

MULTICULTURAL POLICIES AND MODES OF CITIZENSHIP IN BELGIUM

PART II. CITY TEMPLATE BRUSSELS

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INTRODUCTION

This template of Brussels is the result of a joint effort of researchers from a Francophone university (ULB) and a Flemish university (KUBrussel) in Brussels. Just like the templates for Antwerp and Liège, it should be read in conjunction with the common introduction to the Belgian templates. We would like to note that the template provides information on Brussels to the extent that this is currently possible and should therefore not be read as an exhaustive and final report on the situation of immigrants and ethnic minorities and on citizenship and political participation. Its main objective is to present a state of the art of currently available information. Given the very complex sociological and political situation of Brussels, it would be nonsensical to claim that all angles to the issues under study could be presented in an all encompassing manner in a report of limited length. We would like to stress that this is therefore not the ambition of this template. We have nonetheless striven to present a report on Brussels which gives the outsider a good introduction to the situation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Brussels and the topics of citizenship and political participation in relation to the phenomenon of immigration. With regard to some issues further researcher (or even new research) is undoubtedly necessary. Other issues can and will be discussed in a more detailed manner.

We deeply regret that we have to report that one of the authors of this study, colleague and friend Mylène Nys, together with her husband Philippe Stockmans, had a fatal accident during her holiday at the end of August 1999. Mylène, mother of two children, died in a tragic alpinism-accident on a gletsjer in France. We will miss her very much.

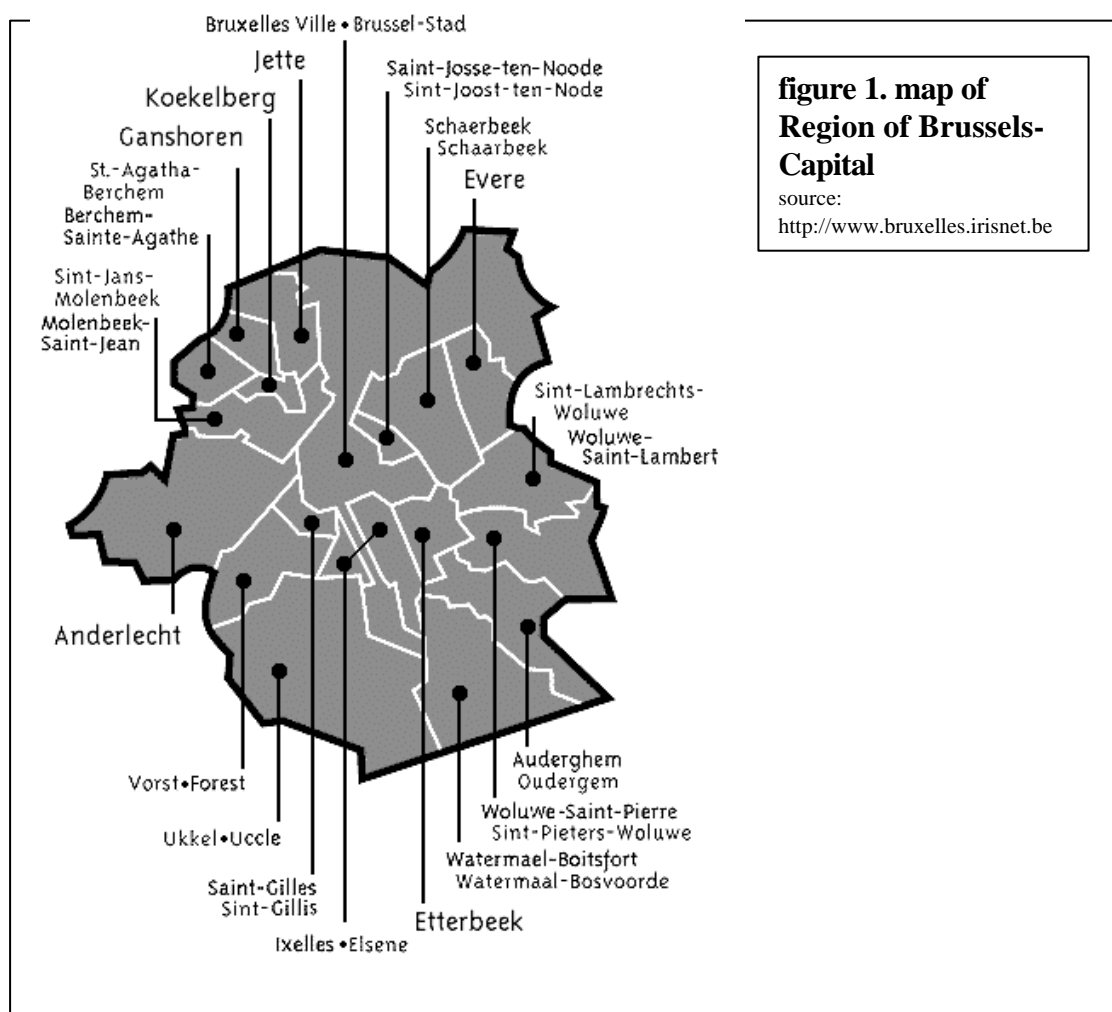
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1. BASIC DATA

1.1. Size and population

First of all it should be noted that there could be some confusion on what the city of Brussels exactly is. Indeed, what commonly is called 'the city of Brussels', is in fact the sum of nineteen autonomous municipalities, which together form the Region of Brussels-Capital. Only one of those municipalities is officially named 'the city of Brussels' (in Dutch: "*Brussel*", in French: "*Bruxelles*") and contains the historical (and tourist) centre. The other eighteen municipalities are (respectively in Dutch and/or French): 1) Ganshoren, 2) Koekelberg, 3) Sint-Agatha-Berchem / Berchem-Sainte-Agathe, 4) Sint-Jans-Molenbeek / Molenbeek Saint-Jean, 5) Sint-Gillis / Saint-Gilles, 6) Anderlecht, 7) Vorst / Forest, 8) Elsene / Ixelles, 9) Etterbeek, 10) Ukkel / Uccle, 11) Watermaal-Bosvoorde / Watermael-Boitsfort, 12) Oudergem, 13) Sint-Pieters-Woluwe / Woluwé-Saint-Pierre, 14) Sint-Lambrechts-Woluwe / Woluwé-Saint-Lambert, 15) Sint-Joost-ten-Node / Saint-Josse-ten-Noode, 16) Schaerbeek / Schaerbeek, 17) Evere and 18) Jette. See the map in figure 1 for the location of these municipalities within the Region of Brussels-Capital. See the map in the common Belgian introduction for the location of the Region of Brussels-Capital within Belgium.



The totality of the 19 municipalities that is commonly called 'Brussels' is in ordinary life referred to as a 'city', although in exact legal terms it is not. This could (and often does) create some confusion. Indeed, what is commonly called 'Brussels' (the nineteen municipalities) is an administrative region ('the Region of Brussels-Capital') with a special status within the Belgian framework (see common introduction). As such, it is no city and has no city government as a whole, but it *is* a region and has its own regional government and representative body alongside nineteen municipal councils.

To avoid any misunderstanding: this city-template concerns the *Region of Brussels-Capital*. The Region of Brussel-Capital is the totality of nineteen municipalities which in ordinary day language is referred to as the 'city of Brussels' although in legal terms is not a city but a sub-state region in which both the Francophone as the Flemish Community have specific bounded jurisdictions.

According to the 1991-Census the Capital Region, covering 161 square kilometres, had 954,045 inhabitants. Of these inhabitants 682,458 persons (72%) had Belgian nationality and 271,587 persons (28%) were foreign residents (inhabitants not holding a Belgian passport). If one would not only take into account the official borders, but would define the city-region of Brussels as a social-geographic entity (capital region plus agglomeration and 'banlieue'), what one could call 'Greater Brussels' had 1,7 million inhabitants in 1991 (Merenne et alii, 1997: 14). We will, however, limit ourselves in this template to the official definition of the Region of Brussels-Capital. The Region of Brussels-Capital had 953,175 inhabitants on 1 January 1998, of which 279,810 (29.4%) were non-Belgian residents.

Of the 673,365 Belgian inhabitants (71.4% of the total population), approximately 15-20% has Dutch (Flemish) and 80-85% has French as the mother tongue. These are unavoidably only rough estimates and it should be noted that there are quite some perfectly bilingual people in Brussels. There is no possibility of knowing the exact proportions since it has been forbidden since 1961 to census language affiliation in order to avoid political tensions. Although it would be possible to count the number of Dutch speaking and French speaking inhabitants by looking as a proxy at the language of their ID-cards (the language which is then used by the state to address the inhabitants), the Flemish politicians make sure these figures are never officially published. The number of votes cast in (obligatory) regional elections, in which voters are obliged to choose between linguistically divided lists of candidates, is one of the most frequently used alternative indicators for the linguistic proportions. Flemish lists usually receive 14% of the votes.

It can be noted that the Flemish often stress in a *boutade* that Brussels might be a city clearly dominated by French at night and in weekends, but that Dutch is the dominant language during the weekday. This is clearly untrue, but it is a fact that there is an important number of people commuting to Brussels every weekday on work-related grounds and that a majority of them is Flemish. The last Census (1991) showed that approximately 314.000 persons commuted to the Region of Brussels-Capital (Merenne et alii, 1997: 132), of which 2/3 originate from Flanders and 1/3 originate from Wallonia. The commuters involve approximately 50% of the work force in Brussels.

1.2. Relative significance of city in region and country

Brussels (as the sum of the 19 municipalities) is the largest city and capital of Belgium. In the federal framework of Belgium it is a more or less autonomous administrative region. Being the capital of Belgium, Brussels has a central administrative function for the

Belgian federal state. The city equally functions as the capital of the European Union and holds several offices of the central European institutions (the Council, Commission and the European Parliament) and other international organisations (NATO). In the economic sphere Brussels plays a central role in the Belgian economy, with a predominance of service-related activities (Ibid.: 116). Its importance as a zone for industrial activities has, however, clearly and spectacularly diminished in the last three decades (Ibid.: 114). Due to the economic and administrative importance of Brussels, there are important processes of *peri-urbanisation* (growth of 'banlieue') and *rurbanisation* (urbanisation of surrounding rural areas) manifesting itself around the Region of Brussels-Capital, thus affecting almost all of central Belgium (Ibid.: 15). In addition, there is an important number of people commuting to Brussels every weekday on work-related grounds. In sum, Brussels is without any doubt the most important city in Belgium.

1.3. General relevant political structures

In the first part of the report, we have already presented the different Belgian policy levels. In this section, we will shortly recall the institutional situation of Brussels. The Region of Brussels-Capital, an enclave within the Flemish Region, is an official bilingual (Dutch and French speaking) region. The Region is composed out of 19 municipalities where Dutch speaking and French speaking coexist. The particular bilingual situation is translated in the functioning of the political institutions of Brussels.

Although the Flemish are clearly in a minority position in Brussels, Dutch is in principle used next to French as a fully fledged official language. The exact procedures to ensure this are the result of over three decades of difficult negotiations and complex reforms, which cannot possibly be discussed in the limited context of this study¹. We will try to present the main principles which should ensure bilingualism in the municipalities of the Region, in the Regional political entities, in the Regional administration and in Regional services (fire-brigade, hospitals).

All administrators working in one of the nineteen municipalities of the Region of Brussels-Capital have to be 'perfectly' bilingual (i.e. having passed tough language exams). Hence, there is a very strong protection of the Dutch language on the municipal administrative level. There are, however, no guarantees that Flemish people are part of city council if they are not directly elected into it. In addition, there is no guarantee that Flemish politicians, who are elected into city council, would be part of the committee of the mayor and aldermen. There is, nevertheless, an indirect stimulus to assure that a Dutch speaking person would be present in local government; if there is at least one Flemish member of the local government, the municipality is allowed to appoint one additional alderman.

Unlike in the municipal level, administrators and other personnel do not have to be bilingual in the Regional administration and services. The administration and services should, however, be able to ensure that clients can at all times be helped in either official language. To ensure this in practice, there are quota used for the employment of personnel. These often boil down to a 30 Flemish - 70 Francophone ratio.

For political and linguistic reasons, it are the same persons who decide over different matters in distinct political institutions at the regional level. Every political institution has its own legal personality and its own competencies and norms. These political entities in Brussels are the Region of Brussels-Capital (RBC), the mixed committee of communities (BICOM), the committee of the Flemish community (VGC)

¹ For further reading in English see Roessingh, 1996; Fitzmaurice, 1996; Murphy, 1988.

and the committee of the Francophone community (COCOF). Every institution has its own legislative power by ordinance and has both a council as an executive.

The Region of Brussels-Capital has competencies in regional, space-bounded, matters which comprise: environmental planning, water policy, environment, urban renewal, housing, regional economy, energy, employment policy, infrastructure and transport. The Region has a parliament consisting out of 75 members and a government of 5 ministers. These members of parliament are directly elected every five years on linguistically-divided lists in order to be able to differentiate Flemish and Francophones who are to decide over their own Community matters (see further). There is no guaranteed minimal representation of the Flemish in the parliament. The number of Flemish seats is dependent on the electoral results. Up till recently, the Flemish parties had 10 seats. The government of the Region of Brussels-Capital consists out of one prime-minister, four ministers and three secretaries of state. The prime-minister is chosen by the entire parliament, while every language group appoints their own two ministers. The Flemish thus enjoy a guaranteed representation in the government. Since the government has to decide in consensus, this means substantial effective political power for the Flemish. In addition, there is an 'alarm bell' system that can stop any decision which the Flemish minority deems to be unacceptable.

Along side the regional policy matters, there are the Community matters which include education, cultural issues and 'person-related' issues (health care and social assistance). In the Region of Brussels-Capital they are under the jurisdiction of three institutions: the mixed committee of Communities (BICOM), the committee of the Flemish Community (VGC) and the committee of the Francophone Community (COCOF). The committees of the Francophone and Flemish Communities each exercise legal powers for their own community (living in Brussels) in the so-called mono-communautarian matters as education, culture, health care and social assistance. Power is exercised by the distinct linguistic groups of the parliament of the Region of Brussels-Capital and an executive body. Politicians elected on Francophone lists constitute the Francophone committee, while politicians elected on Dutchspeaking lists constitute the Flemish committee. The executive bodies comprise the ministers and state-secretaries of the Region of Brussels-Capital. The mixed committee of Communities (BICOM) consists out of all members of the parliament of the Region and has the sum of the two mono-communautarian executive bodies as its government. Although the assembly of the BICOM comprises the same members as the regional parliament, it are officially two distinct institutions. The policy prerogatives of the BICOM cover those institutions which are not clearly and exclusively linked to one or the other of the Communities. It has competencies in the fields of health care and social assistance.

Due to these procedures to institutionalise bilingualism in Brussels, the Flemish are usually slightly over-represented in administrations. It also seems to be the case that the Flemish have more political power than could be expected on the basis of their demographic importance. This advantageous situation for the Flemish in Brussels is balanced by an advantageous situation of the Francophones on the national level. Although the Francophones are demographically in a minority position in Belgium, they have been granted the right to an equal amount of ministers in the federal government. There is also an 'alarm bell' procedure on the federal level in which both language groups can block decisions if they judge them to be detrimental for their own position.

II. IMMIGRANT POPULATION AND ETHNIC MINORITIES ²

2.1. Cycles of migration to Brussels

Until 1960 Brussels had a fairly moderate number of foreigners (less than 10% of the population), of which most originated from the neighbouring countries. When we have a look at the figures concerning foreign residents in Belgium between 1846 and 1961, we notice that the number of foreign residents dropped due to the two world-wars, but then steadily increased again in the following periods. The proportion of foreign residents in the total population was until the sixties between 6 and 9% (see table 1).

Table 1: Evolution of the population in the Region of Brussels-Capital (1846-1995)

Year	Number of residents	Number of foreign residents	Proportion of foreign residents
1846	211,634	13,167	6.2%
1900	626,075	43,021	6.9%
1910	761,898	55,897	7.3%
1930	892,183	73,405	8.2%
1947	955,929	75,671	7.9%
1961	1,022,795	68,989	7.8%
1964	1,040,523	90,157	8.7%
1970	1,075,136	173,507	16.1%
1981	997,293	237,875	23.9%
1991	954,045	271,587	28.5%
1995	951,580	285,671	30.0%

Source: VAN DER HAEGEN H., JUCHTMANS G. & KESTELOOT C. (1995) *Multicultureel Brussel*, Brussels Hoofdstedelijk Gewest, Brussel.

From the sixties onwards Brussels experienced a strong economic growth, a process which led to a disrupted demand-supply situation on the labour-market and the housing-market. On the one hand the city had a large demand for cheap low-skilled labourers, on the other hand the enriched middle-classes moved to better and more modern neighbourhoods which had been built in the periphery of the city in the fifties. Due to a mortality- and emigration-surplus of Belgians, a lot of houses in the 19th century inner-city neighbourhoods of Brussels became vacant. The demands on the labour- and housing-markets were thereupon filled by immigrants. Brussels increasingly attracted relatively large numbers of foreigners, while the original Belgian inhabitants started moving out of the city. The growth of the immigrant population in Brussels was first largely due to low-skilled foreign workers (predominantly from Italy and Spain, and later from Morocco and Turkey). The growth of the foreign population was secondly due to highly-educated foreigners working for international organisations (and associated organisations) as the European Communities and NATO (Van der Haegen et alii, 1995: 4). In contrast to the low-skilled guestworkers, these richer foreigners did predominantly look for housing in the periphery. Large numbers of Belgian inhabitants started moving out of Brussels to the suburban areas (joined by rich foreign residents) and young

² Unless stated otherwise, the information used in this section is based on data of the National Institute for Statistics (NIS) as reported in EGGERICKX, T., KESTELOOT, C., POULAIN, M., PELEMAN, K., ROESEMS, T. & VANDENBROECKE, H. (1999) *De allochtone bevolking in België. Algemene volk- en woningtelling van 1 maart 1991. Monografie nr. 3*. NIS, Brussel.

Belgians no longer moved into Brussels at the same rate as earlier. This process led to a deterioration of the quality of housing in significant parts of the inner-city. As a result, the total number of inhabitants in two decades time dropped below the million (Van der Haegen et alii, 1995: 5). At the same time foreign workers moved into the impoverished parts of the city. Between 1963 and 1995 the number of Belgian inhabitants in Brussels dropped from approximately 950,000 to approximately 666,000, while the foreign population (people not holding a Belgian passport) grew from approximately 90,000 to approximately 286,000 (Ibid.: 5). As a result, the foreign population (285,671 persons) in 1995 stands for nearly 30% of the total number of inhabitants (951,580). It is unknown how many children of foreign residents in Brussels acquired Belgian nationality due to the introduction of *ius soli* in 1985 (and its extension in 1991). It is obvious that, while the population of foreign residents entails 30% of the total population of the Region of Brussels-Capital, the proportion of people of foreign descent must be well over one third of the total population. It can, however, not exactly be said how large the immigrant community - when including second and third generation - exactly is. We do know that in the Census of 1991, 53,983 Belgian persons did not have Belgian nationality at the time of birth. As a result, we know that at least 34.1% of the inhabitants of Brussels was of foreign origin in 1991.

2.2. Composition of foreign population

It is important to stress once more that there are only official data on numbers of foreign residents (people not possessing Belgian nationality), there are no data on immigrants (immigrant descent) and ethnic minorities that are not related to the criterion of nationality (at birth). Of six nationalities there are more than 10,000 people living in Brussels. These groups will be presented here. We will use the very reliable, albeit somewhat out-dated, information of the 1991-Census (10-yearly Census of the entire Belgian population).

Before presenting the six largest groups of foreign residents, a general comment can be made with regard to generational make-up. One can state that in general the Belgian population in 1991 demographically had a large proportion of elderly, while the demographic pyramid of the foreign population in Brussels is much more equilibrated (Ibid.: 6). Within the foreign population there is a relatively large number of children from immigrant 'foreign workers' descent and a relatively small number of children from immigrant 'non-foreign workers' (=highly educated) descent (Ibid.: 6).

Moroccans: According to the 1991-Census there were 77,409 Moroccan nationals (not possessing Belgian nationality) living in the Region of Brussels-Capital. Almost half of them (37,300 or 48.1%) was born in Belgium. In 1991, the Moroccans stand for 8.1% of the total population and for 28.5% of the foreign population. As such, they constitute the largest group of foreigners in Brussels. The Moroccan population in Brussels is young: more than half of the Moroccans is younger than thirty. In this respect, there is a large potential for demographic growth (Ibid.: 13). Fertility amongst Moroccan women who were raised in Belgium is, however, steadily decreasing. There were 5,544 Belgians in 1991 who had Moroccan nationality at birth.

Italians: According to the 1991-Census there were 31,623 Italian nationals (not possessing Belgian nationality) living in the Region of Brussels-Capital. Almost 35% of them (11,186) was born in Belgium. In 1991, the Italians stand for 3.3% of the total population and for 11.7% of the foreign population. The Italians constitute the second largest group of foreigners in Brussels. The demographic pyramid of the Italians is more or less in equilibrium with a notable decrease in number of births from the mid sixties

onwards (Ibid.: 15). There were 4,198 Belgians in 1991 who had Italian nationality at birth.

French: According to the 1991-Census there were 26,646 French nationals (not possessing Belgian nationality) living in the Region of Brussels-Capital. About 20% of them (5,517) were born in Belgium. In 1991, the French stand for 2.8% of the total population and for 9.8% of the foreign population. The French constitute the third largest group of foreigners in Brussels. The large majority of the French living in Brussels are young and middle-aged adults. There were 9,105 Belgians in 1991 who had French nationality at birth.

Spanish: According to the 1991-Census there were 25,309 Spanish nationals (not possessing Belgian nationality) living in the Region of Brussels-Capital. About 30% of them (7,761) were born in Belgium. In 1991, the Spanish stand for 2.7% of the total population and for 9.3% of the foreign population. The demographic pyramid of the Spanish is disequibrated. There is a lot of return migration of Spanish enjoying early retirement and (partly) due to a high number of mixed marriages a very small number of young children (Ibid.: 16). There were 2,168 Belgians in 1991 who had Spanish nationality at birth.

Turks: According to the 1991-Census there were 21,161 Turkish nationals (not possessing Belgian nationality) living in the Region of Brussels-Capital. About 45% of them (9,568) were born in Belgium. In 1991, the Turks stand for 2.2% of the total population and for 7.8% of the foreign population. The Turkish population in Brussels is like the Moroccan population rather young: more than half of the Turks are younger than thirty. In this respect, there is a large potential for demographic growth (Ibid.: 14). Fertility amongst Turkish women who were raised in Belgium is moderately decreasing. There were 1,275 Belgians in 1991 who had Turkish nationality at birth.

Portuguese: According to the 1991-Census there were 10,119 Portuguese nationals (not possessing Belgian nationality) living in the Region of Brussels-Capital. In 1991, the Portuguese stand for 1.1% of the total population and for 3.7% of the foreign population.

2.3. Residential patterns

In this section we will discuss the residential concentration of foreign residents (not holding a Belgian passport) in Brussels. We will focus our attention to the six largest groups and especially to the two largest non-EU foreign-communities (Moroccans and Turks). We will visually present the residential patterns of EU-citizens and the two largest non-EU foreign-communities in figures 2 and 3. We will discuss in some detail the patterns of residential concentration with regard to the Moroccan and Turkish communities.

2.3.1. Residential patterns of the four largest EU foreign communities

In figure 2 (see further) we visually present the residential patterns of the EU-foreigners in the Region of Brussels-Capital. Overall, the (relatively rich) EU-foreigners – often ‘Eurocrats’ - tend to live in quality residential areas, situated in the south and east of the region. There are, however, also important concentrations in the southern part of the 19th century inner-periphery of the inner-city (Kuregem, Sint-Gillis, Vorst and Brussels-city), dating back to the first waves of Mediterranean immigrant labourers. We will discuss the residential patterns of the four largest EU foreign communities in more detail.

Italians: Dating back to the interbellum there have been concentrations of Italian guestworkers in Anderlecht, to the south of the canal (Kuregem). Nowadays Italian guestworkers and their descendants are also living in the northern (Molenbeek, Brussels-Laken) and southern (Sint-Gillis, Vorst) parts of town. There are also relative important concentrations of Italians in Schaarbeek, Brussels (Leopold neighbourhood), Etterbeek and Elsene, connected to the Italian membership of the European Community.

French: French immigration to Brussels already dates back to the 19th century, when the French immigrant community constituted up to 45% of the total foreign population. In 1947 the French were still the largest foreign community in Brussels (23%). Probably also due to the fact that their language is also one of the official Belgian languages, they live all over Brussels in neighbourhoods where autochthonous Belgians live. Over the years there has been a slight increase in their presence in more affluent south-eastern municipalities (Uccle, Woluwé-St-Pierre and Woluwé-St-Lambert), probably related to the internationalisation of the economic and political life in Brussels.

Portuguese: The Portuguese, who moved to Brussels fairly recently (since the eighties), predominantly live in Ixelles (Flageysquare). The Portuguese community on the one hand exists out of highly educated people working for the European Institutions and on the other hand out of (new) low-skilled guestworkers, predominantly active in the construction sector.

Spanish: Spanish guestworkers predominantly live in the neighbourhood of the railway station Brussels-South, in the southern part of 19th century inner-periphery of the inner-city (Kuregem, Sint-Gillis, industrial zone of Vorst and Brussels-city). There are also smaller concentrations of Spanish in Schaarbeek, Sint-Joost-ten-Node and along the Maalbeek (Etterbeek and Elsene). Due to the combination of the Spanish membership of the European Community (immigration of highly educated people) and the remigration of retired low-skilled guestworkers, the residential concentration of the Spanish community has significantly decreased.

2.3.2. Residential patterns of the two largest non-EU foreign communities

In discussing the residential patterns of non-EU foreign communities, we will limit ourselves to the two largest and most important groups (the Moroccans and the Turks). Although will not discuss this group, we do want to note that there is a famous 'African' neighbourhood in Elsene-Ixelles, known as 'Matonge'. In 'Matonge' a lot of the inhabitants and/or shop-owners originate from Congo and Rwanda. As has been often shown, Turks and Moroccans tend to live in the most dilapidated neighbourhoods of town (Kesteloot et alii, 1995). In figure 3 (see further) we visually represent their residential patterns in the Region of Brussels-Capital.

Moroccans: The Moroccans predominantly live in the western part of the 19th century inner-periphery of the inner-city. Their presence is high in Molenbeek, in the west and south part of Brussels-city and along the canal in Schaarbeek and Sint-Joost-ten-Node. Other neighbourhoods with large numbers of Moroccans are situated in Sint-Gillis, Vorst and Anderlecht (Kuregem neighbourhood).

Turks: The Turks predominantly live in three areas, of which the most important are located in Sint-Joost-ten-Node and Schaarbeek. There is also a concentration in Anderlecht (Kuregem neighbourhood), in Brussels-city and to a lesser extent in Molenbeek.

In Table 2 an overview is given of the absolute numbers and proportion of Turks and Moroccans on the municipal level. According to the 1991 Census, no less than 18.7% of the inhabitants of Sint-Joost and 9.2% of the inhabitants of Schaarbeek were of

Turkish nationality, with a proportion of 2.2% for the entire Region of Brussels-Capital. The proportion of Moroccans is 8.1% for the entire Region of Brussels-Capital. No less than seven municipalities have larger proportions of inhabitants of Moroccan nationality. These are Brussels (13.2%), Vorst (10.6%), Koekelberg (9.9%), Molenbeek (20.4%), Sint-Gillis (13.4%), Sint-Joost (17.7%) and Schaarbeek (12.5%). These figures on the municipal level do, however, not tell us everything about residential patterns. In the municipality of Anderlecht for instance, with a proportion (8%) of Moroccan inhabitants comparable to the one of the entire Region, there are a few notable areas with a high percentage of Moroccans. A more detailed analysis is possible if we look at the proportions of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants on the neighbourhood level.

Table 2. Absolute numbers of Turks and Moroccans in the Region of Brussels-Capital and proportion (in percentages) to the total population of the Region of Brussels-Capital and of the nineteen municipalities (Census 1991)

Municipalities	Number of Turks	% in Region	% in municipality	Number of Moroccans	% in Region	% in municipality
Anderlecht	1,552	7.3%	1.8%	7,443	9.6%	8%
Oudergem	22	0.1%	0.07%	152	0.2%	0.5%
St-Agatha-B.	16	0.1%	0.08%	439	0.6%	2.4%
Brussel	2,606	12.3%	1.9%	18,126	23.4%	13.2%
Etterbeek	197	0.9%	0.5%	1,539	2.0%	4%
Evere	148	0.7%	0.5%	1,032	1.3%	3.5%
Vorst	108	0.5%	0.2%	4,949	6.4%	10.6%
Ganshoren	30	0.1%	0.1%	316	0.4%	1.5%
Elsene	267	1.3%	0.3%	3,082	4.0%	4.2%
Jette	115	0.5%	0.3%	998	1.3%	2.5%
Koekelberg	464	2.2%	2.9%	1,605	2.1%	9.9%
Molenbeek	1,420	6.7%	2%	14,083	18.2%	20.4%
Sint-Gillis	463	2.2%	1.08%	5,737	7.4%	13.4%
St-Joost	4,007	18.9%	18.7%	3,783	4.9%	17.7%
Schaarbeek	9,514	44.9%	9.2%	12,925	16.7%	12.5%
Ukkel	170	0.8%	0.2%	788	1.0%	1%
Watermaal-B.	10	0.04%	0.04%	58	0.1%	0.2%
St-Lam-Wol.	36	0.2%	0.07%	230	0.3%	0.5%
St-Piet-Wol.	37	0.2%	0.1%	124	0.2%	0.3%
Total	21,182	100%	2.22%	77,409	100%	8.11%

To chart the residential patterns of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in Brussels in detail, we can make use of the data generated by the 1991 Census. In the Census information is available for the level of statistical sectors. Statistical sectors more or less overlap with what one in day-to-day life identifies as neighbourhoods or blocks. It are homogeneous parts of municipalities with similar architectural, functional and social characteristics and with visibly distinguishable borders such as streets, railroads or rivers. The number of inhabitants of statistical sectors varies between a couple of hundred and five thousand. The Region of Brussels-Capital has a total of 746 statistical sectors. In our study of residential patterns of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, 140 poorly inhabited sectors (industrial zones, squares, green areas etc. with less than 200 inhabitants) were

left out of the analysis. Table 3 includes an overview of the proportion of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the 606 statistical sectors under study. In a large majority of sectors (56%) there are hardly any Turkish or Moroccan inhabitants (at most 2,5%). However, in 14% of the statistical sectors there are over 20% of Turkish and Moroccan inhabitants.

Figure 2: Residential patterns of EU-citizens in Region of Brussels-Capital (1991)
(map by IPSoM)

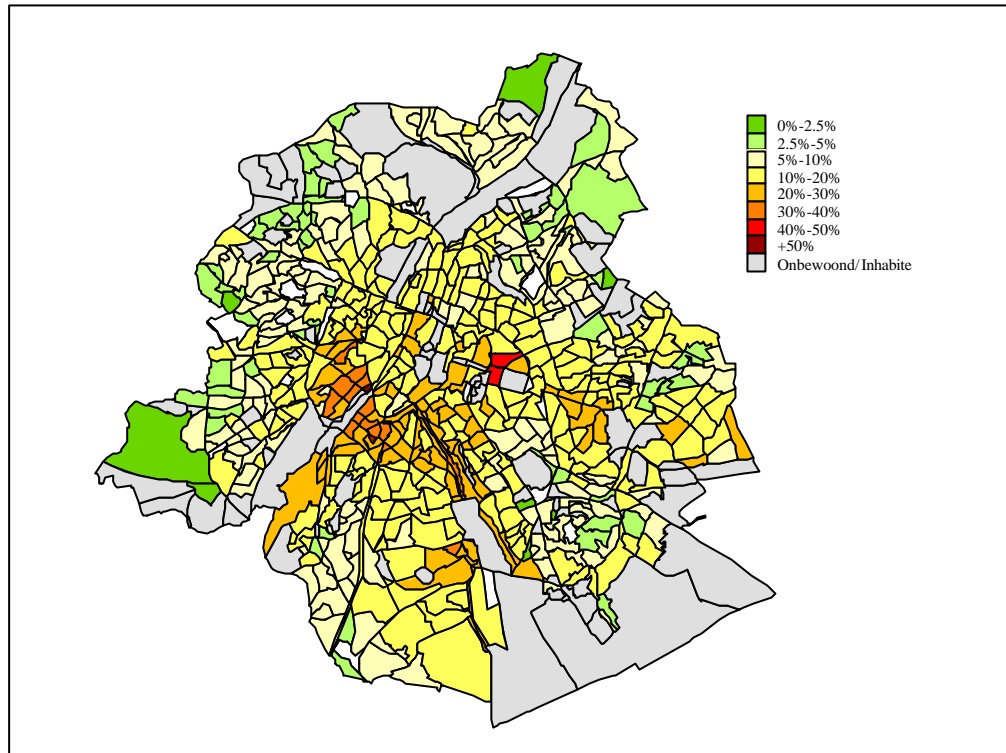


Figure 3: Residential patterns of Turks and Moroccans in Region of Brussels-Capital (1991)
(map by IPSoM)

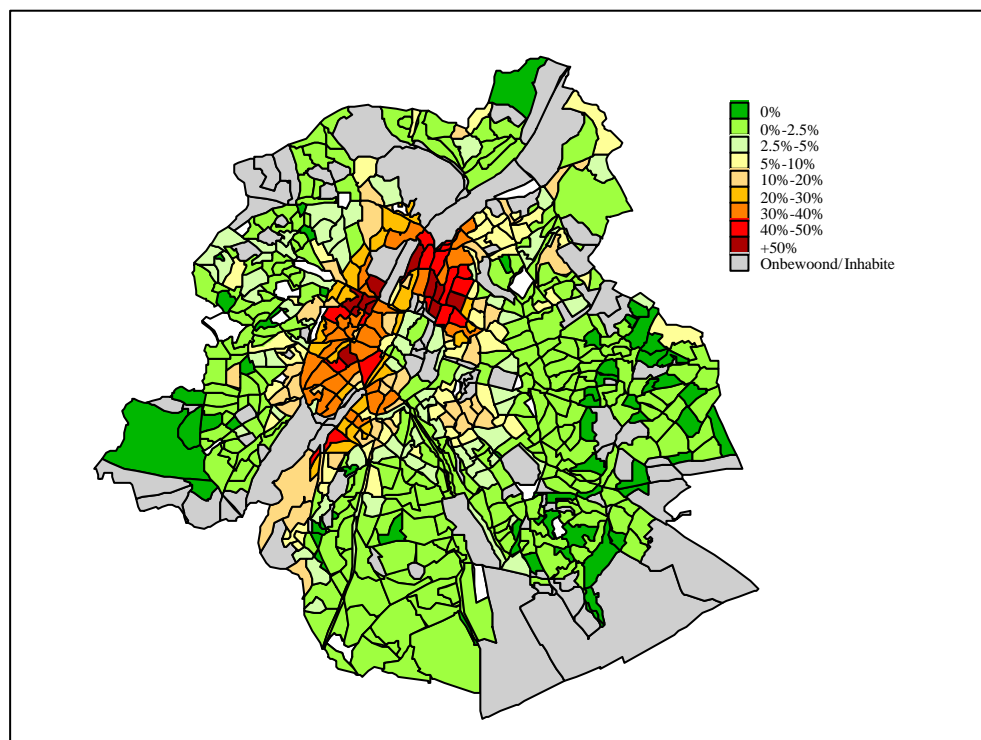


Table 3. Number of statistical sectors related to proportion of Turkish and Moroccan inhabitants.

%Turkish en Moroccan inhabitants	Number of sectors	%	Cum %
0 %	60	9.9%	
0-2.5%	281	46.4%	56.3
2.5-5%	74	12.2%	68.5
5-10%	62	10.2%	78.7
10-20%	45	7.4%	86.1
20-30%	26	4.3%	90.4
30-40%	31	5.1%	95.5
40-50%	16	2.7%	98.2
+50%	11	1.8%	100.0
	606	100%	

Where are the statistical sectors with high percentages of Moroccans and Turks situated? A visual presentation has been given in figure 3. Table 4 shows that there are very high percentages of the two studied non-EU-immigrant groups in certain sectors in Anderlecht (54.63%), Brussels-city (61.03%), Vorst (43.15%), St-Jans-Molenbeek (56.53%), St-Joost-ten-Node (67.69%) and Schaarbeek (65.51%). The high proportions of non-EU-immigrants are largely due to the Moroccan community, except in certain neighbourhoods in St-Joost-ten-Node and Schaarbeek.

Table 4: Minimal, maximal en mean proportion (%) of Turkish and Moroccan inhabitants for statistical sectors in municipalities.

Municipality	%Turks			%Moroccans			%Turks+Moroccans		
	Min.	Max.	Mean	Min.	Max.	Mean	Min.	Max.	Mean
Anderlecht	0.00	13.46	1.46	0.00	46.95	7.40	0.00	54.63	8.86
Oudergem	0.00	0.57	0.07	0.00	2.90	0.55	0.00	2.99	0.63
St-Agatha-B	0.00	0.53	0.08	0.00	5.39	2.06	0.00	5.39	2.14
Brussel	0.00	28.66	1.50	0.00	44.57	9.36	0.00	61.03	10.86
Etterbeek	0.00	1.14	0.45	0.00	12.25	3.47	0.00	13.33	3.92
Evere	0.00	3.01	0.52	0.00	14.55	3.88	0.32	17.57	4.40
Vorst	0.00	0.92	0.15	0.00	42.30	7.57	0.00	43.15	7.72
Ganshoren	0.00	0.53	0.09	0.00	3.57	1.12	0.00	3.86	1.21
Elsene	0.00	2.17	0.37	0.00	18.86	3.55	0.00	18.86	3.91
Jette	0.00	0.65	0.28	0.18	7.10	2.50	0.39	7.34	2.79
Koekelberg	0.00	6.44	2.50	0.15	19.76	8.99	0.29	24.88	11.50
Molenbeek	0.00	7.50	1.75	0.00	51.48	18.28	0.00	56.53	20.04
St-Gilles	0.00	4.63	0.98	0.43	32.72	12.29	0.43	37.35	13.27
St-Joost	0.36	34.83	15.6	7.76	32.85	17.06	9.84	67.69	32.62
Schaarbeek	0.00	40.63	6.77	0.00	36.80	10.07	0.00	65.51	16.84
Ukkel	0.00	1.15	0.21	0.00	10.35	1.09	0.00	10.53	1.30
Watermaal-B	0.00	0.26	0.04	0.00	1.11	0.23	0.00	1.11	0.27
St-Lam-Wol.	0.00	0.35	0.06	0.00	5.30	0.47	0.00	5.30	0.53
St-Piet-Wol.	0.00	0.87	0.10	0.00	1.85	0.30	0.00	1.85	0.40
Total	0.00	40.36	1.45	0.00	6.22	51.48	0.00	67.69	7.67

If we define 'concentration neighbourhoods' as neighbourhoods with a higher proportion of a particular group of immigrants than their proportion in the entire region (De Rycke & Swyngedouw, 1997: 5), there are in total 72 Turkish and 136 Moroccan concentration neighbourhoods in the Region of Brussels-Capital. The Turkish concentration neighbourhoods are situated in 8 municipalities: Anderlecht (11), Brussels (12), Evere (1), Koekelberg (3), Molenbeek (14), Sint-Gillis (3), Sint-Joost (8) and Schaarbeek (20). It is striking that 66 of the 72 Turkish concentration neighbourhoods are also Moroccan concentration neighbourhoods. The 136 Moroccan concentration neighbourhoods are situated in 12 municipalities: Anderlecht (17), Brussels (31), Etterbeek (2), Evere (4), Vorst (10), Elsene (4), Koekelberg (4), Molenbeek (22), Sint-Gillis (13), Sint-Joost (9), Schaarbeek (19) and Ukkel (1).

2.3.3. The link between 'concentration-neighbourhoods' and disfavoured areas

Inner-city concentrations of non-EU-immigrant communities are often seen to be synonymous to 'disfavoured areas', i.e. areas with a lot of poverty and social exclusion, with poor housing infrastructure and with limited opportunities for social mobility. The ISEG-team of Belgian social-geographer Kesteloot (1995), using data from the 1991 Census, even chose the criterion of the proportion of Turkish and Moroccan inhabitants (plus 5%) as one of the main indicators to define a neighbourhood as 'disfavoured'. IPSoM-researchers Jacobs and Swyngedouw argue that this operationalisation is problematic since it could lead to a biased categorisation of immigrant-neighbourhoods as being disfavoured areas. Indeed, ethnic composition of neighbourhoods cannot be used as a straight-forward indicator for impoverished areas. In their own study of the 1991 Census, the IPSoM-researchers explicitly did not want to contaminate their definition of 'disfavoured areas' with the proportion of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants. Based on the IPSoM-results, which are fairly parallel to those of the ISEG-team, the Region of Brussels-Capital can be seen as having a more or less clear-cut socio-economic residential structure in which poorer, intermediate and richer areas can be distinguished. If one would want to give a very general description of the socio-economic residential patterns, one can differentiate the 'low' (downhill) part of town on the one hand and the 'high' (uphill) part of town plus the residential periphery of the city on the other hand. The residential periphery and high parts of town can be characterised as richer areas, while the lower parts of town (Schaarbeek, Molenbeek, Sint-Joost-ten-Node, Sint-Gillis, Vorst, the Kuregem-neighbourhood of Anderlecht, the 19th century inner-periphery of the inner-city, the old industrial zone surrounding the Canal Brussels-Charleroi and the western part of the historical city centre of Brussels), can be characterised as poorer areas. There are, however, also intermediate areas to be found (see map at <http://www.kubrusssel.ac.be/psw/ipsom.htm>). The poorer areas are more or less interconnected in an axis form the north to the south. In these parts of town there used to be a concentration of industrial activities (originating in the 19th Century) which have lost their importance over the last few decades. The IPSoM-study shows that it are also exactly these parts where the two largest non-EU-immigrant groups (Turkish and Moroccans) live. One could say the ISEG-team was lucky that their use of the criterion of the proportion of Turkish and Moroccan inhabitants did not contaminate their model to trace disfavoured areas, due to the very important overlap. The map of figure 3 can thus not only be read as a map figuring concentrations of non-EU-immigrant groups, but can also be read as a map figuring the location of the most important disfavoured areas. The main problematic areas are situated in the municipalities of Brussels, Schaarbeek, Sint-Joost, Sint-Gillis, Vorst and Anderlecht.

III. NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND LOCAL POLICIES IN BRUSSELS

This paragraph wants to discuss the national, regional and local policies for integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Brussels. The stress is on the influence of national, subnational and regional policies on local initiatives. We will not discuss local initiatives as such – since this would be too detailed and complex – but will try to show what policies and policy schemes are developed for Brussels on the different governance levels. Only one particular set of municipal policies - the limits on the registration of non-EU foreigners – of the late eighties and early nineties will be specifically discussed as 'local policy'. Isolated local policies of individual municipalities will not be discussed in order to avoid too much fragmentation and complexity. We will limit our attention to the local articulation of national, subnational and regional policies. Our main objective is to illustrate that the different Belgian governance levels – which we have already discussed in the common introduction – all have their own policies, programs and objectives in the field of integration. This multi-level governance situation leads to a very hybrid overall result as far as integration policy in Brussels is concerned. The difference in approach of the Flemish and Francophones is remarkable. Simplifying, one can state that the stress on the Flemish side is on supporting (and co-operating with) immigrant groups, which are explicitly recognised as ethnic minorities (collective actors). The Flemish thus tend to operate within a framework which resembles the multicultural citizenship model used in the Netherlands and the UK as the dominant framework for integration policy. The Francophones rather want to keep integration policy for immigrants framed within the larger perspective of socio-economic integration of all inhabitants. In addition, they are a lot more reluctant to regard ethnic minorities (as groups) as legitimate collective actors and potential partners in developing policy. The Francophones thus tend to operate within a framework which resembles the republican-assimilationist citizenship model used in France as the dominant framework for integration policy.

3.1 . National policy specifically targeted towards Brussels (Impulse Fund)

Urban riots in Brussels in May 1991 incited the government to create an emergency fund to be used for financing of specific projects aiming at integration of groups of foreign origin. The fund, called the 'Impulse fund for migrant policy' (*Impulsfonds voor migrantenbeleid* or *Fonds d'Impulsion pour la politique des immigrés*), supports projects of public institutions, associations and municipalities. Of the total budget, 41% is reserved for Brussels. The fund is managed by a mixed committee supervised by the federal *Interministerial Conference on Immigration*. The committee comprises representatives of the government and the prime minister, a representative of each of the Community governments and a representative of each of the Regional governments. The daily administration is undertaken by the *Centre for equal opportunities and the fight against racism*. As expressed in the name, the Impulse fund wants to boost initiatives but it is not intended to ensure long-term (infra)structural support to projects and associations. The fund has been given three main domains of attention by the government : 1) education, vocational training and insertion in the labour market, 2) disfavoured neighbourhoods and the youth (between 12 and 20 years old) and 3) local policies and security.

In the Region of Brussels-Capital, only projects situated in one of the 'priority zones for action' (*ZAPs*, '*zones d'action prioritaire*') - selected on the basis of a set of demographic and socio-economic parameters - of the eleven poorest municipalities can be subsidised. Each year new priorities are set within the general domains of attention. In 1995, these were the fight against school drop-outs (22.2 million BEF for Brussels), the

prevention of drug abuse (9.25 million BEF for Brussels) and the fight against trade of people (3 million BEF for Brussels). In 1996, these were education and formation (22.5 million BEF for Brussels), the recruiting of police officers of foreign origin (10 million BEF for Brussels) and the fight against trade of people (3 million BEF for Brussels). In 1997, the priorities were education and formation (22.5 million BEF for Brussels), prevention of drug abuse (11.5 million BEF for Brussels), the fight against trade of people (4.5 million BEF for Brussels), the recruiting of police officers of foreign origin (2 million BEF for Brussels) and intercultural mediation in hospitals. In 1999, the projects had to focus on professional insertion of the youth (16 to 25 year olds), on investments for leisure activities for the youth and on the fight against school drop-outs.

3.2. Subnational and regional policies for Brussels

3.2.1. Region of Brussels-Capital

As noted in the common introduction, policies related to integration of immigrants are in theory since 1980 a prerogative of the Communities. The Region of Brussels-Capital did, however, from its inception, indirectly develop several initiatives pertaining to immigrants. The most notable initiative was the creation in March 1990 by the government of the Region of Brussels-Capital of a (yearly) fund of 100 million francs to finance initiatives aimed at improving the integration and coexistence of different local communities. This fund, officially called the 'fund for integration and cohabitation of local communities' (*'l'intégration et la cohabitation harmonieuse des communautés locales'*), was widely referred to as the 'fund-Picqué' (named after the president of the Regional Executive of Brussels). Although officially not limited to projects regarding immigrants (but aimed at all inhabitants of disfavoured neighbourhoods), the fund was in practice often clearly focused towards immigrants as target groups. The fund implied close co-operation of the Region with municipalities, since the administrative control (*'tutelle'* in French, *'voogdij'* in Dutch) by the Region over municipalities was used as the legal loop-hole allowing to develop some kind of regional integration policy. Indeed, the Region would 'merely' financially support projects of municipalities in the field of integration, in which there was active co-operation of local public actors with local associations or organisations, and would thus in theory not be involved itself in developing an integration policy. At its inception, the focus of the program was on four themes: 1) encouraging responsible leisure activities in (and non-disruptive use of) public areas, 2) promoting citizenship awareness of private actor, 3) sensibilisation of public actors and 4) housing. The last theme was dropped in 1992. In its first year of activity, 13.5 million BEF was transferred to Anderlecht, 11.15 million BEF to Brussels, 9.25 million BEF to Molenbeek, 8.5 million BEF to Vorst, Sint-Gillis, Sint-Joost and Schaarbeek, 8.25 million BEF to Elsene and 7.95 million BEF to Etterbeek, Jette and Koekelberg. In the second year, all these municipalities received between 8 and 13 million BEF, with the exception of Brussels which was granted 25 million BEF due to a modification of the criteria for distribution (now taking into account both relative as absolute numbers of a set of demographic and socio-economic parameters). A wide range of activities was sponsored, often involving 'classic' semi-official associations and organisations but only a relatively small number of youth associations and migrant self-associations. Existing networks and municipal traditions appear to have been rather important for the choice of partners (Meynen, 1997: 131-132). In 1995, the program was renamed the 'cohabitation program' (*'cohabitation des différentes communautés locales'*) and transferred to the Francophone Community Commission (COCOF).

The Region of Brussels-Capital also had and has a number of projects aimed at inserting the unemployed in the labour market, which are indirectly firmly targeted towards immigrant groups. Between 1992 and 1999, most of these projects have been co-ordinated by a special regional taskforce, known as the '*Délégation régionale interministérielle aux Solidarités urbaines*' (DRISU) in French and the '*Gewestelijke Interministeriële Afvaardiging voor Stedelijke Solidariteit*' (GIASSt) in Dutch. An important problem of the unemployed in Brussels is their low level of education. Often these un(der)educated people are foreigners. Indeed, approximately one in five of the unemployed in Brussels did not receive education in Belgium and do not even hold a degree of lower secondary education. The Region has the policy objective to insert these disfavoured persons in the labour market. The Brussels Agency for Employment ('*Brusselse Gewestelijke Dienst voor Arbeidsbemiddeling (BGDA)*') has therefore developed special insertion programmes for young immigrants between 18 and 25. On the local level, there is a strong collaboration with several co-ordination centres ('*missions locales*') which have been created by the Region in order to co-ordinate local employment initiatives in the most problematic municipalities (Anderlecht, Molenbeek, Brussels, Sint-Joost, Schaarbeek, Etterbeek, Elsene, Sint-Gillis and Vorst).

3.2.2. the Flemish Community

The Flemish government created a yearly fund in 1990 in order to finance initiatives aimed at fighting poverty and social exclusion. The fund, the '*Vlaams Fonds voor de Integratie van Kansarmen*' (VFIK), was later renamed the '*Sociaal Impulsfonds*' (SIF) in 1996. Every year a SIF-budget of 80 million BEF (augmented to 100 million BEF in 1999) is transferred directly to the Flemish Community Commission ('*Vlaamse Gemeenschapscommissie (VGC)*') to be used in Brussels. The stress of the SIF-program in the Region of Brussels-Capital is on living conditions and employment. Of the total budget, 25% is explicitly reserved for projects related to immigrant communities. In Flanders, the fund is distributed in partnership schemes with the municipalities. Because the Flemish do not control the municipalities in the Capital Region, subsidies are in Brussels directly granted to local associations which are active in the fight against poverty and social exclusion. Projects funded by the SIF have to be located in disfavoured neighbourhoods of the poorer municipalities Anderlecht, Molenbeek, Koekelberg, Brussels, Schaarbeek, St-Joost, Etterbeek, Elsene, St-Gilles or Vorst.

The Flemish Community Commission (VGC) also has its own budget for the fight against poverty and for integration policy. An important activity is the subsidising of all kinds of intercultural projects (35 in 1998) undertaken by local actors ('*samenlevingsinitiatieven*') and support for the organisation of courses of Dutch for immigrants in Brussels (5.3 million BEF in 1998 for *vzw Coördinatie Nederlands Migranten* and *Taallessen Nederlands aan Jonge Migranten*). Overall, policy towards immigrants ('*alloctonenbeleid*') is framed within the larger perspective of urban policy oriented at cohabitation of different groups ('*samenlevingsbeleid*').

Since the 1998 decree on ethnic and cultural minorities ('*Decreet inzake het Vlaamse beleid ten aanzien van etnisch-culturele minderheden*'), the categorial social sector is seen as the main partner of the Flemish government for its policy toward ethnic minorities. For Brussels, this implies that the Flemish Community Commission closely collaborates with the regional integration centre (*Regionaal Integratiecentrum Foyer*) and the four local integration centres (*LISA, Lokaal integratiecentrum Noordwijk, Guvercin* and *Dar al Amal*). The regional integration centre *Foyer* - originally (1969) a catholic private initiative - has the supervising task to co-ordinate and monitor Flemish activities towards immigrants in

Brussels. It has a long tradition in co-ordinating and organising projects targeted towards immigrant groups. The local integration centres - subsidised by the Flemish Community - have a large number of tasks to fulfil, ranging from supply of information (from immigrants to local and regional administrations and vice versa) to community work in the areas of education, housing, intergenerational relations, employment, youth and the position of women. The local integration centres can probably best be described as clusters of existing associations which have transformed themselves in order to fit into the schemes of the Flemish integration policy and thus assure funding for their activities (Vandenbrande, 1997: 208). Each local integration centre has its own neighbourhoods to develop its activities. The *Lokaal Integratiecentrum Samenleven* (LISA) is active in the west and south of Brussels-city (areas near the canal Brussels-Charleroi, Rue du Midi, Boulevard A.Max and Boulevard Anspach). LISA focuses its activities on the fight against poverty amongst immigrants and (inter)community relations. It relies on the support of volunteers ('*buurtantennes*') to monitor the situation in the different neighbourhoods and to spread information. The *Lokaal Integratiecentrum Noordwijk* is active near and in Sint-Joost (areas between the canal, Groendreef, Boudewijnlaan and Rogierplein). It focuses on co-ordinating initiatives of different social organisations towards immigrants (mainly related to the issue of housing) and organises socio-cultural activities. The *Lokaal Integratiecentrum Schaarbeek Guvercin* is active in Schaarbeek (areas between North Station, Stephensonstraat, Navezstraat, P.Deschanellaan and Lambermontlaan). *Guvercin* focuses its activities on women and children and on the functioning as an information centre for immigrants. The *Lokaal Integratiecentrum Dar Al Amal* - in practice part of *Foyer* and mainly oriented towards women - is located in Molenbeek. It wants to be an information centre and a meeting point for the different groups of the neighbourhood.

Both the Flemish Community Commission (VGC) as the Flemish Community subsidise migrant self-organisations in Brussels. To be eligible for funding an organisation has to be oriented towards emancipation, education and integration, has to function as a meeting point and has to fulfil a cultural function. In addition, the organisation has to operate using (also) the Dutch language - if not always, then at least at the executive level. It should be underlined that the creation and functioning of 'Flemish' migrant self-organisations is indeed very actively stimulated by the Flemish Community Commission and that this has given an important energy-boost to immigrant associational life in Brussels. In the second half of the nineties, the Flemish Community Commission has given the organisation *Intercultureel Centrum voor Migranten vzw* (ICCM) the task to co-ordinate and support the 'Flemish' migrant self-organisations. The ICCM has, since its creation on 31 March 1993, thus already supported a significant number of migrant associations in Brussels (Agrupacion Cultural Sur, Alhambra vzw, Bawasa vzw, Blanco y Negro, Centro Gallego, EATA, Euro-Afrikaanse Fondatie, Evrites vzw, Ghanaba, Koerdisch Bureau, Koerdisch Instituut, Matalumbo vzw, Meervoud, Mezcla vzw, N'Imagighen vzw, Pachamama vzw and Toubas vzw). There is a special collaboration with the Moroccan federation FMDO and the African federation RVDAGE focusing on activities in Brussels.

3.2.3. Francophone policies

The Francophone Community Commission ('*Commission communautaire française (COCOF)*') organises three important programs of 'social insertion' ('*insertion sociale*') that are in practice mainly directed towards immigrants as target groups. These programs are a funding scheme for local projects ('*la cohabitation des différentes communautés locales*'), a

funding scheme for associations (*l'insertion social*) and a youth program (*Eté-Jeunes*). In 1995, the 'fund-Picqué' was renamed the 'cohabitation program' (*cohabitation des différentes communautés locales*) and transferred from the Region of Brussels-Capital to the Francophone Community Commission (COCOF). The fund, consisting out of 120 million BEF, is used to finance local projects of Francophone organisations in the 15 poorest municipalities of the Region of Brussel-Capital. Depending on parameters as the number of non-EU foreigners, the overall comfort of housing, the demographic structure and the number of unemployed (etc.), every municipality is assigned a certain proportion of the fund to be used in local projects. Since 1997, the municipalities have to co-finance the program (10% in 1997, 20% in 1998 and 30% in 1999). It is hoped that this will enhance involvement and monitoring of the projects by the local administrations. In order to receive funding, private local partners (associations) are obliged to tune their activities in to local (public) structures. In total, over 200 associations are involved in over 450 projects. Half of the projects are concerned with public areas, one in three is related to sensibilisation of public actors and one in six is linked to citizenship awareness. The fund-Picqué only supports particular projects and cannot be used to support the infrastructure of associations. Associations can, however, since recently receive (infra)structural support through the COCOF-program for social insertion (*l'insertion social*) if they are active in disfavoured neighbourhoods. The associational COCOF-program entailed a budget of 81 million BEF in 1999. The COCOF also has a special youth programme (*Eté-Jeunes*) directed to the 12 to 18 year olds, living in disfavoured neighbourhoods. Initiatives during summer holiday, jointly organised by three local actors (private associations or public organisations), can be subsidised (35 in 1995, 41 in 1996 and 69 in 1998). In 1994, the budget of the program consisted out of 5 million BEF. In 1999, *Eté-Jeunes* had a budget of 12 million BEF.

3.3. Limits on the registration of non-EU foreigners on the local level

A number of municipalities in Brussels have had specific local policies towards non-EU immigrants which other municipalities – with the exception of Liège in 1991 - could not implement. For a period of 8 years several municipalities in Brussels have been able to forbid the arrival of new non-EU foreigners on their territories. This was made possible by a change of the Law of 15 December 1980 on the access, residence, sojourning and expulsion of foreigners in 1984. This new legal disposition is best known as 'article 18bis'. The procedure was that certain municipalities with high numbers of foreign residents would be able to refuse registration of new foreigners after a demand to that purpose to the Minister of Interior. The idea was to limit the possibility of the creation of ghettos and concentration neighbourhoods. Although problematic from an international legal point of view, the procedure has been implemented between 1985 and 1993 in six municipalities of the Region of Brussels-Capital : Vorst, Sint-Gillis, Molenbeek, Sint-Joost, Schaarbeek and Anderlecht. Analyses of the impact of the legal disposition on the mobility of non-EU foreigners have all shown that the procedure has not been able to stop the demographic increase of the foreign population in the concerned municipalities. Several reasons have been put forward for this. First of all, the procedure could of course not put a halt to the natural demographic evolution of the foreign population. Secondly, there were a set of legal factors involved. The procedure could not be used to refuse registration of EU-foreigners nor of non-EU foreigners who had already relatives living in the concerned municipalities. The procedure could only apply to non-EU foreigners who were not yet registered in the concerned municipalities and had no relatives there. In 1991 foreign students were exempted from the interdiction. Thirdly, the mayor had the

prerogative of according individual exemptions to the rule. Although the Minister of Justice had stressed this prerogative should only be used in the most sparing way, figures show that several mayors have widely used their discretionary powers in the matter. As a result, the procedure has not had the aspired effect and has even been counterproductive. Already settled immigrant communities stayed put because they feared they would not be able to get registered in other locations. It has been widely stressed that the procedure was discriminatory and has created a negative discursive link between feelings of urban insecurity and the presence of immigrant communities (Meynen, 1997). Although it has not been in use anymore since 1993, the procedure is still present in the Law of 1980 and could thus be reintroduced at any time.

IV. FORMAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

In this section, we will discuss the position of immigrants and ethnic minority groups in the political field of Brussels. In a first paragraph, we will shortly sketch the overall distribution of political power in Brussels on the local and regional level. In paragraphs two and three, we will focus our attention to the (last) local elections of October 1994³. These elections are of particular importance in the context of this overview for two specific reasons: On the one hand the extreme right parties gained mayor successes. On the other hand several Belgians of non-EU origin succeeded in getting elected. In the fourth paragraph we will discuss the issue of immigrant representation in the regional parliament, focusing on the 1999 regional election.

4.1. Distribution of political parties in Brussels on the local and regional level

Even if one only takes into account the last three regional elections (1989, 1995 and 1999) and the last two local elections (1988 and 1994), it is a very difficult task to present the political balance of power in the Region of Brussels-Capital and its 19 municipalities. The main reason for this is the instability of the local political party system and associated problems to identify links between electoral lists. We will therefore not try to present the distribution of political parties in Brussels, but will limit ourselves to a general sketch.⁴

Since the mid nineties, the Francophone PRL-FDF is the most important political group in Brussels on the regional level. It actually consists out of a coalition of the right-liberal PRL and the radical-Francophone FDF, which used to be independent political parties. The PRL-FDF controlled 35% of the vote in 1995 and 1999 and has thus gained an indispensable position in the power play at the regional level. They thus even joined the regional government in 1995, although they were not part of the ruling left-wing coalition (socialists and christian-democrats) at the national level. Within the municipalities of Ixelles, Etterbeek, Koekelberg, Sint-Lambrechts Woluwe, Sint-Pieters Woluwe, Ukkel and Vorst the PRL is also the main electoral force on the municipal level. Its partner FDF is very strong in Auderghem, St-Lambrechts Woluwe and Watermaal-Bosvoorde. A decade ago the PS socialists were still the strongest group on the regional level, holding 22% of the vote. In 1995, they became the second group with 21.4% of the vote. The PS traditionally has a firm hold on the municipalities of Anderlecht, Evere, Sint-Gillis, Molenbeek and Sint-Joost. In the 1999 regional elections the PS, however, dropped to 16% of the vote and were surpassed by the green party Ecolo which gained

³ The next local elections are to be held in October 2000.

⁴ This information is based on the work of MARES, A. (1999) 'Politiek-electorale verhoudingen in het Brussels Hoofdstedelijk Gewest en in de 19 gemeenten', pp. 307-350 in E. Witte, A. Alen, H. Dumont & R. Ergec (red.) *Het statuut van Brussel - Bruxelles et son statut*. Brussel: Larcier.

18.3% of the vote. The power base of the christian-democrat PSC is mainly located in the city of Brussels, Ganshoren, Jette and Sint-Agatha Berchem.

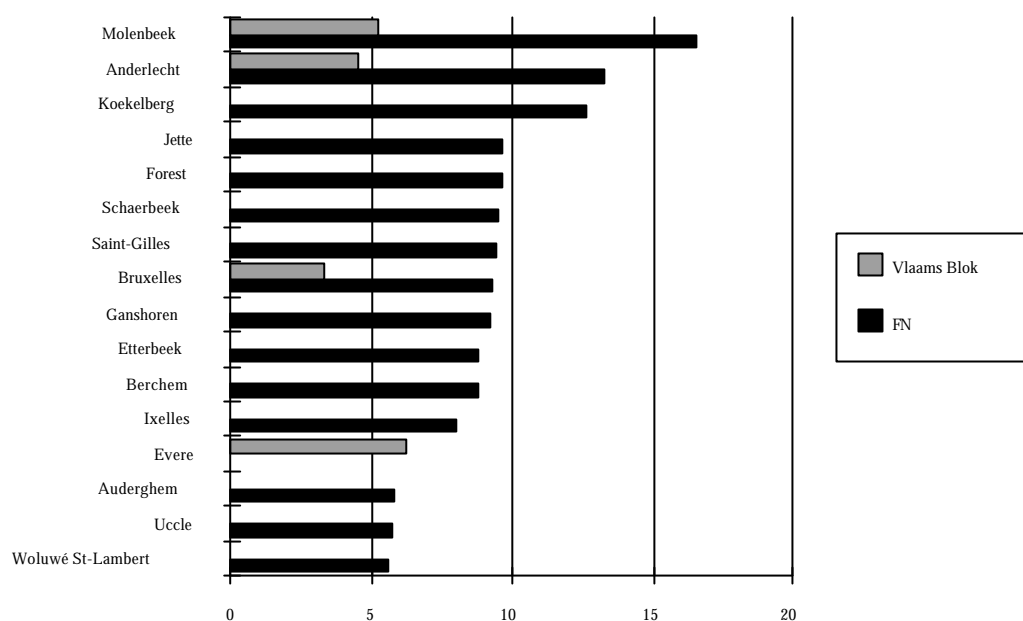
One of the striking political developments of the last elections has been the rise of racist extreme right-wing parties. The extreme right-wing FN had its best results in Molenbeek, Anderlecht en Koekelberg. The extreme right-wing *Vlaams Blok* has even become the largest political party on Flemish side in the 1999 regional elections. This forced all other Flemish parties to co-operate in forming the Flemish part of the regional government in Brussels. The Flemish have an above average support in the western municipalities Anderlecht, Sint Agatha Berchem, Ganshoren and Koekelberg. They are politically almost non-present in the southern and south-eastern municipalities, which are clearly dominated by the Francophones.

The Regional government is dominated since 1995 by the Francophone parties PRL-FDF and PS. It should further be stressed that municipal politics are very much influenced by a few 'heavyweight' political actors. Several mayors are important national political actors, try to defend their own power base and try to keep the influence of the regional government in their municipalities as minimal as possible.

4.2. The success of extreme right-wing parties in the local elections of 1994

The good results of the extreme right parties in the municipal elections of October 1994 were a reflection of earlier successes of these parties in the European and provincial elections held earlier that year in June. It was striking that the traditional parties had put less stress on the issue of immigration in the campaign for these municipal elections than in earlier electoral campaigns. In the former local elections of 1988, some politicians of the traditional parties – mainly right-liberals - had used offensive anti-immigrant slogans and had raised doubts about the presence of immigrants in Brussels. In 1994, it seemed as if the traditional parties had made an implicit deal to refrain from appealing to xenophobia in search for electoral gain. The extreme right parties *Front National* (FN) and *Vlaams Blok*, however, used the immigration issue as the core subject of their campaigns. One could possibly interpret the important electoral success of the FN and *Vlaams Blok* as a result of the fact that the immigration issue had disappeared from the rhetorics of the traditional parties. In earlier times they had been giving these xenophobic discourses, which were now solely being used by the extreme right, some respectability.

Figure 4. The results of the extreme right in the local elections of 1994 in Brussels



Due to fraud, the lists of the *Front National* (FN) had been rejected in Evere and Saint-Josse. They were, however, present in the 17 other municipalities of Brussels and succeeded in gaining seats in no less than 15 of them. In 1988, the FN still had only one seat (in Molenbeek) in the entire Region of Brussels-Capital. In the next local elections of 1994, they suddenly had 47 councillors. It is therefore no exaggeration to speak of a huge progress for the extreme right. As can be seen in figure 4, the FN passed the mark of 10% in three municipalities : Molenbeek, Anderlecht and Koekelberg. In general, the FN had more success in those municipalities with a high density of foreign residents. On Flemish side, the *Vlaams Blok* was present in 11 municipalities and was able to get four seats (Anderlecht, Brussels, Evere, Molenbeek). Their best score was in Evere, the municipality in which the list of the FN had been rejected. In this context, it is also worth noting that the list SJZOOO gained 12.5% of the votes and 3 seats in St-Josse, the other municipality in which the list of the FN had been rejected. It will come as no surprise that SJZOOO was overtly anti-immigrant and xenophobic in its electoral campaign.

4.3. Representation of Belgian immigrants in the 1994 local elections

Another important novelty of the 1994 elections was the increased importance of (Belgian) candidates and of elected (Belgian) politicians of foreign origin. According to a study of the CRISP, 107 candidates in the local elections were of non-EU foreign origin and 14 of them got elected. Of these candidates, 72 figured on lists which had already been present in the 1988 elections. Indeed, a large majority of the candidates figured on lists of traditional political parties rather than on 'ethnic' lists comprised only of Belgians of foreign origin.

Most of the Belgian candidates of foreign origin figured on Francophone or bilingual lists. On Francophone side, the green party Ecolo had 28 candidates, the socialist PS 14, the christian-democrat PSC 13, the radical-Francophone FDF 10 candidates and the right-liberal PRL none. On Flemish side, the radical-Flemish *Volksunie* – not to be mistaken with the extreme right *Vlaams Blok* - had 3 candidates of foreign origin.

Table 5. Candidates and elected Belgians of foreign (non-EU) origin in Brussels

	Candidates of foreign (non-EU) origin	Elected of foreign (non-EU) origin
Anderlecht	9	1
Auderghem	0	0
Berchem	1	0
Bruxelles	22	3
Etterbeek	6	0
Forest	2	1
Ganshoren	0	0
Ixelles	8	1
Jette	0	0
Koekelberg	1	1
Molenbeek	18	1
Saint-Gilles	8	1
Saint-Josse	8	2
Schaerbeek	18	3
Uccle	1	0
Woluwé-Saint-Lambert	2	0
Total	107	14

The candidates of Ecolo were ranked the best, with a first position in St-Gilles and second positions in Anderlecht, St-Josse and Molenbeek. The best positions of candidates of foreign origin in other parties, were fourth in the PS (Schaerbeek), sixth in the PSC (St-Gilles) and seventh in the FDF (Schaerbeek). Preferential voting, however, partly disrupted the importance of the ranking on the lists. A number of candidates of foreign origin got elected due to preferential voting and in spite of their disadvantageous ranking. Indeed, half of the 14 elected had a ranking above place nine on the electoral lists. Of the elected, 6 figured on the PS-lists, 6 were on the Ecolo-lists and 2 were on the FDF-lists. Each one of these elected Belgians of foreign origin had refused to profile him- or herself as an 'ethnic' candidate in the campaign. They had, instead, all tried to stress their concerns in defending the common good for all. However, given the good results in preferential votes it seems very plausible that there has been some kind of 'ethnic voting'. It would be incorrect to claim that only Belgians of foreign origin would have voted for these candidates or that all Belgians of foreign origin have voted for these politicians. One can, however, fairly well postulate that a part of the (immigrant and non-immigrant) electorate has expressed the wish to see 'ethnic' politicians in the municipal councils by deliberately voting for these Belgians of foreign origin. In this respect, one could compare this kind of 'ethnic voting' to voting behaviour (of men and women) in favour of getting women elected.

4.4. Representation of ethnic minorities in Brussels parliament in 1999

Brussels is clearly a polyethnic society (Kymlicka, 1995: 15). Indeed, all kinds of immigrant groups are present and integrated into the local structures of the capital and a substantial amount of the ethnic minority groups *de facto* refuse to assimilate and want to preserve their own cultural identities (Kymlicka, 1995: 15). The existence of ethnic minority groups has never been officially recognised as a reason for group differentiated rights. Ethnic minorities have no independent public recognition outside the dual Flemish-Francophone structure of the political field. However, since ethnic minority

groups will increasingly play a very important role in the (demographic) development of the city, they clearly constitute an important new factor in the Flemish-Francophone divide and a potential electoral pool for individual political parties. The Francophone parties had already modestly taken this into consideration in the 1994 municipal elections and the 1995 regional elections. As has been stated earlier, in the local elections of 1994, on a total of 647 elected councillors, 14 were of non-EU origin and these were all elected on Francophone lists. In the regional elections of 1995, four candidates of foreign origin (three Moroccan and one Tunisian) were elected into Parliament (on a total of 75 MPs), once again all four on Francophone lists (3 PS and 1 Ecolo). The Flemish parties had done practically no efforts to enlist candidates of foreign origin.

This would change in the Regional elections of 13 June 1999, coinciding with no less than three other elections in Brussels (European Parliament, the Chamber and the Senate). It is worth discussing these elections in some detail, since they seem to constitute the beginning of a new phase in which ethnic minorities become important political actors in Brussels. The Flemish socialist party SP and the Flemish ecologist party *Agalev* joined forces with a group of independent intellectuals and formed the alliance *SP!Aga* for the elections of the Brussels Parliament. On the *SP!Aga*-list a young female lawyer of Moroccan descent, Yamila Idrissi, was given a prominent (but not a very likely one to be elected in) 4th position. Moreover, several people of foreign origin, some of them clearly Francophones, took part in the alliance. The Flemish-right liberals VLD and the moderate nationalists *Volksunie* also joined forces in an alliance and gave a young male social worker of Moroccan descent, Fouad Ahidar, the 4th position on its electoral list. The Flemish christian-democratic party CVP also incorporated candidates of foreign origin, but these were given less prominent positions. For the first time these Flemish parties also campaigned in French in order to address possible Francophone (immigrant) supporters. On Francophone side, all parties (except the racist FN and FNB) included candidates of foreign origin on their lists. Ecolo, PS and PRL-FDF gave several candidates of foreign origin positions on their lists in which they would almost certainly be elected. In the neighbourhoods with high concentrations of immigrants, there was a very lively and intense campaign of all parties. Indeed, it was really only in the immigrant neighbourhoods of Brussels that one could not help noticing there would be elections held. Although we weren't able to study this systematically, it is worth noticing that a lot of shops in the immigrant neighbourhoods had several posters of candidates of foreign origin from different political parties hanging in the same window. Although collections of posters of candidates of the same ethnic background were still predominant, there were also several shops and bars which had posters of candidates from different ethnic backgrounds (and different parties) in their windows. With the necessary caveats, one could hypothesise that street-level campaigning in immigrant neighbourhoods seemed to be both relying on ethnic as 'black' and antiracist identities (See Cadat & Fennema, 1998).

The *Vlaams Blok*, the racist and extreme right wing party, of course, did not include any people of foreign descent on its list. Their electoral campaign, however, also had the novelty of addressing itself to the Francophone inhabitants in Brussels. The official party line of striving for Flemish independence and incorporation of Brussels within the Flemish republic were, however, consciously kept low profile (and sometimes even avoided) in their Francophone advertisements which primarily wanted to appeal to anti-immigrant sentiments. A striking development had further been that the *Vlaams Blok*, as a extreme nationalist Flemish party, had incorporated several figures of former Francophone and unitarist extreme right wing parties such as FN and FNB. Their advent had a lot, if not everything, to do with the advent of a new prominent figure within the

Vlaams Blok who had been given the first position on the electoral list for Brussels: former head of police Johan Demol. Johan Demol had previously been head of police in the municipality of Schaarbeek where he had installed a harsh repressive zero tolerance regime which had been given a lot of media attention. He was forced to resign when it was revealed he had been member of the forbidden Francophone fascist paramilitary movement *Front de la Jeunesse* in his youth and had lied about this membership under oath. Ostracised by the political establishment, Demol was then welcomed by the *Vlaams Blok* to head their campaign in Brussels. Although perfectly bilingual, Demol had a clear Francophone profile. Indeed, to be able to head the list of the *Vlaams Blok*, Demol even had to change the language of his ID-card from French to Dutch. As noted before, the members of the Brussels parliament are elected on linguistically-divided lists in order to be able to differentiate whether the politicians are Flemish or Francophone and thus assure the good functioning of the system of group-differentiated rights. To stand as a candidate on one of those linguistically divided lists, one has to be in possession of an ID-card in the language of that same list. This practice of the *Vlaams Blok* to give a (former) Francophone the central position for the regional elections in Brussels, is of course a very peculiar move for a party striving for absolute protection of the 'purity' of the Flemish culture and the collapse of the bilingual federal Belgian state. The *Vlaams Blok* nevertheless made no secret of its intentions with the peculiar choice for Demol. Putting forward a popular figure, almost physically embodying the idea of law and order, was seen as an instrument in gaining Francophone votes. The *Vlaams Blok* openly stated their aim was to gain more seats in Brussels' parliament through additional Francophone votes than all other Flemish parties joined together. If this were to be achieved, they would have a majority on the Flemish side and would be able to disrupt (and even block) the entire system of checks and balances between Flemish and Francophones in Brussels. The Region of Brussels-Capital would thus become trapped in an institutional deadlock, which in turn would trigger the disintegration of the entire Belgian federal state system. *Mutatis mutandis*, a gain of 25,000 to 30,000 additional Francophone votes - the score of the extreme right Francophone FN in the 1995 elections - would possibly be sufficient to achieve an absolute majority on Flemish side. The group-differentiated right of the Flemish to be part of the Brussels' government would thus be (mis)used in a perverse strategy to tackle the entire consociational federal and regional institutional model.

It is clear the democratic Flemish and Francophone political parties were, mildly put, not at all pleased with the plans and the malign strategy of the *Vlaams Blok*. Several large scale campaigns were set up trying to convince the electorate - Flemish and Francophone - in Brussels not to vote for the *Vlaams Blok*. Alternative strategies were (semi-secretly) worked out to keep the *Vlaams Blok* from Flemish power in Brussels and make it impossible for them to disrupt the political system of the Region of Brussels-Capital, which is ultimately based on a co-operative model between Flemish and Francophones. Some Francophones movements urged their rank and file to vote for Flemish democratic parties in order to frustrate the attempts of the *Vlaams Blok*. Last but not least, the computer system used for the ballot was thus programmed that voters should first choose their language for instructions and would then be presented the list of either the Flemish or the Francophone parties, according to whether one had chosen Dutch or French as the language for instructions earlier. It was not made impossible to still vote for a party in the other language list, but it was neither made very easy. Officially this procedure was opted for because of purely technical reasons. This could well be the case, but it is widely accepted in journalistic circles that there is more to the story. One can wonder if it is a coincidence that it has become less evident for

Francophone voters to be able and locate the list of the Vlaams Blok on the computer monitor.

In these first post-*Dutroux* elections, which were held two weeks after the Belgian *dioxin*-scandal broke loose, the ruling christian-democratic (CVP & PSC) and socialist parties (SP & PS) faced major losses almost all over the country. Liberals (VLD) and moderate Flemish nationalists (VU-ID) slightly won and the extreme right *Vlaams Blok* and the ecologist *Agalev* scored major successes in Flanders. In Wallonia and Brussels the Francophone ecologist party *ECOLO* convincingly won the elections. Table 6 presents an overview of the results of the regional elections for Brussels Parliament in 1999, which are of most interest to us here. Of the 75 seats in Brussels Parliament, the Flemish parties had held 10 seats from 1995 to 1999. In the 1999 elections, the Flemish gained one seat.

Table 6. Results of the elections for the Region of Brussels-Capital

	% 1999	% 1995	seats 1999	seats 1995	votes 1999	votes 1995
ECOLO	18.3%	9%	14	7	77,969	37,308
PRL-FDF	34.4%	35%	27	28	146,845	144,478
PS	16%	21.4%	13	17	68,307	88,370
PSC	7.9%	9.3%	6	7	33,815	38,244
VIVANT	1.5%		1		6,431	
FN	2.6%	7.5%	2	6	11,204	30,803
FNB	1.3%		1		5,528	
<i>total Francophone</i>	86%	86.4%	64 seats	65 seats	366,195	356,231
VL.BLOK	4.5%	3%	4	2	19,310	12,507
CVP	3.3%	3.3%	3	3	14,284	13,586
VLD-VU-O	3.2%		2		13,729	
VLD		2.7%		2		11,034
VU		1.4%		1		5,726
SP-AGA	3.1%		2		13,223	
SP		2.4%		2		9,987
AGALEV		0.9%		0		3,906
<i>total Flemish</i>	14.1%	13.7%	11 seats	10 seats	60,546	56,746

On Francophone side, the most remarkable results were the facts that *ECOLO* won 7 seats, doubling its number to 14, that the socialist *PS* lost 4 seats, falling back to 13 and that the extreme right and racist party *FN* and its dissident party *FNB* jointly lost 3 seats, falling back to 3 seats. On Flemish side, the gain of the *Vlaams Blok* is the most striking phenomenon. It is, however, clear that the *Vlaams Blok*, although conquering the first position among the Flemish parties did not succeed in its ambition to attain the absolute majority. It is unclear how many Francophones voted for the *Vlaams Blok*, since unfortunately no exit-polls were held in Brussels. Undoubtedly, the party did succeed in attracting Francophone votes, but not to the extent as they had hoped to do. The total number of voters for Flemish parties increased, leading to an additional seat. This is probably due to Francophones now voting for Flemish parties, but cannot be determined with certainty. It is further unclear how many of them voted for the *Vlaams Blok* or, on the contrary, voted for one of the Flemish democratic parties. What is clear is that the *Vlaams Blok* gained votes and that the sum of the Flemish democratic parties lost votes in comparison to the 1995 elections. As a result of the elections, all democratic Flemish

parties are forced to co-operate in creating a Flemish government in Brussels, just as had been the case in 1994 in the municipal council of Antwerp (See Bousetta, 1998).

Table 7 shows the top 10 of preferential votes for Flemish candidates in the Brussels' elections. Johan Demol of the *Vlaams Blok* is clearly the most popular one, judging by preferential votes. Although this did not lead to her election, the SP!Aga candidate Yamila Idrissi of Moroccan origin had a very good personal score. It is unlikely that this is due to ethnic voting since Ms. Idrissi originates from Antwerp and has only recently settled in Brussels, has only very recently been active in associational life in Brussels and has no direct connections to the Moroccan community in Brussels. One should therefore interpret her electoral success as the result of support of an antiracist (mainly non-immigrant) electorate. Fouad Ahidar, best ranked candidate of foreign origin for VLD-VU-O and very active within the Moroccan community as a social worker, had a less spectacular result with 746 preferential votes. On Flemish side, no candidate of immigrant descent was directly elected into parliament.

Table 7. Top 10 of preferential votes of Flemish candidates

name of politician (and ranking in top 100 of all preferential votes)	political party and position on electoral list	amount of preferential votes
1. Johan DEMOL (5)	Vlaams Blok - 1	12,421 - elected
2. Jos CHABERT (12)	CVP - 1	5,819 - elected
3. Annemie NEYTS (18)	VLD-VU-O - 1	4,832 - elected
4. Brigitte GROUWELS (31)	CVP - 2	3,393 - elected
5. Rufin GRIJP (58)	SP-AGA - 1	2,178 - elected
6. Yamila IDRISSE (86)	SP-AGA - 4	1,621 - not elected
7. Anne VAN ASBROECK (94)	SP-AGA - 3	1,568 - not elected
8. Bert ANCIAUX (95)	VLD-VU-O - suppleant	1,539 - not elected
9. Adelheid BYTTEBIER	SP-AGA - 2	1,482 - elected
10. Walter VANDENBOSSCHE	CVP - suppleant	1,323 - not elected

On Francophone side, not a single candidate of Subsahara African origin nor of Turkish origin was elected into parliament. It should be noted, however, that Ramazan Koyuncu (PS), of Turkish origin, received quite some preferential votes even though she had a very unfavourable 64th position on her electoral list (see table 4). It is further striking that not a single candidate originating from another EU-country was elected. Eight candidates of Maghreb-origin (Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria) did get elected into Brussels Parliament: Fatiha Saidi (ECOLO), Mohamed Daif (PS), Sfia Bouarfa (PS), Mostafa Ouezekhti (PRL-FDF), Mahfoudh Romdhani (PS), Mohamed Azzouzi (PS), Amina Derbaki Sbai (PRL-FDF) and Fouad Lahssaini (ECOLO). All of them figured on a Francophone list. Four of them, Sfia Bouarfa, Mahfoud Romdhani, Mostefa Ouezekhti and Mohamed Daif had already been elected in 1995. All of the elected Maghreb-candidates had been given a good position on the list to be elected, with the exception of Mohamed Azzouzi (PS) who only had the 38th position on the electoral list of this party and nevertheless got elected due to his good score of preferential votes. Without exception all these candidates of immigrant descent had relatively high scores of preferential votes in comparison to their party members. This is probably due to a combination of ethnic and antiracist (autochthonous) voting.

Table 8. Top 12 of preferential votes of candidates of foreign non-EU origin

Name of politician (and ranking in top 100)	Political party, position on electoral list and 'origin'	amount of preferential votes
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1. Fatiha SAIDI (19)	ECOLO - 7 - Maghreb	4,737 - elected
2. Mohamed DAIF (22)	PS - 12 - Maghreb	4,235 - elected
3. Sfia BOUARFA (39)	PS - 5 - Maghreb	3,013 - elected
4. Mostafa OUEZEKHTI (48)	PRL-FDF - 10 - Maghreb	2,465 - elected
5. Mahfoudh ROMDHANI (65)	PS - 16 - Maghreb	2,045 - elected
6. Mohamed AZZOUZI (66)	PS- 38 - Maghreb	2,025 - elected
7. Fatima BOUDJAOUI (67)	ECOLO - 37 - Maghreb	1,979 - not elected
8. Fouad LAHSSAINI (69)	ECOLO - 12 - Maghreb	1,967 - elected
9. Ramazan KOYUNCU (75)	PS - 64 - Turkey	1,812 - not elected
10. Abderrahim CHERKE (78)	ECOLO - 22 - Maghreb	1,713 - not elected
11. Mariem BOUSELMATI (79)	ECOLO - 17 - Maghreb	1,703 - not elected
12. Amina DERBAKI SBAI (80)	PRL-FDF - 21 - Maghreb	1,702 - elected

It is telling that in the new Brussels' Parliament eight members are of foreign (Maghreb) origin. That is only three less than the Flemish representation in the parliament. Far from wanting to claim the MP's of foreign (Maghreb) origin only represent - or even worse: only should represent - the Belgians of non-EU immigrant origin, it can be pointed out that this is a good score if we compare it to the estimated amount of 35,500 Belgians of non-EU origin in the electorate (in 1996, according to Martiniello, 1998: 138); Constituting 6.6% of the electorate, the Belgians of non-EU-origin would proportionally only stand for five seats in parliament. If we would limit the attention to the Belgians of Maghreb origin, focusing on an estimated 15,000 voters (using 1996 data and the method of Martiniello, 1998: 137-138), this would proportionally even lead to only two or three seats. On the other hand, if we would regard these MP's as 'representatives' of all Belgians of foreign origin (EU and non-EU), adding an additional estimated 24,000 Belgians of EU-origin to the calculation, then there would be eight, possibly nine seats needed to have a 'proportional' representation.

But of course, we should keep in mind that talk about proportional representation is controversial in this context, if only when taking into account that 30% of the inhabitants of the Region are non-Belgians and are not even entitled to vote or stand as a candidate. If we would limit our attention to an estimated total of 65,000 adult inhabitants of Brussels of Maghreb ethnic identity (adult Maghreb citizens plus adult Belgian citizens of Maghreb origin in 1996), six or seven seats in parliament should be reserved for this community if wanting to attain a proportional representation. Limiting the attention to nationality and only differentiating between adult Francophone Belgians, adult Flemish Belgians, adult non-EU-foreigners and adult EU-foreigners - and thus not worrying about (other) ethnic identities -, one would have the following hypothetical proportional distribution of seats: For the non-EU-foreigners 10 seats would have to be reserved, while the EU-foreigners would have to be granted 11 seats. The Francophone Belgians (including Belgians of foreign origin) would possess 46 seats and the Flemish Belgians (including Belgians of foreign origin) would possess 8 seats.

It remains an open question how the *de facto* political incorporation of segments of the immigrant community - those who have been granted or have acquired Belgian citizenship - on the one hand and the unavoidable debate over modes of (indirect?) representation of the 30% disenfranchised inhabitants will further affect the position of the Flemish in Brussels in the future. In any event, it seems to be unavoidable that the issue of political incorporation of ethnic minority groups, and possibly in its wake the issue of polyethnic rights, will further encounter the Flemish-Francophone divide and the issue of group differentiated rights for the Flemish in Brussels as a *companion de route*. Given the extraordinary consequences of possible enfranchisement of foreign residents

on the regional level in Brussels, it is highly unlikely that the Flemish - but even the Francophones - would allow non-nationals to participate both actively as passively in the elections of the Brussels' Parliament in the foreseeable future.

V. INFORMAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

5.1. Advisory committees

5.1.1. municipal level

The proposition to install advisory committees of immigrant workers on the local level was raised in 1964 in the concluding report of the 5th Session of the European Conference of Local Administrations. Inspired by this report, the provincial service for immigrants of Liège (*Service Provincial d'Immigration et d'Accueil*) contacted several mayors in order to install such advisory committees. The mayors of Flémalle-Haute and Cheratte took over the idea and installed the first committees on 16 January 1968, on the occasion of the first week of the Immigrant. In Brussels, the radical-Francophone political party *Front Démocratique des Francophones* (FDF), which had won the local elections of 1970, demanded the creation of advisory committees on 26 April 1971. Taking into account the list of municipalities in which advisory committees were created (see Table 10), it seems that the aim was not merely to increase the political participation of immigrant workers as such, but of all foreigners - in particular those working in large multinational firms and international organisations - in Brussels and thus strengthen the position of the French language in the city and its periphery.

Table 10. Advisory committees in the municipalities of Brussels

Municipalities	Date of creation	Percentage of foreigners at date of creation
Etterbeek	1972	14
Forest	1972	19
Koekelberg	1972	13
Kraainem (outside of Brussels)	1972	12
Schaerbeek	1972	22
Saint-Josse	1972	30
Uccle	1972	14
Auderghem	1973	8
Watermael-Boitsfort	1973	8
Woluwé-Saint-Pierre	1973	14
Bruxelles	1974	21

The Belgian experience with advisory committees has been of some international importance, since Belgium was the first European country with a substantial number of such committees. While there were 25 committees in Belgium in 1972, there were only eight in Germany and only two in the Netherlands and France. It was therefore in Courcelles (Belgium) that an international organisation was created in January 1972, *l'Union des Conseils Consultatifs Communaux pour les Immigrés de Belgique et d'Europe*, which would co-ordinate initiatives of advisory committees. Belgium did at the time not have larger numbers of immigrants than France, Switzerland, Germany or Luxemburg. The reason it did pioneer in the matter had more to do with the fact that - in contrast to other countries - the majority of the immigrants in Belgium were of EC-origin. In 1968, 62% of its foreigners were citizens of a EEC-member state and the Italians alone stood for 38% of the total foreign population in Belgium. The fact that the EEC-foreigners (especially French and Italians) were not only increasingly integrated in the Belgian system of privileges (on a legal level) due to the ongoing European integration but were also

discursively incorporated in Belgian society, increasingly pressured local governments to consider installing advisory committees.

Lecture of the different internal regulations of the Belgian advisory committees shows that their mission is above all informative. The advisory committees should provide information on the situation of immigrant communities to local councils and local administrations on the one hand and should provide information to the immigrants on local and regional administrative services. In some internal regulations there is a detailed description of the domains which should be covered, such as housing, health, social security, infrastructure, culture, education, sports, leisure and the relations between Belgians and foreigners. The advisory committees are, however, explicitly forbidden to get involved into politics. This is explicitly stipulated in many internal regulations : «*la compétence du Conseil s'étend, en dehors de toute préoccupation d'ordre politique, à tout problème d'intérêt communal intéressant la vie de la communauté*». The issue of genuine political participation of foreign residents is clearly postponed.

The creation of advisory committees is made by a decision of the mayor and other municipal authorities, regardless of 'objective' criteria as the number of foreign residents or the demands of foreign residents themselves. When there is no political will, there cannot be an advisory committee. In Brussels, the mayors of the municipalities Sint-Gillis, Molenbeek and Anderlecht have refused to install such committees although they have a substantial number of foreign residents. Likewise, there was an advisory committee installed in Oudergem by the mayor without consulting immigrant organisations or the foreign population. In the capital, most political pressure came of the militant Francophone party FDF, aiming at strengthening the importance of the French language in the capital, and not from the communist party PCB or the socialist party PSB. The FDF insisted on installing advisory committees in the five municipalities in which it had administrative power (Etterbeek, Schaerbeek, Forest, Woluwe Saint-Pierre and Uccle). It is only in 1972 in Sint-Joost that a socialist mayor installed an advisory committee. The municipalities with a right-liberal PRL majority (like Brussels and Ixelles) did not accept the idea of creating advisory committees.

After the announcement of the FDF that it wanted to install advisory committees, the initiative was taken by trade unions (especially the socialist FGTB-Bruxelles), immigrant associations and even some EEC-functionaries (mainly Italians) to create an overarching immigrant association. This *Comité de Liaison des Organisations des travailleurs Immigrés* (CLOTI), created 23 June 1971, aimed at rationalising and co-ordinating the designation of committee members without interference of the embassies. In a declaration the CLOTI stated it had the following objectives in influencing the choice of members for advisory committees: a) none of the committee members are representatives of the embassies, b) no distinction between EEC- and non-EEC foreigners, c) professional status is not a criterion for selection, d) the foreigner has to be a representative of its national community, as a member of one of its organisations, e) the candidates have to accept the democratic control by other citizens and f) the representative in advisory committees should regard the preparation of direct election of the members of advisory committees as a priority.

In line with these objectives, the CLOTI presented lists of candidates for the advisory committees to the mayors of the five municipalities. Besides some exceptions, these lists were accepted. In 1975, the CLOTI made a positive evaluation of its activities, mentioning mundane reunions (balls in Uccle and Watermael-Boitsfort, *cheese-parties* in Woluwé-Saint-Pierre and a banquet in a honour of the municipal council in Koekelberg), activities of information and sensibilisation (a bulletin in Vorst and Sint-Joost, meetings in Ukkel and Schaerbeek), and activities of formation (language courses

in Etterbeek, Vorst and Sint-Joost and Islamic religion in Sint-Joost). It did clearly state it regretted the almost non-existing political power of immigrants on the municipal level and the lack of political will to install direct elections in view of the constitution of the advisory committees. The CLOTI would, however, continue its involvement in the advisory committees until 1982, the date it was hoped foreign residents would be allowed to participate in local elections (see former paragraph). The first direct elections of an advisory committee did not turn out to be a success for the CLOTI. In the elections of 25 May 1975 in Etterbeek, only 10% of the foreign residents turned up and embassies (especially the Moroccan) presented their own lists of candidates. In later elections the immigrant population could not be massively mobilised either : 15% and 13% in Sint-Joost, 18.5% and 18.7% in Brussels, 21% in Oudergem and 16% in Etterbeek. The participation was thus much lower in Brussels than in Wallonia. The CLOTI was, however, able to influence the constitution of the advisory committees. In Brussels, the CLOTI was able to gain 30 of the 35 seats in the advisory committee. In Etterbeek, it obtained 15 of the 19 available seats.

It should be mentioned that after some disagreements between Belgians and foreign residents – in particular regarding the strength of the trade unions within the CLOTI -, it was decided that the organisation should be lead by immigrants. Born out of the joint initiative of the trade unions and immigrant associations, the CLOTI had been led by Belgians syndical leaders. After a while, the foreign residents did no longer accept certain paternalistic practices of the trade unions and therefore demanded more power in the organisation. Bringing together a large number of nationalities, the CLOTI turned out to be a remarkable example of immigrant organisation. Due to the diversity of political opinions and experiences, it did, however, function rather slowly. For ‘recent’ immigrant groups like the Moroccans and Turks, the CLOTI often functioned as a vehicle for political refugees and former activists to raise the political consciousness of immigrant workers, who often had never been politically active before. Taking into account the weak levels of participation to the election of advisory committees, the efforts of these intellectuals have not been rewarded completely. The obstacles of immigration with a double mutation from one state to the other and from a rural to an industrial environment, could not that easily be overcome.

Overall, one can conclude that the emancipation of immigrant associations – and not of the immigrant populations – has been one of the most important results of the experience of local advisory committees. In addition, one can claim that the experience of the advisory committees has strengthened the demands for local voting rights. Constantly confronted with their limits to gaining rule political power and influence, the advisory committees were doomed to question their own reasons of existence and enhanced the demands for direct formal political rights of foreign residents at the local level.

5.1.2. regional level

5.5.3.1. Mixed commission(s) for the foreign inhabitants of Brussels

Shortly after its creation in 1989, the four regional assemblies of the Region of Brussels Capital, jointly took an interest in integration policy issues and participation of immigrant communities therein. The Regional parliament, the Flemish Community commission (VGC), the Francophone Community commission (COCOF) and the common Community commission (GGC) on 27 March 1990 decided to create a so-called 'explorative' commission on immigrant issues. The commission on the one hand had to study possible steps which could be taken to improve relations between the regional

political institutions and different immigrant groups in the Region and on the other hand had to look into what issues would have to be tackled. The commission, installed in May 1990, was given one year to accomplish this mission. It consisted out of 36 members of which half were regional politicians and the other half were representatives of immigrant or Belgian-immigrant associations. The explorative commission finalised its report on 21 June 1991. Its conclusions led to a resolution adopted by the Regional parliament on 9 July 1991, in which the wish was stated to create a permanent mixed commission - *mixed* because consisting out of elected politicians and representatives of immigrant groups - on immigrant issues. In the resolution, the powers, structure and overall organisation of this future commission were laid down, as well as the procedures for designating the representatives of immigrant groups. In addition, a special Charter, the *Charte des devoirs et des droits pour une cohabitation harmonieuse des populations bruxelloises*, stipulating the ground rules for coexistence of the different groups in Brussels was put forward.

The mixed commission would essentially dispose of a consultative power. It would examine projects or proposals relevant to the immigrant communities and would equally be able to propose new initiatives. The issues the mixed commission can address and the policy fields it can get involved into, were explicitly stipulated in the resolution: education, employment, housing, living conditions, relations with the police, problems associated to non-implementation of laws, teaching of Islam religion, local political participation, the rights and the position of women in society and refugees.

Just like the 'explorative' commission, the mixed commission would consist out of 36 members, half of them being elected politicians, the other half being immigrant representatives. All of them would have to adhere to the Charter before their installation in the commission. The immigrant representatives were to be designated through a special procedure. First, immigrant associations would be invited in the press to present their candidates. Then, the executives of the four regional assemblies would make a selection among the candidates after having consulted the 'explorative' commission. Finally, the four regional assemblies would approve of the list of candidates through a secret ballot.

The mixed commission would consist out of an executive office and three working groups. The executive would consist out of twelve members; eight members of parliament (five Francophones and three Flemish) and four immigrant representatives. In addition to these twelve ordinary members, the executive would comprise two *rapporteurs* and two secretaries - all four members of parliament. The presidency and the three first vice-presidencies would be reserved to members of parliament, while the fourth vice-presidency would be given to an immigrant representative. Three working groups would look into specific issues the mixed commission wants to study and address. Each of these groups would consist of 12 members; 6 members of parliament (four Francophones and two Flemish) and 6 immigrant representatives (four Francophones and two Flemish). One member of parliament and one immigrant representative have the task to prepare the policy advice of the working groups.

The first mixed commission was installed on 6 February 1992 (see annex 1 for list of members). It has addressed issues as the new housing code, the granting of a frequency to an Arab radio for Brussels and the report on poverty. In response to the urban violence in Forest and St-Gilles in May 1991, the mixed commission decided to give special attention to the youth of foreign origin. A program was launched in April 1992 aiming at a 'dialogue with the youth'. Between June 1992 and April 1993 over 60 hearings were organised with youngsters, parents, social workers, teachers, the police, shop-owners and representatives of immigrant associations. The activities finally led to a report describing the situation of youngsters of immigrant descent in Brussels.

It is worth noting that, following the 1995 regional elections, it took a while before the decision was taken to install a new mixed commission (29 November 1996), due to the reluctance of the new governmental partner PRL-FDF and linguistic difficulties. In fact, it was even decided that Flemish and Francophones would also create their own mixed commission. The Flemish mixed commission did substantial effort to woo immigrant associations by inviting all interested spokespersons to extraordinary sessions in parliament in November and December 1998. In addition, they organised a highly advertised 'day of dialogue' in March 1999 – with concerts, free food and drinks – to promote the Flemish community among immigrant associations.

5.2. Immigrant associations

Immigrants in Brussels have engaged in the setting up of a wide number of organisations and associations. It should be noted, however, that until 1984 foreigners were only allowed to have legally recognised associations if three in five of the active and constituting members were of Belgian nationality (Vandenbrande, 1997: 189). In addition, there is only since very recently some (mainly Flemish) government-funded financial support of immigrant organisations. This has in an important way frustrated the creation of strong immigrant associations and has stimulated incorporation of immigrants into existing (Belgian) religious and syndical organisations (Layton-Henry, 1990). Nevertheless, today there is a complex network of (overall small) immigrant associations in Brussels. Indeed, financial support by the (Flemish) government has given a recent boom to immigrant associational life.

The creation of associations within the Italian community was at first led by the pillar-structure (as present in Italy itself). This led to the existence of a socialist, communist and catholic Italian pillar, of which the last one was clearly dominant. It should be noted that a lot of Italian workers joined the Belgian trade-unions and were very active in syndicalism. In addition, over time an increasing number of associations were created without clear strings to the pillars or domestic Italian society (Martiniello, 1992:155-160). Of the old Italian associations, the *Associazione Cristiano Lavoratori Italiani* (ACLI) are still very active. Other important Italian organisations which are currently active are *Comitato Tricolore Per Gli Italiani Nel Mondo*, *Artisti Associati Siciliani* and *Comitato Degli Italiani All'Estero*.

In the sixties and seventies, the Spanish community in Brussels on the one hand had a lot of leftist politically oriented associations opposed to the domestic Franco-regime and on the other hand had a set of traditional catholic organisations (Vandenbrande, 1997: 191). After the Franco-regime, the political character of the organisations disappeared and the associations adopted a socio-cultural agenda, in which language-lessons became one of the elements of major importance (Ibid.: 191). Most remarkable is the history of the Centro Galego, which started off as an anti-Franco activist group and gradually transformed into an association cultivating Galician music and dance. The Centro Galego, now active in the venue 'La Tentation' in the centre of Brussels, has recently become a very important institute for the promotion of folk and world music in Brussels. It is worth noting that its venue 'La Tentation' has been used by all sorts of Belgian organisations (including the Flemish Television VRT, the Flemish Community Commission VGC and the Francophone green party ECOLO).

Also the Greek community had a significant number of politically oriented associations opposed to the military dictatorship (until 1974). They later on developed into cultural associations and also invested a lot of energy in language-lessons (Ibid.: 191). At present there are four major Greek associations in Brussels and six Greek-

orthodox parishes. We can mention the *Association des Dames Hellenes*, *Federatie van Griekse Gemeenschappen in België* and the *Communauté Hellenique de Bruxelles* as the most active Greek associations.

On the political level, the overall Turkish community has in comparison to the Southern European immigrants hardly been involved in activist organisations (Ibid.: 192). The Kurdish minority has, however, been quite politically active in Brussels. Turkish immigrants have also been very active in the trade-unions. At first the Turkish government tried to supervise the organisation of Turkish immigrants in Brussels. Later on, self-organisation within the Turkish community expanded in a very fragmented way. There are quite a substantial number of Turkish mosque-associations in Brussels.

Also the Moroccan government tried to supervise the organisation of Moroccan immigrants in Brussels. This did, however, not prevent self-organisation of the Moroccan immigrants (often also organised in opposition to the domestic regime or the Moroccan embassy). One of the major and oldest organisations is *Jeunesse Maghrébinne*. It is interesting to note that this organisation has been funded by the French Community in Brussels since 1986, albeit *not* as an organisation of migrants but as a youth organisation (Ibid.: 192). The *Federatie van Marokkaanse Democratische Organisaties* (FMDO), a federation of Flemish Moroccan organisations, co-ordinates most of the Moroccan associations in Brussels oriented to the Flemish side (*Almanar*, *Touba*, *Dialoog*, *Vlaamse Arabische Radio Brussel – Radio Dounia*, *Vereniging van Marokkaanse Jongeren*, *Dar el Ward*, *Jeugd Kleuren*). The FMDO co-operates actively with the VGC and is funded by the Flemish Community.

Last but not least, we should mention the relatively large number of all sorts of Sub-Sahara-African associations in Brussels. A substantial number is member of the federation *Raad van de Afrikaanse Gemeenschap in Europa* (RVDAGE). Several associations are involved in organising people from the former Belgian colonies Congo, Rwanda and Burundi. Other associations are involved in organising refugees from West-African countries.

Perhaps the most important immigrant (related) *politically oriented* association in recent history was *Objective 82*, a network of 33 Belgian and 35 migrant organisations (of different origins), striving in the late seventies and early eighties for a better legal status and local voting rights for foreign residents (see common Belgian introduction). In the early nineties individual immigrants and immigrant associations have been quite active in movements acting against racism and extremist right-wing parties. In the late nineties the political activities have been focused on the asylum-policy and the issue of undocumented foreigners⁵.

It is impossible to provide an exhaustive list of all (currently active) immigrant or immigration-related associations in Brussels. Indeed, a lot of immigrant self-organisations have a fairly limited life-span. For a tentative list of immigrant self-organisations active in 1999, we refer to annex 2. It can be pointed out that a substantial number is (partly) funded by the Flemish, who have recently invested a lot of energy in supporting migrant self-organisations.

⁵ Overt protest-activities were triggered by the death on repatriation of a Nigerian asylum-seeker (Semira Adamu).

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Annex 1

List of members of the ‘mixed consultative commission on immigrant issues in Brussels’
(Samenstelling van de Overlegcommissie met de Brusselaars van buitenlandse oorsprong)
(Composition de la Commission de concertation avec les Bruxellois d’origine étrangère)

FIRST MIXED COMMISSION (1992-1995)

Members of Parliament *(Conseillers – Raadsleden)*

PS : Andréé Guillaume-Vanderroost, Marc Hermans, Alain Leduc & Serge Moureaux (president)

PRL : Philippe Smits, Jacques Simonet, Bernard Guillaume

FDF – ERE : Bernard Clerfayt, Jean-Pierre Cornelissen

PSC : Michel Lemaire, Magdeleine Willame-Boonen

ECOLO : André Drouart

CVP : Jan Beghin, Simonne Creyf, Brigitte Grouwels, Jan de Berlangeer (VU)

VLD : Annemie Neyts-Uyttebroeck

SP : Robert Delathouwer

Immigrant members *(Membres d’origine étrangère – Leden van buitenlandse oorsprong)*

Francophone : Hafida Bachir, Angela Beaufays-Herrero, Ilungu Buyani, Mohamed Chater, Nuran Cicekciler, Bruno Ducoli, Ahmed El Ktibi, Abdel Fargaoui, Javier Leunda, Salima Nacer & Hung Lan Nguyen

Flemish : Nesrin Aydin, Museref Camoglu, Abdelhamid Elmouden, Loredana Marchi, Evgenia Papagiannea, Michele Ottati

SECOND MIXED COMMISSION (1996-1999)

Members of Parliament *(Conseillers – Raadsleden)*

PRL – FDF : Jean-Pierre Cornelissen (vice-president), Corinne De Permentier, Michel Hecq, Françoise Schepmans, Philippe Smits, Anne-Marie Vanpevenage

PS : Alain Bultot, Willy Decourty, Sylvie Foucart, Mahfoudh Romdhani (president)

PSC : Michel Lemaire

ECOLO : André Drouart

CVP : Jean De Hertog, Walter Vandebossche

VLD : Guy Vanhengel

SP : Michiel Vandenbussche

VU : Sven Gatz

Immigrant members *(Membres d’origine étrangère – Leden van buitenlandse oorsprong)*

Francophone : M’hammed Boumahdi, Ilungu Buyani, Drossia Bouras, Carmen Castellano Lazaro, Mohamed Chater, Bruno Ducoli, Leyla Ertorun, Ahmed El Ktibi (vice-president), Abdel Fakih, Mohamed Hidali, Mustapha M’Rabet & Fatiha Saïdi

Flemish : Zehre Avci, Touria Aziz, Abdelmajid Benzouien, Nilufer Bozok, Luis De Castro Fernandez & Loredana Marchi

Annex 2.

Non-exhaustive list of immigrant associations in Brussels (1999).

This information was gathered using data of the *Vlaamse Gemeenschapscommissie (VGC)*, *Centrum voor Gelijkheid van Kansen en voor Racismebestrijding (CGKR)*, *Intercultureel Centrum voor Migranten (ICCM)* and *Overlegcentrum Integratie van Vluchtelingen (OCIV)*. The large majority of the associations are official (registered) organisations. Due to our sources, there is a bias towards Flemish oriented immigrant associations. Organisations marked with (FR) or (FL) have respectively been subsidized by the Francophones (FR) or the Flemish (FL).

<i>NAME</i>	<i>ADDRESS</i>	<i>'ORIGIN'</i>	<i>SUBSIDY</i>
ABeCeNoodhulp	Laanbrugstraat 11, 1210 Sint-Joost	Kurdistan	(FL)
ACLI Capitano	avenue Pont de Luttre 161, 1190 Brussel	Italy	(FL)
ACLI Di Giovanni XXIII	Franklinstraat 136, 1030 Schaarbeek	Italy	(FL)
ACLI Laeken	Stephaniestraat 151, 1020 Brussel	Italy	(FL)
Adamne Union	Rodebeeklaan 93, 1030 Schaarbeek		
AEODER	Vier Windenstraat 49, 1080 Molenbeek		
AETCH	Paul Hymanslaan 78-b3, 1200 Brussel	Latin-America	
Afelo vzw	Koningstraat 171, 1210 Sint-Joost	Africa	
Aflenet vzw	Square de Meeus 22, 1050 Elsene	Africa	
Africa, Diaspore et Art	Maria-Hendrikastraat 34, 1050 Elsene	Congo	
Agrupacion Cultural Sur vzw	Timmermansstraat 26, 1190 Vorst	Latin-America	(FL)
Al Harmoniah Blindman	O.L.V. van Vaakstraat 83, 1000 Brussel		
ALAB	Kattenstraat 26, 1082 Sint-Agatha-Berchem		
Alegria	St-Ghisleinstraat 34, 1000 Brussel	Angola	
Alhambra vzw	Eloystraat 80, 1070 Anderlecht	Morocco (FL)	
Almanar	Bondgenotenstraat 52, 1190 Brussel	Morocco	(FL)
Amaranta vzw	Priemstraat 19a, 1000 Brussel		
Anamongo	Helmetseseenweg 364, 1030 Schaarbeek	Congo	(FL)
Apomasy	Oogststraat 34, 1210 Sint-Joost		
Arabische Uitstraling vzw	Kroonlaan 327, 1050 Elsene	Maghreb	
Ardoise asbl	Uyttenhovestraat 7, 1090 Jette	Africa	
Arzac	J.W. Wilsonstraat 64, 1000 Brussel	Congo	
Asca-Saha vzw	Wielemans-Ceuppenslaan 121, 1190 Vorst	Africa	(FL)
ASOBU	Oranjobloemstraat 24, 1150 St-P-Woluwe	Burundi	
Ass. of Nigerians of Belgium	Bootstraat 16, 1070 Anderlecht	Nigeria	
Ass. Isl. Afr. de Belgique	rue des Chats 26, 1082 St-Agatha-Berchem	Maghreb	
Associazione San Cataldese	Van Lindtstraat 63, 1040 Etterbeek	Italy	
Assodem vzw	Brouwerijstraat 50, 1050 Elsene		
Banafro	Alsebergsesteenweg 91, 1180 Molenbeek		
Baris-Ver. voor cult.	Marnestraat 10, 1210 Sint-Joost		
Bawassa	Voltairelaan 87, 1030 Schaarbeek	Congo	(FL)
Biculub Oiocese Luiza	Houthulststraat 21-bus 6227, 1000 Brussel		
Biomatec	Zennestraat 28, 1000 Brussel		
Blanco y Negro	P. Decosterstraat 150, 1190 Vorst	all	

<i>NAME</i>	<i>ADDRESS</i>	<i>'ORIGIN'</i>	<i>SUBSIDY</i>
Bondo aide aux enfants	Ieperlaan 39, 1000 Brussel		
Caminantes	Fernand Pirestraat 6, 1090 Jette	Latin-America	
Casa de America Latina	Berckmansstraat 14, 1060 Sint-Gillis	Latin-America	
Centro Galego vzw	Vlogaertstraat 4, 1060 Sint-Gillis	Spain	(FL)
Cerda vzw	Kazernestraat 33, 1000 Brussel	Africa	
Cittadinanza Migranta vzw	Delvastraat 35, 1020 Brussel	Italy	
Club Culture Berbere	Van Meyelstraat 92, 1080 Molenbeek	Maghreb	(FR)
Communauté né Kongo	rue des Fripiers 17-b209, 1000 Brussel	Kongo	
Crespo vzw	Brialmonstraat 11, 1210 Sint-Joost	Africa	(FR)
Cult. Centrum van de Evrites	Laanbrugstraat 5, 1000 Brussel	Greece	(FL)
Dar El Ward	Bondgenotenstraat 52, 1190 Vorst	Morocco	(FL)
Dufashanye	Deschampeleerstraat 23, 1080 Brussel	Burundi	(FL)
EA Adanna Union	avenue de Roodebeek 93, 1030 Schaarbeek		
EATA (Turkse Aca.)	Haachtsesteenweg 117, 1030 Schaarbeek	Turkey	(FL)
Ecocultuur vzw	Alsembersesteenweg 342, 1190 Vorst	Oezbekistan	(FL)
Elikia-Hoop vzw	Brialmontstraat 11, 1210 Sint-Joost	Africa	(FL)
Espace Contact	Bld du 9ième de Ligne 43-b4.2, 1000 Brussel	Africa	
Euro-Afrikaanse Stichting	G. Dossin de St-Georgeslaan 6-b9, 1050 Elsene		
Ewe Association	Helihavenlaan 10/52, 1000 Brussel	Ghana	
Eyad vzw	Dwarsstraat 94, 1210 Sint-Joost	Turkey	
FMDO vzw	Bondgenotenstraat 52, 1190 Brussel	Morocco	(FL)
FEDA asbl	Kruisstraat 22, 1050 Elsene	Africa	
Filippijnse Culturele Groep	Kroonstraat 119, 1050 Elsene	Philippines	
Four You	Clemenceulaan 121, 1070 Anderlecht		
Gattopardo	Delvastraat 35, 1020 Brussel		
Génération Afrique vzw	Gallaitstraat 137, 1030 Schaarbeek	Africa	
GHANABA	Postbus 2061, 1000 Brussel	Ghana	
Gwiza	Tomberglaan 190-b 3, 1200 St-L-Woluwe		
Het gedachtengoed van Attaturk	Middaglijnstraat 6, 1210 Sint-Joost	Turkey	
Het Meervoud	Soldatenstraat 14, 1082 Sint-Agatha	all	
High Society	Dane Maric 31, 1060 Sint-Gillis	Ghana	
Ihumure vzw	Postbus 102, 1080 Molenbeek	Rwanda	
Indanga vzw	Ed. Faesstraat 86, 1090 Vorst	Burundi	(FL)
Inyange vzw	M. van Hongarijelaan 31, 1083 Ganshoren	Rwanda	(FL)
IOM	Avenue de l'Arbre Ballon 22, 1090 Vorst	Africa	(FL)
Jeugdkleuren vzw	rue du Prétoire 91, 1070 Anderlecht	Morocco	(FL)
Kameroun Leef	Zuidstraat 75, 1000 Brussel	Cameroun	
Kaze	Pagodenstraat 367, 1020 Brussel		
Kinderpasjes	Paleizenstraat 87, 1030 Brussel	Turkey	(FL)
Koerdisch Bureau	Arduinkaai 11, 1000 Brussel	Kurdistan	
Koerdisch CC	Verbiststraat 60, 1210 Sint-Joost	Kurdistan	
Koerdisch Instituut	Bonneelstraat 16, 1210 Sint-Joost	Kurdistan	(FL)
Kon-Kurd	Louisalaan 459, 1050 Elsene	Kurdistan	
La Compagnie du Libiki	Hap. Lemaaitrestraat 29, 1040 Etterbeek		

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La Zairoise et ses Seours	Goossensstraat 4, 1030 Schaarbeek	Kongo	
Lamogoya	Ruslandstraat 39, 1060 Sint-Gillis	Africa	(FL)
Les Alizés	Pascalestraat 8, 1040 Etterbeek	all	
Liberian Association	Gentsesteenweg 1275, 1082 Sint-Agatha	Liberia	
Lucchesi Nel Mondo	Meilaan 37, 1200 St-Lambrechts-Woluwe	Italy	
Luzaf	De Titiaanstraat 48, 1000 Brussel	Africa	
Matalumbo vzw	Vanderschrickstraat 6, 1060 Sint-Gillis	Brasil	
Meervoud	Soldatenstraat 14, 1082 Sint-Agatha-B	Morocco	(FL)
Mezcla vzw	Frans Halsstraat 2a, 1070 Anderlecht	Latin-America	(FL)
Mini-Anneessens vzw	Anderlechtstraat 66, 1000 Brussel	Morocco	(FL)
Montana vzw	Willemsplein 12, 1020 Brussel	all	(FL)
Mukuba vzw	Sint-Fransiscusstraat 68, 1030 Schaarbeek	Congo	
N'Imazighen vzw	Graystraat 4-b18, 1040 Etterbeek	Algeria	(FL)
Nanou vzw	Elandstraat 82-b14, 1170 Watermaal-B.	Congo	(FL)
Nazca	Paul Hymanslaan 78-b3, 1200 St-L-Woluwe	Peru	
Nganda	Maria Theresiastraat 22, 1000 Brussel	Congo	(FL)
Nivo Brussel vzw	Dorpsstraat 30, 1070 Anderlecht		
Numidia	Bergensesteenweg 241, 1070 Anderlecht		
Okyeman	Alsebergsesteenweg 563, 1180	Ghana	
Onder Ons	Scheldestraat 81, 1080 Molenbeek		
Ouders voor Kinderen	Rue de la Marne 121, 1030 Schaarbeek		
Oufashanye	De Schampeleerstraat 23, 1080 Molenbeek		
Pag-Asa	St.Kristoffelstraat 38, 1000 Brussel		
Pantere Frisportam	Meilaan 37, 1200 Brussel	Italy	
Pools Centrum Brussel	Halve Maanstraat 68, 1190 Vorst	Poland	
Raad van de Afrikaanse Gemeenschap in Europa vzw	Koningstraat 171, St-Joost	Africa	
Radio Dounia vzw	Bondgenotenstraat 52, 1180	Maghreb	
RDJA asbl	rue Fulton 23, 1000 Brussel	Africa	
RIBA	Maria Theresiastraat 22, 1000 Brussel	Africa	
Sangalayi vzw	Capartlaan 6, 1090 Jette	Congo	(FL)
Service Sociale Arménien	Rue Franklin 146, 1000 Brussel	Armenia	
Sierra Leone Progressive Union	Witte de Haelen 6, 1000 Brussel	Sierra-Leone	
Sima-Kivu	Leemansstraat 34, 1082 Sint-Agatha-B.	Kongo	
Soedanese Refugee Group	Opzichterstraat 174, 1080 Molenbeek	Soedan	
Solidariteit Groot Eiland vzw	Goujonstraat 63-b6, 1070 Anderlecht	Madagascar	
Studio Malembe asbl	Blaesstraat 60, 1000 Brussel	Africa	
Talaouanou Nowr-Eddine	St-Martinstraat 37, 1080 Molenbeek		
Touba vzw	Oteletstraat 19, 1070 Anderlecht	Morocco	(FL)
Truth vzw	Jean Jacquesstraat 30, 1081 Koekelberg	Africa	
Türk Danis vzw	Brialmontstraat 21, 1210 Sint-Joost	Turkey	(FL)
Tuyayi	Fortstraat 95, 1060 Sint-Gillis	Africa	
Union des Tchadiens	Ch.de Bruxelles 368b, 1190 Vorst	Tchaad	
VASO	Koningstraat 171, 1210 Sint-Joost		
Ver. voor Ontw. en Emancipatie Moslims	Frère Orbanstraat 26-b1, 1000 Brussel		

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Ver. voor Zaïrese en Afrikaanse Vluchtelingen	Leopold II-laan 51, 1080 Molenbeek		
Ver. voor Marokkaanse Jongeren	Vermicellifabriekstraat 10, 1080 Molenbeek	Morocco (FL)	
VOMA	Jules Broeienstraat 47-b3, 1070 Anderlecht	Morocco	