

Parents, racism and education: some issues relating to parental involvement by Turkish and Moroccan communities in the Netherlands

Metin Alkan

The complex influence of the home and parental roles and attitudes on school achievement has been extensively researched. Numerous studies and reports have drawn attention to the partnership between home and school and to the need for schools to know more about the home circumstances of children and for parents to know more of what goes on in schools. Yet, it can safely be suggested that the importance of home-school partnership is not very well understood by a considerably large group of parents or indeed schools. While individual teachers or schools realize that it is important to have parental involvement, there is seldom a viable plan for their meaningful participation. Partnership between ethnic minority parents and schools and between ethnic minority communities and school authorities present additional complexities in that it requires schools to be confident in dealing with issues of prejudice, discrimination, and unequal representation. And to make matters more complicated, minority parents often think that, as far as the school success is concerned, the teacher's involvement with their children is more important than their own. Consequently, it is most important that schools and teachers enter into power-sharing relationships with parents, encouraging them to get involved in the education of their children and enabling them to share in decision-making about school programs and policies. For these school-parents relations and partnerships to be genuine and effective, they must be based on mutual honesty, availability of

full and accurate facts about children's performance levels and genuine consultation.

Ethnic minority parents in the Netherlands, more than Dutch parents of the same socio-economic background, want their children to attain a high level of education. They want their children to have better educational opportunities that they themselves had never had (Hermans, 1995; Ledoux 1996). Yet, the efforts of the Dutch schools to establish contacts with them have not led to an active participation and involvement in the education of their children. And this is not only related to language and cultural barriers. The gap between Dutch schools and minority parents appears to be created by the attitudes and expectations of both parties. Parental participation as perceived by the schools does not encompass the element of empowerment of parents, and the lack of parental participation is taken as an indication of parental disinterest in the education of their children (Van Erp and Veen, 1990; Van der Veen, 2001). Further, some parental desires and normative demands are experienced by the school management and white teaching staff as disturbing, disruptive, and painful (Alkan, 1996).

For a meaningful analysis of these and other issues and problems involved in the relationship between schools and ethnic minority parents, the actual conditions under which ethnic minority children receive their education within the schools need to be considered. One needs to take

into account inequalities involved in the education of minority children, resulting in the acute problem of underachievement among the majority of them. A second point to be considered in this respect is the schooling experiences of minority students. The assumption here is that minority parental attitudes toward schools and teachers are to an important degree shaped by their observations and interpretations of the experiences of their children, relating to the various dimensions of the school as a social system. Over the years, ethnic minority parents have become increasingly familiar with the way in which schools operate. They have been settled in this country long enough to become quite concerned with the schooling experiences of their children. These points will be dealt below. But first, some attention will be given to the approach of schools to the education of minority children and to the ways in which minority underachievement is constructed in research studies.

Implications of ethnic diversity

Over more than a decade, there has been, in the Netherlands, a growing recognition of the implications of ethnic diversity for the schools. In the main, this recognition has resulted in a shift from a concern with curriculum change based on an ethnic additive strategy of innovation (i.e., adding isolated units into the curriculum, which would presumably respond to special learning needs of minority children) to a concern for the responsibility of schools to foster improved academic performance by minority pupils. For the elimination of inequalities involved in the education of minority children, additional facilities have been provided to those schools with high percentage of ethnic minority and Dutch working class children. The aim was to increase the effectiveness and intensity of teaching and learning within the framework of the regular Dutch school curriculum. For the realization of this aim, language teaching provisions were expanded, while programs were developed for the implementation of intercultural

education and the intensification of contacts between minority parents and the schools. The claim contained in this approach has been simply that the school could be made an effective institution to counter the effects of ethnic or class backgrounds in a sustained way as to bring about a rate of learning for the disadvantage that is greater than the rate of learning for the advantaged. The results of more than a decade of implementation of this policy have been, however, quite disappointing. Numerous research studies conducted demonstrate that the level of educational achievement of ethnic minority pupils stays far below the level of educational achievement of Dutch pupils (Tesser et al. 1999). A central question that has occupied policy makers, researchers, teachers and parents from the viewpoint of their respective positions has thus become: why linguistically and culturally subordinated students do not, in general, succeed academically. This question has been approached in research studies from a variety of angles. In essence, however, the large majority of research has centered on questions relating to the educability of minority students within the context of the demands and expectations of the Dutch school programs. More specifically, attempts to identify and explain factors contributing to underachievement have often focused on a set of real or supposed individual characteristics, which would be indicative of deficiencies and shortcomings of minority children and their backgrounds. Among the most popular models of explanation of minority underachievement in education has been the socio-economic deprivation, limited proficiency in Dutch language, and ethnic-cultural backgrounds and characteristics of various groups under consideration. Generally speaking, various factors that have been considered within the context of these models have tended to be viewed within a pathological perspective in so far as there has been a tendency to search for what might be wrong, problematic, deficient or deviant about minority children and their backgrounds. Classified in the literature as the 'social

pathology' model, this perspective assigns disproportionate academic problems among low-status minority students (e.g., cognitive and linguistic deficiencies, low self-esteem, poor motivation) to pathologies or deficits in their socio-cultural characteristics (see Hofman, 1993; Ledoux, 1996; Pels and Veenman, 1996; Teunissen and Matthijssen, 1996).

The focus on the characteristics of learners from minority groups is connected to a particular application of the concept of ethnicity in the formulation of research questions and methodological approaches. Similar to such factors as the parents' educational background or the length of stay in the Netherlands, the so-called 'ethnic-factor' is often treated in research studies as isolable and as functioning independently, rather than in an interactive way. Or, it is viewed as a set of subjective, ascriptive descriptions, shaping the specific personal characteristics of pupils from ethnic minority communities (Isena, 1999). In the literature concerning ethnic relation in education, such limited conceptualization of ethnicity, which shares commonsense and practitioner-based views and assumptions, has been seriously challenged. The deficit view of subordinated students has been classified as being ethnocentric and invalid. Many writers have emphasized the importance of the process of schooling itself and the practices that place minority students at a disadvantage. Alternative models have been offered that shift the explanation of school failure away from the characteristics of individual children, their families and cultures, and toward the schooling process (for a review of these models, see Hofman, 1993). Some scholars have argued, for example, that the reason for the minority underachievement in education may be that schools reproduce the existing asymmetrical power relations among cultural groups, and thus educationally disable minority students (Cummins, 1988; Gibson and Ogbu, 1991; Giroux, 1992, 1995). If they are correct, then educators and researchers must move beyond the

question of learner characteristics, differentiation, effectiveness, and erroneous assumptions about the apolitical nature of education, to a critical assessment of learning environments in their political contexts (Fullan, 1991; Gilborn, 1995; McCarthy, 1990; Sarason, 1990). Such an assessment would require the recognition of structural factors such as the distribution and selection mechanisms, and other organizational and conceptual strategies within the school system. The focus would be on the actual patterns of interaction within the context of the school and classroom, with a particular attention given to the ways in which ethnicity informs the educational experiences and outcomes of minority students (Alkan and Kabdan, 1995; Crul, 2000, Leeman, 1994; Saharso, 1992). It would further require the consideration of such issues of political importance as cultural orientations in curriculum content areas, the ethnic composition of the teaching profession, segregation in schools, and participation in and control over educational policy and decision-making in education (Leeman and Phalet, 1998). Among the areas that would gain an increasing significance in the explanation of minority underachievement in education would be: attitudes of teachers; expectations of ethnic minorities among teachers; the relevance of the curriculum to ethnic minorities; assessment and testing procedures; communication between school and parents; racism in the educational system, and racial prejudice and discrimination in society at large. In other words, the research problem would be conceptualized in terms of describing and analyzing the ways in which racism and inequality are produced and reproduced by/in schools and how students and parents experience these processes. *In the Netherlands, research into these and other relevant aspects of the structural characteristics and functioning of the school system has been conspicuously absent.*

To conceptualize the situation of ethnic minority pupils as one of educational inequality is not to rule out individual characteristics and background

as unimportant. Rather, it is to place these in a wider context. In other words, research, which is located within the framework of this model, rejects a single cause approach (e.g., learner characteristics) in explaining group differences and patterns of achievement. According to this contextual interaction explanation, minority failure to achieve in education is understood to be resulting from an unfortunate interaction of many factors. The need to examine relationships between socio-cultural factors (e.g., language, socio-economic status, prejudice, cultural conflict) and societal and school contexts in which they appear is thus becoming increasingly evident. Issues and problems involved in the relationship between schools and ethnic minority parents need to be perceived in this context.

In the Netherlands, qualitative research into the experiences of minority students in education is scarce. And, there are only a couple of studies that look into or give an indication of the nature of interplay between student experiences and parental attitudes towards schools. In other words, research has not paid sufficient attention to the question of how ethnic minority parents observe and interpret the experiences of their children in schools and how this relates to their attitudes towards schools and teachers.

By making use of data reported in four selected qualitative research studies, which are in one way or another related to the above question, an attempt will be made below to examine some aspects of the schooling experiences of Turkish and Moroccan students and the context of minority parental involvement in Turkish and Moroccan communities. The interview data reported and analyzed in these studies relate in the main to factors influencing the school success of the students. Among the items considered are student experiences during the primary school period, school advice received at the end of the primary school, racism and discrimination in schools and society, school-based friendship patterns, relations with teachers, counseling,

parental support, and motivational factors. The four selected studies are: (a) Nelissen and Bilgin (1995). In this study, the degree and the ways of parental support in the education of children at secondary level among Turkish and Moroccan families are examined. Twenty Turkish (ten parents and ten students) and fourteen Moroccans (five parents and nine students) were interviewed; (b) Alkan and Kabdan (1995). This study looks into the schooling experiences and perspectives of Turkish students at the secondary school level. In-depth interviews were conducted with 47 Turkish students from four different types of schools. (c) Crul (2000). This study presents an analysis of factors influencing the school success of Turkish and Moroccan students. It is based on in-depth interviews with 86 students aged between 16 and 24 in various levels of secondary and tertiary education. Crul also interviewed thirty parents. (d) Van der Veen (2001). In this study, attention is given to the factors underlying the success of Turkish and Moroccan students at the secondary school level. Part of her data was collected through interviews with 106 students.

What is reported below is a selection of problematic aspects of the interaction between minority students and the various dimensions of the school as a social system. In all four studies that will be considered here, not all students (and parents) share these experiences in the same degree. The emphasis on the problematic experiences is chosen for the purpose of this paper to give an indication of the discriminatory elements in school processes and their influence on student and parental attitudes towards schools and teachers.

Schooling experiences of Turkish and Moroccan students

The process of minority underachievement starts in the initial years of primary education, an experience which many students find it difficult to recover from and as a result they either continue to lag behind or their performance deteriorates even further. In the selected studies,

some attention is given to the experiences of students during their primary school years. The students appear quite positive about their experiences. They indicate that they liked their teachers, got along well with their classmates, and had little or no difficulty with their lessons. Except some initial difficulties mentioned by some students, involved primarily in learning of or functioning with the Dutch language, there was no indication of any important problem relating to their education at that level (see also, Hermans, 1995). Their parents and they themselves were not confronted or informed by their teachers with a learning problem that they would be experiencing. What surprised many of these students (and their parents) was the fact that they came to realize only in the last year of the primary school that they had not learned enough to succeed in tests at a level that they had expected of themselves. The school advice that they received was not in line with their expectations.

The school advice given at the end of the primary school plays a critical role with respect to the position and the level of success of the students at the secondary school level. Many students appear to have been disadvantaged by the low school advice which they received from their primary school teachers. For example, the majority of successful Turkish and Moroccan students have attained their level of education via an indirect route (up to 80 %) (see also Ledoux, 1996). Also, less successful students frequently reported that they were advised by their primary school teachers to attend a lower level of secondary schools. Some students chose to attend a higher school level than that advised; others discovered during secondary school that they had greater ability and worked hard to attain a higher level. Crul and Van der Veen concluded that the secondary school advice received at the end of the primary school was the main reason for the indirect route.

The school advice appears especially problematic from the viewpoint of those students who were placed in a low level secondary school. These students experienced this as an injustice and they were of opinion that they were discriminated against by their primary school teachers. They compared their situation with that of Dutch students, and believed that teachers tended to give a lower advice to students of ethnic minority origin. They perceived this as an act of discrimination, and in some cases, as a source of motivation to succeed and prove their capabilities. In the student accounts, it is possible to see elements of low teacher expectation, comparison with Dutch students, the role of prejudice against the ethnic group, and the problematization of student's language proficiency. Crul and Nelissen & Bilgin report further that parents perceived the low school advice in the same way as these students.

Despite the research evidence indicating problems of underachievement at the primary school level, there seems to be institutional factors at work influencing these processes in a negative way. Taking the student experiences as a basis, the biased assessment and testing procedures and the stereotyped attitudes and low expectations of ethnic minorities among the teachers should be considered among these factors. As the data suggest in all four studies under consideration, there exists a discrepancy between the given school advice and the actual position and achievement level of the majority of the students interviewed. Similarly, a discrepancy exists between student and parental expectations and the given school advice. Crul reports a number of cases in which minority parents believed that teachers' judgment of the capacities of Moroccan and Turkish children were systematically underestimated. The older brothers and sisters of the students, who took the role of the parents in contacting schools, shared the same belief, based on their mistrust in teachers, emanating from their own earlier educational experiences in the schools. They wanted to prevent injustice to be

done to their younger brothers or sisters. In the study of Alkan & Kabdan, the students also expressed their mistrust in teachers' objectivity in deciding upon the school career of minority students. Again based on the disappointments they had from their own experience, they urged that younger generation of Turkish students should always doubt teachers' estimation of their capacity to study further, and that they should always try to get into a higher level of school type at the secondary education than the one teachers would advise.

A particular problem of ethnic relations in education is the ways in which ethno-cultural differences are perceived and acted upon by teachers in their interactions with students. Several studies substantiate the influence of teacher bias and expectancy on student performance. These biases or preconceived judgments may lead to specific teacher behaviors, which create interpersonal barriers for the involvement of these students in learning. Exclusion, stereotyping, fragmentation, imbalance and linguistic bias are processes, indicative of biased teacher behavior that adversely affects the potential success of students.

With respect to their interaction with teachers, the studies of Alkan & Kabdan and Nelissen & Bilgin report that the students spoke of the importance of having a positive and close relation with their teachers. They expected that teachers show respect, understanding, support, encouragement, and equal treatment. In general, the students appeared highly sensitive and extremely perceptive of teacher behavior and attitudes. Besides a friendly and close personal relationship, a certain amount of stress in the form of high expectations serves to improve performance. The students mentioned positive experiences with teachers who related their high expectations to them directly and in an encouraging way.

Crul treats such teacher attitudes, together with the level of student success in a school and the level of appreciation of the school by the parents, as aspects of school climate. The climate in the so called 'black schools' with large numbers of minority children is rather negative, leading to serious conflicts between students and teachers, and parents and teachers. These conflicts resulted mainly from a lack of mutual trust and in a number of cases they had a direct influence on the school performance of children. As sources of conflict, he mentions insensitivity among some teachers towards parental expectations and values, and disagreements over the school advice. Conflicts take place between parents and schools much more often in the so called 'black schools' with high percentage of minority children. Positive relations between parents and schools were observed mainly in those schools where teachers provided special support to the children in their learning problems, parents received regularly information from teachers about the progress of their children, and that parents were involved by the teachers in decisions concerning their children. Similarly, Hofman (1993) found positive effects on the school careers of ethnic minority students where the school had an active policy for contacting parents when contacts with them failed to occur.

Problems involved in ethnic relations in the larger society affect the schools system in a variety of ways. In the large cities where minority populations are concentrated, school segregation has become a serious problem not only at the primary but also at the secondary level. As a result of the combination of discriminatory housing policies and White-flight, the majority of children from ethnic groups receive their education in the 'black schools'. In the studies of Crul and Alkan & Kabdan, the students indicated the negative consequences of this development with respect to the quality of education, school climate, the quality of physical environment of the schools, the discipline in the classroom and contacts with Dutch students. Especially, the lack

of discipline was problematized by the students in schools with a large minority student representation. They spoke of their preference for a school in which the composition of student population is multi-ethnic, the administration and teachers have authority over the students, classroom activities take place in an harmonious and orderly manner, the teachers take their jobs seriously, control homework, and follow student progress.

In the study of Alkan & Kabdan, it is possible to detect teacher attitudes in the experiences of some student, which take the form of an explicitly prejudiced interaction. The students talked about their experiences with prejudiced and discriminatory teachers. As they did so, they referred essentially, as reported also in Crul's study, to a particular teacher and in some cases they used the term 'some teachers'. They also made statements referring to teachers in general. The remarks of the students about the problematic aspects of their interactions with teachers were concerned with open discriminatory acts, prejudice over ethnic groups, differential treatment of minority and majority students, and discriminatory assessment of learning outcomes. Among the negative responses to the students expressed by teachers, within or outside the classroom context, were also an open disapproval of the customs and traditions. Such teacher behavior added to the negative experiences of school of some of these students. In some cases, the students mentioned experiences in which some teachers were even involved in the use of direct forms of racist and ethnicist verbal abuse. These attacks included making negative remarks over religious beliefs and cultural practices, and degrading remarks over the ethnic identity of the students.

Many students who attended schools with a high concentration of ethnic minority students pointed out that they did not experience racism within the school. Those students who mentioned some specific incidents of racism, however, expressed

their disappointment in the lack of attention from their teachers and school administration in confronting such acts. In other words, teachers, although aware of the racial harassment experienced by the students, seemed reluctant to formally address to this issue.

In relation to teacher prejudice and discrimination, the students mentioned also that they could see a difference in the way in which teachers behave towards Dutch students and students of ethnic minority origin. According to some students, teachers' differential treatment of minority and majority students results in discriminatory assessment practices. Asked about how they react to teacher prejudice and discrimination, some students said that they confronted the teacher with it. Those students who said that they had not had a direct experience with discrimination by teachers indicated that, in case it would happen, they would relate the matter to the school director. The students thought in general that there was little that could be done about the subtle and indirect forms of teacher discrimination. In taking a stance against teacher discrimination, some students seemed to calculate the formal power that teachers have over themselves.

Independent of the fact whether they have had a direct experience with racist discrimination, the students appeared highly concerned with racism in schools and in the society. They emphasized that schools should take an active role in dealing with these processes. Among the points that they mentioned were a clear school policy on anti-racism, disciplinary measures against racist acts, teaching about racism and discrimination, and clearly stated guidelines for the selection and appointment of teachers.

Reasoning

The interview material reported above illuminates the point that characteristics of ethnic minority student populations are not sufficient to explain or predict academic achievement. School variables

must be taken into account. An important factor that contributes potentially to underachievement and unequal representation of the Turkish students appears to be stereotyped attitudes of teachers that take the form of an explicitly prejudiced interaction with students and low expectations of students' abilities and achievement. Students are extremely perceptive and are capable of understanding the meaning of these attitudes. The students' ethnicity influences their interaction with teachers and their experience of teacher expectations. Stereotyping of minority students appears to play an important part in misassessment and misplacement, as well as other aspects of school experiences of these students. A systematic monitoring and evaluation of school advice given at the end of the primary school period seems to be a necessity.

Taken together, ethnic segregation in schools, underachievement of minority students, and discriminatory school processes provide ethnic minority parents and communities with a ground to evaluate the system negatively and to conclude that schools are not operating to serve their interests. The relevance of all this is that there is a point beyond which minority parents can become alienated and may no longer view efforts on their behalf, however-well intentioned, as legitimate. For a significant part, minority parents' distrust in schools and teachers must be seen in this light.

Dealing with differential achievement patterns requires the elimination of racist discriminations, exclusion and prejudice and a greater appreciation of cultural diversity, both in society and in the schools. Improvement in educational outcomes for ethnic minority students depends significantly on changes in teacher attitudes toward minority students.. Changing the basic attitudinal orientation and knowledge base of teachers is

necessary. Teachers should be provided with opportunities to examine their expectations and perceptions of ethnic minority students. School can be more open to the community and to parental influence. For this there are three basic requisites: firstly, a willingness on the part of teachers to recognize the crucial importance of parents to the community in developing multicultural education. Secondly, the development by teachers of the intercommunicative competence and skills to be able to make communication equal and actual; and, thirdly, the identification of an overall program for immediately boosting the level of trust between parents and teachers and ultimately for achieving the goal of equal discourse as a basis for children's education (Lynch, 1986).

The educational policies of the last two decades were based on the assumption that the only legitimate party of interest in the education of ethnic minority students was the educational policy maker. It was his responsibility to decide how the money was to be spent and which programs needed to be implemented to improve the educational opportunities of ethnic minority children. However, there are other parties closest to the teaching front – teachers, students, and parents. There is a need for an increased voice of these major parties of interest in educational decision-making. The assumption for the future must emphasize the consumers of schools – parents and students as well as teachers and administrators. An integral part of this assumption is that the process is as important as the product. The parties of interest must be connected in a search for quality education. Ideas, however sound, cannot be superimposed on others. Doing something *for* or *to* others must be replaced by doing something *with* others.

References

- Alkan, M. (1996). 'Islamitische initiatieven in het Onderwijs,' in Lavrijssen, R. (ed.). *Islam in een verzuilde samenleving*. Amsterdam: KIT, pp.113-146.
- Alkan, M. and R. Kabdan (1995). *Goed onderwijs, een goede baan en een gelukkig leven - Perspectieven van Turkse leerlingen in het voortgezet onderwijs*. Amsterdam: SCO.
- Crul, M. (2000). *De Sleutel tot succes*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
- Cummins, J. (1988). 'From multicultural to anti-racist education: an analysis of programs and policies in Ontario', in Skutnabb-Kangas, T. and Cummins, J. *Minority Education: From Shame to Struggle*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Erp, M. van and Veen A. (1990). *De relatie met de ouders op Amsterdamse onderwijsvoorrangsscholen*. Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, SCO.
- Fullan, M.G. (1991). *The New Meaning of Educational Change*. London: Cassell Educational limited.
- Gibson, M.A. and Ogbu, J.U. (1991). *Minority status and schooling: A comparative study of immigrant and involuntary minorities*. New York: Garland.
- Gillborn, D. (1995). *Racism and Antiracism in Real Schools*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Giroux, H.A. (1992). *Border crossing: Cultural workers and the politics of education*. New York: Routledge.
- Giroux, H.A. (1995). 'Insurgent Multiculturalism and the Promise of Pedagogy,' in Goldberg, D.T. *Multiculturalism: a Critical Reader*. Blackwell Publishers, pp. 325-343.
- Hermans, P. (1995). 'Moroccan immigrants and school success,' *International Journal of Educational Research*, 23(1), 33-43.
- Hofman, W.H.A. (1993). *Effectieve onderwijs aan allochtone leerlingen*. Delft: Eburon.
- Iseña, G. (1999). *Deconstructing 'Allochtonen'*. Unpublished thesis. University of Amsterdam.
- Ledoux, G. (1996). 'De invloed van 'sociaal milieu' bij Turkse, Marokkaanse en Nederlandse sociale stijgers,' *Sociologische Gids*, 96/2, pp. 114-130.
- Leeman, Y. (1994). *Samen jong*. Utrecht: Uitgeverij Jan van Arkel.
- Leeman, Y. and Phaet K. (1998). 'Inleiding: Onderwijs en multiculturaliteit,' *Migrantenstudies*. Nr. 2. pp. 66-68.
- Lynch, J. (1986). *Multicultural Education: Principles and Practice*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- McCarthy, C. (1990). *Race and Curriculum: Social Inequality and the Theories and Politics of Difference in Contemporary Research and Schooling*. London: The Falmer Press.
- Nelissen, C. and Bilgin, S. (1995). *De School thuis. Onderwijsondersteunend gedrag van Marokkaanse en Turkse ouders met kinderen in het voortgezet onderwijs*. LISWO.
- Pels, T. and J. Veenman (1996). 'Onderwijsachterstanden bij allochtone kinderen. Het ontbrekende onderzoek,' *Sociologische Gids*, 96/2, pp. 131-145.
- Saharso, S. (1992). *Jan en allemaal. Etnische jeugd over etnische identiteit, discriminatie en vriendschap*. Utrecht: Uitgeverij Jan van Arkel.
- Sarason, S. (1990). *The predictable failure of educational reform*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Tesser, P, Merens, M, Praag, C. Van, and Iedema, J. (1999). *Rapportage Minderheden 1999*. Den Haag: Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau.
- Teunissen, J. and M. Matthijssen (1996). 'Stagnatie in onderwijsonderzoek naar de etnische factor bij allochtone leerlingen,' *Sociologische Gids*, 96/2, pp. 87- 99.
- Veen, I. Van der (2001). *Successful Turkish and Moroccan Students in the Netherlands*. Leuven-Apeldoorn: Garant.