and neighbourhoods. NAMS follow 34 hours of education per week, of which 20 hours is learning Dutch, which is supplemented with courses such as English and math⁵⁴.

Additionally, the municipality of Rotterdam is creating more concrete policies in order to increase successful integration. A mainstreamed policy called ‘Learning Pays Off’ was created to do so. This policy is designed to reduce the number of students that fail class and have to attend education at a lower level, changing this into an increase in transferring into

⁴⁹ Daarnaast zullen we de komende jaren met een aantal Europese steden samenwerken om de schakelklasvoorzieningen passend te maken voor de “pendelkinderen” (Document37, 2015, p. 15).

⁵⁰ Schakelklassen zijn er voor alle kinderen van nieuwkomers, ongeacht de positie waarin zij verkeren. Deze voorziening kan daarmee een plek krijgen binnen alle vier de categorieën in de integratienota (Document37, 2015, p. 15).

⁵¹ Onderwijs is de sleutel tot een goede toekomst (Document 47, p. 15)

⁵² Voor alle kinderen in Nederland geldt de leerplicht, dus ook kinderen in een asielzoekerscentrum gaan gewoon naar school. Kinderen tussen 12 en 18 jaar gaan na aankomst in Nederland eerst naar de internationale schakelklas. Zodra ze voldoende Nederlands spreken, stromen ze in op een voor hen geschikte onderwijsvorm (Document 46, 2015, p. 1).

⁵³ Het aandeel leerlingen van buiten Rotterdam is zo’n 25% Hierin gaat verandering optreden omdat er nieuwe locaties ontstaan in randgemeenten (Document, 2016, p. 2).

⁵⁴ Van de 34 lessen per week, houden de leerlingen zich in het eerste jaar 20 uur bezig met Nederlands. De overige uren worden besteed aan vakken als Engels, rekenen/wiskunde (Document 43, 2017, p. 6).

higher levels, study successes, and higher graduation rates⁵⁵. By improving the possibilities for students in vocational schools to enrol into higher education, NAMS and other children with migrant background, who are overrepresented in vocational education (Bilgili, 2019), should become more equally represented in higher education. For seventeen-year-old NAMS who are too old to attend preparatory education but do not master the Dutch language sufficiently, an alternative program is offered: a vocational transition year. These students stay enrolled in secondary schools but gradually start attending classes in vocational education at the same time⁵⁶. This is an instrument to tackle one of the most important challenges that NAMS are facing, which is the transition from preparatory education to regular education. Furthermore, it is framed as a solution for secondary schools that are hesitant to admit NAMS because they do not have sufficient time to pass their final exams, and for vocational schools who believe it would be best for NAMS to attend secondary school before enrolling in vocational education⁵⁷. Therefore, this policy is framed as a tool to help NAMS with their educational career and subsequently support their integration process, as described by the municipality of Rotterdam.

When looking at the way NAMS are described in the preparatory education policies, some documents refer to NAMS as ‘students’ while other, sometimes the same documents, refer to NAMS as ‘newcomers’. One document first states “The secondary education *students* follow education in the building of preparatory school Olympiacollege” (Document 36, 2016, p.4), which is followed by “The advantage is that knowledge concerning providing education to *newcomers* is already present (Document 36, 2016, p.4). Where students could be seen as part of society, versus newcomers that are newly arrived and not yet a part of us.

Additionally, when discussing preparatory education different groups within NAMS are distinguished. Groups such as children of refugees who hold a residence permit, children of asylum seekers and children of Middle- and Eastern European migrants⁵⁸. Despite the fact that the municipality states that all children are deserving of and required to attend education, a

⁵⁵ In het onderwijsbeleid 'Leren Loont' heeft het college samen met de Rotterdamse onderwijspartners de volgende ambitie uitgesproken: vanaf 2016 zal er minder afstroom plaatsvinden naar een lager niveau in het voortgezet onderwijs, en meer opstroom, studiesucces en een hoger diplomarendement in mbo en hbo (Document 49, 2015, p. 3).

⁵⁶ Voor de 17-jarigen die te oud voor de ISK zijn, maar niet taalvaardig genoeg zijn voor het mbo wordt een alternatief aanbod op het mbo ontwikkeld. ... Deze leerlingen kunnen vanaf komend schooljaar terecht in een zogenaamd schakeljaar mbo; Ze blijven ingeschreven op het ISK, maar volgen (trapsgewijs) een deel van de lessen op het mbo (Document 36, 2016, p. 3).

⁵⁷ De 16- en 17-jarige leerlingen stromen in op het ISK, maar hebben te weinig tijd om voor hun achttiende de ISK te doorlopen en een diploma te halen. De middelbare scholen hebben hier ervaring mee en zijn terughoudend met het inschrijven van vooral 17-jarigen. Gelijktijdig zijn MBO instellingen terughoudend met het aannemen van deze leerlingen, omdat ze vinden dat deze jongeren nog baat hebben bij voortgezet onderwijs (Document 38, 2016, p. 4).

⁵⁸ De afgelopen periode heb ik verschillende acties ondernomen om het onderwijs aan kinderen van statushouders, asielzoekers en MOE-landers te organiseren (Document 38, 2016, p. 1).

difference is made between those children by continuously linking them with their country of origin.

National-level policies

Similar to the overview of the local-level policies, the results section starts off by outlining the way the acculturation of NAMS is described. Followed by the way NAMS are presented as being the target group population of the preparatory education policies.

When looking at the documents that were created up until June 2015, almost all policies explicitly name the goal to integrate NAMS into Dutch society. This is done by enrolling them in preparatory education, followed by transferring to regular education. In 2012, the minister of OCW explains that a preparatory school is not a distinct kind of study or type of schooling; in practice, it solely concerns a class consisting that facilitate NAMS with extra Dutch language lessons, to enrol into regular education as soon as possible⁵⁹. Due to the emphasis on learning the Dutch lesson as a requirement to enrol in regular education, there seems to be an assimilationist tendency as well.

The Dutch law follows EU law, which prescribes asylum seekers and their children equal rights as Dutch citizens when it comes to education⁶⁰. This depicts them as a target group which is deserving of education. NAMS are the target group that is on the receiving end of preparatory education policies. Additionally, NAMS are described as a highly diverse population due to their diverging backgrounds. Some students were able to follow education for a few years, whilst others come to the Netherlands as illiterates⁶¹. Highly diverse could be read as a neutral way of acknowledging differences, however, this term diversity is used as a justification for assigning additional funding⁶² to preparatory schools.

When questioned about education for asylum seekers that were sixteen or seventeen years old and older, preparatory education policies are showing more exclusionary tendencies. This is especially the case for NAMS that are just over eighteen years old, as they cannot address the right to go to school. While waiting for a residence permit, these NAMS are not allowed to attend education, as activities additional to required return or pre-integration activities are considered to be undesirable. Next to high costs, attending school would lead to

⁵⁹ Een ISK is géén speciale opleiding of onderwijssoort; in de praktijk gaat het om een klas met nieuwkomers die extra Nederlandse les krijgen, zodat ze zo snel mogelijk in een reguliere klas of opleiding instromen (Document 17, 2012, p. 42).

⁶⁰ Het recht op onderwijs, zoals neergelegd in internationale verdragen en Europese regelgeving, vindt zijn neerslag in het kosteloze funderende onderwijs voor alle leer- en kwalificatieplichtigen (Document 18, 2012, p. 2).

⁶¹ De populatie in de ISK's loopt sterk uiteen. Leerlingen hebben verschillende achtergronden; sommige leerlingen hebben al een aantal jaren onderwijs achter de rug in het land van herkomst, andere leerlingen zijn bij aankomst in Nederland analfabeet (Document 17, 2012, p. 42).

⁶² Er is overigens aanvullende bekostiging beschikbaar voor de eerste opvang van vreemdelingen en nieuwkomers. Alle scholen die voortgezet onderwijs geven aan nieuwkomers, kunnen een beroep doen op deze regeling of er nu een ISK is of niet (Document 17, 2012, p. 42).

a, often unjust, signal that their future is in the Netherlands⁶³. Preventing to let migrants older than schooling age believe their future is in the Netherlands for the time being, is a way to make them feel excluded from Dutch society. Allowing NAMS in asylum centres to go to school is kept under control by setting an age-based boundary. As was mentioned under sub-question one NAMS that are aged sixteen and seventeen experience issues to find their place in education. Due to their age, they would enrol into the final year of regular education, which requires doing final exams. NAMS do not have enough time to learn Dutch sufficiently to graduate. Simultaneously, vocational schools are hesitant to accept NAMS, because vocational schools stress that NAMS would benefit from attending regular secondary education first⁶⁴.

Looking at documents that were created after June 2015, governmental organisations seem to be looking for ways to ‘make sure’ NAMS will integrate into society. Preparatory education policies tend to be of an integrationist character, combined with assimilationist tendencies. In the document holding the defined policies concerning preparatory education, the goal is described as preparing NAMS for further secondary or vocational education and for participation in Dutch society. This is done by encouraging active citizenship and social integration, and by focusing education on knowing and getting acquainted with the diverging backgrounds and cultures of fellow students. Preparatory schooling contributes to the core values of democracy⁶⁵. Even though this shows a strong emphasis on the acquaintance of the language and aspects of the culture of the host society, space is given to NAMS to get to know other existing cultures of the Dutch society as well.

Education is named as a key instrument to stimulate the process of integration⁶⁶. This is emphasised in a document created in May 2016, in which the option of offering centralised language classes versus teaching NAMS in decentralised classes in local regular education. Whilst NAMS in the central language school show better results when compared to NAMS in other schools⁶⁷, it is discussed whether central schools would limit integration due to the separation from schools in neighbourhoods of NAMS. Ultimately a combination is made to use

⁶³ Asielzoekers hebben dezelfde rechten en plichten als Nederlandse ingezetenen waar het de toegang tot onderwijs betreft. Naast de mogelijkheden tot terugkeeractiviteiten en tot pre-inburgering voor vergunninghouders die in de opvang verblijven zijn aanvullende mogelijkheden voor asielzoekers niet wenselijk. Naast hoge kosten zou dit ook leiden tot een, vaak onterecht, signaal dat hun toekomst in Nederland ligt (Document 18, 2012, p. 3).

⁶⁴ Gelijktijdig zijn MBO instellingen terughoudend met het aannemen van deze leerlingen, omdat ze vinden dat deze jongeren nog baat hebben bij voortgezet onderwijs (Document 38, 2016, p. 4).

⁶⁵ Het onderwijs gaat ervan uit dat leerlingen opgroeien in een pluriforme samenleving. Daarom is het onderwijs gericht op het bevorderen van actief burgerschap en sociale integratie, en op kennis hebben van en kennismaken met verschillende achtergronden en culturen van leeftijdgenoten. Het aanbod draagt bij aan de basiswaarden van de democratische rechtsstaat (Document 1, 2018, p. 124).

⁶⁶ Onderwijs is van groot belang voor de integratie van deze leerlingen en hun functioneren in de samenleving (Document 21, 2017, p. 2).

⁶⁷ Uit onderzoek van de Universiteit van Utrecht blijkt dat met een centrale taalschool betere resultaten worden bereikt dan met centraal georganiseerd onderwijs ... Uitkomst van deze vergelijking is dat de leerlingen van de taalschool veel betere vorderingen laten zien dan de leerlingen op de andere scholen (Document 26, 2016, p. 1).

both options⁶⁸. This shows the governments well-willingness to provide NAMS with effective language courses in the morning, combined with local regular education in the afternoon to stimulate contact with children located in their living area.

When looking at NAMS as a target group. The Minister of OCW states that NAMS frequently need extra attention after enrolling into regular education⁶⁹, highlighting the high-maintenance and inherently challenging character of NAMS as target group again. Emphasising NAMS as a multi-diverse and onerous to educate, while simultaneously presenting preparatory education as a tool to create opportunities within education and the labour market⁷⁰, implies NAMS to be an economic threat when not functioning adequately in preparatory education.

A specific group that falls within the definition of NAMS and who are mentioned separately in policies, are unaccompanied minors. Similar to all NAMS they have the right to education, which includes them into society formally. Despite this, unaccompanied minors are more negatively presented, due to the extra challenges of this group. Schools describe them as more difficult to motivate to attend school, perceiving them as being more dependant than the other NAMS. For this reason, schools and school attendance officers are handed extra tools to stimulate unaccompanied minors to stay in school⁷¹. In this light, unaccompanied minors are perceived of being extra dependant of tools to stay in school. If these tools are not offered, they would struggle to integrate and perhaps cause problems in the future.

Most important findings

As mentioned, the number of policy documents created up until June 2015 is limited, restricts the amount of available data before the increase in immigration. This sub-question provides an answer on how the increase in immigration in 2015 impacted the framing of NAMS as a target group population and their acculturation strategy to adapt to the receiving society.

Before the increase in immigration, the local-level policies of Rotterdam show signs of actively steering towards integration. The municipality stated that not integrating is not an option, as integration is needed in order to have a good future. NAMS are categorised as not-

⁶⁸ In het debat is ook de vraag gesteld of centrale taalklassen de integratie niet in de weg staan. Daar zit inderdaad een spanningsveld. Het is goed als kinderen naar de reguliere scholen gaan in het dorp of de wijk waar zij wonen, want dat is goed voor de integratie. Daarnaast kunnen centrale taalklassen worden georganiseerd waarin scholen uit de wijken en dorpen waar de kinderen wonen, samenwerken (Document 26, 2016, p. 2).

⁶⁹ Asielzoekers en vergunninghouders die onderwijs volgen hebben vaak de eerste jaren extra begeleiding nodig (Document 16, 2015, p. 3).

⁷⁰ Daarnaast is het beheersen van de Nederlandse taal van groot belang voor de integratie en voor de kansen binnen het onderwijs en later op de arbeidsmarkt (Document 26, 2016, p. 1).

⁷¹ Alleenstaande minderjarige vreemdelingen komen zonder ouder of verzorger naar Nederland ... Scholen merken dat deze leerlingen over het algemeen moeilijker te motiveren zijn om naar school te gaan. Daarom heb ik Ingrado extra middelen gegeven om leerplichtambtenaren voor te lichten over deze doelgroep. Het is van belang dat scholen, COA en leerplichtambtenaren samenwerken om ook deze leerlingen op school te krijgen en te houden (Document 12, 2016, p. 6).

knowers, not-abled, not-allowed or not-willing before attending preparatory education. Preparatory education would shift them into the opposite categories: knowing, able to, allowed or willing.

After the increase in immigration the municipality does hold on to the statement that education is key to integration. However, the municipality is less symbolic and turning to action by introducing the policy 'Learning Pays Off'. Even though this is a mainstreamed policy, which does not target NAMS directly, it is meant to increase the success of their integration process. Cases such as drop-outs are expected to become a negative economic burden for society.

Another change that occurred in the local-level policies of Rotterdam is that before the increase in immigration, the municipality would specifically target NAMS that are originally from Eastern European countries. The documents created after June 2015, show less policies specifically targeting ethnocultural groups, which is in line with the trend of mainstreaming. However, some documents remain to apply an alternative naming for NAMS, such as newcomers instead of students. The framing of NAMS as newcomers, distinguishes them from the other students that are considered to be as part of society.

In national-level policies a change occurred in the way that after the increase in immigration, the government mentioned that education functioned to prepare NAMS to participate in a pluriform society. Up until June 2015, the national-level policies mainly pushed towards acquainting the Dutch language and norms and values. Highlighting the importance to know other cultural backgrounds, tends to be more in line with integration instead of assimilation.

SQ3: To what extent is the local policy formulation in Rotterdam in line with national policy formulation?

In order to find out whether the local-level preparatory education policies are in line with or diverge from the policies that are formulated on the national level, the content and frames that were used to answer sub-questions 1 and to are compared on both levels.

When looking at the framing of integration and the expected acculturation strategy of NAMS in the preparatory education policies, policies on both levels use the term integration all the time. However, it is hard to determine whether the concept integration is meant as described by Berry (2011) or if its meaning is actually assimilation. In case of integration, NAMS hold on to their cultural heritage and participate in larger society, while remaining member of a non-

dominant ethnocultural group. Assimilation is the same as integration, except that NAMS would let go of their cultural heritage and blend in into the dominant group of larger society. The municipality of Rotterdam does enlighten this partially, by mentioning that one of the goals of preparatory education is to introduce NAMS with fellow students and get to know their backgrounds. Being able to maintain one's own heritage would insinuate that NAMS are expected to integrate instead of to assimilate. In the policy documents of the national level this remains more difficult to determine. National-level policies had a strong emphasis on the importance of acquainting the Dutch language before the increase in immigration. This decreased more after June 2015, when the government highlighted the importance to prepare students on living in a 'plural society'.

The categorisation of NAMS as a target group population is largely the same between both national and local policies. Policies on both levels generally perceive NAMS as being weak in mobilising resources and on both levels NAMS are positively constructed. This means that on both levels, NAMS are mostly categorised as being Deserving in the Schneider and Ingram (1993) framework. Additionally, both the national and local policies name one group each within NAMS that is perceived to be Deviant instead of Dependant, due to the extra challenges that are experienced in organising preparatory education for these groups.

In terms of other categories that were used to describe NAMS, a large share of the local-level documents focuses specifically on children of Middle and Eastern European migrants. National-level policies did not specifically target an ethnic or cultural group. In the Integration Nota of Rotterdam, NAMS were labelled as not-knowers, not-abled, not-allowed or not-willing before receiving preparatory education. After education, NAMS were knowing, able to, allowed or willing. This highlights the difference between NAMS and those who are able to participate in regular education and society. Such specific categories were not found in national-level policies.

When looking at the discourses concerning the integration of NAMS both policies on the national and local level referred to the importance of NAMS to successfully integrate into society. NAMS that not successfully participate in preparatory education are problematised as being of high risk to become an unwanted economic burden on society. Unsuccessful integration is framed as not possible by the local government of Rotterdam. Similarly, the national government frames education for NAMS to be the key instrument to 'good' integration. Both levels describe education as a condition for NAMS to integrate.

Chapter 6. Analysis and Discussion

In the analysis, the results that were presented in the previous section, are explained by applying the theoretical framework. The analysis is structured in the following way: it starts off by the policy content, this is followed by way integration is framed in the preparatory education policies, the way NAMS are framed as being the target group population of preparatory education policies, possible positive and negative discourses of NAMS, and their integration are discussed. This is all done while distinguishing the documents that were created up until June 2015 and after.

Policy content

Remarkably, only four policy documents concerning secondary preparatory education had been created before the increase in immigration for both the local and national level. Within the timeframe after the increase, eleven local-level policy documents were created and 31 national-level policy documents. When looking at the results section some changes occurred when comparing the secondary education policies up until and after June 2015.

The most important change in the content of the secondary education policies is the shift in focus. Initially, the focus of both the local and national government was to establish enough preparatory educational facilities for NAMS to enrol all within three months. Over time, this focus shifted from sufficiency towards quality improvement. This shift matches the goal of the local and national government who frame education as a tool to stimulate the integration of NAMS. The focus gradually shifted from one into the other. The national government initiated to research the quality of preparatory education in 2013, of which the intermediate results were published after June 2015. From this moment on, the government started to outline challenges that preparatory schools were facing. Local-level policies of the municipality of Rotterdam did not specifically mention quality improvement. These policy documents were more pragmatic, describing solutions that build upon the results of the national government. Solutions such as involving and informing parents, developing an alternative program for sixteen and seventeen-year-olds, and recruiting teachers in advance.

This means that the impact of the increase in immigration on the content of preparatory education policies is the actual creation of policies. The increase of NAMS has made it more urgent for both the municipality of Rotterdam and the national government to establish policies to organise secondary preparatory education and improve its quality. Additionally, the increase had an impact on the shift in focus of the policy content. The focus gradually moved from

creating enough facilities to improving the quality of preparatory education. The increase in immigration has forced the government to create more facilities and examine the quality of preparatory education, which was established through the creation of policies. Subsequently, when all NAMS could go to school, both the municipality of Rotterdam and the national government have started to improve the quality of preparatory education. The national government showed the challenges, while the local municipality presented more pragmatic solutions to resolve the challenges.

Integration

When looking at both the local and national policies, the government has solely applied the word integration in their policy documents. However, it is difficult to identify the true meaning of the word in this sense. Where Berry (2011) describes integration as minority groups both participating in larger society while being able to maintain their own heritage. Assimilation means participating in society in combination of letting their own heritage go. In the preparatory education policies created up until June 2015, there is a large focus on acquainting the Dutch language and norms and values. For this reason, it is plausible that the government is using integration whilst assimilation is actually practiced.

In documents created after June 2015, the local government has started to highlight the importance for NAMS to familiarise with the backgrounds of fellow students and the national government states that NAMS are prepared to participate in plural society through schooling. Acknowledging the importance to know and interact with other non-dominant ethnocultural groups suggests an integrationist acculturation strategy.

Poppelaars and Scholten (2008) state that integration is framed as citizenship. Current integration policies' goal is to achieve common citizenship by the national government. In order to successfully participate in society, one needs to be perceived as a being one of 'us', a member of society. In line of this, Schrover and Schinkel (2013) argue that not integrating can be perceived as marginalisation or separation, where one exists outside society. One of the most explicit goals of preparatory education is to encourage active citizenship, which is framed as a tool to create better options for NAMS in their future. This is in line with the dominant frame that the national government is seeking to push forward, integration as citizenship, where integration is individualised and becoming migrants' own responsibility. Becoming a member of society is earned through successful integration.

Local-level policies have a similar focus. Preparatory education is framed as a key tool to successfully integrate NAMS. The local policies describe more pragmatic steps to organise

preparatory education. All NAMS, irrelevant of their background, have the right to attend school. The municipality of Rotterdam is working on stimulating integration by letting NAMS attend central language classes in combination with time in schools that are close to their homes. This way NAMS are able to profit from efficient classes, while being in contact with other students in their neighbourhood. Most importantly, the municipality of Rotterdam underlines the benefit for NAMS to get to know the various backgrounds of students in their classes. Based on the local government promoting NAMS to familiarise with other cultures, it might be possible that the local policies lean more towards integration as acculturation strategy that were described by Berry (2011).

Finding out the impact of the increase in immigration on the frames used on the integration of NAMS is challenging because of the limited available data before the increase in immigration in 2015, combined with the formal nature of both local and national-level policies. All policy documents, on both levels, solely use integration to name the acculturation strategy that is expected of NAMS. However, up until June 2015 the policy documents highlight the importance of acquainting the Dutch language and norms and values, which is more similar to assimilation as expected assimilation strategy (Berry, 2011). After June 2015, the documents on both levels started to touch upon the importance for NAMS to familiarise with other cultures. This is described as important by the national government, because NAMS need to be able to participate in a pluriform society. Acknowledging the importance to know other cultures besides the dominant Dutch culture is more in line with Berry's (2011) definition of integration. For this reason, the impact of the increase in immigration seems to be a change in local and national-level policies from (hidden) assimilationist towards integrationist policies.

Target group population

NAMS are the target group that is on the receiving end of preparatory education policies. Being dependant of the policy instruments offered by the government, NAMS could be categorised as Dependants or Deviants (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). This depends on the social construction of the target group, which decides whether a group is perceived as being deserving of a policy instrument. In this research, only governmental policies are included, which are obliged to follow the law. All NAMS have the right to education and are therefore deserving of the policy instruments. For this reason, NAMS in general can be categorised as Dependants.

Before the increase in immigration, the local-level policies of the municipality of Rotterdam categorised NAMS as not-knowers, not-abled, not-allowed or not-willing. By enrolling them into preparatory education, they are expected develop into NAMS that are

knowing, able to, allowed or willing. When looking at the first three categories, the social construction of the group is positive. They are perceived as in need of assistance in order to know, be able to or to be allowed. According to the matrix of Schneider & Ingram (1993) this fits the category Dependants. Dependants are perceived as deserving of policy instruments due to their positive social construction as a group, which in the Integration Nota is the case as well. It is implied by the Nota that without these instruments, NAMS and other migrants would not be able to function well in society. The group categorised as not-willing is negatively constructed, meaning that this group fits the category Deviants (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). This are NAMS that i.e. dropped-out of preparatory education. Not finishing education means missing a key tool for successful integration.

Additionally, the municipality explicitly mentions Polish and Bulgarian NAMS in preparatory education policies created up until June 2015. Children of Middle and Eastern European labour migrants are described as commuting-children, who travel back and forth with their parents between the Netherlands and their country of origin. By framing these NAMS as the victims of their parents travel behaviour, as they are not able to attend school sufficiently, this category is perceived to be extra weak. Additionally, Bulgarian NAMS and their parents are more negatively constructed in local policies, for reasons mostly arising from unfamiliarity with the educational system. As these NAMS are depicted as not being able to attend school sufficiently, this falls within the Deviant category by Schneider and Ingram (1993) as well.

In a national-level policy document the Minister of OCW states that NAMS frequently need extra attention after enrolling into regular education, insinuating the high-maintenance and inherently challenging character of NAMS as target group. Emphasising NAMS as a multi-diverse and onerous to educate, while simultaneously presenting preparatory education as a tool to create opportunities within education and the labour market, implies NAMS to be an economic threat when not functioning adequately in preparatory education.

Some national-level policy documents mention a separate group within the NAMS category as well. These are unaccompanied minors. Unaccompanied minors are described as extra challenging and harder to motivate when compared to other NAMS. The national government provides extra instruments to schools and street-level bureaucrats. In case unaccompanied minors would not fully participate in preparatory education, this could prohibit them from successfully integrate into society. Being framed as demotivated and unwilling, due to the challenges to motivate them to attend education, unaccompanied minors are put in a more negative light. Similar to NAMS framed as not-willing, this group could be categorised as

Deviant instead of Dependents. This is because unaccompanied minors are described as being unwilling and therefore are socially constructed in a negative way.

The policy documents that were created after June 2015, did not specifically target one group anymore. However, local policies did distinguish between students and newcomers. Sometimes describing NAMS as students, which implies NAMS to be part of society, whilst other times, even in the same documents, NAMS are described as newcomers. Being a newcomer is a whole different naming. Insinuating NAMS not to be part of society yet and still having to prove themselves to become a member. According to Schrover and Schinkel (2013) these NAMS are still perceived as being outside society.

The municipality states to facilitate the process of NAMS to enrol and graduate in a higher educational level. This is an example where NAMS are perceived to be of value for the economy and an addition to society (Schrover & Schinkel, 2013). According to the municipality, not integrating well, leads to possible future issues in participating in. NAMS that are not functioning well in education are therefore negatively problematised. They form a threat of becoming an economic burden.

When looking at the change in policies before and after the increase in immigration, the policies after the increase in immigration start to be mainstreamed, whereas the policies before the increase targeted NAMS more specifically. The local-level policies used more categorisation when compared to national-level policies. This were categories such as not-knowers, not-abled, not-allowed or not-willing, or specific ethnocultural group which were mostly of Eastern European countries. National level policies mostly stressed the challenging character of NAMS and the extra attention they required after enrolling into regular education. The increase in immigration occurred when mainstreaming had become a popular trend in European countries and the change of policies to not specifically target one group anymore could have to do with this trend as well. However, after June 2015 unaccompanied minors are still specifically targeted by the national governments. Local-level policies remain to distinguish NAMS from other students as well. Some documents refer to NAMS as students, while some other, and sometimes the same, documents refer to NAMS as newcomers.

All in all, the framing of NAMS as a target group population has become less apparent in policy documents created after June 2015. However, not only the impact in immigration but the trend of mainstreaming in policy making might have contributed to this finding. When compared to the expectation, the results suggest that NAMS were framed as Dependents before the increase in immigration. Some groups that were perceived as more challenging to motivate to go to school, such as drop-outs or unaccompanied minors, fit the category Deviant (Schneider

& Ingram, 1993). This means that the increase in immigration up until June 2015 did not cause a change from NAMS framed as Dependant into Deviant. Instead, groups within the group of NAMS that were depicted as needing additional attention were framed as Deviant. The groups that were considered Deviant were still apparent after June 2015, whereas the other NAMS were mostly not specifically mentioned due to mainstreamed policies.

Multi-level governance context

In terms of the content of local and national-level policies. National-level policies appear to be more general when compared to the local policies of the municipality of Rotterdam. It describes challenges that are experienced by preparatory schools throughout the country and describes the direction that needs to be taken in order to achieve integration. Local policies of Rotterdam show more concrete solutions to the challenges highlighted by the national government.

The policies that were created for the local level by the municipality of Rotterdam appear to be largely in line with the policies of the national government. National policies are more general. For this reason, the policies of Rotterdam offer more concrete solutions to challenges that were highlighted by the national government, which is in line with the formulated expectations of this thesis.

It is not possible to assess whether Rotterdam played an entrepreneurial role in the policy formulation process of the national policies as was hypothesised in the research of Dekker, Emilsson, Krieger, & Scholten (2015). This is because this thesis did not include the interaction between national and local governments. The interaction between the municipality of Rotterdam and the national government in the process of policy making and policy formulation is therefore not specified. However, the national policies and the policies of the municipality of Rotterdam are related to each other.

Limitations

Due to the limited number of documents before the increase in immigration, the data for the timeframe January 2012 up until June 2015 was limited. This means that the balance between data retrieved before and after the increase in immigration was disproportionate.

Additionally, using sensitising concepts when coding the policy documents functioned as a guide to be aware of important aspect of the literature, however, as noted by Bowen (2006) applying sensitising concepts as a guide might take attention away from other important aspects that were not yet covered by theory.

This thesis solely incorporates policy documents leaves out policymakers or actors involved in the educational field. That is why the reasoning behind the policymaking or experiences of actors executing the policies are not explored in this research.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

The goal of this thesis is to research the impact of the increase in immigration in 2015 on the framing on newly arrived migrant students and their integration in the local secondary preparatory education policies of Rotterdam. This is researched in a multi-level governance context.

The increase in immigration has caused the number of local-level policy documents to almost triple. A similar trend can be found for national policies. The impact of the increase in immigration on secondary preparatory education policies has been the actual creation of policies to enrol all NAMS in education. Policies to tackle issues that arose due to the number of incoming NAMS, were formulated in a slow pace. This shows in the shift in the focus of the content of the policies. The initial focus to create enough preparatory education facilities started in the beginning of 2015. Only July 2017, the minister of OCW stated that the focus of establishing sufficient places shifted towards improving the quality of secondary education.

Looking at the framing the integration of NAMS, the impact of the increase of immigration showed in the change of the way NAMS were expected to acculturate. Policies created up until and after June 2015, both used integration to describe the expected acculturation strategy of NAMS. However, in the documents created before the increase, the meaning used for the term integration seemed to be more in line with assimilation (Berry, 2011). Documents showed a strong focus on mastering the Dutch language and norms and values. While the policy documents created after June 2015 acknowledged the importance of knowing other cultural backgrounds and the ability to participate in a plural society. The application of this meaning is in line with the term integration, which is described by Berry (2011). The increase in immigration could have had an impact on this change from assimilationist towards more integrationist policies. Both before and after the increase in immigration the municipality of Rotterdam and national government highlight the importance for NAMS to integrate and subsequently participate into society (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008; Schrover & Schinkel, 2013). Education is considered to be the most important instrument to realise the goals of integration policies.

The frames that were used to describe NAMS were clearest in the documents created before the increase in immigration. Local-level policies used multiple categories to describe NAMS and specific ethnocultural groups. This was less apparent in national policies. However, national policies stressed the challenging character of NAMS as a group and the additional

attention they required to motivate them to attend education. After the increase in immigration, both the local and national-level policies seemed to be more mainstreamed. NAMS were not as much targeted as a specific group. Although, local-level policies of Rotterdam did sometimes refer to NAMS using other phrases than for regular students. This distinguishes NAMS from regular students. Mainstreaming is becoming a more popular trend in policymaking in Europe (Scholten, Collett, & Petrovic, 2016). Therefore, it is hard to determine the impact of the increase of immigration on the finding that NAMS are less specifically targeted after June 2015.

Looking at the formulation of preparatory education policies of the municipality of Rotterdam in a multi-level governance context, the local and national-level documents are related. The content of national-level policies is more generic when compared to the local policies of the municipality of Rotterdam. However, the municipality further develops the generic national policies into more pragmatic and therefore more useful policies, to apply within the local-level context. The direction in which the interaction between the national and local government took place is not included in this thesis. For this reason, it is not possible to make any pronouncement on the influence of the municipality of Rotterdam on policy making on the national level, or vice versa.

The finding that a limited number of policy documents had been created before the increase in immigration shows that it is important to keep monitoring the development of preparatory education policies. Especially since it has become more popular to mainstream integration policies (Scholten, Collett, & Petrovic, 2016). In future research, preparatory education policies should not be overlooked, to prevent the emergence of issues when an increase in immigration results into many NAMS again. Additionally, this paper contributes to the existing literature on the impact of a critical event on frames applied in local integration or education policies that target migrant groups. For future research, it is valuable to include interviews of policymakers or actors in the educational field. This could give insights in the motivations behind the formulation of policies and the impact of the increase in immigration in practice.

Chapter 8. Policy Recommendation

Based upon the results found in this thesis, recommendations have been made concerning the secondary education policies of the municipality in Rotterdam.

The municipality of Rotterdam considers education to be a key instrument for successful integration and participation in society. For this reason, it is important for the municipality to monitor the development of preparatory education policies. Monitoring preparatory education policies is especially important because these policies are mainstreamed into general education policies. This makes it harder to identify the development of preparatory education policies to provide NAMS with high-quality preparatory education. Mainstreaming education for NAMS does have a positive side as well. Including these policies into generic education policies further acknowledges the incorporation of NAMS as being a part of society (Schrover & Schinkel, 2013; Scholten, 2011). In this case, NAMS are not targeted as a specific group.

As stated by Schrover & Schinkel (2013), discourse on integration is based on a difference between what is included in 'society' and 'outside society'. Words used to describe NAMS have an influence on the process of inclusion or exclusion. The municipality of Rotterdam used a number of categories to describe NAMS: not-knowers, not-abled, not-allowed and not-willing. The goal of the municipality is to transfer them in to NAMS that are knowing, able to, allowed or willing by attending secondary preparatory education. However, where do NAMS stand while attending preparatory education? The terminology used to describe NAMS before attending preparatory education implies that they are not 'good' enough to participate in society yet. This places NAMS that have just arrived outside society. To become part of society NAMS would first have to successfully participate in education. For future policies it is recommended to apply terminology which is less restrictive for the target group.

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Appendix

Appendix 1.

Coding Tree

Sensitizing Concepts	Dimensions	Further Dimensions
Policy Goal	Inclusion	Outreaching
		Customisation
	Equality	Similar possibilities
Mainstreaming		
Acculturation Strategy	Integration	
	Assimilation	*When strong focus on Dutch language/habits
	Segregation	
	Marginalisation	
Target group population	Deserving	Advantaged
		Dependants (weak, burden)
	Undeserving	Contender
		Deviants
		<i>Niet-weters</i> (Not-knowers)
		<i>Niet-kunners</i> (Not-abled)
		<i>Niet-mogers</i> (Not-allowed)
		<i>Niet-willers</i> (Not-willing)
Discourse	Addition	Economically enriching
		Humanitarian (realise educational potential)
		Culture
		Worthy (costs)
	Problematisation	Economic Burden (school costs, later depending on welfare state)
		Cultural
		Costs
		Status
		Unwillingness

		Endangering
		Intellect
Shift	Increase in incoming migrants	Grow
		Stagnation
	Priority	Sufficiency
		Quality Improvement
Challenges	Students	Trauma
		Contact
		Insecure status
		Transfer
	Transfer	Language
		Age
		Attitude Schools
	Organisational	Student levels
		Teacher deficiency
		Flexibility
		Housing
		Quality

Appendix 2.

Overview policy documents

Nr	Level	Document	Date of Creation
1	National	Van Engelshoven, I. (2018). Besluit van de Minister van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap houdende wijziging van het Besluit tot intrekking van toezichtkaders onder vaststelling van beleidsregels houdende Onderzoekskaders 2017.	13-06-2018
2	National	Inspectie van het Onderwijs (2018). Onderzoekskader 2017 voor het toezicht op het voortgezet onderwijs 34775-VIII, nr. 143.	22-11-2018
3	National	Inspectie van het Onderwijs (2018). De Staat van het Onderwijs 2018 Onderwijsverslag over 2016/2017.	11-04-2018
4	National	Inspectie van het Onderwijs (2016). De Staat van het Onderwijs onderwijsverslag 2014/2015.	14-04-2016
5	National	Vogelzang, M. (2015). Besluit van de inspecteur-generaal van het Onderwijs, van 1 september 2015, nr. 4617506, tot wijziging van het Toezichtkader VO 2013 in verband met technische aanpassingen van het daarin opgenomen waarderingskader.	20-10-2015
6	National	Van Bijsterveldt-Vliegthart, J. (2012). Toezichtkader VO 2013.	19-12-2012
7	National	De Kler, G. (2015). Werken in het onderwijs.	29-12-2015
8	National	Inspectie van het Onderwijs (2013). Jaarwerkplan 2014. Doelen en activiteiten. Inspectie van het Onderwijs.	16-10-2013
9	National	Van Engelshoven, I. (2018). Primair Onderwijs; Brief regering; Verzamelbrief moties en toezeggingen primair en voortgezet onderwijs.	13-07-2018
10	National	Koolmees, W. (2018). Wijziging van de Wet inburgering participatieverklaring aan het inburgeringsexamen.	02-07-2018
11	National	Bussemaker, M. & Dekker, S. (2017). Onderwijs aan vreemdelingen; Brief regering; Voortgangsrapportage onderwijs aan asielzoekers.	23-02-2017
12	National	Bussemaker, M. & Dekker, S. (2016). Onderwijs aan vreemdelingen; Brief regering; Stand van zaken asielzoekersonderwijs.	14-07-2016
13	National	Dekker, S. (2016). Antwoord op vragen over problemen rond de huisvesting van Internationale Schakelklas.	04-03-2016
14	National	Dekker, S. (2016). Voortgezet Onderwijs; Brief regering; Plan van aanpak tegengaan onbevoegd lesgeven voortgezet onderwijs.	29-02-2016
15	National	Dekker, S. (2015). Onderwijs aan vreemdelingen; Brief regering; Beantwoording vragen commissie over het Volkskrantartikel over vluchtelingenonderwijs.	01-12-2015
16	National	Bussemaker, M. & Dekker, S. (2015). Onderwijs aan vreemdelingen; Brief regering; Onderwijs aan asielzoekers.	26-10-2015
17	National	Wolbert, A. & C. Bosnjakovic-van Bommel (2012). Vaststelling van de begrotingsstaten van het Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap (VIII) voor het jaar 2013.	12-11-2012

18	National	Leers, G. (2012). Antwoord vragen van het lid Schouw over het recht op onderwijs voor asielzoekers van achttien jaar en ouder.	04-09-2012
19	National	Tellegen, O. & de Kler, G. (2018). Lijst van vragen en antwoorden; Lijst van vragen en antwoorden over de beleidsreactie op de Staat van het Onderwijs 2016-2017.	12-06-2018
20	National	Bussemaker, M. (2018). Vaststelling van de begrotingsstaten van het Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap voor het jaar 2018.	19-09-2018
21	National	Bussemaker, M. & Dekker, S. (2017). Onderwijs aan vreemdelingen; Brief regering; Beleidsreactie op het advies van de Onderwijsraad inzake 'Vluchtelingen en onderwijs'.	12-07-2017
22	National	Tellegen, B. & Boeve, L. (2017). Vaststelling van de begrotingsstaten van het Ministerie van OCW) voor het jaar 2017 Lijst van vragen en antwoorden over het Onderwijsverslag 2015-2016.	08-06-2017
23	National	Dekker, S. (2016). Beleidsregel van de Minister van OCW, beoordeling van buitengewone bekwaamheden in bijzondere gevallen en bekwaamheden bij het ontbreken van een lerarenopleiding in het voortgezet onderwijs.	15-09-2016
24	National	Van Meenen, P. (2016). Wijziging van de begrotingsstaten van Ministerie van OCW; Amendement; 16 miljoen euro uit de asielreserve voor onderwijs aan vluchtelingenkinderen in de leerplichtige leeftijd.	15-07-2016
25	National	Van Meenen, P. (2016) Onderwijs aan vreemdelingen; Motie; Motie van het lid Van Meenen over instromen op het juiste niveau door leerlingen van rond de achttien jaar uit internationale schakelklassen.	01-06-2016
26	National	Dekker, S. (2016). Onderwijs aan vreemdelingen; Brief regering; Nadere informatie over asielzoekerskinderen in het onderwijs.	20-05-2016
27	National	Dekker, S. (2016). Onderwijs aan vreemdelingen; Brief regering; Asielzoekerskinderen in het onderwijs en maatwerkbekostiging.	01-04-2016
28	National	Tellegen, B. & Boeve, L. (2018). Aanpak onderwijsachterstanden; Lijst van vragen en antwoorden; Lijst van vragen en antwoorden over investeren in onderwijskansen.	09-03-2018
29	National	Dekker, S. (2015). Primair Onderwijs; Brief regering; Bekostiging onderwijs aan vluchtelingenkinderen.	02-06-2015
30	National	Wolbert, A. & Arends, M. (2017). Vaststelling van de begrotingsstaten van het Ministerie van OCW (VIII) voor het jaar 2017; Lijst van vragen en antwoorden over het Onderwijsverslag 2015-2016 van de Inspectie.	08-06-2017
31	National	Tellegen, B. & Boeve, L. (2015). Onderwijs aan vreemdelingen; Motie; Motie van het lid Ypma c.s. over maatwerkfinanciering van het onderwijs aan vluchtelingenkinderen.	08-12-2015
32	National	Ypma, L., Grashoff, R., van Meenen, P., & Voordewind, J. (2017). Regeling van de Secretaris van OCW houdende aanpassing van de bedragen personele bekostiging voor ondersteuning van leerlingen in het primair en voortgezet onderwijs.	05-09-2017
33	National	Dekker, S. (2017). Jaarverslag en slotwet Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap 2016; Lijst van vragen en	06-06-2017

		antwoorden; Lijst van vragen en antwoorden over het jaarverslag Ministerie van OCW 2016.	
34	National	Tellegen, B. & Arends, M. (2016). Vaststelling van de begrotingsstaten van het Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap (VIII) voor het jaar 2017; Memorie van toelichting; Memorie van toelichting.	20-09-2016
35	National	Bussemaker, M. (2015). Vaststelling van de begrotingsstaten van het Ministerie van OCW(VIII) voor het jaar 2016; Verslag houdende een lijst van vragen en antwoorden.	12-10-2015
36	Regional	Wolbert, A. & Boeve, L. (2016). Onderwijs Aan Asielzoekers En Nieuwkomers (Onderwijs Nieuwkomers).	27-06-2016
37	Regional	De Jonge, H. (2016). Verdragingsbericht Wethouder De Jonge Toezegging 16bb1173 Onderwijs Aan Asielzoekers En Nieuwkomers.	07-04-2016
38	Regional	De Jonge, H. (2016). 16bb346 Afdoeningsvoorstel Wethouder De Jonge Toezegging Onderwijs Aan Asielzoekers En Nieuwkomers.	15-01-2016
39	Regional	Raets, F. & Aboutaleb, A. (2014). 14bb005458 Van B En W Beantwoording Schriftelijke Vragen Van Mevrouw Wijntuin Over Situatie Migrantenkinderen Midden- En Oost Europa In Rotterdam.	28-10-2014
40	Regional	Gemeente Rotterdam. (2017). Een jaar azc Rotterdam De stand van zaken tussen augustus 2016 en augustus 2017.	13-10-2017
41	Regional	Commissie Veiligheid, Organisatie en Financiën. (2016). Overzicht Openstaande Moties En Toezeggingen Asiel En Vluchtelingen.	06-02-2016
42	Regional	Sjerps, C. & Aboutaleb, A. (2018). Beantwoording van de schriftelijke vragen van raadslid N. Arsieni (D66) over Wijziging Inburgering.	28-09-2018
43	Regional	Gemeente Rotterdam. (2017). Een halfjaar azc Rotterdam De stand van zaken rondom azc Rotterdam tussen augustus 2016 en maart 2017.	23-03-2017
44	Regional	Gemeente Rotterdam. (2017). Overzicht projecten Onderwijslab010	31-10-2017
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