IMP 16

The documentation and evaluation of
anti-discrimination training activities in the Netherlands

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Table of contents

Foreword

This is a paper of the ILO's Migration Branch. The objectives of the Branch are to contribute to (i) the evaluation, formulation and application of international migration policies suited to the economic and social aims of governments, employers' and workers' organizations, (ii) the increase of equality of opportunity and treatment of migrants and the protection of their rights and dignity. Its means of action are research, technical advisory services and co-operation, meetings and work concerned with international labour standards. The Branch also collects, analyses and disseminates relevant information and acts as the information source for ILO constituents, ILO units and other interested parties.

The ILO has a constitutional obligation to protect the 'interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own'. This has traditionally been effected through the elaboration, adoption and supervision on international labour standards, in particular the Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97); the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111); the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143); and the non-binding Recommendations supplementing them. International legal instruments of this kind are designed to influence national legislation and regulations in each country which has ratified these Conventions; and in this way they aim at changing not only legislation but actual practices as well.

The key concern of ILO standards for migrant workers is non-discrimination or equality of opportunity and treatment. Many countries broadly adhere to this objective in the economic and social spheres. Some countries ratify ILO Conventions[1] and to their level best to fulfil the obligations deriving from them. One might expect, therefore, that discrimination would no longer be part of the legislation or practices of these countries. Unfortunately, a great deal of circumstantial evidence exists that this assumption does not hold in certain respects and especially not at the workplace in private or public enterprises; and such evidence also exists for countries not having ratified ILO Conventions.

Therefore, the ILO has launched a global programme to combat discrimination against migrant workers and ethnic minorities in the world of work. This programme, which focuses on industrialized migrant receiving countries, aims at tackling discrimination by informing policy makers, employers, workers and trainers engaged in anti-discrimination training on how legislative measures and training activities can be rendered more effective, based on an international comparison of the efficacy of such measures and activities. The programme covers four main components: (i) empirical documentation of the occurrence of discrimination; (ii) research to assess the scope and efficacy of legislative measures designed to combat discrimination; (iii) research to document and to evaluate training and education in anti-discrimination or equal treatment; (iv) seminars to disseminate and draw conclusions from the research findings.

This paper reports on the documentation and evaluation of anti-discrimination training activities in the Netherlands. Although over 400 training providers were approached in the documentation phase, relatively few training activities were detected that aimed specifically at the gate-keepers

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[1] Forty-one in the case of Convention No. 97, one hundred and twenty in the case of Convention No. 111, and eighteen in the case of Convention No. 143.

vi

of the labour market, i.e. persons who exert influence over access to jobs. Out of these specific training activities, most were found to focus on bringing about a change of attitude - on the assumption that this would automatically result in a change of behaviour. Specific training aimed at behavioural change was found to be given less frequently. This is a cause for concern, as the evaluation phase of this research found this last type of training approach to be particularly effective in reducing discrimination in the workplace.

Another reason for concern is the finding that the provision of anti-discrimination training activities is restricted to a relatively small number of employment organizations. It is far from common property in employment organizations in the Netherlands. Moreover, if and when anti-discrimination training is provided, it is often a non-recurring event which lacks the active support of the top management and which is not imbedded in wider equal opportunities policies of the organizations concerned. Given these constraints, it is remarkable that some of the training courses evaluated were, nevertheless, found to be effective in producing actual change among trainees.

It is hoped that both training providers and client organizations will take note of the findings of this research and its recommendations as to training approach, methodology and the wider institutional context required for training to result in a lasting reduction in discrimination among the gate-keepers to the labour market. Judging by the findings of earlier ILO research into the occurrence of discrimination in access to employment in the Netherlands[1] such effective anti-discrimination training needs to be provided urgently and on a truly massive scale to all persons involved in employment-related decision making.

July 1997   W.R. Böhning
                                                                                 Chief
                                                                                 Migration Branch

[1] F. Bovenkerk, M.J.I. Gras and D. Ramsoedh: *Discrimination against migrant workers and ethnic minorities in access to employment in the Netherlands*. Geneva, International Labour Office, 1995.

Introduction[1]

This research is part of the project 'Combatting discrimination against (im)migrant workers and ethnic minorities in the world of work', that was initiated by the Migration Branch of the International Labour Office (ILO).

The project aims 'to reduce discrimination against (im)migrants/ethnic minorities by informing policy makers, employers, workers and trainers engaged in fighting unlawful discrimination on how legislative measures and training activities can be rendered more effective, based on an international comparison of the impact of such measures and activities' (Böhning and Zegers de Beijl in Wrench and Taylor, 1993, p. iii). The project covers four main components:

1. Empirical verification of discrimination[2]; In an earlier stage the ILO has initiated research to document the major forms, extent and severity of discrimination against migrant workers and ethnic minorities in a number of migrant-receiving countries (see for example Dankoor and Havelaar, 1994; Bovenkerk et al., 1995; Bendick, 1996; Colectivo IOÉ, 1996; Goldberg et al., 1996);
2. Research to assess the scope and efficacy of legislative measures designed to combat discrimination (Ventura, 1995; Zegers de Beijl, 1991; Rutherglen, 1993);
3. Research to document and to evaluate training and education in anti-discrimination or equal treatment;
4. International seminars to draw lessons from the research findings.

In this report the efficacy of anti-discrimination measures in the Netherlands is described. More specifically the extent, content and impact of anti-discrimination training and education activities are examined. The research will concern primarily training which is related to *access* to *employment* opportunities. More specifically, it is concerned with training targeted at 'gate-keepers' - people who have functional control over the access of migrant workers or members of ethnic minorities to jobs, vocational training, promotion, and all aspects of employment opportunities.

The structure of this report is as follows. *Chapter one* opens with background information on the recent migration history of the Netherlands, the labour market position and the related social policies which have developed in order to locate the findings on anti-discrimination training and educational activities into their broader social context. *Chapter two* presents a discussion of anti-discrimination training and education activities in general; the research aims and research methods are described. *Chapter three* contains the results of questionnaire interviews with training providers as well as a descriptive overview and a discussion and interpretation of the results. *Chapter four* deals with the evaluation of training activities . In *Chapter five* a summary and conclusions are presented.

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[1] The authors would like to thank Prof.Dr. Frank Bovenkerk for his constructive comments on the first draft of this report.

[2] In this report, the term 'discrimination' is used to mean discrimination on grounds of ethnic origin and/or nationality.

1. Migration history of the Netherlands; labour market position and the related social policies

Through the ages, the Netherlands has received immigrants - often victims of political suppression - from several parts of the world. Huguenots from France, Jews from Eastern Europe, Spain and Portugal found shelter in the Netherlands. After World War II, when the former colonies became independent, people from the Netherlands East Indies and Suriname arrived in the Netherlands. In the sixties, due to economic growth, immigrant workers from Eastern and Southern Europe and Asia arrived. The prevention of racism against these ethnic minorities and immigrant workers is subject of this study. In this chapter the major foreign groups in the Netherlands, their migration history, their labour market position and the related social policies are described.

1.1. Migration history

Shortly after World War II, about 100,000 expatriates returned from the Netherlands East Indies. After 1949, when the Netherlands East Indies became formally independent, another group of expatriates, also about 100,000 persons, returned. The majority of these immigrants consisted of coloured people, the 'Eurasians'. A third group returned later, between 1952 and 1955. This group counted 40,000 people. The last group - also 40,000 persons - arrived at the end of the 1950s, when Indonesia announced plans to annex New-Guinea. In general the expatriates were well-educated and assimilated more or less easily into the Dutch society. The fourth and last group of expatriates from the Netherlands East Indies also included 12,500 persons of Moluccan origin, mostly ex-soldiers from the KNIL, the Dutch Colonial Army. They were predominantly lower educated and, due to promises of the Dutch Government, regarded their stay as temporary in order to return to the Moluccan Islands.

The sixties and early seventies were characterized by rapid economic growth and structural shortages on the labour market. The origin of these structural shortages was not an expansion of the industrial sector, but the expansion of the service industries and a flow of employees from the industrial sector to the service industries. The labour force increase in this last sector was over 600,000 persons between 1960 -1970. Consequently a shortage of lower skilled jobs in the industrial sector arose. During this period lower skilled employees were recruited from the Mediterranean countries - Portugal, Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece, and also Morocco and Turkey. In 1973 the number of these so called guest-workers ('gastarbeiders') amounted to about 100,000 (the entire population of the Netherlands in 1973 was about 13,5 million). In the same period (1960- 1970) migrants from the Dutch Antilles and Suriname began to arrive. Educational and political reasons also played a role in their motivation to migrate (Tesser, 1993). Recruitment from the Mediterranean countries halted abruptly after the 1973 oil crisis. After the oil crisis an economic decline started, which lasted until 1984. Though recruitment from the Mediterranean countries was halted, the number of persons of Mediterranean origin increased due to family-reunification. Immigration from Suriname also increased until independence in 1975.

Table 1.   Ethnic minorities in the Netherlands, 1992 and 1996

Country of origin	abs. (000s) 1992	% of total population 1992	abs (000s) 1996[1]	% of total population 1996	4 major cities (000s) 1996
Suriname	263	1.74	289	1.86	163
Turkey	241	1.59	264	1.70	99
Morocco	196	1.29	225	1.45	108
Dutch Antilles/Aruba	91	0.60	97	0.63	60
Italy[2]	33	0.22			
Spain[2]	29	0.19			
former Yugoslavia[2]	27	0.18			
Cape-Verdian Islands[2]	14	0.09			
Portugal[2]	13	0.08			
Greece[2]	10	0.07			
Tunisia[2]	6	0.04			
Moluccans (estimate)[3]	35	0.23			
Caravan dwellers (estimate)[3]	30	0.20			
Gypsies (estimates)[3]	4	0.02			
Refugees (estimate)[3]	44	0.29			
total	1,034	6.83			
total population	15,129	100.00	15,491		

[1] estimate
[2] 1996: no reliable data available
[3] Source: Martens, E.P.; Roijen, J.J.; Veenman, J. (1994). Minderheden in Nederland. Statistisch
       Vadamecum 1993/1994. 'sGravenhage: CBS, ISEO/EUR, 1994.

Source: Smeets, H.M.A.G.; Martens, E.P.; Veenman, J. (1997). Jaarboek Minderheden 1997.
       Houten/Zaventem: Bohn Stafleu Van Loghum.

Today the immigration policy is very restrictive. Labour migration is in fact only allowed for subjects of the EU countries. The other possibility is admittance on humanitarian grounds or for family reunification.

National and local authorities have developed several social policies. However, not all migrants are part of the target groups for the different national and local minorities policies. A migrant or ethnic group is a target group if their social economic position is poor (e.g. the unemployment rate is high) and if the authorities feel themselves - for different reasons - responsible for the presence of the group (Tesser, 1993). In consequence, the Eurasians, who gained a social economic position comparable to that of the native Dutch, do not constitute a
target group. Until 1994 the national minorities policy had targeted the following ethnic groups: Surinamese, Turks, Moroccans, Antilleans, Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians, Yugoslavs, Greeks, Tunisians, Cape Verdians, Moluccans, caravan dwellers and gypsies (see table 1). When the Act for the Promotion of Equal Labour Opportunities for Migrants came into effect in 1994 (see section 1.2), the South European groups except refugees from the former Yugoslavia were deleted as target groups, while migrants from Somalia, Ethiopia, Iran and Iraq were added. In 1996 nationals of countries in South and Central America, Africa and Asia were added.

4

The four major migrant groups are the Surinamese, Turks, Moroccans and Antilleans. In 1996, they comprised 5.6 per cent of the total population and over three quarters of all legally resident migrants. Surinamese, Moroccan and Antillean communities are predominantly concentrated in the four major cities.

1.2. Labour market position and the related social policies

The weak socio-economical position of minorities in the Netherlands manifests itself in different fields. One of the fields which clearly shows this weak socio-economical position of migrants is the poor labour market position. Figure 1 shows the registered unemployment by origin during the period 1980 -1988. Although after 1984 employment increased again, only the autochthonous part of the population profited from this development: as is shown in figure 1, the number of unemployed among the various minority groups kept increasing.[1]

Also from more recent data it is known that the unemployment rates among different ethnic minority groups are still remarkably higher than those of the autochthonous labour force. Figure 2 shows persistent high unemployment rates, especially among Turks, Moroccans and Antilleans. The extreme high unemployment-rate among Antilleans is remarkable, considering their high level of education. Surinamese and Mediterraneans take an average position. It also shows, as indicated before, that the Indonesian Dutch position on the labour market is more or less equal to that of the autochthonous population.

In 1995, unemployment among the four main ethnic minority groups was three times that of the indigenous population. This increases the risk of ethnicization at the lower end of the labour market, especially in major cities. Long-term unemployment has increased sharply among the young ethnic population, yet fallen dramatically among the young indigenous population. Nevertheless, positive developments occurred as well. Between 1990 and 1995, employment growth among minorities was four times higher than that of the indigenous population. During those five years, the labour market absorbed an extra 40,000 individuals from the target groups. However, the number of ethnic job-seekers also rose in response to demographic trends and an increased level of labour market participation. As a result, the decline in overall unemployment among ethnic minorities was still modest (Jaaroverzicht integratiebeleid Etnische Groepen, 1997).

Also within employment organizations, minorities, when compared to autochthonous employees, find themselves in a weak position. The division of employees from the various ethnic groups over job levels shows a distorted image. Minorities, on average, are appointed to lower positions and their position is often less secure than those of autochthonous employees with a comparable education. Minorities, for example, are relatively more often appointed on a temporary employment contract (Veen and Riemersma, 1990). Turkish and Moroccan

Figure 1. Registered Unemployment by ethnic origin[2], 1980- 1988
          (index: 1980=100)

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[1] Taken from Tesser, P.T.M. Rapportage minderheden 1993. Rijswijk: Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau.

[2] Before 1988, the registration criterion was nationality.

Source: Muus, 1996

Figure 2. Registered Unemployment by ethnicity,[1] 1989-1995
         (in percentages)

Source: CBS, 1996
* Source: Muus, 1996

employees in particular perform simple tasks - with all the resulting inconveniences - that require little or no education (Tesser, 1993). Research by Ankersmit et al. (1989) shows that 50 per cent of Turkish employees with an education level varying from MBO (intermediate vocational education) to VWO (pre-university education) perform only simple tasks, as opposed to 7 per cent of the autochthonous employees with a comparable education.

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[1] For ethnicity the criteria are nationality as well as country of birth.

Related social policies

In the Netherlands, there are many general measures which are aimed at combatting unemployment. Participation of minorities (both newcomers and more settled individuals and their children) in the labour market is encouraged in the first instance by an overall labour market policy targeted at the lower end of the market. Only recently subsidized labour schemes have become successful in including a proportional percentage of the minority population (cf. Wolff and Penninx, 1993, p. 84).

Apart from general measures to push back the unemployment figures, there are also measures specifically aimed at migrants. The Dutch government provides integration courses for new immigrants, which are implemented by the local authorities. These courses consist largely of induction programmes (learning Dutch and introduction to Dutch society). An act is currently being prepared (to take effect from January 1998) with a view to making attendance of these courses obligatory. These courses also provide advice on how to gain access to the Dutch labour market. Additional specific measures have also been introduced for minorities, both to influence employer demand and to improve the competitiveness of ethnic job seekers through specific training and placement activities. Training and intensive placement activities for ethnic minorities are being boosted through the Employment Board's efforts to encourage a proportional percentage of minorities to take part in courses for people with difficulties in accessing the labour market. Ethnic minorities account for 21 per cent (i.e. almost a quarter) of the total number of unemployed job seekers on the Employment Board's books. Yet, they account for only 13 per cent of those actually placed by the Board (Jaaroverzicht integratiebeleid Etnische Groepen, 1997, p. 32).

In 1990, the social partners concluded a Central Accord entitled 'More Work for Minorities 1990-1996', in which they recommended that companies with more than 10 employees should implement an anti-discrimination policy and promote training of ethnic minority workers. The parties to the collective labour agreements were also urged to conclude more agreements with respect to training and employment for minorities. The social partners also recommended cooperation between companies and between Regional Employment Boards and the conclusion of agreements on such cooperation in targeted work plans. These recommendations resulted in collective labour agreements covering training and employment for minorities and the appointment of 50 special company advisers on minority affairs by the Regional Employment Boards. The social partners also came to an agreement which set as its goal to, within a period of four to five years, reach a proportionate labour market position for ethnic minorities. This translated into the aim of creating an extra 60,000 jobs for migrants by 1996.

At the end of 1996, the Labour Inspectorate issued a report on the effects of the minorities Accord on companies in the private and the semi-public sector, i.e. excluding the government and education (Arbeidsinspectie, 1996). By 1995, the average proportion of ethnic minority workers in full time employment in companies in these sectors had risen by 0.2 per cent compared with 1994 - resulting in an overall representation of 5.3 per cent in these sectors. Ethnic workers were over-represented in the lowest skilled jobs and in flexible labour. Although the proportion of companies employing ethnic workers had risen, the vast majority of all companies, i.e. 87 per cent, still did not employ ethnic minority workers. Most ethnic minority workers were employed by larger companies: half of all such workers were employed by companies with 500 or more employees. Half of all companies with over 10 employees had no ethnic minority workers. However, it was mainly the smaller companies which did not have ethnic minority staff; 92.5 per

cent of companies with less than 10 employees did not employ ethnic minority workers. Of these, the construction sector had the lowest share of ethnic minority workers while the commercial services sector had the highest share. A large proportion (59 per cent) of companies with more than 10 staff did not appear to be aware of the recommendations made by the Labour Council or of collective labour agreements on the employment and training of minorities (46 per cent). Of these companies, 17 per cent were approached by the Employment Board with regard to the placement of ethnic minority job-seekers. A small number of companies (4.7 per cent) were found to be conducting an active personnel policy on ethnic minorities, whereas 15.5 per cent had introduced specific measures aimed at meeting ethnic minorities' needs with respect to religious holidays etc. The reasons companies gave for taking such positive steps in this direction were : social responsibility and economic interest (i.e. labour market bottlenecks and company image). The companies which had taken no steps maintained that they already pursued a policy of equal treatment and/or that they could not find suitable ethnic minority candidates to fill their vacancies. The Labour Inspectorate found that companies with (a) an awareness of the Central Accord, (b) a work plan in place and (c) specific measures targeted at ethnic workers more often employed ethnic minorities than other companies. The larger companies were often better informed, made greater efforts on behalf of ethnic minorities and employed more often ethnic workers than smaller companies. Positive links were also identified between the number of ethnic minority workers employed and the knowledge of national policies and specific efforts made by the companies concerned[1].

In 1994 the 'Wet Bevordering Evenredige Arbeidsdeelname Allochtonen' (WBEAA, Act for the Promotion of Equal Labour Opportunities for Migrants) came into effect. This temporary Act which is foreseen to be in force until 1999 is based on the Canadian Equal Employment Act and was introduced to support the social partners' agreements. The law is meant to help to ensure that a specific policy on minorities is included in the personnel policy of individual companies by making such a policy mandatory rather than voluntary (violation of the WBEAA is an economic offence with a maximum fine of 25,000 Dutch guilders). In this way, the Act gives individual employers a vested interest in actively participating in the realisation of the aims set in collective labour agreements. It also provides a standardized and thus comparable method for measuring progress. The act contains three obligations for companies with 35 or more employees: registration of workers by ethnic origin, publicly notifying the Chamber of Commerce each year on the proportion of ethnic workers in the overall personnel and compilation of an annual working plan setting targets for the inflow of migrants. Originally, the target groups were: Surinamese, Turks, Moroccans, Antilleans, Arubans, and refugees from the former Yugoslavia, Somalia, Ethiopia, Iran and Iraq. In 1996, nationals of countries in South and Central America, Africa and Asia were added.

By the end of 1996, an initial evaluation of the Act for the Promotion of Equal Labour Opportunities for Migrants was presented to Parliament. It found that although only a small minority of employers (14 per cent) was complying fully with the Act, the majority of employers (57 per cent) had taken a first step by introducing an ethnic registration system. However, although the researchers found evidence of a positive effect on employers who were implementing

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[1] On the relatively limited impact of Central Accords on collective agreements and employment practices in general, see van Heertum-Lemmen and Wilthagen, 1996. For sector-based case studies on the effects of specific clauses in collective agreements with respect to an increased inflow of ethnic minority workers, see van Dijk, 1997.

the Act - in the form of greater insight (41 per cent), more discussion about employment for ethnic job-seekers (25 per cent) and changes in personnel policy (11 per cent) - they concluded that the Act still consists of merely administrative procedures and that it does not result in enough concrete action (Berkhout et al., 1996).

These results prompted the government to conclude an agreement on 4 December 1996 with the social partners in the Labour Council to make the Act more effective by streamlining existing procedures and by reducing administrative costs. However, the Cabinet's proposed amendments retained the Act's key obligations, i.e. its application to companies with 35 or more employees, the mandatory registration scheme, and the duty to submit a written notification of the number of ethnic workers in the company and of existing and planned measures to increase this number, as well as keeping this information public. These reports are to be submitted to the Regional Employment Boards. Compliance with the Act will be monitored by the Labour Inspectorate; violation will be dealt with under civil law. The altered Act (Wet Stimulering Arbeidsdeelname Minderheden SAMEN - Act on Stimulating Labour Market Participation of Minorities) is expected to become effective in 1998 and will - just as the 1994 WBEAA - have a temporary character.

The social partners, - who were initially fiercely opposed to the 1994 Act, and subsequently adopted a passive attitude to it - stated during the 'autumn talks' with the government on 4 December 1996 that they were prepared to regard the amended Act, which has incorporated their suggestions, as support for their new minorities Accord ('Making more of Minorities 1997-2000'), which was signed on 26 November 1996. This Accord contains recommendations to companies and to the sectoral social partners. Although the new Accord no longer contains any centralized pronouncements concerning a quantitative target, it is still striving to reduce unemployment among ethnic minorities to proportional levels. The new Accord devotes more attention to implementation than the 1990-1996 Accord. To this end, an infrastructure has been planned in which links between national and regional levels, between industrial sectors and companies, and between sectors and the Employment Board are clearly indicated (the social partners are represented on the executive board of the Employment Board). The Regional Employment Boards will be appointing another 50 company advisers to support the implementation of collective labour agreements on the employment and training of ethnic job seekers.

In the Spring of 1997, the Minister of Social Affairs and Employment and the Chairpersons of workers' and employers' organizations addressed a joint letter to all employers and workers' councils concerned to inform them of the new Central Accord on minorities and the changes to be made to the 1994 Act, as well as to call upon each employer to comply with his duties under the 1994 Act.

Government
The central government is one of the larger employers in the Netherlands. Together with the local authorities, the government is the biggest employer. Until 1985, the central government did not have a migrant-targeted personnel policy (Abell et al., 1985). Affirmative action at the governmental level is a measure that was introduced only in 1987 in order to push back the unemployment figures among migrants. In order to reach this goal, several attempts have been made. The first attempt was the EMO-plan (Ethnic Minorities with the Government) which started in 1987. The aim of the EMO-plan was to increase the proportion of migrants to three per cent. This goal was actually met in 1990 (Ministry of the Interior, 1992). In 1991, a sequel called

the EMO2-plan was introduced. Here the aim was, among others, to increase the proportion of migrants to five percent. However, when the EMO2-plan was substituted by the WBEAA in 1994, this aim was far from achieved (Abell, 1995). A project which did prove successful in the long run was the '1000-jobs plan' for Moluccans which was announced in early 1987. The aim of this project was for the government to take on 1000 Moluccans. When it became apparent that the central government and the local authorities could only partly succeed in employing enough Moluccans, the subsidized sector and business industry were also incorporated into the plan. After six years, 1200 Moluccans were placed in regular employment. Already in 1990, Veenman and Martens (1990) detected a strong decrease of unemployment under Moluccans, which they, in large, saw as a result of the 1000-jobs plan. Besides the various measures from the central government there were also measures taken by the police, the army and cities such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam. However, in none of the cases were the aims actually met.

1.3. Explanations for the weak labour market position

Tesser (1993) gives us four reasons to explain the weak labour market position of the minority groups:
• general economic developments
• lack of qualifications
• the functioning of the labour market
• discrimination

An example of an *economic development* that plays a part is the slow disappearance of unskilled industrial manual labour for which the then 'guest-workers' were recruited. This results in a high level of unemployment among semi- and unskilled job seekers, and consequently minorities. Another example is the large supply on the labour market which results in an ousting of the semi-skilled by the highly-skilled (see for example Van Baarle, 1983 and Belderbos and Teulings, 1988).

As far as *lack of qualifications* is concerned, there is, on average a lower level of education among minorities. The amount of Turks, Moroccans, Moluccans and, to a lesser degree, Antilleans and Arubans that have received education on a higher vocational level is relatively smaller than the amount of autochthonous who received such an education. Besides, students from such minority groups are over-represented by those who only have an unfinished education and they are under-represented in the group of students who receive a higher education (see Roelandt et al. 1992; Roelandt et al. 1993). The relationship between lack of qualifications such as a too low level of education and the labour market position is, however, not unambiguous. Kloek (1992) and Niesing and Veenman (1990) made clear in their analyses that the low level of education of minorities can only be partly held responsible for the high level of unemployment.

According to the analyses of Niesing and Veenman, the expected level of unemployment would have to be much lower than the actual level of unemployment on the basis of the education level of minorities. In a research on affirmative action policies at the Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Water Management several officials made out a case against hiring migrants; most of their arguments - like those connected with (alleged) lack of qualifications were found to be not based on fact (Abell, 1996). Another explanation could lie in the field of linguistic competence. In the ISEO/SPVA'88 survey, respectively only 15 and 12 per cent of the Turkish and Moroccan part of the population said to have no problems with the Dutch language (Niesing, 1993). Vriend

and Den Uyl (1988) came up with similar results. Finally, one-sided work experience and orientation and a low level of acculturation could also be accountable for the high level of unemployment.

With regard to the *functioning of the labour market*, problems concerning the connection between search and recruitment channels (Hooghiemstra et al. 1990) can be mentioned as well as the functioning of intermediaries such as the RBA's (Regional Bureaus of the Employment Board). A survey by the Loontechnische dienst (Loontechnische dienst, 1993) shows that not more than 10 per cent of the companies find the RBA the most efficient recruitment channel. Hooghiemstra et al. (1990) also state that the RBA is low on the list of recruitment channels. Several other studies also show that the RBA's do not function properly. In this respect, Van Beek and Van Praag (1992) state that: 'the Employment Board as a recruitment channel is of little account'; the Algemene Werkgevers Vereniging (National Employers Organization) states that the Employment Board is not able to reach the unemployed from ethnic minority groups (Algemene Werkgevers Vereniging, 1992). Another study (BEA 1992) mentions recruitment which is often not specific enough (in one specific project only 22 of the 700 migrant workers approached by the Employment Board finally joined the project).

Finally, *discrimination* is present in various forms (see for example Bovenkerk, 1978, Den Uyl et al., 1986 and Meloen, 1991). In the above-mentioned research of Niesing and Veenman (1990), it was attempted to explain the differences in unemployment percentages between autochthones and migrants by differences in education, job level, age, gender and regional unemployment. These five factors proved to be only partially responsible for the difference in employment levels. Where the Antillean labour force is concerned, only 10 per cent of the difference of unemployment with autochthones can be explained by these five factors. Niesing and Veenman therefore conclude that 'the unexplained remainder ... is so big that this could be an indication for the existence of discrimination'. The next section will deal more extensively with the main focus of this research which is the subject of discrimination during recruitment and selection.

1.4. Discrimination during recruitment and selection

Labour is seen by many as an important factor for the social integration of ethnic minorities. De Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid (The Scientific Council for Government Policy) in its 1989 report, points at the interest of labour participation of migrants for their integration into the Dutch society (WRR, 1989). Bovenkerk shares this opinion: 'The vicious circle of discrimination and disadvantage in various social fields can probably more effectively and certainly more directly be broken by opening up the labour market and providing minority groups with some economic power than by intervening in the world of schooling and housing' (Bovenkerk, 1992). In order to gain this 'economic power' it is essential that migrants at least have the same measure of access to the labour market. This is, however, not the case, as is stated above.

In 1990, the ILO published a survey on discrimination against migrants in six West European countries.[1] From this survey it emerged that discrimination during recruitment and selection was very common. This form of discrimination, however, was rarely straightforward and therefore difficult to detect (Zegers de Beijl, 1990). Also from more recent Dutch experiments executed on

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[1] Belgium, Germany, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Switzerland.

behalf of the first phase of the ILO project 'Combatting discrimination against (im)migrant workers and ethnic minorities in the world of work', it appears that migrant candidates are significantly discriminated against during selection procedures (Bovenkerk et al., 1995; Dankoor and Havelaar, 1994). In this experiment, two candidates of the same quality, one of migrant and one national origin, took part in a selection procedure. The candidates were matched on some very important criteria for the particular vacancy such as qualifications, work experience and age. The experiment showed that the migrant candidate often did not proceed beyond the first telephone conversation. Hearing a 'foreign' name or a slight foreign accent were reason enough for an employer to stop the procedure. Discrimination in these experiments was always implicit; an employer never admitted to not wanting to employ a migrant, he always said the vacancy had already been filled (see also Essed, 1984, p.30).

Veenman and Roelandt (1994) say that in selection practises there is often some sort of direct or indirect, unconscious form of discrimination. Direct discrimination is the conscious disfavouring of migrants by personnel selectors. Indirect, unconscious discrimination is often a result of ethnocentrism. Examples of the last-mentioned are the use of cultural-biased psychological tests (Choenni and van der Zwan, 1987), the choice for recruitment channels which are seldom used by migrants as a searching channel (Hooghiemstra et al., 1990) and verbal and non-verbal mis-communication (Veenman, 1990). This disfavouring by employers and personnel selectors, whether or not conscious, restricts, according to the researchers, the access to jobs and keeps or places migrants at the end of the line. Veenman and Roelandt claim that selectors are being led by prejudices when they have to make a choice from the applicants whose individual capacities they are not familiar with. In uncertain circumstances selectors tend to ascribe characteristics of individual members of a group (such as lower level of education, language difficulties or restricted integration) to all members of that group. According to them, this 'statistical discrimination' reduces the selectors' insecurity because they exclude everyone that belongs to a group with supposed less favoured characteristics. The study of Hooghiemstra et al. (1990) supports these claims. This research shows that selectors make use of negative prejudices where the labour performances of migrants are concerned. Especially during the selection for functions on semi- and unskilled level, prejudices are abundantly present. Besides, during a job interview the individual capacities are tested in such an unstructured and subjective manner that the prejudices have all opportunity to play an important role in the decision-making.

The research by Van Beek and Van Praag (1992) gives even more clarity on the selection criteria that companies employ when appointing semi-skilled personnel. This research shows that employers firstly select on variables such as age, health, gender and ethnic origin. Level of education, linguistic competence, work experience and the current job are of less importance for the chances of job seekers (without a job)[1] in finding semi-skilled work. Consequently this indicates that employers do not select on really relevant characteristics such as level of education and work experience but on characteristics that do not matter, such as gender and ethnic origin. On average, employers consider age to be the most important selection criterium, according to the researchers. Healthy, young, male, autochthonous employees by far have more chances on finding employment than anyone else. Van der Most van Spijk (1991) determines that a large number of employers admit to having a preference for autochthonous employees. Employers have

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[1] The researchers have consciously restricted themselves to job seekers without a job (with possible work experience). Seeing that the research questions are concentrated on the chances and possibilities of problem groups on the labour market, the researchers opted to focus on unemployed job seekers.

various arguments for this. Migrants would cost extra and would bring along extra efforts because they require more intense supervision and attention with, for instance, filling out tax declarations, family allowance application forms and holiday arrangements. Another argument is that migrants bring along an increased business risk because they are less motivated, more often ill and take longer vacations. Some employers say that migrants don't go well with clients or that they do not fit into the team.

1.5. Anti-discrimination legislation with regard to the labour market

A recent overview of existing anti-discrimination legislation and codes of practice in the Netherlands was made by Gras and Bovenkerk (1995). The following section is largely based on their report.

Anti-discrimination legislation was introduced in a period without any racial conflicts, as a consequence of obligations under international law (the ratifying of the European Social Charter in 1965, the ratifying of the International Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in 1969, the ratifying of International Labour Organization Convention No. 111 on Discrimination in Employment and Occupation in 1974 and the ratifying of the European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers in 1983). The principle of non-discrimination (and equal treatment) is laid down in the Constitution and several articles in the Dutch Criminal Code. In addition several codes of practice exist. The first article of the Dutch Constitution reads as follows: 'all persons in the Netherlands shall be treated equally, in equal circumstances. Discrimination on the grounds of religion, belief, political opinion, race or sex, or any ground whatsoever, shall not be permitted'. The criminal law includes several articles on discrimination. Intentional as well as non-intentional discrimination have been made liable to penance. Articles 137g and 429quater penalise racial discrimination - among other things - in the labour market. There exist some exceptions: Dutch nationality is required for some public functions, such as police officers.

With the introduction of the General Act on Equal Treatment in 1994, civil law also includes a specific anti-discrimination act. This act lays down 'equal treatment of individuals regardless of religion, belief, political opinion, race, sex, nationality, sexual preferences or civil status'. Unequal treatment is prohibited in the field of recruitment (article 5.1a) and prohibited while entering into or ending a labour relation (article 5.1d). The Commission of Equal Treatment judges whether The General Act on Equal Treatment is violated. The Commission however has no jurisdiction, but it can initiate legal proceedings. In 1994/1995 over 300 complaints were registered, of which 185 were admissible (Commissie Gelijke Behandeling, 1996). Of these, 25 per cent were related to race, and 90 per cent of the 94 verdicts were related to labour. During the first half of 1996 already over 250 complaints were registered (CGB, pers. comm.) However, the overall impact of the General Act of Equal Treatment is not yet clear, as the act is relatively new.

Three other institutions/organizations which deal with combatting discrimination are the National Ombudsman, the Dutch National Bureau for Combatting Racism (LBR) and the Anti-Discrimination Agencies (Anti-Discriminatiebureaus en - Meldpunten, the ADB's). The National Ombudsman deals with complaints against civil servants of the government or governmental bodies. The LBR investigates structural forms of discrimination and fights these by means of legal action and supports the ADB's. The over 40 ADB's in the Netherlands can support individuals in submitting a complaint. As Gras and Bovenkerk state, 'Through the years, jurisdiction has

established exactly which demands are illegitimately discriminating. For example, no language demand should be required in a vacancy for unskilled work' (Gras and Bovenkerk, 1995). This does not imply that combatting discrimination by law is not problematic. Only 5 per cent of all complaints reach the state of court proceedings (Kartaram, in Gras and Bovenkerk, 1995); there is little readiness to report discrimination because of lack of support in submitting the complaint, and because of ignorance of the procedure (Overdijk- Francis, in Gras and Bovenkerk, 1995).

Several codes of practice of non-discrimination in recruitment and personnel selection have been established by national and local authorities, many organizations in the private sector, trade unions and organizations such as employment agencies. Research into the effect of the code of practice of employment agencies (ABU-code) however, showed that only in 8 per cent of the cases intermediaries were acting in compliance with the code (Meloen, 1991, p.222).

1.6. Education and training

The foregoing sections show that anti-discrimination legislation is a necessary but not sufficient means of reducing racial discrimination in employment. Besides legal measures there is a need for other solutions. Training and education can serve as a means to combat discrimination. Especially training higher management and the personnel officers of organizations - in other words, those who decide what happens in an organization and who gets hired - can play an important part in the stimulation of equal chances for migrants at getting a job (see also Commission for Racial Equality, 1991, in Wrench and Taylor, 1993). The advantage of training lies in the fact that these types of activity are mostly undertaken voluntarily - organizations are seldom forced into seeking help from a training agency. Therefore, they are thought to be more effective than most mandatory measures imposed by the government. At the same time, this indicates the restrictions of such training: only motivated organizations ask for training, unmotivated organizations still do not take any steps.As will come forward in this research, in the Netherlands there is a variety of training offered by a large and growing number of different organizations. However, not much research has been done into the subjects of the content, aims and results of this training. A rapidly growing and changing field such as anti-discrimination training can lead to a lack of quality and adequate reflection (NCB, 1991). Incidentally, 'anti-discrimination training' is a term that is not often used in the Netherlands. Inter-Cultural, Trans-Cultural or Cross-Cultural (management) training (respectively ICM, TCM and CCM) are the terms used. This research will mainly use the term Inter-Cultural Management (ICM). Section 3.2 will go further into debates on ICM training activities.

2. Research aims and research methods

2.1. The research aims

The aim of this research is to document and evaluate the anti-discrimination training and education activities in the Netherlands where such training is imparted to people who have a part to play in access to the labour market. More specifically it is concerned with 'training directed at those who hire personnel or have some role in the allocation of individuals to opportunities within the labour market' (Wrench and Taylor, 1993, p. 8).The research concerns training directed at the same types of individuals who would have been involved in the previous situation testing (see the

14

research of Bovenkerk et al., 1995, on the first phase of the ILO project). It concerns so-called 'gate-keepers': individuals 'who have a role to play in the access of minorities to employment, and who may also have an influence on employment careers within an organization' (Wrench and Taylor, 1993, p. 8). Gate-keepers can be personnel and line managers in both the private and public sector, civil servants and officials in labour exchanges and other agencies which play a placement role for individuals seeking employment and trade union officials.

2.2. Training types excluded and included

A number of training activities, although related to equal opportunities training, will be *excluded* from the focus of this study. These are:
- training directed at migrants/ethnic minorities themselves;
- training for service delivery to migrants/ethnic minorities;
- broader educational campaigns on fair treatment for migrants which fall outside the workplace.

The reasons for excluding these training activities will be explained for each area.

Excluded: 1 The Training of Migrants
Since the research is aimed at training directed at (autochthonous) gate-keepers, training which is directed at migrants will not be considered. This type of training in particular was (and still is) considered by many to be a solution for the disadvantage migrants faced in the labour market (Focus, 1991). The point of departure here was that there was a deficit with the migrants themselves which made their access to the labour market difficult. The training, therefore, was aimed at the improvement of linguistic competence and other skills that could increase their job opportunities. In the previous chapter, however, it was shown that the role of factors such as level of education and linguistic competence at the selection of employees is less significant than expected. Besides, these types of training activities will - probably slowly - become less and less necessary as the migrants live longer in the Netherlands. Possible 'deficits' at the demand side of the labour market are thus more relevant.

Excluded: 2 Training for Service Delivery
A second type of training that will be left out of consideration in this research is training for service delivery to minority populations, such as training for social workers, counter clerks and bank staff. This type of training is generally aimed at enhancing a sensitivity or fairness in the delivery of service to migrants. In order for the personnel to handle various migrant clients correctly, part of this training may include the imparting of cultural information. This type of training is not, however, concerned with the access of migrants to employment opportunities, and is therefore excluded from this study. An exception can be training activities that are aimed at work counsellors or career counsellors for young people, including migrants. When these advisors are exclusively engaged in counselling, they are excluded from this research. If, however, they are also engaged in the allocation of employment or education to these young people, they are included in this study.

Excluded: 3 Broader Educational Campaigns
A third activity to be excluded from this study is educational campaigns by, for example, the government, trade unions, anti-racist organizations or voluntary organizations. Although they often have combatting discrimination as their goal, they encompass broader issues concerning

migrants than the labour market alone and are therefore aimed at a wider public than merely gate-keepers.

Included: Anti-Discrimination Training
A broad range of activities remain which fall under the heading of 'anti-discrimination training'. The question is, however, whether there are many training facilitators in the Netherlands who clearly ascribe to this point of departure or whether they ascribe to a point of departure at all (see Abell, 1991). For the Netherlands therefore a broader definition of the concept of 'anti-discrimination training' was formulated: *Inter-cultural communication- or management training that starts from the multi-cultural society and aims for the demand side of the labour market (profit organizations, non-profit organizations and government bodies) in order to stimulate the labour participation of migrants.* The training provider often justifies such types of training to the client by the assumption that the multi-cultural society challenges the labour market and, in turn, it has to act on this challenge and change itself in order to keep pace with modern times (see, for example, Pinto, 1990; NCB, 1991; van der Werf, 1992). The expansion of the research question makes it also possible to describe training activities that depart from a different or wider perspective than simply reducing the discrimination by gate-keepers.

2.3. An international typology of training approaches

Based on several issues from debates of training approaches, an international typology of training approaches was developed by Wrench and Taylor. These issues will shortly be explained here. For more detail the research manual is referred to (Wrench and Taylor,1993).

As Wrench and Taylor state, one of these issues is 'the distinction between the long term and short term aims of anti-discrimination training. There is... very little disagreement over the long term aim, which is to reduce the disadvantage and discrimination suffered by ethnic minority groups. However, there is more likelihood of disagreement on how this is to be achieved, and this has implications for the short term aims, which in turn reflect more fundamental debates and assumptions... It will also have implications for attempts to evaluate training in terms of its effectiveness' (Wrench and Taylor, 1993, p.12).

Another issue is the question of whether training should focus on changes in attitudes or changes in behaviour. According to Wrench and Taylor the predominant training goal in the United States was seen to be the promotion of awareness and sensitivity amongst whites, focusing mainly on changes in attitudes and feelings. Some US models of training to produce changes in the attitudes of trainees were later enthusiastically adopted by many trainers in the United Kingdom (Wrench and Taylor, 1993, p. 12). In the Netherlands the focus has been also on attitude change. The underlying assumption of this approach is that attitude change will lead automatically to behavioural change, although it has been recognized by social psychologist for years that the relationship between attitudes and behaviour is a very complicated one (see for instance La Piere, 1934). These findings are confirmed by recent research. In some instances employers have been shown to discriminate although prejudice could not been shown; in others, racist employers have be shown not to discriminate in practice (Bovenkerk, 1992). More recently the focus changed to behavioural change. 'Research on the relationship between attitudes and behaviour has created substantial evidence that changes in behaviour may have more potent and lasting effects than changes in attitudes, *per se*' (Bovenkerk, 1992). According to Wrench and Taylor much contemporary training in the UK no longer operates on this simple attitude/behaviour dichotomy. Yet several training approaches do subscribe to one or the other emphasis: 'The original debate

about whether to emphasize attitude change or behavioural change can be seen to relate to different assumptions over a number of issues, not only on the question of the relationship between attitudes and behaviour, but also on the nature of racism, how it is defined, and how it is to be combatted' (Wrench and Taylor, 1993, p.13).

The typology of training approaches

By cross-classifying two variables, Wrench and Taylor came to a set of classificatory types of training approaches. The bases of their typology are the variables *strategy* and *content* of training approaches. Each variable consists of several levels. The description of these levels is extracted verbatim from the research manual:

The first variable, *strategy* comprises four distinct levels. Firstly, the training strategy might be one of straightforward *information provision*, with the underlying assumption that the problem to be tackled is largely one of ignorance, and that the provision of new information will itself produce changes in attitudes and behaviour. Secondly, it might be a more active and direct strategy of specific mechanisms to produce *attitude change* in the trainees. Thirdly, the main emphasis might be on training to produce *behavioural change* in the trainees, perhaps with the assumption that attitude change may follow. Or finally the emphasis might be a broader one of producing *organizational change* rather than simply restricting the focus to the attitude and behavioural change of those trainees who attended the course. The second variable is that of the *content* of training. Firstly, the main emphasis of training content could be *multi-cultural* - focusing on the characteristics of migrants and ethnic minorities themselves.

Secondly, the emphasis might be on *racism and discrimination*, with attention focused on the actions of the majority population and the structures of society. Or finally the emphasis might

be on *broader issues* which may include a multi-cultural and anti-racist content but locate these in a much broader social context. If these dimensions are arranged in the form of a cross-classification diagram (Figure 3) in theory twelve different types of training are produced. Labelling the four categories on the 'strategy' dimension A, B, C and D, and on the 'content' dimension 1, 2, and 3, provides a short-hand way of identifying all the possible types: A1, B2, C3, D3 etc. The cross-classification process throws up twelve theoretical types, though it is probably unlikely that all these twelve will exist. It is also likely that some training approaches are a mix of more then one theoretical type.

Wrench and Taylor refer to all categories as 'Anti-Discrimination Training' on the grounds 'that the proponents of each type will see their own method as useful for countering discriminating behaviour by gate-keepers'. Furthermore they state that 'although a training programme may be 'anti-racist' in its approach, it might be called something which sounds less radical or left-wing, such as 'equal opportunities training'(Wrench and Taylor, 1993). In the Netherlands - as stated in 2.2 - the more appropriate term is 'intercultural communication training'. The main training approaches relevant to the research are:

(1) Information Training   (A1 or A1.A2)
(2) Cultural Awareness Training   (B1 or B1.A1)
(3) Racism Awareness Training   (B2 or B2.A2 or B2.A2.B1)
(4) Equalities Training   (C2 or C2.C3)
(5) Anti-Racism Training   (D2 including elements of C2, B2 and A2)
(6) Diversity Training   (D3 including elements of most other types)

A description of the different main approaches is given below.

1. Information Training

The content of type A1 - Information Training - is primarily cultural information on migrant and ethnic minority communities. Besides cultural information, factual information on prejudice, racism, discrimination, the legal context of discriminatory acts etc. is provided in type A2. The assumption behind both approaches (A1/A2) is that most people are fair, but are often unaware of the extent and effect of racial discrimination; the provision of correct information should be enough induce behavioural change. Luthra and Oakley (1991) suggest that this is still the approach that many clients indicate would be preferable and sufficient.

2. Cultural Awareness Training

Besides providing cultural information, type B1 - Cultural Awareness Training - is aimed at attitude change, by making trainees aware of other cultural norms and values. Role-playing exercises - sometimes with representatives of migrant/ethnic minority communities and intensive group discussions are part of the courses. Courses of cultural awareness might include material on the majority culture of the trainees on the grounds that thinking critically about their own culture will help in understanding others better. Courses on the theme of 'living/working together with foreigners/migrants' will often fall under this heading. Although Cultural Awareness Training, unlike simple Information Training, is more active in trying to produce attitude change in the trainees, it still remains similar to Information Training in seeing behavioural change as relatively unproblematic. Implicit in this approach is the idea that raising trainees' awareness and changing prejudiced attitudes will thereby automatically reduce discriminatory behaviour.

Figure 3. Anti -Discrimination /Intercultural communication training typology

Content Strategy	Multi-cultural	Anti Discrimination/ Anti-Racist	Broader Issues
Information Provision	A1 Information Training	A2 Information Training	A3
Attitude Change	B1 Cultural Awareness Training	B2 Racism Awareness Training	B3
Behaviour Change	C1	C2 Equalities Training	C3 Equalities Training
Organizational Change	D1	D2 Anti-RacismTraining	D3 Diversity Training

3. Racism Awareness Training

The B2 approach - Racism Awareness Training - is based on the 'White Awareness' programme of Katz (1978). According to Katz, racism is located in white people and operates to their interests; it is therefore their responsibility to tackle it. White people need to be made aware of their own racism as a precondition of being able to tackle the problem in their own lives. (Luthra and Oakley, 1991, p. 24). The methods are generally techniques to induce self-awareness in a group setting, with trainers sometimes using confrontational techniques, along with role-play and other self-awareness exercises. 'The training thus aims to create a heightened awareness of racism within each participant, and largely presumes this will give rise to motivation at the behavioural level. Insofar as it addresses behaviour, Racism Awareness Training is strongly norm-oriented rather than being skill-oriented' (Luthra and Oakley 1991, p. 24). The narrow focus of this training

is on racism itself, with the aim of producing a relatively rapid change in attitudes. As the focus of this approach is on personal attitudes there is no intrinsic necessity to consider legal or social policy issues in this type of training. Type B2 is, according to Wrench and Taylor, the 'classic' form of Racism Awareness Training.

4. Equalities Training

Type C2 and C3 - Equalities Training - is designed primarily to affect behaviour. Attitudes - among which prejudices - are considered irrelevant. The training aims to instruct trainees in legally or professionally appropriate behaviour. This is defined as precisely as possible in terms of the appropriate norms and behaviour, and the required skills (Luthra and Oakley 1991, p.27). The starting point of Equalities Training will be the law, or codes of practice of non-discrimination, which proscribes racial discrimination (see also 1.5). Personnel and line managers must make sure that discrimination does not occur. Training provision may be routinely built in to the introduction of new recruits to the organization. Type C2 is typified by Wrench and Taylor as 'classic' equalities training, such as that which instructs trainees in all stages of recruitment and selection so as to avoid discrimination and bias. Type C2/C3 is a broader form of Equalities Training covering other issues than simply the avoidance of discrimination in recruitment: for example, how to write and implement a positive action/affirmative action policy. The training may also be part of a broader programme to include gender and disability issues.

5. Anti-Racism Training

According to Wrench and Taylor type D2 - Anti-Racism Training - was developed after disillusion with Racism Awareness Training, retaining a strong commitment to combatting racism directly, whilst seeking to change organizational practice rather than individual self-awareness. The goal of this approach is to secure the support of individuals in challenging the racism which is endemic in the culture and institutions of the society, and Racism Awareness Training forms part of an organizational strategy designed to pursue this aim. Producing change at the behavioural level is the target, but the tackling of negative, inappropriate attitudes is seen as a necessary condition of effective behavioural change. Although this approach would seek to tackle racial discrimination in recruitment, the approach seeks to combat racism at all levels in the organization, not simply at the point of entry. The important characteristic of this training approach is that racism and discrimination are still seen to constitute the main problem within the organization, and the main justification for the training programme. This type of training is likely to include aspects of the content of C2, B2 and A2.

6. Diversity Training

Type D3 - Diversity training - is best typified by 'Managing Diversity' programmes in the United States (Thomas 1990). After measures such as affirmative action programmes have produced a more diverse workforce Managing Diversity is considered to be the next step. Managing Diversity is aimed at 'enabling every member of your workforce to perform to his or her potential' (Thomas, 1990, p.12). The training is mainly directed at managers and emphasizes the importance of valuing difference. Ethnic, racial and sexual groups have different cultural styles of working which should not be negatively labelled by white (male) managers. Fairness is not seen as treating people equally but treating people appropriately. The objective is not to assimilate minorities (and women) into the dominant white (and male) organizational culture but to create a dominant heterogeneous culture. Managing diversity is broader than the previous training types. It is not aimed simply at gate-keepers, but sees its most important target group as managers who have the power to

produce organizational change. As Wrench and Taylor state, being the latest and broadest type, it is likely to include elements of many of the other types.

2.4. The research stages and research methods

As requested by the ILO, the research has followed the research-methodology as described in the research manual (Wrench and Taylor, 1993) as closely as possible, to make the research findings comparable between the various participating countries. The research therefore has followed the several stages as described in the manual.

Part 1: The documentation of training activities

Stages 1 and 2
In stage 1 a directory of training providers and consumers was compiled using key informants, and potential participants in the research were identified. Existing publications and documents on anti-discrimination training were collected and summarized in stage 2.

Stage 3
In stage 3 interviews were held with a sample of trainers selected from the directory of training providers of stage 1. A sample of trainers had to be selected from the directory of training providers of stage 1. In the research manual an optimum of 60 trainers was suggested, and where possible the sample should contain roughly equal proportions of trainers providing training for three target groups:
- **Personnel/Management**: Personnel staff and line managers in private and public sector employers;
- **Trade Union**: Trade union officials and shop stewards;
- **Job Centre**: Civil servants and staff connected with job centres and labour exchanges, and staff in private employment agencies.

A questionnaire interview solicited information on several topics. The original questionnaire (see the research manual) was revised after some pilot-interviews, and adjusted to the specific state of affairs in the area of training in the Netherlands. The questionnaire provided information on:
- *Training providers*
- *Target sectors of the training*
- *Target groups of the training for each sector*
- *General information on the training course*
- *Training approach*
- *Primary training strategy*
- *Method of training*
- *Types of training materials*

resulting in the categorisation of the training approach according to the anti-discrimination training typology.

Stage 4 and 5
In stage 4 the information from the questionnaires was transferred in summary form onto five Profile Sheets, providing a factual picture of anti-discrimination training provision. In stage 5 a descriptive overview of training provision was made. A discussion and interpretation of the Stage

4 information was combined with other general and contextual information gathered during the previous stages.

Part 2: The evaluation of training activities

Stages 6 and 7
In these stages, according to the research manual, a sample of 21 courses for evaluation were to be selected to be case studies for the evaluation process. These training courses should be selected according to two main criteria. Firstly, the sample should, if possible, reflect equally the three target groups as mentioned above: Personnel/Management, Trade Union and Job Centre. Secondly, the selection should, if possible, provide a reasonably representative cross section of the range and balance of training approaches as categorized by the anti-discrimination training typology.

Semi-structured evaluation interviews of trainers, client organizations and trainees were carried out. These provided qualitative detail on the case studies with regard to the realisation of the aims of training, evidence of the effects of the training, and identification of problems and barriers to effectiveness.

With regard to measuring the effectiveness of a particular training course, a number of methodological problems arise. The first problem is the variety of short-term aims. As Wrench and Taylor state 'although different training approaches subscribe to the common long-term goal of reducing discrimination, their short-term aims in pursuit of this often vary considerably' (Wrench and Taylor, 1993). Another problem is devising an effective measure of individual change. Wrench and Taylor cite Brown and Lawton (1991, p. 21):'Testing people on the subject matter of the course is not the answer, because most people are capable of giving the 'correct' answers after a short course, irrespective of any lasting effect it may or may not have had'. Moreover, trainees in general tend to give favourable answers: if one attends a course which lasts several days, it must have been worth it. This phenomenon is known as filling in 'happiness sheets'. Another question is whether short-term changes produce measurable long-term change in discriminatory behaviour. Even if a particular type of training does produce positive changes in attitudes (the short-term aim) it is not sure if shifts in attitudes will produce a reduction in discriminatory behaviour. Organizational resistance to change also can weaken the long-term effect of a particular training course, even if the trainees have successfully been trained.

Difficulties of isolating the effects of training is also a major problem. Training activities can be part of an overall program and supported by other organizational (affirmative action) policies. Another problem in this respect is the impossibility of using control groups. The research is therefore characterized as 'ex-post facto' research. A last issue mentioned by Wrench and Taylor are the practical limitations to the objective measure of training effects. Operational success should be gauged in terms of the achievement of targets and other monitoring procedures. First, achievement of targets in terms of quantitative data are seldom available (see also 1.2 on the WBEAA-act); second, even if such monitoring processes exist, and objective data are available, it is hardly possible to conclude that a recorded change is caused by the training course alone.

Wrench and Taylor suggest the following procedure for evaluating the training activities: 'By a programme of interviews with training providers, client organizations and trainees, we will be able to identify the success of training courses in achieving *some* of their short-term aims, without making unrealistic generalisations about the ensuing longer-term changes in the organization. At

the same time we will record evidence of equal opportunities changes in client organizations which have occurred after the training programme, with the assumption that these changes are *in part* due to the training' (Wrench and Taylor, 1993). They suggest to use methods 'which fall at the qualitative rather than quantitative end of the research spectrum, enabling us to come to reasoned judgements rather than furnishing us with statistical proof.' The evidence is to be gained through semi-structured interviews.

The interviews were held with the training providers themselves, key informants in the client organization and with a sample of trainees. They covered four main areas:
(a) the main aims of the course;
(b) views on the degree to which the aims were realized;
(c) any objective evidence on the course's effects;
(d) an assessment of obstacles which could have prevented the course's success.

Stage 8
The Evaluation Analysis: Using the factual information from Stage 3 and the qualitative material from Stage 7, individual case studies were produced, giving a description of each training course in terms of its successes and failures. In a Generalized Overview it is discussed which factors and conditions are associated with the most successful (and unsuccessful) experiences of training.

Stage 9
Summary and Conclusions of the Research. The evidence and findings from all the different stages of the research are brought together, and overall conclusions on factors which are associated with effective anti-discrimination training are drawn.

3. The documentation of training activities

In this chapter the results of questionnaire interviews with training providers as well as a descriptive overview and a discussion and interpretation of the results are presented.

3.1. The compiling of a directory of training providers and consumers

In this stage a directory of training providers and consumers was compiled and potential participants in the research were identified. A data set was made up out of 444 potential ICM training providers and consumers. The consumers - cities, Regional Bureaus of the Labour Exchange, Trade Unions and large profit organizations - were included into the set in order to come up with more providers by means of a snowballing process. Some organizations proved to be both provider and consumer, for instance because they had their own training and education department, e.g. colleges, police academies and trade unions. Out of 444 organizations there were 327 training providers - almost one hundred more than the amount of institutions which formed the starting point for the research of Abell (1991). Only 81 organizations turned out to supply training in which gate-keepers had also taken part. Actually, this small amount is, considering the specificity of the target group, not that strange. Out of the remaining 246 providers, a large amount gave courses for service delivery to minority populations and, therewith, fell out of the

scope of the survey. The rest of the 246 providers restrained themselves to either personnel of multinational firms and development cooperation workers, or gave no (ICM) training to gate-keepers, or, in retrospect, appeared not to be acquainted with ICM training as yet. Among consumers the amount of relevant organizations was also small. With some consumers only executive personnel had received training, others had not (yet) introduced ICM into their organization or were not familiar with this kind of management approach. It was striking to see that here a large amount of municipalities did have a positive action policy and were trying to actively recruit migrants but that their personnel selectors did not receive any training for this. Some other municipalities had developed a code of behaviour or instigated a discrimination complaints department. The large part, however, did not show any initiative in the field of ICM training.

3.2. Debates on training issues in the Netherlands

From orientating conversations with key-informants it emerged that in the field of ICM training there were various schools of thought and diverse activities had already taken place in the field of ICM. Forum and the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports (Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport, VWS[1]) in particular turned out to have already developed several activities. In 1991, two stocktaking surveys following ICM activities were undertaken. Abell (1991) made an inventory of anti-racism and anti-discrimination activities - including training activities - and came to the conclusion that only a small part of these activities could be clearly described. The majority of the organizations that were approached were not able to give adequate information about assumptions, methods and aims of their activities. Although some organizations described were able to give an adequate description of their activities, the conclusion was that 'the supply of training and courses aimed at combatting racism, prejudice and discrimination makes a fragmented and ad-hoc impression by the different aims and starting points' and that: 'because of vague objectives, obscure methods and the lack of sound assumptions one must seriously question the effectiveness of most activities (Abell, 1991, p.181).

The Dutch Centre for Migrants (The Nederlands Centrum Buitenlanders, NCB), has also, by order of the Ministry of VWS, made an inventory of activities in the field of Intercultural/Trans-Cultural and Cross-Cultural Management. The image this inventory came up with appeared to be rather tough: 'The way in which Cross-Cultural Management activities are made operational in practice (content of the courses) and the way this is judged by the recipients is, for now, unclear. Besides, it is not yet known whether and in what measure the labour organizations actually make use of the acquired knowledge and if this has some sort of effect' (NCB, 1991, p. 21). The NCB reached somewhat the same conclusion as Abell, namely that activities in the field of Cross-Cultural Management, CCM (the term preferred by the NCB) were as yet in the starting phase and the large part of the training providers only recently came into existence.[2] The span and the interpretation that was given to the term 'cross-cultural' by the training providers was very diverse, there was no

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[1] The Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports (Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport, VWS) was, until August 1994, called the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs (Welzijn, Volksgezondheid en Cultuur, WVC) and will from now on be referred to as 'VWS'.

[2] 75 per cent of the providers, in 1991, had been occupied with, for less than 5 years, Cross-Cultural Management activities.

uniform and accepted description of the concept. Besides, the supplying organizations were (very) small and although they did have an ample supply, in general they had realized less than five activities.[1] All providers indicated to be able to offer a complete supply, both content-wise to company sectors as well as to target groups. This seeming contradiction between what is apparently on offer and the amount of experience and intrinsic expertise, indicated, according to the NCB, a market which was still developing. Though the supply of CCM-activities was substantial in size, there could be no judgement on the quality. The NCB suggested further research after the quality and effect of CCM-activities and their application in the receiving organizations (NCB, 1991, p. 21).

In the field of ICM, the Ministry of VWS has had an important input in recent years. The Ministry of VWS carries responsibilities on the basis of its main tasks in matters of some aspects of the minorities policy. In addition, the ministry has a general responsibility for some sizeable branches of industry that have to do with migrant clients and employees. Through innovation programmes the Ministry of VWS attempts to contribute to the functioning of its own policy terrains in a multicultural way (Zunderdorp, 1992). Because managers in general lack the proper management instruments to effectively shape the diversity within their personnel, the Ministry of VWS decided to have a policy and training-supply developed. The aim was to develop a practical instrument with which organizations could optimally use the labour potential of ethnic minorities. Furthermore, there was a need for an application-aimed model in which combatting everyday racism would form an important part (Focus, 1991). This model will be discussed in more detail in the next paragraph. Moreover, the Ministry of VWS asked the NCB to make an inventory of activities in the field of Cross-Cultural Management (see NCB, 1991).

In 1992, the Ministry of VWS issued a note which formed the basis of an expert-meeting in the same year on the subject of ICM. In this note the importance of improvement of management qualities by means of ICM was stated: ICM can improve the chance that the gap between autochthones and migrants within an organization and the gap between the organization and the (migrant) customers will be bridged. The Ministry of VWS considered ICM not as a new specialisation but as a necessary part of the package of skills every good manager should possess. Integral management and especially Human Resources Management is not deemed effective in a multicultural society when the manager lacks skill and knowledge. The Ministry of VWS concluded that the development and application of ICM serve a social interest on a macro level and, in the long run, also individual labour organizations. At the development and implementation levels one will, however, have to acknowledge that this does not imply that all actors on a micro level are willing and able, on a short term basis, to take the efforts on their own initiative. In those cases the government can play a stimulating role (Zunderdorp, 1992).

In 1992 the Ministry of VWS organized the aforementioned 'Experts meeting Intercultural Management in the Netherlands'. Academics, representatives of the business community and social institutions, consultants and other specialists participated in the meeting in order to 'generate recommendations for further developments of theories, practical applications, quality improvement and tuning into the educational package with regard to Intercultural Management' (VWS,1992, p. 44). Among other things, a great demand for Intercultural Management was observed. Consultancy bureaus and training institutions appeared to offer ample advice (personnel

[1] 80 per cent of the providers did have a maximum of 5 persons available for Cross-Cultural Management training activities.

management, culture change etc.) for organizations who wished to develop their work on Intercultural Management. There was however a difference in the quality of the advice. During the meeting, it was noted that in the United States various models for ICM had been developed. It was, however, also noted that these models were not capable of being simply transferred to the Netherlands.

As a result of the expert meeting, a further inventory was made of developments in the field of Intercultural Management and its various dimensions (Derveld, 1994, p. 1). The aim of this research was, among other things, to map the developments in the 'relatively young field of action of Intercultural Management' and to make them accessible. In addition, the contents of Intercultural Management were described (Derveld, 1994, p. 4). The conclusion of the research was that the amount of organizations which operate on the commercial basis in the field of ICM had boomed since the report of the NCB, though some organizations only occupied themselves with ICM activities in name. Without further detailed research into the ICM activities it appeared difficult to say something about the quality of the supply. It was thus recommended that 'an institution be assigned to mapping the developments at the supply side of the market' (Derveld, 1994, p. 79).

Carrying out of further research after the qualities and effects of ICM activities is considered necessary by both the NCB and the Derveld study. This research therefore tries to give insight into the aims and effects of the training and into the present state of affairs in the Netherlands. The NCB research showed that many activities are ranged under Inter-, Trans- or Cross-Cultural training and that each pursues different aims.

Following the initiative of the Ministry of VWS, which introduced the concept of Managing Diversity in the Netherlands, the Ministries of Justice, VWS and the Interior organized, in 1995, a 'Managing Diversity' seminar together with the training agency ISIS. There seems to be a shift in the direction of Managing Diversity in the Netherlands at this time. The next section will go deeper into the subject of Managing Diversity.

3.3. Training approaches in the Netherlands

In this paragraph some (recent) training approaches/models will be described about which training providers in the Netherlands have publicized. The description will not be complete: there are numerous training providers who present themselves with a self-developed training model (see also 3.4). The training approaches described here are in general the ones which are better known and which are being used by more than one training provider, though sometimes in an altered form.

Information Training and Cultural Awareness Training
The publications of most Dutch developers and providers of ICM training have to do with Information training (A1) and Cultural Awareness training (B1) (see also the profile sheets in the appendix). It should be noted however that Information Training alone is no longer given, it is almost always combined with some or other form of Cultural Awareness Training. The provision of information varies from descriptions of the culture of concrete ethnic groups to those of 'universal' dimensions of cultural differences which should simplify the estimation of culture patterns of different ethnic groups. Cultural Awareness Training encompasses aspects such as becoming aware of cultural differences, empathizing with the other culture and being aware of personal cultural norms and values and their relativity, with, as its main goal, a change of attitude.

One of the representatives of the A1/B1 type training is Eppink. He mainly concentrates on cultural factors in the service and assistance to ethnic minority clients (Eppink, 1986). He combines two dimensions: group-oriented cultures or 'we' cultures, as opposed to person-oriented or 'I' cultures and implicit versus explicit communication codes. According to Eppink, 'implicit' means communication that is only clear to the group with whom one shares the same values. 'Explicit' communication codes have to be made understandable for others because one does not share the same values with these people and one can therefore not assume that the other picks up on the content and the relation of the message. From these two dimensions Eppink comes to characterize four ideal types of cultures, two of which are further explained: the 'I' culture with an explicit communication code and the 'we' culture with an implicit communication code. The Dutch are, according to Eppink, socialized in an individualistic society and are therefore part of the first combination whereas migrants - in Eppink's study mainly from the Mediterranean countries - have grown up in a group-oriented society and are thus part of the second combination. On the basis of these two ideal types, Eppink describes the consequences of interactions between autochthones and migrants in the social assistance and services sectors. In addition to a more general characterisation of the norms and values belonging to the combinations, he deals with the resulting behaviour, and advises the autochthonous social worker how to deal with it. By means of elaborate casuistry he clarifies how the cultural values of the migrant client differ from the Dutch social worker; respectively loss of face for one's group and shame versus personal responsibility and blame.

According to Van Geene and Van der Werf (1992), Eppink has worked out a recognisable method for intercultural communication. Social workers should adapt as much as possible to the client's culture in order to reach an optimal effect (Eppink, 1986). This means the social worker is loyal towards the client, does not affect his or her feelings of honour and ascribes the 'blame' to a third party in order to win the client's trust. Van Geene and Van der Werf and criticize this approach because the protective, 'crouched down' manner of communication undermines the client's responsibility and does not take the client seriously. The method is a one-sided form of communication and is therefore not considered as a way of intercultural communication by Van Geene and Van der Werf. Shadid also criticizes Eppink's method (Shadid, 1993). He thinks the plan is large-meshed and no more than a classification of cultures without an explanation of the basic variables.

Eppink's approach in part falls under the category 'Information Training' in the Wrench and Taylor training typology. With Information training (A1), the basic thought is that people demonstrate discriminatory behaviour out of ignorance. By offering the correct, concrete information (in this case about cultural differences), people can and will change their behaviour. Knowledge of different cultures will also lead to a reduction of insecurity or initial hesitation in intercultural situations (Gudykunst and Kim, 1992 in Volckmar, 1994). Eppink assumes that there are fundamental cultural differences between autochthones and migrants which result in miscommunication during intercultural interactions. When the autochthonous social workers receive adequate information about the migrant clients' cultural background, they will show the correct behaviour during intercultural interactions. Eppink's approach also, though in a lesser degree, falls under the category Cultural Awareness Training (B1) because he thinks autochthones should become aware of the cultural differences and will then acknowledge that these differences caused the communication problems during the intercultural interactions.

A second representative of the focus on cultural differences is Pinto. Pinto bases his characterisation on personal experiences in the international field and on his training practice

(Pinto, 1990). He focuses on all sections of the organization, but in particular on managers and personnel officers. Like Eppink, he assumes a collectivistic culture opposing an individualistic culture, which are called fine-meshed (F) and large-meshed (L) cultures. The difference between these two cultures is to which degree the rules of behaviour are being prescribed and therewith the room left for personal choices. In F-cultures there is an in-group ('we-group') to which one belongs, as opposed to an out-group ('them-group'). This in-group fulfils many social functions and defines what is acceptable behaviour, the individual depends upon the in-group. In the L-cultures, people can be a member of different groups and the emphasis is more on individuality. There is an acceptance of diverse opinions and behaviours. In relation to this Pinto speaks of modern and traditional cultures, and Western versus non-Western cultures. From this dichotomy, behavioural- and value patterns are deducted in the field of status and standing, education, life goals, the division of roles, world image, social classes, communication, dealing with conflicts, etc.. When two cultures come together, 'mix cultures' can come into being, as is shown with second generation migrants. This represents a transition phase on the scale from a fine-meshed (country of origin) to a large-meshed (the Netherlands) culture. Now the question is how to handle these fundamental differences in culture. Pinto pleads for the 'double perspective' and the 'Three Step Method' (TSM) with intercultural interactions where the double perspective is actually the result of taking the first two steps of the TSM. When one is aware of one's own norms and values, but also someone else's, one can look at a situation from two perspectives. The TSM encompasses the following:

1. Get to know the personal (culture-bound) norms and values. Start with separating the events (facts) and the personal opinions in that situation.
2. Get to know the (culture-bound) norms and values of the other person. Distinguish facts from opinions about behaviour. Study what the 'strange' behaviour of the other means.
3. Determine how you deal with these differences in a certain situation. Then decide where your boundaries lie concerning adaptation and acceptance of the other. Indicate these boundaries to the other (Pinto, 1990).

According to Van Geene and Van der Werf (1992), the basis of the TSM lies in the idea that knowledge and insight are a condition for the correct approach when there are cultural differences. The question is, however, whether or not this results in the desired change of behaviour. Pinto's approach falls under the categories, Information Training (A1) and Cultural Awareness Training (B1). In our opinion, these two types of training go together well because with both types of training the changing of behaviour is considered relatively easy. With Cultural Awareness Training one assumes that the (negative) attitude towards someone from another culture is a result of the own cultural values. It is assumed that one is often not conscious of this fact because these values are implicit and acquired at a very young age. Making people conscious of the subjectivity of such values (and those of other cultural values) should lead to a change of attitude which automatically would result in a change of behaviour. Pinto's starting point, as is Eppink's, is that cultural differences are the essence of problematic intercultural communication. However, Pinto puts more emphasis on awareness than Eppink: developing a 'double perspective' is essential for effective communication. Apart from the knowledge one needs of the other culture, he thinks it important that those involved become aware of their *own* culture-bound norms and values. These two attainments would result in an automatic change of attitude. It is not clear how one eventually works together or reaches an agreement on something. Step three of his TSM is therefore the least detailed one, concrete handles or measures are not discussed.

Shadid says that the culture classifications by Pinto 'are no more than caricatural indications or sub-values of the cultures concerned which are elevated to central, if not the only ordering

principles in diverse societies' (Shadid, 1994, p. 5). Such a simplification violates social reality, says Shadid. Besides, the explanation for communication problems between autochthones and migrants is sought primarily in the culture of the latter. Other non-cultural factors that could influence communication, such as context, power relations between the communication partners and their mutual goals and expectations - are largely neglected according to Shadid. He also criticizes the assumption that different groups and individuals within the same culture have one and the same vision of social reality. A dichotomous classification, such as Pinto's, offers 'not enough space for understanding and explaining the variations in behaviour that are present in each group' (Shadid, 1994, p. 6). Volckmar (1994) is also of the opinion that the characterisation of cultural systems is a precarious matter because it is, by definition, a simplification of reality. She claims in this matter: 'Because of the limited period of time in training, the limited space in a handbook and the nature of the target group (laymen), a generalized and ideal-typical view is inevitable. In principle, this cannot be blamed on the developers of cultural information accessible to laymen, but it makes the way and degree in which this is being presented as true and representative very important' (Volckmar, 1994, p. 17). She thinks that both Pinto's and Eppink's categorisation of cultures offer a strongly simplified view of cultural diversity. 'The division of cultures on only one or two dimensions seems attractive from a practical point of view, but can absolutely not be scientifically underpinned' (Volckmar, 1994, p. 13).

Hofstede (1985) has also created a model which is based on cultural differences. His model is mainly applicable to international management, for instance that associated with multinationals. Since his model is often used in courses for the Dutch market, Hofstede's model will be dealt with in detail in this paragraph. The original data for his research came from two studies dating from 1968 and 1972 on values and norms among IBM personnel in fifty different countries. After analysing the data, Hofstede was able to formulate four 'universal' dimensions of values-orientations (4-D model) which, together, explained 49 percent of the between-country variance. The other half consisted of culture-specific differences that did not concur within his dimensions. The four dimensions are:
- *Power distance*: the degree of acceptance of an unequal power division;
- *Collectivism versus Individualism*: dependence and protection of a group versus personal responsibility;
- *Masculinity versus Femininity*: a clear division and definition of sex-roles versus an overlap and ambiguity of sex-roles;
- *Uncertainty avoidance*: the measure of the need for formal versus informal rules where security and predictability are concerned;
- *Long-term orientation versus Short-term orientation* surfaced as a fifth dimension after confronting the model with the findings of a Chinese study.

In short, there are fundamental differences between countries in values concerned with power and inequality, the relation between the group and the individual, the social roles that are expected from men and women, the way of dealing with the insecurities of being and the orientation on the future, past or present. In his description of the dimensions, Hofstede makes it clear that the variety of cultural differences is much more complex than Eppink and Pinto suppose. In Hofstede's analysis the 'Western world' for instance, is pictured as much less homogeneous than Eppink and Pinto wish to believe. In addition, he emphatically points to the fact that the values count for a joint group but that they are not all equally applicable on an individual level (Volckmar, 1994).

How can one, according to Hofstede, deal with these fundamental differences in value orientations? Hofstede says the process of intercultural communication consists of three phases.

These phases look somewhat like Pinto's TSM phases: awareness, knowledge and skills. The first step on the way to intercultural communication is the awareness of the relativity of the own cultural values. The second step is knowledge. If one wants to, or has to, cooperate with people of another culture, one will have to know and understand something about the values and practices of that culture. The third step is the skills needed to get along with the other culture. These skills are based upon awareness, knowledge and experience. According to Hofstede, one can only acquire skills by participation, preferably in practice. In principle, everyone can learn intercultural communication by means of training. However, not everyone is talented in this regard: 'People with an excessively big ego, a low personal tolerance for insecurity,...or notoriously racist or extreme political sympathies, do not have much of a chance of success.' (Hofstede, 1995, p. 285). Hofstede's model is mainly applicable to international management, for instance multinationals or expatriates. He only briefly goes into interculturalising companies in the Netherlands and makes some general remarks at changing the culture of the organization. His most important tips are revisions of the personnel policy and the selection criteria, awareness and re-adjustment of unconscious wishes for the ideal candidate, the need for training by the people to be trained themselves (and not dictated from above), and a continuous attention of the 'man in charge'.

It is questionable to what extent Hofstede's dimensions are as universal as he himself professes. The following three points in particular present reasons for doubt. First, his four dimensions only explain 49 per cent of the differences between countries. The remaining 51 per cent of the culture specific differences do not cohere with a worldwide dimension. One could ask the question whether this would suffice for a model that aims to explain *universal* differences. He himself keeps his options open: 'Whether an explanation for half of the differences is a lot or not is a matter of appreciation. An optimist will say a bottle is half full, a pessimist says it's half empty' (Hofstede, 1995, p. 311). Secondly, old research material was made use of which, thirdly, came from only one group of people, namely, IBM personnel. Hofstede himself does not have a problem with this final point. The IBM staff do indeed not form a representative sample survey from the national peoples but they don't need to: with the comparison of countries it is much more important that the sample survey is functionally equivalent, according to Hofstede. The IBM personnel forms a restricted sample survey, but, one which is, however, perfectly comparable between countries. Hofstede then assumes his model fits all individuals from the country groups he speaks of, whereas it is not impossible that IBM personnel has specific characteristics that do not apply to their compatriots. Where the outdatedness of the data is concerned, he thinks that the values differences between countries have been the same for a long time. Culture, to him, is unchanging and he also thinks that cultures will never blend. Felling and Peters (1991) however say that 'it is old-fashioned fiction to think that cultural patterns are so deeply 'incorporated into' people that they are practically unchangeable. The results of the study after the 'national character' of people have therefore not been taken seriously for some decades now'. And: 'Social force naturally evokes homogeneous patterns of behaviour but the embedment does not have to lie deep' (Felling and Peters, 1991, p. 172). Shadid (1994) also thinks cultures are by definition dynamic. And internal and external factors, such as ecological and international circumstances, can influence the change of culture and human behaviour.

Hofstede's model and vision can be placed to fit into Wrench and Taylor's typology, just like Pinto's approach, in the category Information Training (A1) and the category Cultural Awareness Training (B1), with an emphasis on the last category. According to Hofstede, knowledge of another culture is the second step in learning to communicate interculturally. In his book, he himself practises information transference with regard to cultures and cultural differences. He assumes that these find their repercussion in an individual's behaviour. Miscommunication comes

into being because people are not aware of these differences. Furthermore, Hofstede thinks one is not aware of one's own cultural norms and values because these values are implicit and have been acquired at a very early age. Making people conscious of the subjectivity of these values (and the other cultural values) leads to a change of attitude which will (according to Hofstede), in turn, lead to a change of behaviour.

The above-mentioned approaches, which handle providing information about and awareness of cultural differences as a strategy, are called the 'Distinction Model' by Focus (1991) (see 3.2). Focus made an overview by order of the Ministry of VWS, of the various concepts of intercultural communication and management that are used in the Netherlands and abroad (Focus, 1991). There are three categories to be distinguished: the 'deficit model', which assumes there are deficits with migrants, the 'discrimination model', which views discrimination as the number one cause for the arrears of migrants, and the 'distinction model', which assumes that cultural differences are a problem for effective communication. According to Focus, the Distinction Model is mostly used within intercultural communication and management training types. They, however, criticize this type of approach and, in particular, the emphasis which is thus being put on communication. One defines the problem in terms of dealing with differences and assumes communication between individuals is a neutral activity, independent of interests and intentions. What is left out of consideration in the approach (says Focus) is that power relations play a significant part within an organization and society. 'The assumption that prejudices, discrimination and racism will disappear automatically if people learn to communicate with each other and have a better understanding of each other's cultural background, carries the danger with it that racism is seen as a simple case of lack of understanding between people, a matter of plain ignorance' (Focus, 1991, p. 22). According to Shadid (1994), it is not clear whether an intercultural experience will automatically lead to competence in intercultural communication and a more positive mutual judgement. Hagendoorn also says that it is hard to establish whether intercultural experience implies a decrease of stereotypes and prejudices. He also says that in some cases even the opposite can occur (Hagendoorn in Shadid, 1994). Volckmar asks himself how large the share of pure 'technical' communication problems in relation to the discrimination of migrants on the labour market, and the relations between autochthones and migrants, actually is. 'The barriers migrants have to face in their access to the labour organizations have...less often to do with a prevailing lack of understanding for their cultural background than with a lack of appreciation and acceptation' (Volckmar, 1994, p. 17).

Is it therefore not enough to learn to communicate interculturally. Because, according to Focus and Volckmar, the problem in society is structural rather than individual. 'And society has, despite all the multicultural rhetoric, still not been able to offer migrants and foreigners as a group an equal and respectable place in its ranks' (Volckmar, 1994, p. 17). Besides, Focus says, the Distinction Model is culturalistic and behaviouristic in essence: 'As a behaviouristic approach it aims itself at cultural manifestations without ever getting to a structural analysis of the social and economic system. In other words, the emphasis lies on the micro level and not on the macro level' (Focus, 1991, p. 21).

Another assumption of Information Training and Awareness Training is that knowledge of and insight into cultural differences form a pre-condition to good intercultural interaction. This assumption has been strongly criticized because an emphasis on cultural differences can stimulate stereotyping. There is a risk that individuals are associated with a cultural group characteristic (Vermeulen, 1992; Deug, 1993). Shadid gives an example: 'A social worker who links the idea of the contrast between the men's world and the women's world to Moroccans and, on the basis of

this idea, only talks to the man in a conversation with a modern Moroccan couple, irreversibly asks for trouble' (Shadid, 1994, p. 12).

It is, therefore, questionable what knowledge about cultures is transferred during these types of training. Eppink, Hofstede and - to a lesser degree - Pinto all share the opinion that 'culture' is the culture of the country of origin. Culture is apparently seen as static and of an unchanging nature. This view is incorrect according to Shadid and Volckmar. Shadid (1994) thinks it necessary that the knowledge transferred is thorough and that one takes the measure in which conversation partners conform to that culture into account. According to Shadid, Hofstede draws the wrong conclusion from the practice of multicultural organizations. Hofstede namely asserts that migrants are most productive in small groups of fellow countrymen because of the collectivism in the countries of origin. In these groups 'a sort of a family sphere of mutual support and loyalty can be maintained' (Hofstede in Shadid, 1994, p. 9). According to Shadid, Hofstede fails to acknowledge the multiplicity of factors that can interfere with the family sphere such as gender, regional origin, descent etc.. 'An organization, for instance, that places Moroccans in a team who are partly members and partly non-members of the Amicales-movement, that are partly religious and partly non-religious, or are from various ethnical origins, does not have to expect a family sphere. The organization will probably even have to face a decrease in productivity' (Shadid, 1994, p. 9). Volckmar thinks that the often long-term residence of migrants in the Netherlands influences their perception of their own culture. According to Volckmar only some people, such as Pinto, 'have characterisations of mixed cultures that could apply to the second generation of migrants. With Pinto this means a sort of cultural shifting phase on his scale of fine-meshed (country of origin) and large-meshed culture (The Netherlands)'(Volckmar, 1994, p. 16). Although Volckmar thinks Pinto maps his culture patterns in relatively neutral terms, she still detects an ethnocentric undertone in the shift from a fine- to a large-meshed culture. In Pinto's model the shift also enhances a unilateral evolution in the direction of the affluent Western society. 'The development the Western societies have gone through (...) is portrayed as criterion and the only way of progression' (Volckmar, 1994, p. 19).

Vermeulen also states that we view 'our' behaviour as a natural, logical reaction to a situation and the behaviour of migrants as culture-determined. 'In this way, 'our' behaviour appears rational and 'their' behaviour irrational, based on tradition' (Vermeulen, 1992, p. 16). According to Volckmar, there are still many popular and (semi-)scientific culture characterisations which suffer from a relatively ethnocentric world view (traditional versus modern). This world view subtly influences the way in which cultural differences are depicted, also in the choice of criteria for comparison. Shadid (1994) thinks it is easy to show the negative image autochthones have of migrants. He gives numerous examples of politicians, journalists and scientists who ventilate their prejudices and negative stereotypes in the media. There has been, according to Shadid, an increase of culture generalisations in scientific publications in the past few years. Besides, to Volckmar (1994) it seems that one sees culture as a characteristic of an individual - and with migrants an awkward characteristic - which autochthones have to learn to take into consideration. She is thus not surprised that the presence of migrants in an organization is rather viewed as a problem of control than as a possible enrichment. Focus, however, also distinguishes a positive variant within this approach: those who view the cultural differences as an enrichment of society or an enrichment of personnel within an organization (Focus, 1991).

Emphasizing differences and diversity will also often lead to, according to Shadid, Focus and Volckmar, the supposition that there are hardly any common grounds or similarities between people from different cultures. One expects that because of this, intercultural communication will

lead to difficulties and conflict. According to Volckmar, this expectation has to be put into perspective because it will lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy and therefore can lead to a less interactive attitude (Lee and Boster in Volckmar, 1994). Volckmar ends her account with the following criticism: 'Finally, individual awareness in itself is not and cannot be an adequate solution for the prevention of institutional discrimination in organizations as long as this awareness is not transferred into or is associated with the removal of structural inequities' (Volckmar, 1994, p. 20). Shadid, Focus, Deug and Volckmar all see the use of awareness of and understanding for different cultures but only if there is also attention paid to personal norms and values (Deug) and one is careful not to view intercultural communication as an insoluble dilemma (Volckmar). According to Focus, Pinto's model denies the dimension of power and therefore cannot guarantee effective change. Shadid remarks that the competence in handling people of other cultures is largely dependent on the alertness of the communication partners in signalling the culture-bound and individual conducts and the necessary adaptations in one's own behaviour. The latter can only be realized when the knowledge of the mutual cultures is sound. Adaptations that are based on an incomplete or unjust knowledge of each other's culture can lead to misunderstandings and be experienced as offensive.

A final, recent approach in the field of Cultural Awareness Training (B1) is the TOPOI model which is being used by various training providers (Hoffman and Arts, 1994). They describe the TOPOI model as an analysis and intervention instrument for intercultural conversation which is based on the systems theoretical approach by Watzlawick (Watzlawick et al., 1974). The starting point of the model is that one should be able to be oneself in each conversation even if the partner is of a different cultural background and that taking misunderstanding into consideration is a way to keep the conversation open. Culture and cultural awareness play a relatively modest part in the model by Hoffman and Arts. Hoffman and Arts state that - and this is fairly unique in the field of ICM - culture exceeding thinking and acting is in fact not possible. 'Country borders mainly determine which norms are valid through legislation'. In this way, they argue, on grounds of the Universal Rights of Man '...one can say 'no' to societies and social institutions which violate the rights of man. Cultures are therefore not there to be respected but to be tested' (Hoffman and Arts, 1994, pp. 48-49). Hoffman and Arts acknowledge the differences between cultures but assume that 'despite all the differences, in every society similar problems have to be solved on human life and cohabitation. People, indifferent of their background, are reasonable and competent and they are able to understand something of another culture without having participated in it in some form or other'. (Hoffman and Arts, 1994, pp. 44-45). Although there is no explicit emphasis on it, the model also contains elements from Racism Awareness Training (B2). Every person tends to view its own culture as being superior to others. Ethnocentrism is a universal given and is common to any ethnic group. It is important to be conscious of the fact that judgements and prejudices in communication with others are unavoidable. Hoffman and Arts's approach however emphasizes misunderstanding in communication (Hoffman and Arts, 1994, pp. 46-47). Conversation/communication therefore is the core of the model. The TOPOI model is an acronym for Taal, Ordening, Perspectieven, Organisatie and Inzet (Language, Organization, Perspectives, Organization and Commitment). Each element renders a point of view to trace misunderstandings in communication (the analysis). In the model it is made clear with each element what the influence of culture can be. In the field of language and language use for instance - to which most attention is paid - the use of 'implicit' linguistic performance (metaphors, expressions and sayings) in communication with those who master the language less well, such as those who acquire a second language, can cause misunderstandings. The model then gives practical advice to improve the communication (the intervention).

32

Equalities Training
Type C2 - Equalities Training - (see 2.3) is designed primarily to instruct the trainees in legally or professionally appropriate behaviour. Changing attitudes is considered less important. This type of training is mainly concerned with effective and systematical strategies with which discrimination can be identified and prevented in all stages of recruitment and selection (Luthra and Oakley, 1991, in Wrench and Taylor, 1993). This type of training is not given often in the Netherlands.

Type C2/C3 is a broader form of Equalities Training covering other issues than simply the avoidance of discrimination in recruitment: for example, how to write and implement a positive action/affirmative action policy. This training may also be part of a broader programme to include gender and disability issues. This type of Equalities Training is more common in the Netherlands. Because this approach covers several other issues than simply the avoidance of discrimination in recruitment and selection, there is less of a clearly distinguishable type of training or training provider entering the market with a personally developed model. The different parts in this type of training are often a component of other types of training, such as training in the field of management development. In short, C2/C3 is often not a training approach which stands alone but is included in existing types of training - such as management development programmes. Emphasis is put on affirmative action policies and cultural diversity.

Racism Awareness Training and Anti-Racism Training
The 'classical' Racism Awareness Training (B2) as developed by Katz (see 2.3) was and is not often given in the Netherlands (Focus, 1991, p. 16). Katz defines the arrears of ethnic minorities in terms of racism and discrimination and puts the blame on the (white) majority: after all, they have interests to secure. It is therefore *their* responsibility to change this. According to Focus, it is not strange that this approach is not that popular in the Netherlands. An intercultural management strategy which defines the problem in terms of discrimination 'is in institutional and organizational settings, which are dominated by the dominant categories, a very controversial undertaking' (Focus, 1991, p. 16). Moreover, the discussion on issues of racism and discrimination is, in the Netherlands, of more recent date than, for instance, in Anglo-Saxon countries. Therefore, Anti-Racism Training (D2) is not as popular in the Netherlands as it is in Anglo-Saxon countries.

Diversity Training
In paragraph 3.2 it was already noted that presently in the Netherlands there seems to be a shift of training activities in the direction of Diversity Training (D3) or Managing Diversity (MD): Managing Diversity is the key-word at the moment. An important initiator in the field of MD was (and still is) the Ministry of VWS. MD is relatively new in the Netherlands which causes the number of Dutch publications on this subject to be small. MD is ' ..a comprehensive managerial process for developing an environment that works for all employees' (Thomas, 1991, p.10). MD '...addresses the many ways employees are different and the many ways they are alike. Managing diversity goes beyond race and gender, and includes many other dimensions'. The aim of MD is '...enabling every member of your workforce to perform to his or her potential. It means getting from employees, first, everything we have a right to expect, and, second, if we do it well - everything they have to give' (Thomas, 1990, p.12). Summarizing, MD could be described as 'a form of personnel policy aimed at the individual, which accepts and values differences. Everyone's potential is optimally developed. Integration of each employee in the formal and informal structure of the organization and its culture is strived for' (Van Ooijen, 1996).

MD programmes can consist of various elements, of which training is only one. Other elements can be: procedures to reduce ethnic and gender differences, efficacy seminars, personal development programs or company-sponsored language instruction (Gottfredson, 1992, p. 284-287). The relevant elements for this research are the so-called 'Valuing Differences' courses, which are often part of the MD programmes. The diversity courses will, in all likelihood, contain elements from many of the above-mentioned types of training: 'The aims of valuing-diversity activities encompass those of the earlier race relations activities: defuse tensions over affirmative action, foster interracial (and now cross-gender) understanding, and promote better teamwork in mixed settings' (Gottfredson, 1992, p. 285).

In research by Essed and Helwig executed by order of the FNV (Federation of Dutch Trade Unions), some elements of MD are described (Essed and Helwig, 1992). In this research, Essed and Helwig want to demonstrate 'how positive the result can be when managers and executives do set the right example because they really do not tolerate discrimination' (Essed and Helwig, 1992, p. 12). For this purpose some precursors - people who have made out a case for the development towards cultural diversity - from various organizations were interviewed. In order to create space for more cultural diversity it is also important to appoint ethnic minorities to higher functions. According to Essed and Helwig, this is shown in the practical experiences of organizations included in the research. The key to a policy in which ethnic minorities are sufficiently represented in the higher functions lies with the power centres in the organization. From the research it appears that small and medium-sized organizations, where the highest placed managers actively support the goal of diversity, gain better results with regard to increased staff-diversity, support from staff in general for the policy, improvement of quality and work satisfaction than organizations in which personnel managers do not have this support from management. Education and promotion of expertise can enlarge the commitment of the management to a policy of promoting cultural diversity (Essed and Helwig, 1992, pp. 161-162). According to Essed and Helwig, the quality of work should be a central issue for all employees, regardless of colour or culture. Many organizations have had positive experiences from translating efforts or measures that are specifically important for minorities into general aims. Essed and Helwig think it is quite possible to take the needs and rights of minorities into account without losing sight of the needs of others. Language training can, for instance, be part of a larger package of refresher courses. Organizations which pursue an MD policy make out a case for a more social personnel policy. This results in all sorts of positive effects, such as an improvement of the atmosphere at the workplace, increased loyalty of the employees with regard to the organization, more satisfaction and motivation at work and a decrease in absenteeism. By means of support, one could integrate skill training in combatting racism and discrimination into expertise promotion in the field of management.

As Wrench and Taylor state 'It has been argued that Managing Diversity is the logical next step after measures such as equal opportunities initiatives and affirmative action programmes have broken down barriers to the employment of minorities, producing a more diverse workforce' (Wrench and Taylor, 1993, p. 18). MD could in fact be a good successor for affirmative action programmes provided there actually is a diverse workforce. This latter point is often ignored. One can deduce from Chapter 1 that a diverse workforce - especially where migrants are concerned - is far from being a reality. The danger now lurks that employers will eagerly accept MD in order to get rid of the none too popular affirmative action programmes. Affirmative action was - and still is - often seen as a form of positive discrimination which would threaten the chances of work for the male, white labour force. The employer's boycott of the WBEAA - Act for the Promotion of Equal Labour Opportunities for Migrants - is exemplary in this respect (see also 1.2).

Although the conclusion is a bit premature at this stage, MD threatens to become a new management hype. There is already talk of 'Roosevelt Thomas, the American guru who developed the concept of Managing Diversity' (Ministry of Justice, VWS and the Interior, 1995). A too fast a switch from Affirmative Action to MD could stagnate the none too large influx of migrants into labour organizations even more. Besides, there are many comments to be made on the concept of Managing Diversity. A lot of the characteristics of MD are not very concrete and therefore it is not clear how organizations could implement MD; besides, actual implementation takes at least ten years to yield results (Van Ooijen, 1996). In addition, the advantages of a diverse workforce aren't always as evident as the MD advocates suggest. Research on heterogeneous teams seem to render inconsistent results: 'in some studies heterogeneous teams perform better, in other studies heterogeneous teams perform worse, or show no differences in performance with homogeneous teams' (Kandola, 1995, p. 143). Kandola concludes: 'Hardly the basis for a revolution! It appears too simplistic to state that heterogeneity in itself will lead to better team performance'. However, MD can be a useful instrument: 'Overall, it may be that there is little in the managing diversity field which is really new. However, looking at the subject overall, rather than at its individual components, it can be seen that it could offer a new synthesis of ideas which are richer than the previous notions... But the area needs to be better served by the research and, more importantly, by the researchers than is the case at present' (Kandola, 1995, p. 143).

The next paragraph will deal with the way in which various models and starting points are applied in practice.

3.4. Questionnaire interviews with training providers: an overview of training provision

After compiling a directory of training providers and consumers, and identifying potential participants in the research, questionnaires were used to record factual details about the training courses. Wrench and Taylor suggest that an optimum of 60 trainers should be interviewed. As they emphasize, the aim of the research is 'not seeking an exact and quantifiable picture based on a random precise sample, but a broad picture of training simply based on 'reasonable' assumptions' (Wrench and Taylor, 1993, p.23). Contact was made with each of the 81 relevant training providers (see 3.1) in order to make an appointment for the interview. Since some of the providers were not willing or did not have the time to spare to grant the interview, a total of 64 trainers were interviewed. Of these 64 training providers 10 did not belong to the target group after all. They were either irrelevant to this study or tried to combat racism by other means than training activities. Wrench and Taylor suggest that where possible the sample should contain roughly equal proportions of trainers providing training for three target groups:
• Personnel/Management and line managers in profit and non-profit sector employers
• Trade union officials and shop stewards
• Civil servants and staff connected with labour exchanges and private employment agencies ('Job Centre').

The balance in this research seemed to tip strongly to the side of Personnel/Management and Job Centre. All 54 training providers provided training courses for personnel and line managers in private and public sector employment, mainly in the non-profit sector. The majority of training providers (41) provided also traning courses for civil servants and staff of labour exchanges and staff in private employment agencies. A remarkably small number of training providers (10) provided training courses for trade union officials and shop stewards. This result substantiates former research which shows that Dutch trade unions play a less prominent part in this field than for example English trade unions do (Gras and Bovenkerk, 1995).

The semi-structured interviews contained questions on the background of the training provider, the target groups and the approach and content of the training. Training providers were also asked for the names of client organizations so that these could be approached during the evaluation phase. This question however in large part remained unanswered by the training providers because of their confidentiality towards their clients. Even when they received the promise that all information would be made anonymous in the final report, they proved unwilling to give names of their clients. In general, interviewees were not very willing to present training material as was requested in the research manual. The interviews were carried out face-to-face with the trainers because in a face-to-face contact one can acquire more elaborate information than in an interview over the 'phone. In the following paragraph the results of the interviews will be presented. The quantitative data - the profile sheets - are presented in the appendix.

The training providers

The first question in the questionnaire, 'How does your organization characterize itself / in what ways does your organization distinguish itself from other, similar organizations?' already provides indications of the enormous diversity among the various organizations. A small number of training providers (7) is formed by the already existent - sometimes renowned - training and organization advice agencies that have expanded their activities to the ICM market. From the originally approached number of training providers (327), a large share were such organizations. These organizations characterize themselves by their knowledge and experience in the field of education and training courses in general. The remaining training providers (47) aimed their activities exclusively or in a large part to migrants. Working for and towards migrants is an important sales argument for these organizations. It is striking that almost half (21) was founded by migrants or evolved out of a migrant organization. Some organizations (5) work - though often also commercially - from an idealistic goal and advertise themselves with their political or philosophical background. A small number of organizations (4) is part of an educational institute. Some training providers characterize themselves by means of self-developed products or methods with names such as 'trans-cultural development', 'trans-cultural educational theory', 'actor-perspective', 'global thinking' and 'lift model'. Other training providers point in their PR material at existing approaches and models such as the Systems Theory and the Human Resource Management concept. This chapter will be used to discuss the training provider's vision in more detail.

More than half (28) of the training providers involved in this research appeared to be purely commercial organizations (an independent training consultant or an organizational consultant). This is somewhat less than in the NCB research in which almost three quarters of the organizations in the field of ICM was of a commercial nature. Of the publicly funded services (16) - which incidentally have to be cost-effective and are thus in some way also commercial - more than half could be ascribed to an equalities organization (for instance Nederlands Centrum Buitenlanders, Dutch Centre for Migrants), three institutions were of an educational nature and one organization was a government body. Anti-racist voluntary organizations, professional or employers' organizations and the labour movement appeared to provide no training to gate-keepers. A number of training providers (10) could not be classified in one of the categories for instance because they concerned a department of a publicly funded service which operated in practice as an independent training consultant. It is clear that the ICM market has been discovered including by migrants themselves, considering the relatively large number of training providers of migrant background.

Status of the trainees

One of the questions in the questionnaire interview was whether training was delivered to homogeneous groups or mixed groups (senior mangers, middle managers and ordinary workers).

Most training providers prefer homogeneous groups. Arguments given for this preference were, among other things, that each level has different tasks and that - especially within governmental institutions - heterogeneous groups are not possible because of the severe hierarchical relations. However, a fairly large number of training providers strives for heterogeneity. Enlarging the support for the training and stimulating team spirit were often mentioned as an argument for mixed groups.

A lot of training providers emphasized in the interviews that ICM - and Managing Diversity in particular - requires a top-down approach (see also 3.3). 'Only senior managers receive training because that's where the decisions are taken' and 'the lower management never receives training, the higher management should transfer their knowledge' was noted in this respect. In practice, this seems to happen less often: as is shown in table 2, in all sectors training is most often given to the middle management, followed by the ordinary workers/junior staff. Training is least given to the senior managers. Only 44-52 per cent of training providers give training to the higher management.

It was striking that in the private sector relatively most training was given to the senior managers. Perhaps status plays a part here: 'we are an exclusive agency, therefore we only work for the top' noted one interviewee.

Target sectors of the training activities

The target sectors, mentioned as most important were (in order of importance): non-profit sector, public sector and private sector. All training providers provided training activities for the non-profit sector; 90 per cent provided training activities for the public sector, 76 per cent provided training activities for the private sector. To the Job Centre target group 41 training providers (75 per cent) provided training activities. As mentioned, a remarkably small

Table 2. Target group of the training and status of trainees; percentage of senior managers, middle managers, ordinary workers or mixed groups to which the training is delivered in each sector

Sector	No.	Senior Managers %	Middle Managers %	Ordinary Workers/ Junior Staff %	Mixed groups %
private	41	80	44	56	29
non profit	54	52	74	65	56
public	49	45	69	61	39

percentage (19 per cent) provided training activities for trade unions. A few training providers appeared to restrict their activities to just one particular sector, for instance the health-sector.

Social welfare and *health* were the types of non-profit sector target groups most frequently mentioned (29 per cent and 25 per cent of the training providers). From the names of institutions and organizations mentioned it can be concluded that within the social welfare sector general social institutions, youth aid and home care are concerned. Within the health sector it concerns nursing homes, hospitals and RIAGG's (Institutions for out-patients mental health care). It concerns institutions and organizations where the relationship with a migrant clientele is clearly present. Regarding the non-profit sector it was also noted that in this sector - compared to the other two sectors - a far advanced stage has been reached. People are more motivated, closer to the aims and feel more socially involved. In addition, it was noted that the overall attitude is too soft and people are not aimed towards efficiency. The ethical point of departure is more important

that the principle of necessity which results in little success. Lack of funds caused by several economy measures were generally mentioned as a problem.

Local authorities was the type of public sector target group most frequently mentioned, followed by *regional authorities* and *national authorities* (respectively 81 per cent, 71 per cent and 51 per cent of the training providers). As far as the local authorities were concerned, communities, districts and municipal services were most frequently mentioned. Social Services were the most dominant of the municipal services. Of the regional authorities, mainly police forces and a small amount of staff of provinces received training. The 'national authorities' were the ministries. Notably, distinct departments of the Ministry of Justice were most often mentioned. Departments such as the prison system and resettlement organizations were concerned. Besides that, the ministries of Health, Welfare and Sports (the initiator of Managing Diversity), the Interior (which coordinates migrant policy) and Social Affairs and Employment were mentioned. Regarding the public sector target group it was noted that there often is a lack of interest: people are not interested in their own organization, a lot of trainees feel forced and are unmotivated.   Higher management would also be not interested. A lot of criticism was expressed on the slow decision making at the governmental level.

Manufacturing was the type of private sector target group most frequently mentioned (by 46 per cent of the training providers). Companies from the food processing industry were frequently mentioned by training providers. In addition, a lot of training was given to companies in the transport sector, banks and insurance, wholesale and retail, hotels and restaurants: companies that have to deal with a migrant clientele. Besides, a number of multinationals were mentioned as clients. According to several people interviewed there still is not a lot of enthusiasm for ICM. The profit sector has yet to be taught to think interculturally, it remains reserved, has production and results as its priority and has a short-term vision. Despite all this, some of the people interviewed said to have detected a slightly increased interest for ICM in the profit sector.

Forty-one training providers (75 per cent) have provided training to the *Job Centres* target group. In a large part this concerns civil servants in labour exchanges out of which the so-called Bedrijfs Adviseurs Minderheden (BAM'ers, company advisers on minorities) form the majority. Relatively little training is given to staff in both private sector employment agencies and vocational advisory services for school leavers. On the subject of labour exchanges it was noted that the demand for training appeared to have been met and that lately there had been a reduced demand for training.

As mentioned before, a remarkably small number of training providers (10 of 54; 19 per cent) provided training courses for *trade union officials and shop stewards*. It was noted earlier that the Dutch trade unions play a less prominent role in the field of combatting racism than for instance in Great Britain. That is not to say that trade unions would not take *any* action where combatting of discrimination and racism are concerned. However, one has to note that - within the scope of this research - trade unions are not very much concerned with training their own members. The opinion of a number of interviewees on trade unions was not positive: trade unions nearly have no migrant members and they do not undertake much action for their coloured members. Although the executives take on a more progressive attitude than the members, they are not very much aware of the opinions of their members. Trade unions could also be dogmatic and conservative. On the other hand, there were those interviewed who were very satisfied with the dedication and motivation of trade union members on a number of projects in the field of ICM. It is obvious the trade unions could do more than they currently do. Trade union members regularly attend selection

committees as members of the Works Council and can contribute to combatting racism and discrimination in their role as 'gate-keepers'.

Summarizing, it can be concluded that ICM training - with some exceptions - is almost exclusively given to organizations - in the non-profit, public and private sector - who through services or products rendered are directly involved with a migrant clientele or to organizations which, such as multinationals, operate in an international market. Organizations that do not have a clearly multicultural clientele are not mentioned by those interviewed. According to the interviewees, ICM has integrated most into the non-profit sector, despite the lack of funds. They say the public sector is characterized by a relative lack of interest. ICM in the private sector is - though there has been a slight increase in interest in recent years - far from being common property. In the field of ICM, trade unions are less active than other target groups.

The training courses
The number of titles by which training relevant to this research is offered is immense. The majority of the training is offered as 'Intercultural Management' or 'Intercultural Communication'. In addition, there are dozens of courses in which the term 'culture' is present: 'Cross-Cultural Management', 'Cross-Cultural Communication', 'Interculturalisation', 'Intercultural Working', 'Trans-Cultural Management', 'Dealing with cultural differences', 'Trans-cultural Communication', courses that anticipate managing, such as 'Managing Diversity', intriguing combinations such as 'Intercultural Human Resource and Diversity', and simple titles such as 'Dealing with each other'. From the titles, it is difficult to deduct what the contents would be, unlike, for example, 'A beginners' course WP 5.1'.

The amount of organizations to which the various types of training are provided varies from three to - as one training provider claimed - more than five-hundred organizations. Most interviewees speak of numbers between ten and fifty. The courses are given between ten and fifty times by most training providers. One training provider claimed to have given the training nine hundred (sic!) times. The number of years the training is provided varies from one to, as they claimed, 24 years. Most training providers - 54 per cent - give the training for four to ten years. The majority of the training is tailor-made: 49 out of 54 training providers give a training that is restricted to one organization; 12 out of 54 training providers give training that is open to others. Participation is partly (for 24 out of 54 courses) voluntary and for a slightly smaller part (16 out of 54) obligatory. The opinions of training providers on what is the best method - voluntary or obligatory - are divided. Obligatory participation would be preferred by some training providers because otherwise there could be a case of 'preaching for one's own parish'. It would also mean a better dealing with aversions and it would be necessary for a 'strategical enlargement of the basis'. Most training providers indicated that obligatory or voluntary participation was dependent on the wishes of the client organization.

In most cases, one or two trainers are involved with a training. Out of all training providers, 35 per cent always, 46 per cent often and 15 per cent sometimes deploys a migrant trainer. Only two (4 per cent) training providers never deploy a migrant trainer. The preferred number of trainees varies from six to fifteen persons; the minimum number of trainees is six for most training providers, the maximum lies between fifteen to twenty. The majority of training providers think that the training should consist of at least two shifts; ten training providers say one shift is the minimum. Courses that last for five to ten shifts are preferred. A minority of the courses is self-contained; most courses are part of a broader 'Managing Diversity' programme, equal opportunities training programme or part of a broader general training.

Vision and starting points of the training providers

A central question in the questionnaire was regarding the vision of the training providers, that is to say, from which approach would they like to bring about any changes? As opposed to the aforementioned study of Abell (1991) in which was concluded that most training providers were not able to give adequate information on the assumptions, methods and goals of their activities, trainers were now able to give adequate information on those subjects. The diversity of points of departure turned out to be surprisingly big. In an attempt to structure the various visions and points of departure the following 'clusters' can be distinguished:

- A number of training providers assumed the more familiar models as stated in section 3.3 (of which some are based on scientific research). However, these models are almost always adapted and detailed. Hofstede's model is most often used. Besides, trainers also use the 3D model developed by Focus, the Three Step Method by Pinto, the Managing Diversity concept and the TOPOI model. One often eclectically uses parts of different models at the same time.
- A second group of training providers has developed a personal model, which in some cases is based on the aforementioned methods or a combination of those. The starting points are very diverse and in some cases (such as the use of NLP) disputable to say the least. Some examples:
  - a personal culture changing concept based on socialization theories;
  - an RET (Rational Emotive Therapy) based method;
  - a personally developed 'brain-steering model';
  - the maximalization of efficiency by Tinbergen as point of departure;
  - a vision which is called 'trans-cultural', transcending to a new culture;
  - a theory in which black and white are described in terms of 'spectator' and 'actor';
  - a model which describes how organizations can respond to a multicultural society;
  - a dialectic model, based on the 3D model by Focus;
  - a system theoretical approach of communication combined with a diversity pattern of thought;
  - a model for intercultural sensitivity;
  - a steppingstone model in which putting into perspective and nuancing play an important role;
  - a model which is, among other things, based on Neurolinguistic programming (NPL), Psycho-synthesis and Re-decision Therapy.
- Then, there is a group of training providers who use less explicit models and starting points and, for instance, concentrate on awareness of one's own cultural norms and values, equality, dealing with aversions, retranslating prejudices into 'universal truths'.
- Finally, there is a group of pragmatics to be distinguished who are only concerned with the commercial aspects and who think that a sound personnel policy is for everyone's benefit, both autochthones and migrants, or are of the opinion that participants should, first of all, enjoy the training.

There is, however, no unity. The conclusion that 'the supply of courses, aimed at combatting racism, prejudices and discrimination gives a fragmented and ad-hoc impression' (Abell, 1991, p.90) is to a considerable extent still valid.

Course content

In the questionnaire the training providers were asked to indicate which elements of their training were the most important. Table 3 gives an overview of the most important elements of the training according to the training providers. The training providers mentioned a large number of subjects

which were dealt with within the various elements. There was strikingly little information given on the subject of how one thought of reaching the goals set in the training.

Awareness of cultural values and beliefs of trainees and *attitude and behavioural change of trainees in order to achieve an organizational change* are clearly the most important parts of the training according to the training providers (mean rank order resp. 2.4 and 2.6). They say awareness of cultural values and beliefs is concerned with both the values and beliefs of the trainees as the values and beliefs of the migrants. This part is concerned with the relativeness of one's own culture and cultural differences, realization (gaining insight into the personal culture determined way of perception, what it is like to be a minority in the Netherlands), conceptualization (how the other and I go together) and insight into that which is known and unknown in the field of intercultural communication. The final goal is to be open to the behaviour of the other and to give space to other customs, religious holidays etc. within organizations. The different work forms which are mentioned in this respect are, among others, self-analysis, methods to confront the trainees with personal values and making use of cases and 'culture simulation games' through which cultural differences are being experienced.

Table 3.   Course Content: rank order of importance, according to training providers
(based on mean rank (): 1=most important, 10=least important)

1 (2.4) Awareness of cultural values and beliefs of trainees
2 (2.6) Attitude and behavioural change of trainees in order to achieve an organizational change
3 (3.3) Procedures of fair recruitment and selection and related practices (e.g. ethnic monitoring principles and procedures)
4 (3.5) Awareness of racism and prejudices of trainees
5 (3.6) Broader equal opportunities strategies, such as how to write and implement a positive action/affirmative action policy
6 (3.7) Broader strategies such as 'Diversity Management'
7 (3.9) Cultural information on migrants and ethnic minorities themselves, the history of the migration process, etc.
8 (4.2) Information on problems of racism and discrimination and how these affect ethnic minority and migrant communities
9 (4.8) Information on the legal context of migration, citizenship, laws against discrimination, etc.

Information on cultural differences (norms and values) and the background of migrants in the Netherlands (historical perspective, reasons for migration) are also often used to bring about an awareness of cultural values and beliefs.

With the element *attitude and behavioural change of trainees in order to achieve an organizational change* the emphasis is on both a change of attitude and communication and communication skills. The aim is to increase the feeling of involvement and to create a basis for the influx of migrants. Aspects that come up for discussion are increasing the insight in one's own handling and that of others, becoming more sensitive to intercultural differences, learning that communication mistakes are not simply caused by cultural differences, personal effectiveness in an intercultural context, negotiating and creating relations. Providing information also plays an important role in this part.

Procedures of fair recruitment and selection and related practices reach a third place according to the interviewees (mean rank order 3.3). However, it did not become clear how this part is dealt with in the training. *Awareness of racism and prejudices of trainees*, which comes in fourth (mean

rank order 3.5), includes subjects such as the danger and the functioning of prejudices, socialisation processes (racism socialisation), ethnocentrism, insight into the structure of racism, the emotionally chargedness of racism, tokenism, the 'Dutch way' of handling differences, majority and minority processes. Methods to bring about awareness are - besides providing information - confrontation methods and role playing.

Broader equal opportunities and *broader strategies such as Diversity Management* (mean rank order 3.5 and 3.7) have many grounds in common with more general types of management training. Development of vision, developing an intercultural policy, policy analysis of strategic aims, management skills, management styles, dealing with aversion, the role of the company culture and creating a basis for multicultural policy are examples of aspects that were mentioned.

Although *cultural information on migrants and ethnic minorities* was considered less important (mean rank order 3.9), it is an essential part of almost all training types: it emanated from the questionnaire that a wide range of subjects is dealt with, such as Islam, the effects of migration, culture characteristics, cultural backgrounds and culture and religion. *Information on problems of racism and discrimination* and *information on the legal context of migration* (mean rank order resp. 4.2 and 4.8) are elements that are of a secondary importance in the training. There was hardly any additional information on these parts.

Training strategy
Table 4 provides an overview of the training strategy used. Exercises to produce attitude change score the highest, followed closely by certain actions to produce behavioural change (mean rank 1.9). A wide range of didactic work forms is available to the trainers (see also profile sheets in the Annex, p. XI). Firstly, there is role playing, awareness exercises, group exercises, discussions and case studies; in addition, use is made of work forms such as creativity exercises (drawing, cutting), card games, memorize/experience learning, hypnosis, Erichsonic language practices and sending the trainees on an excursion (visiting a mosque). Training in procedures to produce organizational change scored relatively high (mean rank 2.1). To provide information to people who would not otherwise be aware of these issues is clearly considered the least important by the trainers (mean rank 3.2).

Categorisation of the Training Approach
Finally, the training approaches of 54 training providers are categorized according to the anti-discrimination training typology. The trouble with categorising was that there appeared to be no 'pure' training approaches, each approach turned out to contain several elements from the anti-discrimination training typology. Thus information provision, as it turned out in the previous paragraph, is part of most types of training resulting in a large part of training approaches to fall under Information Training (A1/A2). The categorisation is therefore based on the key element of the particular training approach as far as that could be determined. It turned out that some training types offered under the pretext of Diversity Training were actually Cultural Awareness Training.

The overview presented in Table 5 is based on the 54 training providers that were involved in the research. The research, as stated in section 3.4 was not based on a representative sample, but on a broad picture of training based on 'reasonable assumptions'. Drawing far-reaching conclusions on the type of training most provided in the Netherlands is therefore impossible. This research can only at best indicate a trend. With this restriction it appears that type A1 - Information Training - in which primarily cultural information on migrant and ethnic minority communities is given - is no longer provided. Here, one should remark that, as noted before, cultural information on migrant and ethnic minority communities is part of most training approaches. Almost half of the courses (47 per cent) falls under the category Cultural Awareness Training (B1). Despite the issue discussed in section 2.3 on the relationship

Table 4. Training strategy: rank order of importance, according to training providers
        (based on mean rank (): 1=most important, 5=least important)

1 (1.7)   To engage actively in specific exercises to produce attitude change in individual trainees
2 (1.9)   To train specifically in certain actions so as to produce behavioural change in individual   trainees

3 (2.1)   To train in procedures to produce organizational change over and above the individual trainees
        who have attended the course
4 (3.2)   To provide information to people who would not otherwise be aware of these issues

between attitudes and behaviour and the views of researchers such as Bovenkerk that changes in behaviour are probably more effective than changes in attitude (Bovenkerk, 1992), the majority of training providers apparently still aims for an attitude change, by making trainees aware of other cultural norms and values. Equalities Training (C2/C3) and Diversity Training (D3) take up a shared second position (both 13 per cent). Training approaches such as Racism Awareness (B2) and Anti-Racism Training (D3) are still existent but to a lesser degree (7 per cent). Last comer is training type Other (D1), i.e. Organizational Change/Multicultural Training (6 per cent). Four training approaches appeared to be unclassifiable. One training tried to enhance the interaction with other cultures by means of 'personal development'; a second training almost exclusively focused on communication as a means for combatting discrimination; a third tried to combat discrimination by means of 'Management Organization' and the fourth and last training aimed to reach its goals by means of improved stress control, better handling of conflict and 'transformation processes'.

3.5. Summary

The documentation of training activities was based on an international typology developed by Wrench and Taylor (1995). By cross-classifying two variables (each variable consists of several levels) 12 theoretical types could be distinguished. The first variable - strategy - comprises four distinct levels: information provision, attitude change, behavioural change and organizational change. The second variable - the content of training - comprises three distinct levels. The main emphasis of training content can be multi-cultural, can be on racism and discrimination, or can be on broader issues which may include a multi-cultural and anti-racism content but locate these in a broader social context. The main training approaches relevant to this research were: Information Training, Cultural Awareness Training, Racism Awareness Training, Equalities Training, Anti-Racism Training and Diversity Training. The content of Information Training is primarily cultural information on migrant and ethnic minority communities aimed at changing attitudes. Cultural Awareness Training is also aimed at attitude change, by making trainees aware of other cultural norms and values through actively engaging trainees in practical exercises. Racism Awareness Training aims to create a self-awareness of racism and presumes this will give rise to a behavioural change. Equalities Training is designed primarily to affect behaviour. Attitudes - among which prejudices - are considered irrelevant. This training type aims to instruct the trainees in legally or professionally appropriate behaviour. Anti-Racism Training aims to secure the support of individuals in challenging the racism which is considered to be endemic in the culture and institutions of the wider society. It forms part of an organizational strategy designed to pursue this aim. Diversity Training is mainly directed at managers and emphasizes the importance of valuing differences.

Table 5. **Categorisation of the training approach according to the Anti-Discrimination Training typology**

Training type (n=54)	No.	%
A1/A2 Information Training	-	-
B1 Cultural Awareness Training	25	47
B2 Racism Awareness Training	4	7
C2/C3 Equalities Training	7	13
D1 Other, i.e. Organizational Change/Multi-Cultural Training	3	6
D2 Anti-Racism Training	4	7
D3 Diversity Training	7	13
Not classifiable	4	7
Total	54	100

Prior to the documentation stage an overview was made of training approaches and models that were being used by training providers in the Netherlands. The publications of most Dutch developers and providers of ICM training are on the subject of Cultural Awareness training types which aim for attitude change in particular. Equalities Training which aims to instruct the trainees in legally or professionally appropriate behaviour with as a starting point the law, or codes of practice of non-discrimination, is not very common in the Netherlands. A broader form of Equalities Training, covering other issues than simply the avoidance of discrimination in recruitment, for example, how to write and implement a positive action/affirmative action policy, is regularly given in the Netherlands. Because this type of training approach covers several other issues than simply the avoidance of discrimination in recruitment and selection, this type is less a matter of one clearly distinguishable model. Racism Awareness Training and Anti-Racism Training are not very common in the Netherlands. This probably can be explained by the fact that public discussions on the phenomena of racism and discrimination are - compared with for instance the United States - relatively recent in the Netherlands. The existence of both these phenomena was denied for a long time (cf. Bovenkerk, 1986; Schumacher, 1981). Developers of specific training approaches in this field are hardly present in the Netherlands because of this. In the Netherlands there currently seems to be a certain shift of training activities in the direction of Managing Diversity which can be described as a form of personnel policy which accepts and appreciates differences. The training approaches of this type of training are mainly taken from US models.

A directory of training providers and consumers was compiled and potential participants in the research were identified. A database was compiled out of 444 potential ICM training providers and consumers. Only 81 organizations turned out to provide training to gate-keepers. Next, potential participants in the research were identified and questionnaires were used to record factual details about the training courses. In the end, 54 trainers were interviewed. Three target groups of trainees were distinguished in the research. The first target group consisted of personnel staff and line-managers in profit and non-profit sector employers. The second target group consisted of trade union officials and shop stewards and the third target group consisted of civil servants and staff connected with job centres and labour exchanges and staff in private employment agencies. Most training turned out to be given to the target groups Personnel/Management and Job Centre.

A small amount of training providers was formed by the already existing training and organization consultancies who have expanded their activities to the ICM market. The other training providers

aimed their activities exclusively or in large part at migrants; almost half was founded by migrants or evolved out of a migrant organization. Most training providers appeared to be commercial organizations varying from a one-man business to institutions with a large staff. Training providers characterize themselves by means of self-developed products or methods with a large variety of names such as 'trans-cultural development', 'trans-cultural educational theory' or 'actor perspective'. Other training providers advertise themselves with existing methods and models such as the systems-theory or the concept of Human Resource Management.

Although many training providers emphasize that ICM, and Managing Diversity in particular, requires a top-down approach, in practice this appeared not to happen that often. In all sectors training was most often given to the middle management followed by ordinary workers/junior staff. The target sectors, mentioned as most important were (in order of importance): non-profit sector, public sector and private sector. All training providers provided training activities for the non-profit sector. Social welfare and health were the types of non profit sector target group most frequently mentioned. Training activities for the public sector were provided for 90 percent of the training providers, local authorities was the type of public sector target group most frequently mentioned. Training activities for the private sector were provided by almost three quarters of the training providers, manufacturing was the type of private sector target group most frequently mentioned. Three quarters provided training activities for the Job Centres. A remarkably small percentage (19 per cent) provided training activities for trade unions. appeared to be mainly provided for organizations directly involved with migrant clientele through services or products or to organizations - such as multinationals - which operate in an international market.

On the basis of the various visions and starting points, the training providers can be divided into four groups. The first group uses the more familiar models such as the Hofstede model. The second group has developed its own model which in some cases is based on one of the previously mentioned models or a combination of these. The third group of training providers uses less explicit models and points of departure. The fourth group uses a pragmatic vision and concentrates on, for example, a sound personnel policy for the benefit of all those involved. Training providers appeared to be able to describe their starting points, methods and goals well, as opposed to what came forward from earlier research. The large supply of various sorts of training can, however, lead to a situation in which client organizations cannot distinguish one from the other.

Both awareness of cultural values and beliefs, and attitude and behavioural change turned out to be the most important elements of the training. Although cultural information on migrants and ethnic minorities was considered less important by the training providers, this forms an essential part of almost all training types. Information on problems of racism and discrimination and information on the legal context were considered less important. The training approaches of 54 training providers were categorized according to the anti-discrimination training typology. Information Training was not provided as a separate type but was, nonetheless, part of most training approaches. Almost half of the courses fell under the category Cultural Awareness Training. The majority of training providers still aimed - where strategy is concerned - on a change of attitude by making trainees aware of other cultural norms and values. Equalities Training and Diversity Training took a shared second place. Training approaches such as Racism Awareness and Anti-Racism Training still exist - though less often - as does the Organizational Change/Multicultural Training.

4. The evaluation of training activities

In this stage semi-structured evaluation interviews with trainers, clients and trainees were carried out, to provide qualitative information with regard to the realisation of the aims of training, evidence of the effects of the training, and identification of problems and barriers to effectiveness. A sample of 21 courses out of the sample in the documentation for evaluation were to be selected to be case studies for the evaluation process. Eventually, 15 training providers were willing to cooperate on this stage of the investigation. According to the research manual the sample should (if possible) reflect equally the three target groups: Personnel/Management, Trade Union and Job Centre. The division over these three target groups in the documentation stage could be determined only approximately, since the training providers could only indicate whether *at least* one client came from the various branches/areas of work within the private, nonprofit and public sector. The actual number of courses given to these target groups is in fact an underestimate. The same applies to the Job Centres and Trade Unions. In any case, Table 6 clearly shows that in the documentation stage the scales tipped to the target group Personnel/Management (see also 3.4).

In the evaluation stage, Personnel/Management was also the most common target group (10 out of 15 cases). Of the other cases, three focused on Job Centre staff and two cases focused on mixed groups. It turned out to be impossible to include a course with a Trade Union as a target group in the evaluation. The courses suggested by the training providers were not relevant for the research, among other reasons, because they were intended to fight discrimination on the shop floor and they were not directed at gate-keepers. In two of the 15 cases the client organizations came from the private sector, four cases came from the non-profit sector, four cases from the public sector (where for one case the Trade Union was the initiator) and three cases from the labour exchange/private sector employment agencies. The other two cases concerned courses to which anyone could subscribe, where one could not speak of a single client organization. Table 6 shows that the sample in the evaluation phase roughly reflects the three target groups as they were represented in the documentation sample.

Next, the selection should if possible provide a reasonably representative cross section of the range and balance of training approaches as categorized by the anti-discrimination training typology. In the documentation stage it was not possible to speak of a balance of training approaches as categorized by the anti-discrimination training typology: almost half of the training approaches was typified as training type B1 (see 3.3). However, table 6 shows that the sample in the evaluation phase does fairly reflect the training approaches as they were represented in the documentation sample, with only training type B2 (Racism Awareness Training) missing. The great variety of training providers, target sectors of the training activities and vision and starting points of the training providers as found in the documentation stage, was also found in the evaluation stage.

**Table 6. Documentation sample compared with evaluation sample
              according to target group and training type**

Target group	documentation stage	evaluation stage

	no. of training activities	%	no. of cases	%
Personnel/Management	468	89	10	67
Job Centre	41	8	3	20
Trade Union	17	3	-	-
Other (mixed groups)	-	-	2	13
Total	526	100	15	100

Training type	documentation stage		evaluation stage	
	no. of cases	%	no. of cases	%
A1/A2	-	-	-	-
B1	25	47	7	47
B2	4	7	-	-
C2/C3	7	13	2	13
D1	3	6	1	7
D2	4	7	1	7
D3	7	13	2	13
Not classifiable	4	7	2	13
Total	54	100	15	100

The interviews in the evaluation stage were semi-structured and covered only a limited number of topics. This was done to ensure that all the interviews contained the same topics, at the same time allowing personal contributions from each respondent. For each course, the questionnaires were submitted to the training providers themselves, to key informants in the client Organization and to a sample of three trainees. Overall 75 interviews were held.[1] The interviews covered the following topics:
- Reasons for introducing the training
- The aims of training providers and client organization
- The aims of trainees
- Content and strategy of the training
- Training outcomes and effectiveness
- Obstacles to the success of training

4.1. Reasons for introducing the training

It appears that training is usually introduced alongside other strategies aimed at increasing equality: the majority of the client organizations decided to undergo a form of training because it fitted the already existing or yet to be implemented affirmative action policy of the organization. In that case, the training was meant to increase the influx as well as decrease the premature outflow. In one case, the personnel policy regulated that 70 per cent of the vacancies were to be filled by people from the target groups of migrants, women and the disabled. Many of these client organizations were hoping that by training, support would be created for a higher influx of migrant workers.

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[1] The descriptions of the cases were made anonymous and are not included into the report because of their size: the full case studies are available at the ILO in Geneva.

They also deemed it important that the management agreed on the policy and supported it. For several client organizations the training had the following sub goal: improving the working climate and the attitude of the present staff in such a way that it would result in a successful cooperation within a multicultural organization. In order to reach this goal, an awareness of other cultures was deemed necessary among the employees, and also support for the policy at the management level had to be created. For the Job Centres it was also the case that training was introduced to support a specific policy - such as the plan to create 60,000 jobs for migrants (see also section 1.2). Besides, training was given because one of the basic tasks of the Job Centres is to give people with a poor position on the labour market - among which a large part has a migrant background - an education and to push back the percentage of drop-outs. Accompanying reasons for some organizations to introduce training had to do with service delivery. In one client organization - a local government in a large city with a relatively large number of migrant workers - most of the clients were migrants. The Organization gives a lot of attention to intercultural communication and has been receiving training from the same training agency ever since 1988. Employees who have negative experiences with migrant clients are being guided by the organization in order to prevent this from having a negative effect on other personnel. If, however, employees continue to openly discriminate, they are fired. The organization decided to train people in order to enlarge the insight into the cultural backgrounds of both migrant employees and clients. If employees can get along better with one another this would also have an effect on the clients, according to the organization. The client organization expected the training to improve the intercultural communication among employees and between employees and clients. They also hoped to be given handles in order to tackle possible future problems. The sub-goal of another organization was to attract more migrant customers in order to enlarge their turnover. This client organization figured that after training, employees would be better acquainted with the wishes of migrant customers and would be better able to handle cultural differences.

Some organizations analysed their training needs well before the introduction of training. In one case - a Regional Bureau of the Labour Exchange - the motivation for the training was a stocktaking of the need for education which showed that there was a need for an intercultural communication training because many employees regularly had trouble during conversations with migrant job seekers. In another case a study on the integration of migrant employees was the reason for introducing training: there appeared to be tension between autochthonous and migrant employees. The autochthonous employees did not show any interest in other cultures and the backgrounds of the migrant workers and there was a lack of support for the Organization's affirmative action policy.

Whether the choice of training and/or trainers is appropriate to the needs of organizations and what types of strategies are used to select trainers and/or courses is not clear. To begin with, the supply of training providers is very big, as is the supply of training, which does not stand out in clarity: as is stated before, the titles of the training give no clear indication of the content of the training (see also section 3.4). Besides, no training provider is able to make clear what a certain training approach could yield by means 'hard' effects - not in the least because this is very difficult research-wise. So not all the blame can be simply put on training providers. Bouman and Hogema draw more or less the same conclusion in an article about agencies for intercultural counselling (with the revealing title 'The market of cultural misunderstandings'): 'It is therefore all the more striking that not one single company, ranging from the softest welfare organization to the toughest multinational, claims to have any insight into the effects of the training (meant here is: multicultural training)' (Bouman and Hogema, 1995, p.55). The choice of training and training provider is thus not based on hard criteria. If the training provider seeks publicity regularly and speaks at

congresses and in the media - as some of them regularly do - then this can play a role in the choice of the training provider. Former experiences can also be of influence, just as personal contacts and networks. Costs obviously also play a part. Finally, personal preference of the client organization for some training approach can be decisive. One can opt for a training with a NLP approach because the person responsible in a client organization has at one time or another received such a training in another context.

Although, as stated before, most training links up with an existing policy - for example an affirmative action policy - it is striking that most training is a non-recurring activity whereby only one section of the organization receives training.

4.2. The aims of training providers and client organizations

In general, the aims of an organization are clearly stated to the training provider in an introductory conversation. That doesn't mean that the trainer's aims always correspond with the aims of the organization, partly because the training provider is often given the possibility to determine the content of the training and the method he wishes to apply. In one case, the client organization expected that the trainees would be able to deal with migrant clients and colleagues better, while the trainer used the training to stress the way executives dealt with subordinates with a migrant background. In another other case, the training provider tried to use the training to increase the influx of migrant employees, while the client organization, by their own account, had no such illusions. The training aims of several training providers are - in light of the overall short duration of the courses - extremely ambitious, comprehensive and not always sufficiently concrete:
'The trainees acquire or enlarge their knowledge, skills and attitude enabling them to deal with processes of advice, information and persuasion and to maintain their own identity in the internal and external organization and to realize their set task'.

Changing trainees' behaviour, vision and attitude to life; influencing thoughts and feelings so as to lead to a change of behaviour or teaching trainees how to consciously create the desired organizational culture are the kind of training aims claimed to be accomplishable within two or three days. Sometimes there is also a simplification of the issues, for instance, all problems involving intercultural management are directly related to inadequate stress-management:
'Solving problematic intercultural interaction lies within the person himself. The way people deal with stress or with the fact that a person is a man or a woman, black or white, is essential for solving intercultural problems'.

There is also a group of training providers with a more realistic view who aim at relatively modest and practical objectives. This group sees training as a first step: training can at best transfer knowledge, offer practical experience and create awareness, but it cannot offer organizational change. One provider in this group is convinced that training cannot create a complete change of attitude in trainees. Often there are 'minimal' conditions:
'Actually, you are happy when the trainees are not bored... it takes a long time before an individual changes something in his or her behavioural repertoire.... you reach a whole lot when trainees become aware of their own behaviour'.

In the type B1, Cultural Awareness Training cases, there is a focus on awareness and change of attitude. The client organizations of this type of training predominantly mentioned long-term goals: stating the organizations' wishes regarding developing and implementing an intercultural policy; studying which measures can be realized within the organization; enlarging the basis for intercultural management; enlarging the insight in intercultural management/managing a

multicultural organization. On the training level these goals were translated by the training providers into short-term goals such as 'providing the insight one can no longer deny the existence of a multicultural society', 'creating a sense of curiosity after other cultures with the participants', 'giving insight in cultural differences, different cultural norms and values (intercultural awareness)', 'giving insight into the way these differences should be approached' and 'providing insight into the personal attitude towards a multicultural environment'. Awareness is also a goal that is often mentioned: 'awareness of the intercultural aspects that can be of importance during selection interviews' 'changing the trainees' vision and attitude to life', 'awareness of one's own part in intercultural interaction', 'awareness of cultural dominance', 'awareness of the 'we-them' way of thinking in society and the positioning of both parties', and 'making people aware that the solution for problematic intercultural interactions lies within the person himself; the way one deals with stress or the fact one is a man or a woman, black or white, is essential for solving intercultural problems'. Remarkably less attention is given to learning practical skills, like how to conduct a selection interview, how to manage a multicultural organization, being able to use the acquired insights on the shop floor and providing handles or skills on how to deal with possible problems. Only one training provider explicitly mentions giving primarily (cultural) information, whereas - as shown in the documentation stage - giving information is part of almost every training approach. The information concerns topics such as cultural differences, recruitment and selection procedures, the instruments of the labour market, and the position of migrants on the regional and national labour markets.

The focus of the cases of the C2/C3 (Equalities Training) training types lies in the gaining of insight into the affirmative action policy of the organization (why such a policy is pursued) and insight into intercultural management. In addition, acquiring (management)skills as part of affirmative action is also a goal. Within this type of training there is also a striving for awareness and change of attitude. For instance, the goal of one training of the C2/C3-type is, besides providing insight into the policy of the client:
'Awareness of the individuality of people, regardless of their ethnic background' - and - 'Awareness of the natural attitude in dealing with others also and introducing the nuances there'.

The cases of training types D1 (Organizational Change/Multicultural) and D3 (Diversity Training) are more directed at policy aspects, for instance how policy can be used to create a better position for migrant workers and creating a basis at the management for the minority policy. Again, awareness is an essential part of these types of training.

In the only case of training type D2 (Anti-Racism Training), the goal is primarily set on insight: on the position of migrants on the labour market and the causes of unemployment of migrants and the poor position they occupy in organizations.

4.3. The aims of trainees

At first sight the goals of the trainees, as far as they have any goals - when participation is obligatory there is sometimes a negative expectation or none at all - seem to concur with the goals of the client organization as well as those of the training provider: the trainees also say that in the first place their goal is to become aware of, for example, their own prejudices and to obtain insight into the multicultural society. After the interviews with the trainees, however, a completely different image emerges. Whereas most client organizations and training providers set their goal at changing the basic attitude or attitudes of the trainees, the trainees, in most cases, expect a training which is much more focused on practical situations:

'The training was rather short and too theoretical; I expected more role play exercises and practical examples. Intercultural communication can be learned best in practical situations, because in real life things don't work out as they do during courses'; 'What I missed were backgrounds and behavioural codes of the different cultures in the Netherlands'; 'I expected they would have paid more attention to working with people from certain cultures. All they said about Moroccan people was that one should be aware there is the Ramadan'; 'I needed concrete handles and was less interested in theoretical stories about, for instance, the different phases of development of an organization'; 'The knowledge presented was not linked to real life and did not lead to a change in my behaviour'; 'I expected more attention for conversational and social skills. I didn't get an answer to questions like: 'How does one lead a conversation?', 'How does one get the right information?' or 'How do I make a candidate feel comfortable?', 'I missed relevant examples from practical situations and had wished to learn more about communication with migrants'.

4.4. Content and strategy of the training

The interviews make clear that the training providers determine the content and strategy of the training to a great extent. Just as there are no clear criteria for the choice of the training provider, there are no criteria by which client organizations can test the content of a training. Most of the time a client organization only receives information on how the training went and in some cases this resulted in criticism on the training strategy:
'His approach was too loose and he stayed on the surface; we were not motivated to become active. The trainer was not really socially committed and did not seem to care about social issues. Therefore, he could not convince the participants of the benefit of the policy concerning migrants'.

In one case the client organization would not have the same training again; although the trainer was able and had the expertise, there was a lot of criticism concerning the didactic approach. In another case it was noted that there was not always a link to real life and that some parts were approached only theoretically. A remarkable fact is that the amount of time the training actually lasted in certain cases was notably shorter than stated in the documentation stage. Training providers that had stated that eight shifts was the absolute minimum, gave - often pressed by the client organization - courses with which the same goals should be achieved in one day only.

In the different training approaches the usual methods of training are applied: a theoretical introduction to clarify the different models, guest speakers for cultural information, exercises

in conversational techniques, role plays with actors, real life simulations, videos etc. In the Cultural Awareness Training (type B1) a much used technique is learning through experience, for instance, an exercise to make trainees experience how it feels to be a migrant pupil and to understand very little in class, and several culture simulation games in order to make the trainees aware what it's like to live in a foreign culture.

The training types which focus more on organizational change (D1, D2 and D3) often have a workshop-like character, in which, for example, a plan of work is made, developing an intercultural policy is dealt with, analyses are made of the existing and desired situation and obstructive elements are listed. Other methods used are drawing, exercises in association and 'visualizations'.

4.5. Training outcomes and effectiveness

Table 7 shows data of training outcomes and effectiveness. The first column shows the training approach type, the following three columns show the more general reactions to the training of the trainees, as derived from the interviews with the trainees. The following columns show the effect of the training according to respectively trainees, client organization and training providers. The reactions of the trainees to the training and the effects according to the trainees are presented in a random order for every case. Finally, the last column indicates the duration of the training by number of shifts. The cases are divided into three groups. The cases in the first group were mainly judged as positive, the cases in the second group, positive as well as negative, and the third and last group were judged predominantly as negative.

Training providers and client organizations

As is shown in table 7, the reactions of the training providers and the client organizations were predominantly positive (contrary to the trainees in several cases, as will be described in the next paragraph). According to a number of training providers and client organizations, trainees became aware of their own attitude and frame of reference, intercultural teams were being managed in a different way, trainees did change their vision and acquired a positive attitude towards intercultural working. It should be mentioned that training providers and client organizations were hardly able to indicate in concrete terms if and in what measure the goals - short or long-term - were reached: they often had to base their conclusions on subjective impressions. In none of the cases could data be shown, for example, on influx and outflow or the internal flow of migrant employees:

'I think we have succeeded in teaching skills on how to manage a multicultural team. It is hard to measure whether a better working climate has been realized, but the trainees have become more aware of their own frame of reference and that of others'.

It was not clear what these rather optimistic conclusions were based upon. Partly, it will be a case of wishful thinking. There were many references to the positive evaluations received from trainees. As stated earlier, the value of these evaluations should not be overestimated: trainees in general tend to give favourable evaluations (see also section 2.4). Some were aware of this: according to an interviewee from one of the client organizations, the training was very well received by the employees. As an evaluation at the end of the training can give too positive an image (because one has bonded with each other and with the trainers) the interviewee had contact with several trainees three weeks after the training. From this contact

Table 7. Training outcomes and effectiveness

Type	Reaction to the training (trainees)			Effects according to					Training duration
				trainees			client	trainer	
predominantly positive									
B1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	4
C2/C3	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	5
C2/C3	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	3
D1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	6
D3	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	4
D3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
positive as well as negative									
?	1	1	3	2	2	2	1	1	4
B1	1	1	3	2	2	2	1	1	24
B1	1	1	3	1	1	2	2	1	3
predominantly negative									
B1	1	3	3	1	3	3	1	2	2
?	1	1	1	3	3	1	-	1	10
B1	1	3	2	3	3	1	1	1	5
D1	1	1	3	1	2	3	2	2	4
D2	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	2	7
B1	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	2

key: 1=positive, 2=positive but critical, 3=negative
     training duration measured in half-day shifts
     ? = not classifiable

it emanated that there was still a feeling of enthusiasm about the training. People had gained insight in their own attitude and acquired more skills in dealing with migrant clients; they had lost their hesitance and were able to see the way they handled a problematic interaction, according to the interviewee.

Only in a few cases was there a clearly demonstrable effect, though only with individual trainees. It always concerned training of the Cultural Awareness Training (type B1). In one case, a trainee, responsible for recruiting personnel, as a result of the training actively tried to find migrant candidates for four out of six vacancies; in another case a trainee intentionally hired a migrant woman who for religious reasons wore a headscarf; in a third case a representative of a client Organization claimed to administer a policy of affirmative action as a result of the training, striving for a proportion of four migrants per ten employees. Even when less suitable he 'sneakily' hired migrants. Finally, there was a lot of 'circumstantial evidence'. Several trainers derived an effect of the training from clues such as follow up assignments, the fact that trainees themselves started to organize courses for colleagues or the fact that parts of the training were incorporated into the client organization's internal training programme. Also the attitude of the trainees was seen in this connection as a clue for having reached the objective:
'During the training they were really all ears'; 'The trainees still address me for additional information'; 'After each training I receive a lot of letters and postcards from trainees'.

Not every client organization and training provider was as positive about the effects of the training. A representative of a client organization remarked that it was unfortunate the trainees

were initiating little concrete action after the training. According to another client organization, the training would have had more effect when policy makers and those with final responsibility had also joined the training. In a number of cases the trainers and the client organization felt that although the basis of the migrant policy had increased, there still had been no change in the company culture. Most training providers - and client organizations also - generally thought that the training was too short to reach the initially set goals.

Trainees
Trainees' opinions about the training have been summarized in table 7. This table distinguishes the reactions to the training itself and the trainees' opinions about the effect of the training because several people were very satisfied with the training approach, but thought the training had not changed the way they worked. About ten trainees were clearly dissatisfied with the training itself, criticizing the method used, the trainers etc.

Although the majority of the trainees evaluated the training positively, they differed in their evaluation of its effect. The evaluation of the trainees differed not only from training type to training type, but also within each training type. Participants of a Cultural Awareness Training type (B1), the two Equalities Training types (C2/C3), the two Diversity Training types (D3) and the Organizational Training type (D1) were predominantly positive about the courses' result. Several of them thought, among other things, that the basis for the migrant policy had increased as a result of the training, and, that indeed a process of awareness had been set in motion. Also the insight into their own functioning in a multicultural environment had increased and, moreover, their respect for other cultures had increased. The trainees saw changes in attitude in themselves and in colleagues. They became aware of things they themselves took for granted. Trainees had become aware of the uniqueness of every individual and introduced elements of the training into their work. They started to give attention to the fact that multicultural aspects should be integrated into recruitment and selection:
'This training has increased the basis for multiculturalisation, people now have positive associations with it'; 'I have become more aware of my dealings with others and of the fact that everyone is equal in principle, but that some need another approach than the one I am familiar with'; 'I have become aware of the things I myself take for granted, and realize that white norms and values were dominating in the organization'.

It should be mentioned that per case only three trainees were interviewed. The trainees were approached - after the consent of the client organization - requesting if they were willing to cooperate on the research. This may have caused some sort of selection of the trainees, biasing the information positively.

A second group of trainees was positive about the result of the training, but had several points of criticism. These were the participants of a non-classifiable training and of two Cultural Awareness Training types (B1). Here too, the trainees thought among other things that they had become more aware in their dealings with cultural differences. In one case, trainees thought the general level was too low. In both of the other cases, the trainees had expected to obtain more specific knowledge about other cultures.

A third group of trainees had rather a negative evaluation of the training's effect. These participants joined the other four Cultural Awareness Training types (B1), the Equalities Training type (C3) and the Anti-Racism Training type (D2). Several trainees thought that the way they worked was not influenced at all and saw the training as some sort of introductory meeting, at which primarily a lot of information was passed on. A number of trainees had felt extremely

annoyed by the various culture simulation games that were supposed to make the trainees aware of what it felt like to live in a foreign culture. It was also remarkable how in one case the information about other cultures was used in real life: the training had led a trainee to understand that Ramadan could be interrupted if permission was asked of the Imam. So, when employees came to tell him they were unable to work as a result of Ramadan, the trainee told them to go to see the Imam. He had also embraced the idea that it is all right to set higher demands on the flexibility of migrant employees. A remarkable point of several cases in the third group was the discrepancy between the trainees on the one hand and the training providers and the client organizations on the other hand. These last two were convinced of the effect of the training, whereas the trainees held an opposite view and often had strong criticism on the content of the training:

The trainer: 'I think the objectives of the training have been partially realized, the trainees have become aware of racism and how to react better to racism on the shop floor and got interested in influx projects for migrant workers as a result of the training'.

The trainee: 'It (meaning migrants in society) is something you have to deal with, their numbers are increasing, it is becoming a part of society. The training was too 'obvious', too one-sided, too pro-migrant and I thought this was very disturbing. The trainer was not open to negative comments about migrants. As a result of this the trainees couldn't ventilate their 'anti-migrant' feelings. The video that was shown was of very poor quality and very amateur-like. I felt my participation was a waste of time. I missed practical examples and had wished to learn more about communication with migrants'.

4.6. Obstacles to the success of training

As stated earlier in this chapter, it is very ambitious - if not very unrealistic - to set as a training objective the realisation of an attitude change in two to six shifts, as is true for 11 out of 15 cases (see table 7). It is not very surprising that all interviewees - training providers, client organizations and the trainees - unanimously stated that the *lack of time* was one of the most important factors hindering the success and impact of the training. A one-day training cannot create a total reversal of mentality, it can at best be a stimulant, as remarked by one interviewee.

Another point, also previously mentioned, and on which there was consensus by a large number of the trainees, was that they felt there was *too much stress on change of attitude and awareness as a goal*. Apparently this goal, inherent to the Cultural Awareness Training type (B1) and, as came forward earlier, often also of the other types of training, did not always strike the right chord with the trainees. According to their own statements, the trainees felt a need for 'concrete handles' and practical skills, for example, on how to deal with racist remarks. The training was therefore much too 'theoretical'.

For a considerable number of participants, there was also *a need for more and especially concrete information about different cultures and knowledge about the country of origin* - in short the do's and don'ts of intercultural communication - a subject that is passé for most of the trainers. Most trainers want to get rid of the idea of a 'cooking book with recipes' to avoid stigmatization and that knowledge transferred in the training is used in an improper manner, as described in the preceding paragraph.

Also the *quality* of the training was seen as an inhibition. From the trainees' side there was in several cases strong criticism of technical aspects of the training, such as the expertise of the trainers, the didactical approach and, for example, the way in which unwanted input of the participants were treated.

Although *aftercare* and being addressable after the training were mentioned by the trainers as factors that can enhance the success of the training, follow up was more exception than rule. Not responding after the training was seen by the trainees as an opportunity missed.

Several interviewees mentioned the fact that most courses were *not embedded in the organizational policy*, a factor which reduced the success of the training. Therefore, there was not always a link with a practical situation, activities were often one-off, for example only training of the middle management and not including policy makers and those with final responsibility.

In combination with this lack of embedment another factor mentioned was the *heterogeneous composition* of the groups as a limiting factor. Because of the lack of embedment it was often not clear who the training was for, so that everyone who applied could join in. This resulted in a large gap in knowledge and skills, so that the training could not be tuned effectively to the needs of all the participants.

4.7. Summary

Interviews were held with training providers, informants in the client organization and a sample of three trainees from 15 courses, in order to assess the efficacy of the different training approaches. The interviews covered the following topics: reasons for introducing the training, the aims of training providers and client organization, the aims of trainees, content and strategy of the training, training outcomes and effectiveness, and obstacles to the success of training. Most training courses were usually introduced alongside other policies aimed at increasing equality. Some client organizations also hoped that the training would create a basis for the influx of migrant employees. Whether the choice of training and/or trainers was appropriate to the needs of organizations and what strategies are used to select trainers and/or courses was not clear. The choice is definitely not based on 'hard' criteria.

The training aims of several training providers were - in the light of the predominantly short span of the courses - very ambitious, and not always that concrete. The Cultural Awareness Training types stressed awareness and change of attitude. The focus of the Equalities Training types lay on gaining insight in, among other things, the affirmative action policy of the organization. The Organizational Change/Multicultural Training types and the Diversity Training types were also aimed at aspects regarding policy, for example, how policy can create a better position for migrant employees and of creating support for a minority policy at management level. The Anti-Racism Training type was primarily aimed at insight into the position of migrants in the labour market and the causes of unemployment and underemployment in companies. It should be said that all training types - more or less - strived for awareness and change of attitude. On the whole, the aims of the trainees - as far as they had any - were similar to those of the client organization and the training provider on the understanding that most trainees had expected a more practically oriented training. It was remarkable that the training in several cases actually lasted considerably shorter than was to be expected from the information provided in the documentation stage.

Although most training providers and client organizations were (sometimes moderately) positive about the effect of the courses, they were seldom able to say in concrete terms in which way and in what degree the long and short term objectives were reached. Only in some individual cases one could see a clearly demonstrable effect.

A number of trainees was very positive about the courses' result. These trainees participated in a Cultural Awareness Training type (B1), the two Equalities Training types (C2/C3), the two Diversity Training types (D3) and an Organizational Training type (D1). A second group of trainees was positive, but had some criticisms. These related to a course that could not be classified and in two Cultural Awareness Training types (B1). A third group of trainees judged rather critically on the courses' effect. These pertained to the other four Cultural Awareness Training types (B1), an Equalities Training type (C3) and an Anti-Racism Training type (D2). Lack of time was cited almost unanimously by the interviewees as one of the most important factors that hindered the success and impact of the training. Also, stressing a change of attitude and awareness was seen as a hindrance by some of the trainees who had more need for practical handles and practical skills. Also, the poor quality of some courses were seen as counterproductive.

5. Conclusion

This research is part of the project 'Combatting discrimination against (im)migrant workers and ethnic minorities in the world of work', initiated by the Migration Branch of the International Labour Office (ILO). The aim of this research was two-fold. First, it comprised documenting anti-discrimination training and education activity in the Netherlands where such training is imparted to people who have a part to play in access to the labour market - the so called 'gate-keepers'. This information provided a broad inventory of the types of training in operation in the Netherlands, which can all be captured under the heading of Intercultural Management training (ICM training). On the basis of a typology of training activities, the following types were distinguished within the ICM training: Information Training, Cultural Awareness Training, Racism Awareness Training, Equalities Training, Anti-Racism Training and Diversity Training. Second, by examination of a smaller number of examples of anti-discrimination training, through qualitative interviews with trainers, clients and trainees, a more detailed assessment of the effectiveness of anti- discrimination training was made.

In the documentation stage of this research, publications from ICM training developers and providers showed that, at this moment, most attention is given to Cultural Awareness Training in the Netherlands. This type of training mainly focuses on a change of attitude by, among other things, striving for a better insight into various aspects of multicultural society and becoming aware of the personal culturally-determined values and norms. Less attention is given to the behavioural aspect: one expects implicitly that a change of attitude will result in a change of behaviour. There seems to be a shift now in the direction of the Managing Diversity type of training. This training type is mainly directed at managers and emphasizes the importance of valuing difference. The objective is not to assimilate minorities (and women) into the dominant white (and male) organizational culture but to create a dominant heterogeneous culture and a diverse workforce.

In the documentation stage an extensive stocktaking took place in which over 400 training providers were approached. A sizeable supply of training by mainly commercial organizations which focus their activities solely or in large part on migrant-related subjects surfaced. It is a remarkable development that almost half of these commercial organizations were founded by

migrants or, were originally migrant organizations. ICM training is now, as opposed to some years ago, not merely there *for* migrants but is also given *by* migrants.

Despite the broad interpretation of the term 'Anti-discrimination training', only part of the supply of training was aimed at access to the labour market. Within the field of ICM training, this is apparently a subject in which little interest is shown. Apart from the fact that the relevant training types for this research are far from being common property, the training also only takes place in a restricted number of organizations. The public sector (central and local government), for instance, is characterized by a lack of interest according to those interviewed. The recent plan of the city of Utrecht (one of the four large cities in the Netherlands) to do away with a special migrants policy is a worrying example. If reversing positive action programmes in the public sector should become a trend - as it has in the United States - this would mean a giant leap backwards: the public sector (central and local government) is with over 900,000 employees the biggest employer in the Netherlands and, hence, can play a big role where the employment of migrants is concerned. Besides, it turned out that ICM training was almost exclusively given to organizations who, through services and/or products offered, deal directly with a migrant clientele (such as organizations from the service industry) or to organizations - such as multinationals - who were operating in an international market. Organizations in sectors which did not show a clear multicultural clientele (for example the wholesale or construction industry) were hardly mentioned by training providers. A large part of the labour market therefore is not reached, even by trade unions who develop remarkably little activities when training on behalf of their own membership is concerned. Trade union members often serve on selection committees as Works Council members and could therefore make a substantial contribution to combatting of discrimination and racism which would, in turn, give migrants improved access to the labour market.

As opposed to results from former research, most training providers were now able to describe starting points, methods and aims. However, there was not much uniformity to be found. Though some training providers base their training approach on scientifically underpinned models, the basic assumptions and methods of some training providers - as former research concluded (Abell, 1991) - are at least doubtful. Like, for instance, the starting point that the problem of discrimination and racism could be traced back to a problem of stress control or be dealt with by the use of hypnosis. The diversity in starting points, methods and aims and the training based upon it is so big that it is to be expected that client organizations are no longer able to decide which type of training fits their organization best and would, therefore, be the most successful.

In the evaluation stage, a smaller number of anti-discrimination training courses were pursued in greater depth. The aims of the client organizations - such as striving for a multi-cultural staff or enlarging the basis for affirmative action programmes - were translated by most training providers - not only in the field of the Cultural Awareness type of training (B1) but also in the field of other types of training (C2/C3, D1, D2 and D3) - into striving for more insight, awareness and a change of attitude. Causing a change of attitude or making trainees aware of things like 'the personal functioning in a multicultural society' is a matter of endurance, especially when there also is resistance. It's unrealistic, to say the least, to expect that these types of changes can be achieved in the little amount of time (often no more than six shifts) that is reserved for the training, especially when, as it turned out, there often is no sequel to the training. Still, the various methods of confrontation (such as the culture simulation games) that should lead to the aimed for changes can, according to the reactions of some trainees, stir things up so that there is at least a short term effect. Some trainees really felt that a realization process had been started. One trainee, for instance, had been very upset by the intensity of the training (a D3 type): she found out that she

herself discriminated and this was a hard and unsuspected confrontation. It is questionable whether, and to what extent, a change of attitude or a more conscious attitude and broadened views are useful if there are not enough handles available to put solutions into practice. Many trainees had the same complaint, too little attention was given to practical skills. The reaction of a trainee who felt powerless when combatting discrimination was concerned is exemplary: 'during the training we were told that when you encountered discrimination you had to do 'something' and you had to handle things correctly; however, I have not learned *how* exactly to handle things'. The training was therefore not able to take away her feeling of powerlessness and did not influence her way of acting.

Though it can be defended that, from the point of view of the training providers, the provision of cultural information about customs, norms and values - cynically referred to by some trainers as 'recipes' - can be counterproductive and the emphasis should therefore lie on insight and awareness, one tends to forget about the demand for practical handles. This would be a plea for a type of training with less highly-aimed, more concrete goals whereby more attention should be given to practical skills. In other words: a type of training that is aimed at a change of behaviour, as opposed to a change of attitude.

As opposed to former research (NCB, 1991 and Derveld, 1994) in the field of ICM in which nothing could be said about the quality of ICM training, in this research the quality of training was also taken into consideration. To some Cultural Awareness Training types (C2/C3), and also to an Organizational Change Training type (D1) and an Anti-Racism Training type (D2) a lot of criticism was expressed: criticism on the content of the training (not enough practice-based, too theoretical), criticism on the methods used (such as role plays that were off target, culture simulation games that were irritating, or guest speakers who did not seem to have the expertise required), and criticism on the quality of the trainers (no involvement, poor didactical qualities). The opinion about the quality of the training is - quite apart from opinions about the effectiveness - not overtly positive, especially when we take into consideration that trainees are liable to judge every kind of training they receive positively and only a selection of trainees were interviewed, which could have influenced the findings in a positive way.

The question of if and in what measure the different types of training have an effect, and if some training approaches are strategically more effective than others - which was the main aim of the second part of this study - is difficult to answer on the basis of 15 cases. To start with, the reactions of training providers and client organizations are not always well founded. A negative evaluation is, from a commercial point of view, of no avail to training providers. Client organizations will not be happy to admit that their investment was not worth their money. The opinions of training providers and client organizations on the effect of the training were therefore - not completely unexpected - by and large positive, apart from remarks on the little time available and the often heterogeneous structure of the groups which, according to training providers and client organizations, negatively influenced the effectiveness. The training providers and client organizations - apart from some individual cases - were not able to give concrete indicators for a training success. As has been stated before, this cannot be blamed on the training providers because - especially when the main aim is a change of attitude - research-wise it is very hard to find out to what extent a certain training has been effective. However, that does not alter the fact that the indicators for identifying possible effects of the training were very meagre.

Seeing the reactions of the trainees, there's much more to be said about the effectiveness of the different training approaches. According to the trainees (and in these cases the training providers and client organizations also) both Equalities Training types (C2/C3) and both Diversity Training

types (D3) were effective. With these types of training the emphasis is not so much on a change of attitude as with the Cultural Awareness Training types (B1), which are generally considered less effective. Possibly, this has played a part - also because of the preference of trainees for practical handles. One Cultural Awareness Training type (B1) and one Organizational Change Training type (D1) were also effective according to the trainees. There were, however, also cases of these last types of training where the trainees thought them not or less effective. The conclusion that Equalities Training and Diversity Training were more effective than the other training approaches cannot be made just like that; at the very best there can be an indication of it. For a 'solid' conclusion, the number of cases was too small, which doesn't rule out the influence of coincidence. Another point to do with the effectiveness of the different training approaches is the distinction trainees made between the quality of a training (that is to say, the quality of the training approach and its delivery, the didactic methods used and so on) and the effect of the training. The less effective types of training appear to be also badly judged on quality. They are qualitatively bad types of training from which one cannot expect too much effect in advance. It is thus possible that not the training approach but the quality of the training was decisive. Nonetheless it is clear that the quality of some training types leaves a lot to be desired, despite the fact that it is also possible that a selection took place by the training providers through which only the training which they thought would have been effective was included in the research.

The image created on the basis of this research appears to be not entirely positive. The results of the research did not give clear clues in order to be able to determine unambiguously under which circumstances a certain training approach is most effective. There are at best indications that Equalities Training types (C2/C3) and Diversity Training types (D3) can be potentially effective. Nevertheless, a formulation of some recommendations on the basis of the research results can be made:

- The detected shift from the Cultural Awareness Training types - training approaches that mainly emphasize a shift of attitude - to Managing Diversity Training types could be a step in the right direction. Together with the Equalities Training types, these were the training approaches that, according to trainees, training providers and client organizations, were most effective in this research. However, one should note that it is not unthinkable that employers will take on Managing Diversity with both hands in order to get rid of the very unpopular positive action programmes, through which the development in the direction of a varied workforce - the starting point of Managing Diversity - is threatened to be put to a stop. A varied workforce is still more of an exception than a rule in most organizations. Positive action will therefore still be needed in years to come.

- The different training approaches almost without exception devote a lot of time in practice to awareness, gaining insight and changing attitude, whereas the modern social psychology favours an emphasis on a change of behaviour: 'In contrast to the traditional view that racial behaviour will change only after racial attitude change, modern social psychology emphasizes that altered behaviour is more often the precursor of altered attitudes (Pettigrew and Martin, 1987, p 65). Besides, it appears that 'training programs designed to alleviate modern forms of prejudice are extraordinarily difficult to design, deliver and evaluate. Their underlying assumption - that awareness of personal prejudice will lead to altered racial behaviour - is undercut by the highly developed defences many white Americans have concerning their own prejudices and the justice of the systems in which they live and work' (Pettigrew and Martin, 1987, p 69). This would suggest aiming the focus of the training on a *change of behaviour* or, at least, making sure there is a better 'mix' of a change of attitude and a change of behaviour than is the case in most training now, also because of trainees' need for concrete handles.

- Though most training types link up with existing positive action policies, training providers, client organizations and trainees noticed that there is often hardly any commitment on the part of the policy makers. The training and education activities are often not imbedded into the policy of the organization concerned. This results in little interest at the top of the organizations and the majority of training being only a non-recurring event to which there is no sequel. Besides, training is often shortened out of cost considerations. It is obvious that with these short-term, incidental activities, which often lack support from the top management, it will be an almost impossible task to reach long-term goals such as creating organization-wide support and a larger influx and flow-through of migrants. In order for these types of training to be effective, there has to be a greater imbedding of the training into the policy of organizations and a larger commitment from the top of organizations.

- The supply of training appeared to be very large. However, the quality of certain types of training left a lot to be desired. Many of the training providers could not concretely indicate what the effects of their respective training approach would be. One of the few publications in this field which seems to be a step in the right direction is a research by Pinto on the effects of his own training model (Pinto, 1993). It is clear that training providers and client organizations have to dedicate more attention to a more systematic way of studying effects, if only as a 'sales' argument. This would not only offer the client organizations more handles for the choice of a training approach, it could also give a decisive answer on the quality of the training, provided however, that an independent organization takes care of such a quality control. Ideally, this control mechanism should be based on standardized norms, e.g. ISO standards.

There are some positive developments going on in the field of ICM. Yet, research has indicated the need for further changes. The plea by Koot (1996) speaks volumes in this sense: '...in the world of organization and management there is a strong tendency to parroting (parrot culture), shallowness and a certain passion for 'show'. Form is more important than content and there is a great difference between words and deeds. Concepts, theories and models on the organization culture often have an ideological character and tend to be more prescriptive, normative, than descriptive. The amount of empirical studies is small and the amount of studies on the ordinary daily routine in organizations is very small. Critical evaluations on the implemented changes are almost completely absent and failures do not seem to be interesting to learn from. Are these considerations also applicable to the theory and practice of inter-cultural management? I think that this question - unfortunately - has to be answered affirmatively' (Koot, 1996).

It is therefore hoped that, in future, training providers and client organizations will pay more attention to critical evaluations of different approaches in the field of ICM training directed at labour market gatekeepers, as presented in this report.

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Annex: Profile sheets

70

78