Value systems and policy development

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ABSTRACT
This research aims to find links between culture and the influence of culture on development or the underachievement of minorities on the one side and the process of policy making on the other. What are the prerequisites for a model which would successfully facilitate the integration of minorities, facilitate them to develop their own societies at home, and a model which could be implemented elsewhere.

In order to identify the fundamentals of a new model, the focus will be on the Antillean-Dutch relations. The Antillean islands and the Netherlands share almost 400 years of common history, and some cultural elements would be expected to have rubbed off. The truth is that Antilleans living in the Netherlands have similar problems integrating into Dutch society and lag behind in their achievements along with immigrants from Turkey and Morocco, two countries without historical ties.

In the course of the last decade, public debate has placed more emphasis on outside characteristics like race and place of birth. In turn, race and place of birth are presented similar to culture and culture is the reason for everything going wrong. Research shows that value systems are the basis for culture, including rituals and those value systems are instilled in and maintained by the surroundings in which we live.

The process of policy making in the Netherlands gradually changed over the last decades. The process became more participative and aims at including everyone affected. Despite this inclusive approach, policies aimed at integrating and addressing underachievement, fail to deliver the same results as other policies. The question is whether the perceptions and presuppositions policy makers work with, are being shared by the immigrants whose problems they are supposed to solve.

In an attempt to create the link between culture and policy making for which Klitgaard called in 1994 and Harrison and Huntington in 1999, we will focus on value systems. The theory of Graves will be analysed to see if it provides a framework to categorise values into systems and possibilities to nudge the value systems in such a way that they provide better tools for the holders of those value systems (both policy makers and immigrants) to deal with integration and underachievement.

General Terms
Governance, Social Work, Education, Integral Development of Curaçao

Keywords
Value Systems, Culture, Policy Making, Integral Approach, Integration, Minorities, the Netherlands, Curaçao.

1. INTRODUCTION
The focus of this research will be on the Antillean-Dutch relations. The current relations are the product of centuries of shared history and have resulted in a situation in which the Dutch language is spoken on all six islands of the former Netherlands Antilles. The Dutch ethos has become locked into Antillean culture. Therefore, too many Dutch (not limited to policy makers), Antilleans are expected to “be” Dutch and to fit in.

However, in reality, Antilleans moving to the Netherlands do not “automatically” fit into Dutch society, just as Dutch solutions or ways of policy making cannot be copied and successfully implemented to develop the societies on the Antillean islands. It has been posited that the “failure” to integrate or to make Dutch ways of policy making and solutions work, is due to the Antillean culture.

In the public and political debate in the Netherlands (as in most other Western countries), culture is reduced to external characteristics like race and place of birth. Although external characteristics are an easy and convenient way to determine differences, they greatly over-simplify reality. People might share a place of birth or skin colour, but that does not make them identical. Many immigrants, including Antilleans, successfully do find a place in Dutch society.

However, important research does not suggest that race, nor the colour of the skin for that matter, is the primary reason for differences in development or underachievement of minorities. Underneath culture, with all its rituals, lies a value system that shape human behaviour. This value system is instilled in and maintained by the surroundings in which we live.

Policy makers, whether developing policies aimed at immigrants or developing their own society, might have to stop focussing on the place of birth, and start placing attention on the value systems of the subject of their policies.

2. BACKGROUND
Over the last decades the process used by the local, provincial and national governments in the Netherlands to identify problems and develop policies, projects and initiatives has gradually changed. In the 1950’s politicians and/or civil servants more or less identified a problem, developed a solution and this was implemented accordingly. Current ways of policy development are based on participation and a chain approach. Problems are identified in the
media or in consultation rounds, solutions are developed with the input of focus groups and the implementation is monitored with the help of stakeholders and the media.

The inclusiveness of this process of policy development was supposed to increase support for every step during the policy cycle: the right definition of the problem, the best solutions, the most effective implementation and an integral implementation. Although problems became increasingly complex and governments were faced with a growing number of problems and possible solutions, governments were relatively successful in dealing with the demands for solutions from society. One area which troubles governments all over the world, and the Netherlands are no exception, is the integration of minorities.

Why would following the same process to formulate policies not result in the desired integration of minorities into Dutch society, even if the process were followed to the letter? On the other hand, the implementation of a process which has resulted in successfully solving problems in Dutch society, will not necessarily lead to the same success in Curaçao, for example. What makes a process which includes the general public via the media, consultation rounds, focus groups and stakeholders, less effective when it comes to integrating minorities and even ineffective when you want to export it?

Even when the general public is included in various ways, policy makers (have to) trust their own perceptions and presuppositions while identifying problems and developing solutions. Perceptions and presuppositions shape and determine the way the world is perceived, what problems exist and what solutions come to mind. In dealing with immigrants, these perceptions and presuppositions might not work: problems might not be problems and solutions might not be acceptable.

3. POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURE

Culture is defined as 'an integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behaviour that depends upon the capacity for symbolic thought and social learning' or 'the set of shared attitudes, values, goals, and practices that characterises an institution, organisation or group'. In daily use, culture and country are often mixed, adding to the confusion. After all, even in a small country like the Netherlands people would say there are differences between people from Limburg and Groningen, and even the second generation of immigrants, although they grew up in the Dutch culture, are still considered different from their autochthonous neighbours.

Robert Klitgaard (1994), in a paper he wrote for a World Bank conference on culture and development in Africa held in Washington DC on April 2nd and 3rd, 1992, wondered "if culture should be taken into account and people have studied culture scientifically for a century or more, why don't we have well developed theories, practical guidelines, and close professional links between those who study culture and those who make and manage development policy?".

At the end of the same decade, the Harvard University’s Academy for International and Area Studies organised the Cultural Values and Human Progress Symposium (23-25 April 1999). This symposium explored the link between culture and political, economic, and social development, mainly focusing on poor countries, but also mindful of the problems of underachieving minorities in the United States and elsewhere in the First World. The proceedings of the symposium were edited by Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington and published in 2000.

During the 1999 conference Klitgaard’s question was still on the table and explicitly mentioned in both the foreword and introduction. Harrison, in the introduction, touches on the controversial issue of the extent to which cultural change should be integrated into the conceptualising, strategising, planning, and programming of political and economic development. He notes that 'anthropologists working at (inter)national aid and development institutions have been focussing on informing decision makers about reflecting cultural realities in the design of policies and programs [...], few interventions were designed to promote cultural change' (Harrison, 2000, pXXX).

Although most people believe that cultural values and attitudes are an important and neglected factor in human progress, the question about how this could be translated into the process of making and managing policies and programs remains open. Both symposia were organised within the framework of international aid and development, but public administration at a national and local level is also confronted with values and attitudes when developing their parts of the society. Over the last decades, practical and academic discussions in the field of public administration reflected the changes in the society it operates in. Public administration focuses on solving the problems of the society in a way the society seems fit and acceptable.

Current day policy makers have an entirely different focus and approach on the problems and the way to solve them. Contrary to past practices, social inclusiveness and increasing the effectiveness of policies, projects and initiatives are on the top of the agenda in the West. As a result, public managers want to include not only the people that will be affected by policies, projects and initiatives, but also the general public. Despite the high level of inclusiveness, the solutions coming out of the process, and in fact the way of working itself, seem to fail when it comes to dealing with problems linked to integration of immigrants and underachieving minorities or facilitating human progress in non-Western settings.

In the first decade of the 21st century, in the absence of Klitgaard’s well developed theories, practical guidelines, and close professional links between those who study culture and those who make and manage policies, projects and initiatives, the Dutch debate on the integration of minorities and underachieving minorities has changed completely in tone and solutions. In short, anthropologists, who view promoting cultural change as a taboo and have dominated the debate over the last twenty years, have lost ground to the views of people like Hirshi Ali (2010) and Sandall (2001) who argue that cultural change should be promoted, if not forced upon immigrants.

It was in part in this light that the first decade of the 21st century witnessed a dramatic change in the socio-political environment of the Netherlands. Attitudes towards race, immigration, nationality, identity and religion changed. The first ten years were filled with novelties: two high profile murders, a clear cut ‘no’ in a referendum on the European constitution, and dramatic changes in the political arena which shook the foundations of what was, until then, an incredibly stable system of consensus and coalitions. What was once a country of structure and tolerance, where life was good albeit running about fifty years behind the events of the
rest of the world, had turned into a country of turmoil and consternation, characterised by massive public mourning and emotional debates.

The events of the first decennium also showed that the new immigrants were integrated into Dutch society only skin deep. Much to the horror of many Dutch, Muslim teenagers in Ede were at first reported cheering and dancing with joy after the September 11 attacks, racial riots and social unrest occurred in Gouda and Culemborg and minorities are excessively represented in statistics on school drop-outs, unemployment and crime (SCP, 2009). As a result, the discussion on integration moved from pubs and living rooms into the Chambers of Parliament – which adapted Dutch immigration policies to make them more stringent, and as a result the influx of new immigrants steadily decreased – and municipal and provincial Councils.

Although Buruma (2006) takes a different position, people from one of the six Dutch islands in the Caribbean who are living in the Netherlands are explicitly included in the social and political discussions on integration. Perhaps in the beginning they spoke Dutch, were well educated and came in small numbers, but now Antilleans have social problems (school drop-outs, unemployment and crime) similar to immigrants from Turkey and Morocco. This social visibility and the islands being part of the Kingdom, every now and then results in some drastic solutions – revoking passports, compulsory naturalisation courses on the islands, ethnic registration of all Antilleans living in the Netherlands, putting the passports, compulsory naturalisation courses on the islands, ethnic registration of all Antilleans living in the Netherlands, putting the

4. VALUE SYSTEMS

The difficulty of the use of the world ‘culture’ can even be demonstrated in the title of the book of the proceedings of the 1999 conference. Although called ‘Culture matters’, the subtitle is ‘How values shape human progress’. This might be an indication that ‘culture’ itself is too broad a term to account for the differences, therefore focussing on values. A theory developed by Graves in the 1950’s and 80’s also suggests that differences between individuals and groups should be found at the level of values.

Dr. Clare W. Graves (1929 – 1986) was professor in psychology at the Union College in New York. In his wish to have a better insight into human nature by understanding who and why we are, he collected tens of thousands of descriptions of adult human behaviour between 1950 and 1980. Parts of his work were published from the 1960’s onward in magazines like the Harvard Business Review (1966), the Journal of Humanistic Psychology (1970), and The Futurist (1974). Graves did not believe his theory was properly tested and he destroyed most of his raw data just before he passed away in 1986. As a result, he never published his work in its complete form and only some personal papers, articles and rough copies of a few chapters were left.

In 1978 he named his developing theory the theory of the ‘Emergent Cyclic, Phenomenological, Existential Double-Helix Levels of Existence Conception of Adult Human Behaviour’ and in 1981 renamed it as the ‘Emergent Cyclic, Double-Helix Model of Adult Human Bio-psychosocial Systems’. The theory is a multidisciplinary approach to human nature and behaviour and combines research in the fields of psychology, sociology, biology, education, systems theory, anthropology, history, and brain sciences. The theory also looked into fields like leadership, management, policy, politics, and philosophy.

The theory of the “emergent, cyclical, double helix model of adult bio-psychosocial development” suggests the differences between the European born and the Caribbean born population of the Kingdom of the Netherlands should be found in the value systems. Value systems consist of life conditions (consisting of time, place, problems and circumstances) on one side and mental way of dealing with each life condition on the other side. Graves noticed that each value system represents a growing complexity by building on all previous systems and an alternate focus between inner (I) and outer (we).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>System</th>
<th>Existential problems</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>Survival on automatic basis, minimal effort required, no awareness of self or others, no differentiation of inner from outer. Focus is on control of the outer world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BO</td>
<td>Self subsumed in others. Sacrifice to ‘clan’. ‘We’ survive all important. Focus is on the control of the inner world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Identity as a self emerges, caring about others interferes. I myself am all important; others don’t matter, overtly “to hell with others”. Focus shifts back to the control of the external world.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DQ</td>
<td>Faith in what powerful others prescribe. Want, is more important; sacrifice self for others. Reward, if any, will come later. Focus is again on inner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ER</td>
<td>Everything is done “in mine own interest”. Pretence that mine own interest is the interest of others. Focus once more on outer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FS</td>
<td>Sacrifice now to get now, even trade. I win – you win, I lose – you lose. Focus again on inner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A’N’</td>
<td>Return in new and higher for to new survival problems – survival on a basis of scarcity – focus on reorganising for interdependent existence.</td>
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5. POSSIBLE RESULTS

So far, the questions which were raised by Klitgaard (1994) and Harrison (2000) have mainly been viewed within the framework

1 After the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001, police had to intervene in the Ede district of Veldhuizen A against a group of youth of Moroccan descent. The police declared on September 28, 2001, that the police responded to a call from neighbours complaining about the behaviour of the youth, which was provocative as usual and on that day very badly timed.

2 In September 2008 public transportation company Connexxion stopped serving the Gouda district of Oosterwei after aknifing, which led to Moroccan youth threatening bus drivers.

3 In the night of December 31st on January 1st, 2010 youth from Moroccan and Maluku descent clashed in the Culemborg district of Terweijde. They raised fires, laid waste and put up a fight.

Table 1. Value systems and existential problems
of international relations focusing on aid and development. This seems logical, as De Blij (2009) points out that "less than 3 percent of the world’s population [is] living outside their country of birth, [therefore] the need to alleviate local circumstances that trap people in places of insecurity and violence, natural hazards, health threats, and so on will remain important". However, globalization not only challenges international organizations for aid and development; Western national and local governments also spend an increasing amount of time and money dealing with immigrants by trying to integrate them into Western society and curb the underachievement of their minorities.

With most national discussions on integration and underachieving minorities in local and national governments having the same primary focus on cultural differences, we can distinguish a link between culture and making and managing policies might also be needed.

Current theories and practical guidelines on public management do have an inclusive approach, but it remains to be seen if this approach is sufficient to deal with the warnings of anthropologists with regard to the cultural realities.

Policy makers often limit culture to the place of birth of the target group or their parents and as a result, people from the Antillean islands – or Morocco or Turkey for that matter – act a certain way because they were born where they were born. Those perceptions and presuppositions of the policy makers, combined with the inclusiveness of the approach, might be considered, whether or not explicitly, to solve any differences in cultural realities.

In order to link culture and public administration as a process or method to identify problems, develop solutions and monitor implementation, we might need to move away from cultural differences linked to place of birth and focus on values. The results should be useful in facilitating integration of immigrants, improve the achievements of minorities and political and economic development of non-Western countries. The theory of Graves might be able to provide a framework to categorise values into systems and possibilities to nudge the value systems in such a way that they provide better tools for the holders of those value systems (both policy makers and immigrants) to deal with integration and underachievement.

6. REFERENCES