

**Netherlands Scientific Council  
for Government Policy**

**Report on the  
Second Term  
of Office**

**1978-1982**

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. Reasons for this report**

The Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) concluded its second term of office on 31 December 1982. Although the WRR (Establishment) Act does not contain a provision for periodical reviews, the Council considered that, as at the end of its first term of office in 1977, it would be appropriate to provide an insight into the way in which it had carried out its statutory responsibilities. Precisely because of the freedom the Council has in relation to its programme of work and working methods it is desirable for its activities to be conducted with maximum openness. The publication of the Council's report to the government and its «Mededelingenblad» (Newsletter) is designed to contribute towards that process, as is this report.

The Council was established in its definitive form by the Act of 30 June 1976, having already been in operation on a provisional basis for four years. As far as the composition of the Council is concerned, Parliament expressly decided in favour of discontinuity: Council members are appointed for a period of five years, retire from office at the same time, and may only once be immediately re-appointed for a subsequent term. This regulation was designed to promote a steady flow of ideas and to encourage the members of the Council as far as possible to form a team. For this reason a person appointed to fill an interim vacancy takes part with the existing members in the Council's activities during the remainder of its term of office.

This regulation means that the Council's activities fall into clearly defined five-year cycles. Upon appointment the new members of the Council draw up a programme of work for their term of office. The Council seeks to complete its working programme within five years. Any uncompleted activities may be taken over by the next Council, but it is under no obligation to do so.

A further consequence of the division into five-year terms is that the nature and content of the Council's reports may vary from term to term. These differences will become steadily more apparent as the Council completes further terms of office.

### **1.2. Responsibilities**

The Council's responsibilities are described in the Act of Establishment as follows:

- a. to supply for government policy scientifically sound information on developments which may affect society in the long term and draw timely attention to anomalies and bottle-necks to be anticipated; define the major policy problems and indicate policy alternatives;
- b. provide a scientific structure which the government could use when establishing priorities and which would ensure that a consistent policy is pursued;
- c. with respect to studies undertaken in the sphere of research on future developments and long-term planning in both public and private sectors, to make recommendations on the elimination of structural inadequacies, the furtherance of specific studies and the improvement of communication and coordination.

It will be evident that these broad terms of reference leave room for interpretation and selection. During the Council term under review particular attention was devoted to points a. and b. of its statutory responsibilities.

It is up to the Council itself to decide within its terms of reference on the subjects which it wishes to study and report on. Here again there will be a difference in emphasis from term to term. The determination of its own programme of work is one of the aspects in which the Council's independent position manifests itself. Even if the government submits a request for advice to the Council, the latter is under no obligation to submit a report (although there must be sound reasons for rejecting such a request, e.g. of a scientific nature or the difficulty of fitting it into the programme of work).

Some of the reports produced during this term of office were primarily concerned with the provision of information and the submission of alternative policy options, whereas others were more advisory and geared to provide specific recommendations. The choice between the two was determined largely by the nature of the subject under examination. On the basis of the requirement that reports should be of policy relevance, there may or may not be a case for policy alternatives to be discussed. The Council formed the impression that its advisory reports tended to have a more marked and certainly more discernible impact. At the same time, the effectiveness and impact of its reports naturally depend primarily on their quality and content and the subsequent reaction of the community at large and the communications media. The impact on the community at large is further reflected in the standpoints adopted by the government in response to the reports issued by the Council.

In the Explanatory Memorandum accompanying the Act of Establishment, reference was made to the fact that it was becoming increasingly difficult for Ministers and civil servants when taking decisions to foresee and assess future developments and side effects in other sectors of society. By means of problem identification and conscious design the Council has attempted to produce future-oriented and over-arching (i.e. not sectorally bound) reports, and thus to contribute towards the integration and coordination of government policy. The Council's approach was supported in so far as the government's reaction was also of a future-oriented, over-arching nature.

What is meant by the word «scientific» in the Council's title? «Scientific» does not mean research purely for the sake of the accumulation of knowledge. The Council's work is intended to provide a practical frame of reference for purposive government action. The term «scientific» (which also includes the social sciences) refers primarily to its working methods: the Council seeks to provide information and to identify problems and policy alternatives as objectively as possible. In doing so the Council seeks to provide government policy with a foundation that will stand up to scientific scrutiny. This does not rule out social and therefore political choices, but it does mean that the Council has to justify such choices and that it cannot allow itself to be guided by party-political or other preconceived standpoints.

When the Council was established, a number of Members of Parliament were concerned that the result would be a further strengthening of the government machinery, which was already dominant enough in terms of staff, financial resources and expertise. It was for this reason the Lower House changed the word «government» to «government policy» in the definition of the Council's responsibilities when the WRR Bill of Establishment was debated. This was intended to underline the fact that the Council was also designed to function on behalf of Parliament, and there has indeed been direct contact between the Council and Parliament on a number of occasions during the second term of office. In principle the Council's work is intended for any member of the public with an interest in the direction society takes. The Council has sought to stimulate that interest, particularly by publishing the results of its work. Most of the reports and also a number of the preliminary studies have in fact attracted political attention and stimulated public discussion of the subject in question. In the Council's view this constitutes an important element in the role it plays in society.

A number of other countries have also attempted to devise a set of instruments that can help improve the quality of government policy by identifying problems in good time, exposing latent trends and distinguishing the transient from the permanent in issues of the day. Comparable bodies have, accordingly, been set up in various other countries. In terms of its nature and composition, however, and particularly the position it occupies in relation to the central government, the Council has no precise parallel.

### **1.3. The place of the Council**

The Prime Minister is responsible for seeing that the Council functions in accordance with the provisions of the Act of Establishment and that, in so far as this is dependent on the government, it can fulfil its task under optimum conditions. The contact with the Prime Minister is of great importance for the Council's work. The Prime Minister informs the Council of the Cabinet's views on its reports. The Act provides the Council with the opportunity to be heard by Cabinet with respect to its findings, but so far this right has not been exercised. During the second Council term two general discussions were held with the Cabinet concerning the Council's work; the second of these was held in the presence of H.M. the Queen.

The Council continued to have good working relationships with the various government departments during its second term of office. Once again – while preserving the Council's independent position – it proved useful from time to time to hold discussions concerning departmental policy proposals. Care was however taken to avoid the Council's programme of work being too heavily determined by the Ministries. On this point the importance of having timely and accurate information must constantly be weighed against the objection of excessive departmental influence. Naturally the Council continued to have extensive contacts with the scientific world, including the placement of research commissions.

A body such as the Council can easily become an ivory tower. For a Council whose activities must constantly be directed towards society, this would be fatal. For this reason the Council continued to maintain direct contacts at home and abroad, with one staff member having special responsibility for communication aspects. Of particular importance in this respect is the press. Press conferences were held during the second term of office upon the publication of reports and certain preliminary studies. Members of the Council and the scientific staff were repeatedly interviewed or themselves wrote articles for the general or technical press. The Newsletter acted as a means of recording the Council's activities. From time to time symposiums or conferences were organized by way of follow-up to published reports.

The Council occupies a unique position within the government framework. It operates at the interface between science and policy. Its products must be able to stand up to critical scientific scrutiny while at the same time being of policy relevance. During the period under review, the Council sought where possible to satisfy both these criteria in its reports.

A consistent guideline in the Council's work has been that its reports should be designed to render a contribution towards the public discussion of important topics. Equally, this provides a measure of the Council's effectiveness. It may not assume that its conclusions or recommendations will always be accepted as they stand; this is a matter for the government and Parliament. The Council may, however, assume that the government will take serious account of its reports in formulating its policies, and the Council geared its work accordingly in the previous term.

During the previous term the Council saw as one of its tasks the mobilization on behalf of policy formulation of the expertise available in society in particular fields. In doing so it sought to comply with its statutory responsibility of providing scientifically sound information on developments which may affect society in the longer term. The taking of political decisions with respect to those developments is not a matter for experts but for politicians.

## 1.4. Available resources

### 1.4.1. *The Council*

The WRR Act of Establishment lays down a minimum of five members and a maximum of eleven. At the end of the second term of office the Council consisted of eight members. The following served on the Council throughout the entire term: the Chairman, Th. Quené (public administration); Dr. J. Boldingh (chemistry); H. A. van Stiphout (sociology); Dr. H. M. In 't Veld-Langeveld (sociology); Dr. J. Volger (physics); Dr. C. T. de Wit (agricultural science), and Dr. A. van der Zwan (economics). Dr. N. H. Douben (economics) has been a member of the Council since 1 September 1980. Two members left the Council before the end of the second term: Dr. A. H. J. J. Kolnaar (economics) on 1 July 1980 for personal reasons and M. Scheltema (law) on 15 September 1981 upon his appointment as State Secretary of the Ministry of Justice. Dr. P. R. Baehr acted as Secretary to the Council and staff director throughout the entire term. Deputy Secretaries were M. C. E. van Gendt (till 24 March 1980) and Dr. W. van Drimmelen (from 15 June 1980).

The office of Chairman is a full-time position. Three further Council members held full-time positions during the bulk of the previous Council term: H. A. van Stiphout, Mrs. H. M. In 't Veld-Langeveld and Dr. C. T. de Wit. The remaining members of the Council were, as ordained in the Act, available for Council work for at least two working days a week.

The members of the Council are appointed on a personal basis and are not departmental officials. The Council therefore is a fully external advisory committee, the members of which are appointed primarily on the grounds of their expert knowledge. The government is further concerned that the Council's composition should be such that, within the limits of what is possible at the scientific level, it reflects the diversity of society as a whole.

According to the Explanatory Memorandum accompanying the Act of Establishment, advisory members are appointed to the Council to ensure efficient coordination between the Council and the major government institutions whose work is closely connected with that of the Council. At the end of the second Council term the following were advisory members of the Council: the Director of the Central Planning Office, Dr. C. A. van den Beld; the Director-General of Physical Planning, S. Herweijer; the Director-General of Statistics, Dr. W. Begeer; the Director of the Social and Cultural Planning Office, A. J. van der Staay, and the former Minister of Science, Dr. A. A. Th. van Trier.

Responsibility for its reports resides with the Council. As their name suggests, the advisory members advise the Council on its activities but do not bear ultimate responsibility for the Council's reports.

### 1.4.2. *The bureau*

The Council has a bureau, headed by the Secretary, to assist in its work. The bureau comes under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of General Affairs. The bureau, which grew rapidly during the Council's first term of office, reached its originally envisaged level during the previous term. The number of establishment places has grown as follows:

	Scientific staff including Secretary and Deputy Secretary	Research assistants	Other personnel	Total
31.12.1977	15	8	6	29
31.12.1982	20	8	11	39

As of 31 December 1982 all the academic staff positions were filled, distributed over the following disciplines: economics (6), sociology (4.5), political science (3), law (3), physics (1), environmental science (1), planning (1) and business administration (0.5). The staff includes a computer expert, and the office has a reference library. The composition of the staff as of 31 December is shown at Appendix 2.

#### 1.4.3. Budget

The Council's budget comes under Chapter III of the Government Budget (General Affairs). Apart from expenditure on personnel and other expenditure, the budget also contains an item for expenditure on scientific studies commissioned from other bodies.

The growth of the various budget items may be seen from the following table. All figures are in Dutch guilders.

Financial year	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Expenditure on personnel	4,216,100	4,525,900	4,855,200	4,753,900	4,710,300
Scientific studies	947,800	960,100	1,037,100	1,128,900	1,196,700
Other expenditure	562,600	602,500	732,100	960,100	666,167
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,726,500</b>	<b>6,088,500</b>	<b>6,624,400</b>	<b>6,842,900</b>	<b>6,573,167</b>

## **2. WORKING METHODS**

### **2.1. Compilation of programme of work**

Immediately upon taking office in 1978 the Council set about compiling a programme of work for the second Council term. In doing so it drew on proposals made by its scientific staff and on the provisional results of orientation studies commissioned from other institutions.

To begin with the Council decided to concentrate on the following subjects:

1. a policy-oriented survey of the future;
2. the place and future of industry in the Netherlands;
3. reform of the labour system;
4. planning in public administration and functional decentralization;
5. the relationship between the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Despite the size of this programme the Council not only saw room for expansion with other topics but regarded this as desirable in the interests of a balanced programme.

The programme of work, which was finalized in September 1978, was submitted for comments to the Council of Ministers, the Ministers and Departments of national administration, Parliament, a number of social organizations and experts in the research fields in question. The Council sought comments on both the selection of topics and the proposed design of the studies.

The programme of work formed the subject of a large number of discussions and written reactions. A discussion was held with the Council of Ministers on 8 December 1978; on 21 June 1978 talks were held with a number of Members of Parliament (Second Chamber) invited by the Presidium, while a similar discussion was held with members of the First Chamber on 6 February 1979. Talks were also held with the executive of the national employer and employee organizations, the chairman of the Socio-Economic Council and other experts.

An account was provided in the «Mededelingenblad» (no. 12, July 1979) of the commentaries received by the Council and its reaction to them. The commentaries from the Council of Ministers, Departments and Members of Parliament expressed regret at the lack of a project in the welfare field. Upon further consideration the Council decided to add a sixth project to the projects that had been taken up for study as listed above:

6. re-appraisal of welfare policy.

The commentaries on the programme of work also dealt with the functions of the Council, the programme in general, the method of identifying projects and suggestions for other subjects for study. The following were later added to the programme of work:

7. ethnic minorities;
8. agenda for a broad discussion about democracy and violence (in response to the events of 30 April 1980 in Amsterdam) (request for advice from the government);
9. a coherent media policy (request for advice from the Government);
10. the future of the city.

The Council attaches great value to external contacts with respect to the programme of work. These contacts provide it with an initial reaction from the outside world which enables it to assess whether its working methods are on the right track. The outside world, for its part, obtains the necessary information about the Council's activities, and can react accordingly and prepare for the reports to be published.

Of this programme of work, eight projects gave rise to Reports to the Government and two (planning in public administration and the future of the city) to preliminary studies.

## **2.2. Formation of project groups**

For each subject to be studied an internal working group was set up at an early stage. These project groups were generally chaired by a member of the Council, with a member of the scientific staff as secretary. As far as possible Council and staff members belonged to more than one working group, in which they worked on a basis of equality. In practice the working groups operated fairly independently. They acted as a gateway to the Council, i.e. they prepared the publications and submitted draft decisions on programme implementation and draft discussion documents to the Council. The work in the groups was characterized by intensive discussion and numerous drafts and re-drafts, which thus gradually became the outcome of a collective effort.

## **2.3. Role of the plenary Council in decision-making on reports**

The Council met on average once a fortnight. All the basic steps forming part of a project are discussed in these meetings. Commissioned studies of any size are submitted to the Council for approval, and the Council also decides whether specific studies carried out by staff members or outsiders should be included in the Council's «Preliminary and Background Studies» series. Final texts are always submitted for the Council's approval. One way and another a report will be discussed ten or so times by the plenary Council before publication.

Decision-making was generally done on the basis of consensus. In nearly all cases the Council unanimously supported the final published text. The two exceptions were the reports «Industry in the Netherlands: its Place and Future» and «A Coherent Media Policy», to which minority views were appended (by Dr. A. H. J. J. Kolnaar and H. A. van Stiphout respectively).

## **2.4. Cooperation between Council and staff**

In a body such as the Council the relationship between the members of the Council and the members of the scientific staff is an extremely close one. The results of its work depend to a large extent on the existence of a sound working relationship between the members of the Council and the staff. By statute, the composition of the Council is constantly changing; the permanent staff was the major source of continuity provided for by the legislature. In addition the permanent staff provides the Council with an in-built repository of expertise. The Council should not, however, be regarded as some sort of governing board that does no more than examine the staff's submissions. The fact that Council members are required to make at least two working-days a week available for Council work means that they make their own contribution to its work. Some Council members moreover act as project chairmen, who play an important directing and stimulating role (although this does not provide them with any separate formal status from other Council members: all decisions are the responsibility of the Council as a whole).

## **2.5. Role of advisory members**

The Council met several times a year with the advisory members. All reports for publication were submitted to them for comment. These formal contacts created important working contacts at staff level with members of the various planning bureaus in the Netherlands. The Council was kept in touch by the advisory members of current and proposed activities within the planning bureaus.

## **2.6. External contacts of the Council**

### *2.6.1. The government*

Extensive exchanges of views with the Council of Ministers were held during the previous Council term on 8 December 1978 and 20 February 1981. The responsibilities and functions of the Council were discussed in detail at these meetings. To enable its reports to have full effect the Council attaches considerable importance to the ability of Council members to conduct an exchange of views with Ministers from time to time.

In line with the statutory provisions, reports were submitted to the Council of Ministers through the intermediary of the Prime Minister. From time to time there were contacts between the Chairman of the Council and the Prime Minister. Contacts were also maintained with other Ministers if a subject taken up for study by the Council so required. This applied particularly in the cases of the two requests for advice. The Prime Minister was always informed of contacts with other Ministers.

The Government published reactions to the Council's reports (or is still in the process of formulating reactions). The Act does not lay down any deadline, but at the time the Lower House passed a motion requesting the Government to respond as a rule within three months. In practice the publication of a reaction – even one of a procedural nature – tends to take longer.

### *2.6.2. Parliament*

A number of consultations were held between the Chairman of the Council and the Chairman of the Second Chamber at the beginning of the second Council term concerning the nature of the contacts between the two bodies. It was agreed that these contacts would be instituted through the intermediary of the Presidium of the Second Chamber. When the programme of work was being drawn up this led to an intensive and fruitful meeting with members of the Second Chamber on 21 June 1978; a similar meeting was held on 14 March 1979. Since then there have been a number of informal contacts. On 17 September 1980 there was a discussion with the standing Parliamentary Committee for Economic Affairs in response to the report «Industry in the Netherlands: its Place and Future». These contacts were consistently held in consultation with and in the presence of a representative of the Prime Minister. The Council considers direct contacts of this kind with members of Parliament to be of great importance for its work.

### *2.6.3. The scientific world*

The major form of contact with the scientific world took the form of the studies commissioned by the Council. The Council's reports draw to a significant extent on the results of studies carried out outside the Council. Preparing and seeing these studies through to completion involves intensive mutual contact. Many of these studies were published in the «Preliminary and Background Studies» series; the background studies to the report «A Coherent Media Policy» formed the subject of a separate series. Other studies are obtainable on request from the Council as working documents. A list of the preliminary studies and working documents completed during the second Council term is shown at Annex 1.

During the Council term under review the Chairman was a member of an informal consultative body consisting of the chairmen of a number of national scientific bodies. In addition the Chairman and the Executive Secretary consulted regularly with their colleagues in the Science Policy Advisory Council.

The quality of the Council's reports is to a large extent dependent on contributions from the scientific world. Partly in response to the policy of

the Minister of Education and Science, university bodies are increasingly charging in full for services rendered. In the past commissioned studies could often be fitted into the research programmes of scientific institutions, either without any financial compensation on the part of the Council or solely in return for compensation for any additional expenditure. The present Council budget for commissioned studies is not geared towards full-cost charging. This sets limits on the Council's ability to place the commissions it requires for its work.

#### 2.6.4. *Advisory bodies*

The Chairman and Executive Secretary had regular contact with the chairmen and secretaries of a number of the major central government advisory bodies. As a result of these consultations, the Chairman of the Council chaired a symposium on 18 June 1980 to discuss the «Interfutures» project of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), while on 16 November 1982 he chaired a symposium on «Advisory Bodies in Political Decision-making».

The Council regards these contacts as a valuable means for the mutual exchange of information.

#### 2.6.5. *Social organizations*

During its second term the Council maintained contact with social organizations. These were partly of a general nature, e.g. when the work programme was being drawn up, and partly of a more specific nature when the various studies were being carried out. In the latter case this often amounted to obtaining information or seeking views on sections of completed texts.

General contacts were held with the research institutes of the political parties and employers' associations and trade unions. More specific contacts were held with employer and employee organizations after the completion of the reports «Industry in the Netherlands: its Place and Future» and «Prospects for Reforming the Labour System». The report «A Reappraisal of Welfare Policy» resulted in contacts with organizations in the field of welfare work, and the report «A Coherent Media Policy» with organizations in that field.

In the case of the report «Policy-oriented Survey of the Future» contacts with the research institutes of political parties were put to good use.

Once again contact with social organizations proved indispensable for the Council to operate effectively within the matrix of forces within society. In many cases it is these social organizations that provide the Council with the information it requires. At the same time their comments provide the Council with an impression of the reactions its reports arouse in the outside world.

#### 2.6.6. *Foreign contacts*

Developments in the Netherlands cannot be viewed in isolation from trends in other countries, including in the longer term. For this reason it is of vital importance for a body such as the Council to stay in touch with comparable institutions in other countries or with foreign institutions which are able to provide the Council with useful information. With this in mind a number of the Council's reports were translated into English or English summaries prepared.

Of particular importance for the Council's work were its contacts with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris. As part of its «Interfutures» project, the OECD published its study «Facing the Future» in 1979. This study provided valuable basic material for the

Council's Policy-oriented Survey of the Future. In April 1981 the OECD organized a meeting entitled «Aids to policy makers», at which the Council was represented. This meeting formed part of the programme in the context of the OECD's «Joint activity on public management improvement».

Regular contact was maintained with the Swedish Secretariat for Futures Studies. The Council also stayed in touch with the Secretariat of the World Futures Studies Federation, which was established in Sweden a year ago. Members of the Council and the staff visited various scientific and governmental institutions in other countries.

## **2.7. Conferences**

The Council organized or assisted with the following conferences and symposiums during the second Council term: working conference «The Quarternary Sector: Societal Needs and Employment» (held on 5 October 1978 with a view to identifying the requirement for employment in the quarternary sector by way of follow-up to report no. 13 «Do we make Work our Business?»);

conference «The Economic Relationship between the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany» (held on 30 November 1979 with domestic and foreign experts, by way of preparation for report no. 23, «The German Factor»);

conference «Problems and Developments in the Field of Labour Policy» (held on 12–14 December 1979, with foreign experts, by way of preparation for report no. 21, «Prospects for Reforming the Labour System»);

symposium on «Policy-oriented Survey of the Future, part 1: An Attempt to Challenge» (held on 23 January 1981 in order to determine the recognizability and political relevance of the various approaches to social developments identified in this part and to determine the room which international political and economic circumstances leave the Netherlands to realize particular conceptions of the future);

symposium on central government advisory bodies (in collaboration with a number of other advisory councils) (16 November 1982);

study day on Reappraisal of Welfare Policy (organized by the National Council for Social Welfare) (held on 30 November 1982 in response to report no. 22 «A Reappraisal of Welfare Policy»).

### **3. PUBLISHED REPORTS**

#### **3.1. Classification of reports by sector; preliminary studies and working documents**

The Council produced nine reports to the Government in its second term. These reports covered five sectors: the socio-economic sector; the socio-cultural sector; the physical planning sector; the home administration sector, and the international sector. In addition a new survey of future developments was undertaken extending over a number of sectors. The various reports are briefly discussed below. After outlining the content a brief account is also given where possible of the Government's reaction to and the social impact of the report in question. The Government's reaction to the reports is not yet available in all cases.

Apart from reports the Council also published a Preliminary and Background Study Series. This series contains a good deal of basic material used in the reports, this material having been assembled by external experts or Council staff members in the context of specific projects. The Council's aim in publishing this material is to make it accessible to interested parties, but responsibility for the content of the studies and the views expressed in them rests with the authors. Twenty-five such studies were produced during the period under review. A separate series «Media Policy Preliminary and Background Studies» consists of a further seventeen studies.

In principle all the information assembled for the reports is available to the public. Such information as is not included in reports or preliminary studies is contained in working documents and may be obtained from the Council.

#### **3.2. The socio-economic sector**

Two reports fall within the socio-economic sector: «Industry in the Netherlands: its Place and Future» (Report to the Government no. 18, published on 19 June 1980) and «Prospects for Reforming the Labour System» (no. 21, 16 December 1981).

##### *3.2.1. Place and Future of Industry in the Netherlands*

The place and future of industry in the Netherlands was designated as one of the central projects in the Council's work programme for its second term of office. In making this choice the Council's aim was to examine industry in detail and to assess it in terms of its potential for economic growth, while at the same time taking a large number of criteria (including the environment and energy) into account. For the purposes of this project a comprehensive structural survey was carried out into the enterprises sector as a whole in an attempt to answer the political question of the extent to which economic objectives such as full employment, economic growth, balance of payments equilibrium and various other intermediate objectives (e.g. environmental control) were linked to a particular economic structure. These objectives were not arrived at independently by the Council but were drawn from the established system of government intervention.

The report provides an analysis of the strong and weak points of the structure of Dutch industry. This established that production and employment trends in Dutch industry differed from those in other Western European countries. The scale of this phenomenon justified the description

of «de-industrialization». At the heart of the problem is the fact that the post-war pattern of specialization in the Netherlands has exhibited a number of highly specific features, being heavily oriented towards certain key industries. This placed Dutch industry in a good position to exploit the growth opportunities offered by world trade, but the fact that the Dutch industrialization formula, with its stress on industries that occupy an intermediate position in technological terms, has by now been imitated by many newcomers to the industrial world, means that the country's post-war competitive advantage now threaten to turn into disadvantages. This means that the Netherlands' industrial position will come under even further pressure.

The report spells out three general requirements if the structure of Dutch industry is to be more effectively geared to conditions in the future. In the first place the industrial structure will have to be diversified; secondly the product mix will have to be upgraded: Dutch industry has to make the jump from middle to late industries. Finally greater stress must be placed on product differentiation and non-price factors. This is a matter of selective technological innovation and marketing. These elements form the components of a general programme, with certain variations from industry to industry.

In specific terms, a programme to improve the structure of production would according to the Council have to concentrate on:

a. restructuring the present export sector (i.e. chemicals and crude oil) in technological and market terms, with greater stress being placed on high-technology products and the regeneration of the production process. In the latter respect the more economical use of energy will have to play a large part;

b. revitalization of the so-called sensitive industries (textiles, clothing, footwear etc.). Here the emphasis will have to be placed on products and markets in respect of which the Netherlands is losing sales to other industrialized countries. The principal problems in these branches of industry lie in the sphere of management and marketing (including design), which have not proved capable of standing up to competitive pressure;

c. expansion of the capital goods and equipment sector. This sector occupies a fairly limited place within Dutch industrial production. Partly as a result the Dutch economy is exposed to severe import pressure, while at the same time this sector could on account of its increasing importance in international trade play a significant part in strengthening the Netherlands' export capacity. Selective specialization and collaboration form the appropriate means for overcoming comparative disadvantages.

The Council reached the conclusion that a combination of generic and sector-specific policies was required. General policies should be directed towards improving the operation of the labour market and to ensuring that cost trends do not get out of step in relation to European competitors. In addition a strengthening of the technological base and of innovative capacity would contribute to the much-needed improvement of the investment climate. This would however be insufficient in itself to get the required re-adjustment of the economic structure under way. For this to occur a selective stimulation programme is also required, although this will only be effective if the investment climate is improved.

The report did not undertake a detailed examination of all the snares and pitfalls associated with the actual implementation of such a programme. The Council recommended the establishment of a Government Commission with limited terms of reference specifically to examine the possibilities at operational level. Apart from the mobilization of the available knowledge and technical expertise within the government and the private sector, a second task of the Government Commission would be the operationalization of government policy. The latter would be implemented and given specific shape in individual sectors on the basis of a policy plan. In order to support

the implementation of such a policy the Council envisaged the establishment of a National Economic Development Corporation, which would extend financial assistance to suitable enterprises or for new projects on the basis of guidelines laid down by the Government Commission.

#### *Dissenting opinion*

One member of the Council, Dr. A. H. J. J. Kolnaar, was unable to share the principal conclusions and recommendations of the report, and submitted a dissenting opinion. Prof. Kolnaar considered the main emphasis should be placed on generic policies, and doubted whether there would be room for complementary sectoral (structural) policies. Given the lack of assured effectiveness and of a proper set of policy instruments, such policies would in his view best be avoided at this stage.

#### *Preliminary studies*

The report «Industry in the Netherlands: its Place and Future» drew heavily on external experts and researchers. Four research teams were independently asked to construct multi-sector economic models on the basis of which (i) insight could be obtained into the likely structure of production in 1985 and (ii) it might be examined, in the event of disequilibrium, how the structure of the economy could be adjusted by means of official policy and brought more closely in line with macro policy objectives. In order to make projections with the aid of these four multi-sector models it was necessary for a number of important determinants to be estimated exogenously. This resulted in the preparation of a number of technical papers which were collected together into a preliminary study setting out trends in industrial exports, domestic expenditure on consumption, government expenditure and import price levels.

In order to determine the extent to which the recent decline in the export position of the Netherlands is attributable to trends in world demand, competitiveness and the political conditions governing trade, six researchers were asked to compile contributions on the following aspects: the geographical distribution of exports, distribution according to product groups, the position of the guilder, the linkage between the structure of exports and the structure of production, the open nature of the Dutch economy and the relationship between export promotion and import subsidies.

In addition these researchers examined in which way and to what extent the government would be able to implement structural policies. This covered the optimal relationship between policy instruments and regulatory mechanisms for the government the structure of production as an area of government responsibility, government initiative and private enterprise, the conditions for sustained cooperation between the government and the private sector, the practical implementation of an industrial policy and the constraints imposed on domestic structural policies by prevailing European Community Law.

Finally attention was devoted to the geographical distribution of economic activities in the Netherlands. This study provides a historical description of provincial economic development, together with a detailed evaluation of the central government's regional economic policies.

#### *Government reaction*

Upon the publication by the Council of the report «Industry in the Netherlands: its Place and Future» the Government issued a preliminary reaction in which it indicated a number of central elements that would be dealt with in its examination of the report. The Government endorsed the Council's view that the continuity of the Dutch economy, in terms of both

growth and employment, was not necessarily assured. As such, policy measures would be required on a broad front. In deciding where it stood the Government would have to give further consideration to the optimal combination of the two policy elements (i.e. general and selective measures) which the Council had distinguished. In determining its attitude towards the Council report, the Government announced its intention of requesting advice from the Central Economic Committee (CEC).<sup>\*</sup> The Government also assumed the Socio-Economic Council (SER) would be providing its views on the report.

The Government issued its definitive reaction in December 1980. This stated that the Council had cogently drawn attention to the very great problems faced by the Dutch economy and especially industry. It expressed its gratification that the Council's study had prompted a renewed discussion on the future of industry in the Netherlands. According to the Government the Council's analysis led to the conclusion that structural policies would have to be primarily concerned with strengthening international competitiveness and with the re-orientation and regeneration of the product mix. For an open economy such as that of the Netherlands this was of vital importance. The Government supported the Council's view that an optimal combination of general and selective policies was required.

Whereas the Council had taken the view that the government should aim at selective industrial stimulation, with a view to working towards the type of structure of production it considered to be required, the Government considered that a policy aimed at industrial strengthening and regeneration should in principle apply to all sectors. In this respect the Government argued that its task should be to ensure that it picked up the signals being sent out by the private sector. The question was posed whether the structure proposed by the Council, amounting as it did to a professionally-based framework comprising a government commission, National Economic Development Corporation and sectoral committees, would form a quicker and more effective path towards solving the problem of rigidities and sluggish decision-making. The Government expressed criticism of what it termed the depoliticization of the formulation and implementation of industrial policy by placing the stress on experts. The Government's standpoint concluded with the following proposed measures:

- a. to ask the SER for advice on the structural economic problems of the Netherlands. In this respect the Council's report and the report of the committee of economic experts of the SER would form important elements;
- b. an advisory committee of independent experts would be set up, whose first task would be, against the background of the analysis of industrial problems, to review current industrial policy and the proposed package of measures. This committee would be required to issue its report within six months. After that stage advisory committee could be drawn in to advice on important questions of relevance to industry;
- c. government procurement policy would have to be expanded in order to stimulate the regeneration of the private sector. A white paper was promised on the subject;
- d. a further reduction of the private sector burden was promised, with examination to be devoted to the question of whether more flexible or new forms of procurement of risk-bearing assets were desirable;
- e. consultations would be held with the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) and the Central Planning Bureau (CPB) concerning the improvement and expansion of statistical material with a view to broadening knowledge of industry and individual branches and sectors.

#### *Council reaction*

The Government also examined the results as spelled out in the Council's report of a two billion guilder investment stimulus, as calculated with the aid of the CPB's medium-term model. The Government

<sup>\*</sup> The Central Economic Committee is the main Civil Service advisory group on economic policy.

noted that the Council had put the number of jobs that an investment push of this kind would create at ten times the figure estimated by the CPB. In response to this comparison of the results the Council decided it would have to issue a reaction of its own to the Government's standpoint. In doing so the Council noted that, for the results to be truly comparable, the two projections would have to be based on the same assumptions, or at least that any differences would have to be clearly spelled out. The Council established – with the Central Planning Office's agreement – that there had been a number of significant differences. These centred on the fact that the Council had calculated the effect of a selective direct investment stimulus linked to a broad programme of generic measures, while the Central Planning Office had calculated the effects of a generic investment push. The Central Planning Office concurred that, leaving complementary generic measures to one side, an investment stimulus that was more specifically oriented towards employment creation could be expected to create more jobs than a generic impulse in that there would be a higher multiplier effect.

#### *Advisory committee on industrial policy*

By way of follow-up to the decisions in the Government's standpoint the Advisory Committee on Industrial Policy was set up at the beginning of 1981 in order to make recommendations against the background of the analysis contained in the Council's report. This independent advisory committee was chaired by Mr. G. A. Wagner. The chairman of the project group responsible for the report «Industry in the Netherlands: its Place and Future», Dr. A. van der Zwan, was also a member. The committee produced its report, entitled «Een nieuw industrieel elan» (A New Industrial Spirit) in June 1981. In the report the Wagner committee endorsed the view in the Council's report that a strengthening of the enterprises sector, starting with manufacturing industry, was required for economic recovery. In addition the Wagner committee endorsed the Council's recommendation in favour of a two-pronged policy consisting of generic, condition-setting policies to prevent the further decline of the present system, plus specific policies designed to support initiatives for improving the structure of production. Given the existence of the Council's report the Wagner committee did not set out to conduct a fresh analysis of its own but concentrated on coming up with concrete policy proposals. In contrast to the Council's report, the Wagner committee did not adopt a sectoral approach when it came to selecting the fields on which specific policies should be concentrated. Four principal areas of attention were identified on pragmatic grounds. With regard to the institutional framework the committee proposed the establishment of an Industrial Projects Corporation (MIP) which would provide risk-bearing capital on a commercial basis for large new projects. This MIP is a variant of the National Economic Development Corporation in the Council's report. The latter report had provided for an intermediate government committee in between the National Economic Development Corporation and the Ministry of Economic Affairs. This committee, which would consist of independent experts and be appointed on a non-tripartite basis, would be responsible for formulating and overseeing re-industrialization policy. Major objections were, however, levelled against this structure in political circles, and the government committee disappeared in the report «A New Industrial Spirit». The MIP (which would come directly under the Ministry of Economic Affairs) would, however, be screened off from daily political interference by means of a powerful and independent Board of Commissioners. Finally the Wagner committee advocated the establishment of a successor committee that would be responsible for monitoring the implementation of policy proposals for an initial period of two years. This committee (the temporary Advisory Committee on the Progress of Industrial Policy) was set up in January 1982. It has subsequently issued its first half-yearly report.

### *The SER report*

In February 1982 the Socio-Economic Council (SER) issued an unanimous report concerning «Industry in the Netherlands: its Place and Future». This also covered the Wagner committee's report. The SER took the line that government policy would have to be a combination of macro-economic, formative policies and selective structural policies. The SER did not take a position with respect to the most appropriate approach for selective structural policies, maintaining that a dogmatic stand for or against a sectoral approach had little point. Instead the SER accorded primacy to the effectiveness of the measures, arguing that it was a matter of seeing whether government policy could in practice be filled in from sector to sector, in which case the boundaries between the sectors would have to be treated flexibly. The SER added that the indications previous governments had provided of the type of economic structure they regarded as desirable had not been formulated sufficiently consistently or systematically. If anything policies towards the private sector had displayed inadequate coordination. The SER accordingly considered that the government should sketch the contours of a desirable economic structure. This view is in line with the Council's report on the place and future of Dutch industry but in clear contrast to the standpoint adopted by the Government.

The SER went on to argue that structural policy should be offensive, in the sense of being geared towards enterprises or groups of enterprises that fitted into the economic structure considered desirable. Apart from selective stimulation (including the establishment of key industries) selective intervention for the restructuring of existing industries would also form an indispensable part of structural policy. The SER regarded the establishment of an MIP as an essential part of reindustrialization policy. Finally the SER maintained that it was necessary for the social partners to have an advisory input in structural policy. It suggested that this input might be organized at central level through the intermediary of the Socio-Economic Council.

### *Impact of the report*

From the outset the report on Dutch industry attracted a great deal of attention. Apart from the Government, the Socio-Economic Council and the Advisory Committee on Industrial Policy, the political parties and social organizations also expressed their views. These initially took the form of preliminary impressions and later of more considered views. In September 1980 the Standing Parliamentary Committee for Economic Affairs discussed the report with a delegation from the Council. The report received extensive descriptive and analytical coverage on television and radio and in the press and general and professional periodicals. The Speech from the Throne upon the opening of the 1981–1982 parliamentary session contained the following remarks on the change of climate with respect to the corporate sector and especially industry: «Fortunately there has been a discernable reappraisal of these forms of economic activity, partly as the result of the pioneering study by the Scientific Council for Government Policy».

The public debate centred to a large extent on the question as to whether macro, generic policies needed to be supplemented by specific policies directed towards reindustrialization as a concrete point of departure for economic recovery. Not only the Government but also employers' associations and the trade unions answered this question affirmatively. However, the Council's proposal that the government should tackle the stimulation of particular industries in a selective manner ran into certain objections, often summed up in the question why the government should have a better idea of economic opportunities than private enterprise? The Council's report itself noted in this regard that it was ultimately up to entrepreneurs to take advantage of future opportunities. At the same time,

however, it was evident that the resources of individual enterprises were limited. Where the circumstances so required a case could therefore be made out for government action, not in an interventionist but in a formative sense. This came down to collaborating with private enterprise to set in train processes of change and to stimulate successful innovation in promising directions for the Netherlands. The policies pursued by the government would be set within the confines of the free market system. There would be no room for unwarranted risks, meaning that investment projects would have to be evaluated in terms of the most stringent possible market expectations. Investment projects would require an element of co-financing by private enterprise. Government involvement would have to be confined to participation in carefully selected projects. Going no further than the bounds of sound commerce. This would prevent government involvement from being disruptive, e.g. by distorting competition. It was to underline this approach that the Council had recommended the establishment of a policy body at one remove from government. The Advisory Committee on Industrial Policy only measures up to this conception in part. It incorporates important elements such as independence and non-tripartism, but its capacity for shaping the economic structure is more limited than had a Government Commission been established. The Council's proposals may be said to have been watered down to what was feasible.

In sum, the Council considers it fair to conclude that its report on the place and future of industry in the Netherlands has sparked off a public debate and has led to refurbishing the image of industry, with the process of regeneration being set in the context of present-day requirements with respect to the environment, energy and the quality of work. The conclusion was unanimously shared that economic policy should consist of a combination of macro-economic, formative policies and specialized structural measures. There was widespread support for the Council's view that it was essential for a conception to be advanced of the kind of economic structure deemed desirable. «Offensive» policies were required, directed towards those enterprises that fitted into the selected structure.

### *3.2.2. Prospects for Reforming the Labour System*

Following its reports «Do We make Work our Business?» and «On Social Inequality» (both of which appeared in 1977), the Council once again devoted attention to problems of labour and employment in its report «Prospects for Reforming the Labour System». The marked decline in the economic situation, the growing uncertainty about the prospects for a return to full employment and the steadily increasing expectations to which the labour system has been subject prompted the Council to examine the possible solutions that might be employed in the future for tackling problems in the labour field. In its report on the reform of the labour system the Council elaborated a number of policy options for dealing with problems in the labour field, the choice depending on the political persuasion of the government in question and the nature of the problems. This report is based on two underlying premises, namely uncertainty and control. Uncertainty relates to such factors as developments in world trade and the rise in energy and raw material prices. By control is meant that the future development of society is partly determined by deliberate policy measures.

The Council's aim in this report was to identify a variety of possibilities for changing the labour system. The selected policy options or concepts are of such complexity that their impact extends to various sectors and aspects of government policy. The various solutions selected on the basis of this criterion thus afford scope for policy integration. Other considerations that played a part in the choice included the question as to whether they enjoyed sufficiently wide support in society and the need to investigate a broad spectrum of ideas and attitudes.

The concepts selected in this manner were analysed and researched in terms of their effects and evaluated in terms of their feasibility and capacity for solving problems in the labour system. As far as possible they were elaborated in the form of specific points of departure for government policy. The Council considered their impact not just on employment but also on the labour system and the social order. In its report the Council took the line that it would be premature at this stage to conclude that a satisfactory rate of growth in employment was unattainable. The limits to a purposeful generic and specific policy for reindustrialization as proposed in the Council's report on the place and future of Dutch industry had not as yet been properly explored. The extent to which reindustrialization created jobs was also dependent on external factors, for which reason the scope for job creation in other sectors also deserved to be examined and encouraged. A policy aimed at the restoration of full employment did, however, contain risks in relation to feasibility. Partly for this reason the report devotes attention to the scope for a reduction in working hours, parttime work and paid study leave.

As far as the labour system is concerned the report did not just consider the number of jobs that the various proposals would result in but also the type of work that would be created, the quality of work and the greater scope for choice between paid and unpaid forms of employment.

With respect to the social order there are two possible developments. One possibility would be for paid employment to retain its primacy, with the right to and available volume of employment becoming more widely shared. On the other hand society could evolve in the direction whereby it became regarded as more normal for an individual's basic need to be satisfied by a combination of earned income and benefits, while the close ties (as they are widely perceived as being) between the obligation to work, the right to work and remuneration for work would be broken. The first of these possibilities would appear the more likely, so that political effort will be required if a different course is to be charted.

More specifically, the report reached the following conclusions:

*General reduction in working hours.* From the treatment of the subject it emerges that the Council would support a gradual and differentiated introduction of a reduction in working hours. This would, however, have to be subject to strict conditions, namely that there was no increase in the total wage bill and that operating hours were not reduced. In the short term therefore a radical reduction in working hours would not be so desirable. The change would also have to be introduced on a selective basis in order to prevent industries that were operating in a tight segment of the labour market from getting into difficulties.

*Part-time work.* The Council considers that both the demand for part-time work and the supply of part-time workers could be increased. The scope is however greatest in the higher income brackets. The government could introduce a system of selective subsidies in order to familiarize employers with the advantages of part-time work and could stimulate part-time work at higher levels in its own staffing policy.

*Paid study leave.* Paid study leave could help reduce unemployment without many negative side-effects on the economy. Allowance would, however, have to be made for the fact that the willingness to undertake study is less developed at lower income levels. In the report the costs were calculated for the sake of argument of a year's paid study leave for employees at the age of 35 at the rate of 80% of their previous income.

*Differentiated wage formation.* The operation of the labour market could be improved by establishing a closer relation between relative scarcities and wage determination. The Council considers that a differentiated wages

policy could encourage mobility and hence improve the allocative function of the labour market. The suggestion was put forward of maintaining «band widths» between industries and regions, within which wage differentiation would then take place. These band widths would be determined at national level, although their actual implementation could be decentralized. In view of the fact that the supply of labour tends to respond to the level of net income, consideration could also be given to a differential system of taxation, social security contributions and benefits with a view to improving the operation of the labour market. Examples might include provision for built-in elements such as previous years of employment, age and education level.

*Quality of work.* Improvement of the quality of work is in the first place desirable on ethical grounds, so that work can be experienced as a meaningful activity. Improvement could however also lead to a reduction in employment disability and sickness absenteeism and thus result in considerable savings.

*Shifts between paid and unpaid work.* This proposal centres on the border between paid and unpaid work as found in the quaternary sector. Both forms deserve to be promoted but the Council does not consider it possible for there to be an expansion of voluntary work on a U.S. scale. The report outlines various possibilities for absorbing the so-called «culturally unemployed» – consisting largely of young, barely employable people in the cities – into the labour process by means of an alternative regime. The redistribution of paid employment over a greater number of jobs and greater economic independence could be achieved by the introduction of a homemaker's wage, a variant of which was worked out in the report. Although it would not be possible to introduce such a scheme in the short term, the Council considers the concept deserves further examination.

*Universal basic income.* Similarly the Council does not regard the introduction of a universal basic income as possible in the short term. The study carried out a calculation for a basic income of N.Fl. 5,000 for all persons aged between 24 and 65. The repercussions would be so far-reaching that a basic income does not constitute a serious option at this stage. If the future should however take the form of jobless growth, the introduction of a basic income might become plausible.

*Consumption shaping.* Consideration was given to the prospects for promoting employment by shaping consumption in three fields, namely housing, transport and communications and tourism. Under certain conditions – especially if arrangements can be made to avoid extra costs being passed on – it would appear reasonable to assume that some tens of thousands of jobs could be created. In this respect a number of scenarios were elaborated in the report.

#### *Preliminary studies*

A large number of preliminary reports were prepared by external researchers and Council staff members for the purposes of the report on the reform of the labour system. A number of these were combined for publication. These concern the studies on consumption policy and employment, the interaction between relative scarcities and the remuneration structure, and the quality of work.

#### *Government reaction*

The Government's standpoint in relation to the report «Prospects for Reforming the Labour System» was still in the process of preparation when this report was written.

### *Impact of the report*

Press reaction concentrated on the fact that the Council regarded full employment as a realizable objective. According to the report this objective could, however, only be realized by expanding the range of available policy instruments. The research carried out by the Council in this respect has generally met a positive response. Interest has been expressed in the question as to which instruments among the spectrum of those put forward would in fact be used. The report and the concepts developed in it have been discussed on various occasions in scientific literature in the socio-economic field. In its Social and Cultural Report for 1982 the Social and Cultural Planning Office referred to the Council's study as an example of a non-conventional approach to employment problems.

### **3.3. The socio-cultural sector**

The following reports fall into this sector: Ethnic Minorities (Report to the Government no. 17, published on 6 June 1979), A Reappraisal of Welfare Policy (no. 22, 30 June 1982) and A Coherent Media Policy (no. 24, 6 September 1982).

#### **3.3.1. *Ethnic Minorities***

The report «Ethnic Minorities» concerns government policy with respect to Moluccans, Surinamese, Antilleans and foreign workers of Mediterranean origin in the Netherlands. The report was accompanied by a preliminary study of government policy to date in this field. On the basis of the material presented the Council arrived at a number of basic concepts, which underpin its report. In the first place the impression that ethnic minorities intend staying only temporarily in the Netherlands turns out to be incorrect. Government policy should instead be based on the possibility of permanent residence in the Netherlands. This implies acceptance of the fact that there has been a permanent increase in ethnic and racial diversity in Dutch society – something with which society as a whole (i.e. also the «majority») will have to come to terms. In the absence of intensified government policies the problems already being experienced are in the Council's view only likely to become more acute. There are powerful forces at work tending to perpetuate the social backwardness and cultural isolation of the ethnic minorities. For this reason it is distinctly possible that they will remain among the weakest groups for a long period. The Council came out in favour of a policy approach centred on enabling minorities to participate in Dutch society on equal terms. In doing so it will have to be borne in mind that this will necessitate the elimination of factors tending to inequality. This will also be essential in the Council's view in order to prevent the improvement of opportunities for ethnic minorities bringing about a reduction in opportunities for indigenous minorities. The question of separate identity needs to be considered in the light of a plural society in which groups were receptive towards one another's views while at the same time recognizing that active participation in society by minorities required a change of attitude on both sides. Minorities should be given the opportunity to exert influence on policies directly affecting their position, as well as on the evolution of society generally. Active government policies would have to be directed towards the encouragement of dialogue and civic participation, as well as eliminating discriminatory treatment and improving the legal status of minorities. Among other things this will require institutional facilities and new legislation. In addition the Council argued for policy measures with respect to the labour market, housing, education and training and health care.

Similarly it would no longer be possible for migration policy to be framed on the assumption that immigrants intend staying in the Netherlands

only temporarily. Allowance would have to be made for the possibility of permanent residence. Active government policies to promote participation by minorities on equal terms will require a tightening of the restrictive immigration policy. As a basic principle for future policy towards foreigners, the nature and length of residence in the Netherlands should be clearly established at the moment of admission.

#### *Government reaction*

The Government published its reaction to the report in March 1980. This was a preliminary reaction; the Government wished to enable the public to react to the attitudes it had expressed, which could then if necessary be modified before incorporation in a white paper on minorities policy.

The Government joined the Council in acknowledging that the generally far from satisfactory position of members of minority groups would be perpetuated in the absence of additional efforts. The Government endorsed the Council's finding that ethnic minorities had become a permanent feature of Dutch society. The Government also shared the Council's view that the Netherlands had become a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society in which minorities had a right to a place on equal terms. The Government formulated its conception of the relationship between the majority and minorities as «mutual adjustment in a multicultural society with equal opportunities for indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants». In line with the Council's stand, it was argued that more attention would have to be devoted to the task by the Dutch host society.

In order to achieve the objectives of its minorities policy the Government announced a number of policy proposals:

- a. the Minister of Home Affairs was designated as the coordinating Minister for minorities policy as a whole;
- b. education: a «cultural minorities in education» policy plan was foreshadowed. A policy document on the subject was published in 1980;
- c. housing: the housing of minorities would as far as possible be fitted into existing housing policy arrangements, which would require certain adjustments.

Various measures were foreshadowed in the fields of justice, aliens policy, development cooperation, welfare, interpreters' centres, health care and women's rights.

The Government endorsed the restrictive immigration policy as advocated by the Council. Its policies were aimed at restricting immigration as far as possible, without however derogating from any obligations that had been entered into either nationally or internationally. This meant, for example, that family reunification and the admission of political refugees would not fall under the restrictive policy.

The Government announced an expanded civic participation procedure, in which its policy proposals could be discussed. In April 1981 the Minister of Home Affairs published a draft policy document on minorities containing a more detailed approach to the problem. The Government requested the relevant minority organization and lower levels of government to provide their views on the draft if possible by 1 October 1981. The definitive policy document on minorities policy is still being prepared.

#### *Impact of the report*

The Council's report has come in for discussion in Parliament on a number of occasions. Among other things it formed the subject of consideration in November 1980 when the Special Committee for Government Policy towards Cultural Minorities discussed the Government's

reaction. In addition the Government's reaction to the report gave rise to a large number of reactions among social organizations, especially those representing or concerned with ethnic minorities.

### 3.3.2. *Reappraisal of Welfare Policy*

Partly in response to a request from the Second Chamber, an analysis of the objectives of welfare policy was added in 1978 to the Council's programme of work. The report «A Reappraisal of Welfare Policy» was written against the background of the major increase in recent decades in the scale of government services and facilities in the fields of health care and social welfare, education and recreation. More recently, however, the level of facilities and government policy have come in for increasing criticism. Doubts are cast on the usefulness and effectiveness of particular services. This criticism has obtained extra force on account of the recession and demographic developments. The ageing of the population has meant a sharp increase in the demand for welfare services, while the unfavourable economic circumstances have similarly placed pressure on services as well as creating financing problems. Against the background of these issues there is an increasing need for government clarification of the intrinsic aims of welfare policy.

The Council's report centres on the question of what welfare policy is designed to achieve and how this can be given shape in order to achieve the desired results. It is based on research into trends in the demand and supply of physical and mental health care, care for the elderly and adult education. A general conclusion reached by the report was that welfare policy should pay greater attention to societal objectives, especially social integration.

The report puts forward a different conception of individual welfare from the one that has hitherto prevailed in the provision of services and in government policy. Under the Council's approach, the welfare of individual citizens would be linked more closely to personal responsibility and capacities. In addition the Council recommends that apart from individual welfare, more attention should be paid to societal objectives (i.e. social equality, social integration and social stability). In this respect the Council reached the following conclusions:

- a. The provision of welfare facilities does not diminish inequalities between the various population categories. These facilities do, however, improve the quality of existence across the board, for which reason a guaranteed basic level of facilities should be retained.
- b. A growing number of persons are being excluded from family or work on the grounds of age, illness or redundancy. Social integration should for this reason be an explicit objective of welfare policy.
- c. Social stability has been disrupted in the sense that a balanced division of responsibilities between the welfare services sector and other social organizations such as the family and the labour system is lacking. The massive displacement of labour from the labour system is, for example, a problem which the welfare sector can no longer satisfactorily solve. The growth of the number of old people is likely to assume such proportions in coming years that welfare facilities will be utterly unable to cope. In response to technological developments and to the autonomous growth of education, the lack of correspondence between the education system and the labour market has turned into a structural problem. Families are by and large failing in their functions of care and support. Welfare work can cover only a fraction of the requirement. The restoration of equilibrium, which should be an explicit objective of welfare policy, is not merely a cause for economies but also for the acceptance of new responsibilities in the welfare field.

As far as the required set of policy instruments is concerned, the report made the following observations:

a. Within the context of a limited reappraisal of the market mechanism it is the government's responsibility to guarantee essential services for all by means of public funding. In addition the balance between individual and government responsibilities could be improved by a selective application of the profit principle.

b. The government will to a much greater extent than hitherto have to lay down guidelines for the functions to be fulfilled in the welfare field by private organizations (i.e. private initiative). Policy effectiveness and efficiency will require the establishment of priorities. This cannot be replaced by integrated planning at decentralized level as proposed for example in the Specific Welfare Framework Act. Consideration deserves to be given to less ambitious arrangements for the achievement of coordination, in which there was a less rigid distinction between welfare policies specifically directed towards the provision of services and other policies.

c. In those cases where the welfare or needs of individuals are predominant, the full-scale devolution of powers to the lowest level of administration is in principle to be preferred. Where, however, societal objectives are at issue – and it is argued that these should be given greater weight – it becomes a matter for national government to select the objectives to be furthered.

d. On the assumption that it would be desirable in certain circumstances for professional activities to be supplemented by the work of volunteers, it would be advisable for specific allocations to be set aside from the existing disbursements by national insurance funds or from government subsidies for financing the work of volunteers. Welfare agencies would have to be free to decide whether to spend this money on professionals or volunteers.

The report examined four specialized areas in the field of specific welfare. These were physical health care, out-patient mental health care, care of the elderly and adult education. A large number of recommendations were made in these fields.

#### *Preliminary studies*

The Council commissioned a number of external experts to carry out studies by way of background to its analysis of welfare policy. A detailed survey was conducted of the discussion of welfare policy in previous years. A separate study was devoted to the marked increase in the requirement for information, public education and advice. In the case of health, studies were carried out on the functions of such care for the individual and society, improvements in the quality of medical treatment and the possibilities for government policies with respect to out-patient mental health care. The principal objectives of care of the elderly were also examined. A study on education and welfare was published by the Council. In this study six authors examined the effects of education policy in the production sphere, the private sphere and the public sphere. Particular attention was devoted to the effects of education on social equality and inequality.

#### *Government reaction*

At the time this report was written the Government's reaction had not yet come to hand, although it was announced in the Government's Declaration of 22 November 1982 that it would be appearing in the near future. The policy accord on which the Lubbers-Van Aardenne government is based referred to the Council's report in relation to the future revision of health insurance schemes. In October 1982 an official working group

submitted proposals to the Minister of Home Affairs for the reclassification of civil servant health insurance regulations. These may be regarded as an elaboration of the basic principles drawn up by the Council for a revision of the system.

#### *Impact of the report*

To date a considerable proportion of the press reaction has been devoted to the Council's recommendations in the individual fields. Less space has been devoted to the analysis and recommendations concerning the objectives and means of welfare policy. Interest was however displayed in the proposal for a national health insurance scheme. The recommendation in favour of further decentralization of out-patient mental health care also attracted attention, as did the observations on flexible retirement arrangements in the chapter in the report on care of the elderly, especially in publications of interest groups representing the elderly. In the chapter on adult education the recommendation for linking such education more closely to the requirements of the labour market attracted particular attention. With regard to the general observations contained in the report the main focus of interest was on the proposals for strengthening individual responsibility.

On 28 and 29 October 1982 a symposium on developments in the social services was jointly organized by the Twente Institute of Technology and the Joint Institute for Social Services of Overijssel, at which consideration was given to the report's recommendations. In addition the National Council for Social Welfare organized a seminar on the report in collaboration with the Council, which was held in The Hague on 30 November 1982.

#### *3.3.3. A Coherent Media Policy*

This report was written at the request of the government. The request for advice of March 1979 placed particular stress on technical developments that might lead to new forms of mass communication or which would at least have an impact on the mass media system, especially the functioning of the broadcasting system and the press. In addition the Council was asked to examine socio-cultural and societal aspects of these new developments, including employment, and to make recommendations for government policy on the basis of the constitutionally enshrined freedom of speech.

The report is therefore set within clear terms of reference. In it the Council has attempted to outline the significance of technological developments for the media system, with reference to both new opportunities and threats. Options that do not stem from technological innovation, such as a national broadcasting system or a non-profit system for the press have not, therefore, been examined. Given the fact that most people in the Netherlands will experience these innovations by means of their own television sets, particular stress has been placed on developments in the field of television. No major changes are to be expected in relation to radio in the immediate future, so less attention has been devoted to this medium. The press will not only be affected by technical innovations in terms of its actual operation but is also dependent on the same source of revenue (i.e. advertising) as broadcasting. The impact of technological developments has therefore consistently been examined across the entire field of both broadcasting and the press.

The principal technological developments concern cable and satellite communication. Co-axial cable, of which there is already 50 million km underground in the Netherlands, still offers a good deal of potential, although certain technical adjustments will be required; fibre optic cable, with its even greater carrying capacity, is highly developed. Broadcasting satellites are likely to be introduced around 1985-1990; the extent to which

these are utilized will depend primarily on economic factors. The range of services is likely to be expanded considerably. Examples include the transmission of a greater number of foreign programmes and the provision of new services by cable; local television, pay-cable and alpha-numerical services such as cable newspapers. On the basis of experience in other countries there is likely to be an increase in the demand for entertainment programmes (e.g. sport and quiz shows) and a greater requirement for special interest programmes. At least in relative terms, the demand for cultural programmes and documentaries may be expected to decline. Local broadcasting can bank on a growth in interest. Taken as a whole the future points to a wider range of services and a shift in demand. The boundaries between broadcasting, the press and cable will become blurred. There will be a growing market, lending itself to exploitation by means of a combination of subscription and advertising revenue.

How is a coherent media policy to be conducted in the media landscape of the future? The growing market does not, the report argues, necessarily demand government regulation. The growth does not, however, just open up interesting new possibilities but also contains threats for parts of the system. This applies for example to the public service broadcasting system and to parts of the press. The question of compatibility thus arises. This may provide grounds for government intervention, and forms the reason for the emphasis in the report on cohesion in government policy. Public service broadcasting, the private press and new cable services need to be examined in the context of a coherent policy.

A coherent media policy will have to be based on the constitutional right of freedom of speech and opinion. This calls for a diversified media system: broadcasting, new cable services and the press will have to continue to exist side by side. Each of these serves a particular function which is worth preserving and developing. Diversity will also have to be maintained within each of these categories. Furthermore the implementation of cultural policy is of relevance in relation to the maintenance and distribution of and participation in cultural values. Finally considerations related to industrial policy and employment play a part. In order to achieve all these objectives the Council would attach primacy to two points:

- the maintenance of achievements from the past;
- in principle to allow new technical possibilities to be developed as far as possible.

Among the achievements the Council would count the public service broadcasting system, reflecting as it does the social and cultural diversity of the nation. This does not, however, mean that there is no room for change. On the basis of the constitutional right of diversified freedom of speech there is a need for the essential feature of the public service broadcasting system – namely the way in which it reflects the distinctive social, cultural and religious elements of which Dutch society is composed – to be accentuated. This feature of the system deserves greater emphasis than that currently being provided by the battle for viewing ratings. As such the Council would place greater stress on efforts to achieve a distinctive image in programming than it would on the size of membership of the broadcasting organizations. The regulation calling for comprehensive programme could lapse or be limited. It is also important that the multiformity of the system should stay in step with the times. New rules for admission to or exclusion from the system should be designed to prevent rigidities and to ensure that broadcasting remains representative of social diversity. Finally the system will have to be strengthened financially.

The increase in the amount of entertainment will place one particular type of programme under pressure, namely innovative, high-quality cultural productions, especially of Dutch origin. Productions of this kind are rare enough as it is; the broadcasting system would appear to provide more room for a distinctive ideological or philosophical orientation than it

does for a distinctive cultural identity. To this end the Council would support the introduction of a new and special facility, namely a third programme run by a separate broadcasting organization with non-permanent production teams.

To date the potential for cable has been severely restricted by official regulations. The Council considers that liberalizing policies would be appropriate on constitutional grounds, in terms of cultural policy and in the interests of technical innovation and the development of a cultural industry. The Council considers this would best be done on the basis of a free market system. This would be technically feasible since the use made of separate channels could be charged individually. Under the Council's proposals the Minister of Culture, Recreation and Social Welfare\* would be empowered to intervene with respect to the volume and/or price of advertising.

An interesting new cable service could be that of local television. The Council opted in favour of decentralization to municipal level. It would be up to individual municipal councils to decide whether to introduce local television and whether it should be financed with the aid of advertising or not. Because local television is expensive a decision in favour of having it will generally entail provision for advertising. If this should be the case, local television could be operated by means of a franchise system in which the press would be able to participate. In view of the decentralized nature of the system, national legislation could be kept limited. It would, however, include the requirement for a minimum package to be relayed. From the viewpoint of a coherent media policy it would also be important for advertising to be confined to the local level and for national advertising to be prohibited.

The Council's proposals for local television depart from established principles and practice in two respects: the admission of the press to the broadcasting system and advertising exploitation by the franchise-holder rather than by the Television and Radio Advertising Organization (STER). The Council considers allowing the press to participate to be preferable to loss compensation. The Council's chief consideration in this regard was that this would give the press the chance to parry threats itself by exploiting the natural advantages it enjoys in terms of editorial and commercial experience. Furthermore an equitable allocation of indemnification would be difficult and it is questionable whether the compensation could be sufficient to ensure the continued existence of regional newspapers. Given the fact that advertising would be confined to the local level there would be less of a case for placing it in the hands of the (national) STER organization.

A second important service that could be provided is pay-cable television. This amounts to a private transaction, comparable to a newspaper subscription. Advertising will presumably not be a necessary aspect of pay-cable, and it is not clear whether it will be introduced. Both in principle (in that pay-cable is a private transaction) and practically (in that a prohibition might be redundant), the Council can see no grounds for necessarily banning advertising. If however matters should evolve differently, the Minister of Culture, Recreation and Social Welfare could feel obliged to intervene in advertising from the viewpoint of a coherent media policy.

With respect to the press the Council would propose that it be permitted to participate in local cable television, subscription television and cable newspapers. The press would then be able to exploit its experience and could eventually gain a much wider market, thus enabling it to maintain its position. In the Council's view the diversity of the system would in the long term be served best if the press itself were permitted to counter the new threats to which it was exposed. Past experience has moreover shown this industry to have a high regenerative capacity.

\* Now called: Minister of Health, Environment and Culture.

The Council would support the existing indemnification arrangements for newspapers (whereby they have been compensated for the loss of advertising revenues since the introduction of advertising on television). At the same time, however, it would stress that the ultimate aim must be a return to profitability. It would reject the concept of permanent aid since this can lead to rigidities and hence to a loss of multiformity. Finally the Council would keep the possibility open of ad hoc government aid, especially for new projects.

#### *Dissenting opinion*

One member of the Council, Mr. H. A. van Stiphout, was unable to support some of the recommendations and underlying argumentation in the report, and consequently submitted a dissenting opinion. His reservations centred on four points:

- a. the operation of local cable television on the basis of franchise system, a form of commercial operation which he rejected;
- b. resort to advertising as a source of revenue for pay-cable; advertising would in his view be redundant and best be rejected on account of the adverse effects it would have for existing media;
- c. the third programme (television) in the broadcasting system, which would not, in his opinion, be compatible with the new broadcasting system advocated by the Council;
- d. the recommended priorities and nature of government aid policy to the press; in his view government aid should be confined to daily newspapers.

#### *Media policy preliminary studies*

The Council published fifteen preliminary studies prepared by experts by way of background to the media report. In publishing most of these studies in advance of the report itself, it was the Council's intention to enable interested parties to familiarize themselves with the large volume of material that had been assembled and which was of relevance for the formation of judgements in this field. Another consideration was that this was the first time that an integrated series of this kind, consisting of scientific contributions on the mass media, had been published in the Netherlands. In broad terms the planned studies may be divided into five categories: (i) studies concerning the underlying principles of government policy (government and freedom of speech, an evaluation of the Broadcasting Act, media policy and cultural policy, and the diversity of the system); (ii) technological developments (new printing techniques, fibre optic cable, information technology in the broad sense); (iii) institutional aspects (local broadcasting forms); (iv) economic aspects (the structure of the press industry, the market for television productions, the future costs of broadcasting, media consumption) and (v) developments in the socio-cultural field (the influx of foreign television programmes, the effect of a wider media choice on media use, radio pirates and the effects of mass communications).

#### *Government reaction*

In the policy accord on which the Lubbers-Van Aardenne government is based, the Council's report was cited as the basis for a statement of government policy towards the media to be presented within a year. The accord endorsed the Council's view that government policy should centre on the exploitation of new developments while at the same time retaining achievements from the past. The Government Declaration of 22 November 1982 stated that the Government would be issuing its reaction to the Council's report prior to submitting proposals for media legislation.

### *Impact of the report*

The report «A Coherent Media Policy» prompted a flood of reactions in the media, including television and radio, daily newspapers and weeklies, technical journals and other publications by professional bodies. In general these commended the analysis in the report of the various aspects of the media field, i.e. technical, legal, economic and socio-cultural. The technical and professional journals, in particular, devoted considerable attention to the preliminary studies series, which formed one of the major foundations of the report. This series had provided supplementary information on and analysis of the specialized areas referred to above, on the basis of which an adequate impression could be obtained of the state of scientific knowledge and understanding in this field. The concrete policy recommendations contained in the report provided a fresh stimulus to the debate about the sort of media system required in the future in the Netherlands. There is, however, anything but unanimity about the form this system should take and the type of government policies required. As was to be anticipated, the reactions of interested organizations were highly divided. This division of opinion was evident both between organizations and within individual bodies themselves. Thus the proposed restructuring of the broadcasting system, the liberalization of restrictions on the use of cable and the proposed solutions for local television and for participation by the private sector in this field, formed the subject of controversy. The debate was still in full swing when this report was written, three months after the publication of the media report.

### **3.4. The physical planning sector**

One of the possible projects listed for the second Council term of office was a report on the future of the city, but the Council's busy programme did not leave room for such a report. In view of its importance, however, the Council decided to devote a preliminary study to the subject, which could then provide a starting point for a possible report in the next term of office.

#### **3.4.1. *Preliminary study: Getting Cities under Control?***

This preliminary study was carried out by Dr. J. G. Lambooy, Mr. P. C. M. Huigsloot and Mr. R. E. van de Lustgraaf of the Economic-Geographical Institute and the Foundation for Economic Research of the University of Amsterdam. The study consists of two parts. Part 1 (by Dr. Lambooy) argues that urban policies often achieve the opposite of what had been intended, for which reason it is necessary to examine the relationship between government policy and urban developments. These developments not only reflect all sorts of events and affairs in society but often precede them. Social processes are often encountered in magnified form in the cities. It is difficult enough as it is to influence society, but nowhere is this more true than in the cities. But many citizens, as well as the government, are unprepared to allow developments to run their course since this would give rise to an undesirable distribution of income, housing and employment.

In order to influence urban developments it is necessary to know who wishes to influence them, with what means and with what object. For this reason much attention is paid to institutional aspects: it is necessary to determine which groups exert an influence on events, and the comparative positions these groups occupy. In this respect it is important not to treat the government as a homogeneous category but to see it as an institution made up of various parts. Government objectives are often arrived at as the result of compromise. In urban society, clashes of interest between various interest groups or institutions tend to come to a head much more rapidly than elsewhere. The scarcity of housing and the high cost of transport and accommodation mean that land use is a frequent source of conflict in the cities.

The central government barely has an urban policy. While there have for some time been physical planning policies concerned with the physical expansion of urban areas, there is not as yet an integrated urban policy. Apart from the physical aspects, greater emphasis should be placed on economic, social and administrative aspects. In this respect there is an urgent need for understanding of key factors, especially economic and technological developments and the institutional structure. Only in these circumstances, the survey argues, can stronger policies be conducted with a long-term orientation.

Part 2 (by Huigsloot and Van de Lustgraaf) takes the form of a case study, namely urban renewal from an institutional viewpoint. The emphasis in this study is on problem identification. An analysis of a number of institutional sticking points in urban renewal leads to a description of policy dilemmas. Two questions are central to the case study. The first of these concerns the relationship between policy as officially formulated and the steps actually taken with respect to a number of priority areas, in the light of various institutional sticking points. These sticking points illustrate the fact that policy as officially formulated often provides a misleading impression of the actual nature of urban renewal. The second central question is closely related to the gap between policy as officially formulated and the actual results: can these institutional sticking points, acting in combination, result in a diversionary process whereby the official rank-order of physical planning priorities and urban renewal options is bypassed or modified? The article argues that given the cumulative effect of all the institutional sticking points this danger is by no means an imaginary one and that a single or on-going shift can take place from those options with the greatest formal priority towards less desirable solutions.

### **3.5. The internal government sector**

In this sector the Council published a report entitled «Democracy and Violence» (Report to the Government no. 20, published on 9 December 1980). In addition a study entitled «Planning as a Form of Action» was conducted as part of a survey of planning in public administration. This study will shortly appear in the Preliminary and Background Study series.

#### *3.5.1. Democracy and violence*

Following the street riots in Amsterdam on 30 April 1980 at the time of Queen Beatrix's investiture, the Government considered there to be a need for a «great debate» concerning the «sociological background to the apparently widespread sources of violence in society.»

Within these terms of reference the Council undertook to help get such a debate under way by drawing up an analysis of the problems.

In its request the Government referred to the widely held assumption that the massive violence on 30 April was traceable to a number of fundamental factors. The aim of the general debate was to examine the extent to which structural factors had come into play that might give rise to a repetition of senseless and unacceptable behaviour.

The Council's contribution took the form of a problem analysis. The aim of this document was to set out the various aspects of the problem so as to provide a clear basis for the debate and for research into the background to the disturbances and ways of preventing a recurrence. The Council indicated that it did not wish to impinge on political responsibilities, in that it was aware that its analysis rested on normative assumptions, namely the maintenance of the democratic rule of law and the rejection of violence.

In its report the Council expressed the view that a repetition of violent breaches of the peace could not be ruled out. The question thus arose as to whether an appropriate strategy could be developed, both in order to

influence the background social factors and in order to control any further violence. The Council felt able to examine this latter point only in part, since the tactics adopted by the government in specific instances of civil disorder will depend not just on the normative premises noted above but also on political considerations and the dictates of the moment. It would not be appropriate for a body such as the Council to stray into these fields.

In order to place the background factors in some perspective the Council drew an analytical distinction between four categories:

- a. violence arising from civil disobedience that had got out of hand;
- b. violence for the sake of violence, as a leisure activity;
- c. violence directed towards undermining the rule of law;
- d. violence arising out of the dynamics of the situation stemming from a breach of the peace.

The Council considered it possible that all these types of violence had played a part on 30 April and saw reason for reviewing the position of the government towards civil disobedience that had got out of hand. Violence for the sake of violence gave rise to an analysis of the socio-cultural background to youth aggression. The role of the city environment was also touched on. Violence directed towards overthrowing the rule of law appeared to the Council to have been of highly limited importance in the Netherlands up to the present time.

Where civil disobedience gets out of hand the government is faced with a dilemma:

- excessive restraint will create the risk that disturbers of the peace will continue to count on restraint in the future, thus increasing the problems;
- excessively heavy-handed policies will create the risk that even legitimate protests are not tolerated, thus causing the unnecessary hardening of opposed views.

The government will have to chart its course taking factors such as these into account. In those instances where civil disobedience loses self-control and ceases to be non-violent, the Council concluded that government intervention and criminal prosecution would be justified – if only to ensure that serious protests were able to come properly into their own. In weighing the various policy elements it would appear desirable for the factors at issue to be systematically analysed and as far as possible to be weighed and assessed in terms of their controllability.

As far as the organization of government policy and the appropriate arrangements were concerned, the Council recommended that clarification be provided with regard to the respective roles of the Ministers of Home Affairs and Justice, the Queen's Commissioner and the mayor, and to the division of responsibilities between the mayor, the Chief Constable of Municipal Police and the Public Prosecutions Department.

The Council noted that there were divergent views concerning the desirability of the State instructing a mayor on the maintenance of public order. In this respect the implications would have to be taken into account of the revised arrangements for centralization and decentralization in general. Other problems concerned the division of responsibilities where the maintenance of law and order and the investigation of punishable offences were interwoven with one another, and the actions of members of a municipal council in that capacity in the event of a breach of the peace.

The Council noted that the line taken by individual municipalities could set an important precedent and have a normative impact in other parts of the country. Municipal councillors were not, however, always able to appreciate the full extent of these ramifications. For this reason consideration could be given to strengthening coordination at central level, while at the same time respecting the general principle of decentralization. Policies in this field could be supported by research and advice. The Council

recommended that such research be carried out by an existing, independent body with expertise in this field. The Council saw the advisory function being performed by a small and possibly changing group of people who would meet from time to time.

#### *Political/administrative factors*

The Council did not wish «30 April» to be considered solely as a question of the control of public order.

In this connection the Council raised the question as to whether housing policy in Amsterdam might not have generated excessive tensions within the community. In the Council's view, the combination of the limited legitimation accorded to squatting in 1971, the housing shortage, empty housing, speculation, the promise of housing for young people and the continued lack of legislation on empty housing in 1980 was an unmistakable source of such tension. It would be appropriate for these considerations to be drawn into policy formulation at all levels. The events in Amsterdam could provide a reason for examining whether there existed similar combinations of circumstances in other areas of government administration. These circumstances constituted an independent factor in policy determination. The government would have to act with great precision, bearing in mind that the strains imposed on the welfare state by the protracted economic recession could produce a less amenable climate in society.

The question may also be asked whether dissatisfaction with the present democratic decision-making processes should be counted among the background political/administrative factors. While maintaining that structural improvements in decision-making should not be introduced by way of giving in to civil disorder, the Council nevertheless noted that repeated disturbances could be a signal that greater efforts were required in this field.

#### *Government reaction*

The Government issued its reaction to «Democracy and Violence» in March 1981. While expressing appreciation of the Council's report, the Government nevertheless rejected its recommendations. Where the maintenance of law and order was concerned, the Government indicated that it would continue to subscribe to the principle of decentralization. In view of the existing arrangements in this field it did not regard a formal strengthening of central coordination to be called for. Furthermore, the Government favoured a survey of the available literature to on-going evaluative research. The Youth Policy Council was requested to carry out a study into the problems of aggressive behaviour among young people. The Minister of Home Affairs also instructed a survey to be drawn up of the principal problems in the cities. With respect to the «great debate» it had earlier proposed, the Government observed that these should in its view take place between the Government and Parliament.

The report «Democracy and Violence» was discussed on a number of occasions in the States General. Among other things questions were asked about what had been done with the N.F.I. 1 million that the Government had set aside for further research. The Council had not made any specific suggestions for the way in which this should be allocated, and in autumn 1982 the Minister of General Affairs announced that it had been decided not to commission third parties to carry out research. In response to the question as to what the Government had done with the Council's report, other than to submit its views, the Minister stated that the problem analysis had been requested with a view to conducting a general debate in society. «In view of the fact that the need for such discussions was no longer felt when the report appeared, the analysis was unable to fulfil its envisaged role of acting as a guideline for the debate,» the Minister declared.

### *Impact of the report*

The Government's reaction indicated that it was approaching the problem differently from the Council. As such the report could not be said to have exerted an impact on government policy.

The Youth Policy Council rejected the request to carry out a study into aggressive behaviour among young people on the grounds that it considered government policy should not be directed towards the phenomenon of aggression but to the elimination of problem situations such as youth unemployment.

A survey of the problems in large urban areas was provided in a report by the Ministry of Home Affairs entitled «Comparative Research in the Cities» (issued in August 1981). A survey of the literature on non-violent methods of controlling demonstrations appeared in the first half of 1982 under the title «Not With Sticks and Stones Alone».

On 29 April 1981 the sub-faculty of Social History at Erasmus University Rotterdam held a study day on the social and historical background to the violent clashes between authorities and protest movements. The Council's report formed an important source of inspiration.

### *3.5.2. Studies on public administration*

In its work programme the Council included two subjects concerning the operation of public administration: planning in public administration and functional decentralization. Both studies were carried out within the Council itself by a working group headed by Mr. M. Scheltema from January 1979 until his appointment as State Secretary of the Ministry of Justice in September 1981, when he ceased to be a member of the Council. The study on planning is fundamentally theoretical in nature, while that on functional decentralization provides a survey and classification of developments. As such the two studies do not contain concrete policy recommendations, and the Council therefore decided to publish them in the Preliminary and Background Study series, under the names of the principal authors.

#### *Preliminary study: Planning as a Form of Action*

The first object of the Council's study on planning in public administration was to obtain an insight into the various approaches to planning. With this in mind it invited a number of experts to elaborate their conceptions of planning. These articles were published in January 1981 in «Approaches to Planning» in the Preliminary and Background Studies series and touched on a wide range of problems in government planning. In his foreword to «Approaches to Planning» the Chairman of the Council noted that although policy and planning systems were playing an ever-increasing part in public administration, the results often lagged behind expectations in practice. Partly for this reason a conceptual framework was drawn up which started from the premise that planning should be regarded as a form of action set within the confines of the position occupied by the government in society, and which must as such ensure that it fits in with the actions of other parties in society. Only in this way will planning be able to exercise an effective shaping function. This means that planning cannot be interpreted as a policy instrument; nor is the solution of planning problems properly susceptible to a further refinement of administrative techniques and practices.

The preliminary study «Planning as a Form of Action: An Interdisciplinary Study» proceeds from the assumption that planning should not be conceived as an exogenous form of intervention in social reality but as an integral component of that world. On this basis a theoretical conceptual framework was arrived at and discussed from macro-sociological, planning theory and

legal points of view. A comparison of three different periods, for example, revealed the marked extent to which changes in the social climate have set their stamp on planning in recent decades. The study also critically analysed the one-sidedness of current approaches to planning. On the basis of an action frame of reference a more refined concept of planning was developed in which the key question concerned how, and to what extent, government planning can be reconciled with the way in which society actually functions. The concept of planning was examined in terms of three conceptual approaches that have had a major bearing on attitudes towards planning, concluding with an assessment of the position occupied by planning in a number of specific fields. Finally the preliminary study examines the extent to which the law, and especially administrative law, provides a satisfactory frame of reference for the approach to planning as developed in the study. In doing so the study seeks to draw certain conclusions concerning the respective positions of the government, the judiciary and the legislature in planning.

#### *Preliminary study: Survey of Independent Administrative Bodies*

The study on functional decentralization, which is to be published shortly, begins with a survey of the various types of independent administrative bodies. As part of the 1978 work programme, it had already been decided that empirical research was required in order to arrive at a classification of the various quasi-legal and administrative bodies on the periphery of the central government structure. The survey was drawn up in collaboration with researchers from the Department of Constitutional and Administrative Law at the University of Utrecht. The latter are primarily responsible for classifying the material into legal categories, while the Council is responsible for organizing the survey and for the factual data. The publication of these preliminary studies is designed as a follow-up to the studies carried out by the Council during its first term of office concerning the internal and external advisory bodies of the central government. It is hoped that by classifying the available material in this way it will be possible, in terms of both administrative practice and theory, to provide a more solidly based answer to questions concerning those organizational aspects of central government that do not fit into the standard departmental structure.

The first of these preliminary studies is entitled «On the Periphery of Central Government, Part I: A Survey of Bodies with Statutory Powers». The study contains a hitherto lacking account of bodies at central level with statutory powers, with the exception of Ministries and the major constitutional bodies. The second preliminary study is entitled «On the Periphery of Central Government, Part II: A Survey of Legal Entities». The study draws heavily on survey data. The survey includes not only all legal bodies with a statutory basis but also government foundations and State participation in companies. The aim behind these Council publications was to focus attention on the diversification of central government organization and the scale which this phenomenon has come to assume. The evidence suggests that these surveys have achieved a high degree of comprehensiveness.

### **3.6. The international sector**

#### *3.6.1. The German Factor*

Right from the first term of office, the Council examined the extent to which external factors set limits to the government's freedom to determine its policies. This led to a number of specialized studies, such as those on international migration (no. 7) and the availability of scientific and technical knowledge (no. 8). During the second term of office, the Council imposed a geographical limitation on its analysis of policy freedom in the Netherlands.

This resulted in a study of the interdependence between the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany. Apart from the importance of Germany and the perceived need for more detailed information on that country, relevant considerations included the fact that relations between the Netherlands and West Germany are in many respects illustrative of relations with other countries. The report centres on the significance for Dutch society of the close links which the Netherlands has with German economic, political and military power. This dependence has been examined from three angles, namely economic, military and environmental.

It is evident that there is a high degree of economic interdependence between the Netherlands and West Germany. The trading relationship between the two countries stands out in three respects. The export package of the Netherlands is onesided, consisting primarily of agricultural products and fuel, whereas imports from West Germany are dominated by capital and consumer goods. Dutch exports are disproportionately concentrated on the *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia. Compared with total exports to members of the European Community, merchandise trade makes a more than proportionate contribution to the balance of visible trade of the Netherlands. Similarly the invisible balance stands out for the predominant share of transit traffic and the concentration on just three categories of goods (oil, ores and agricultural products). As far as investment is concerned, the Netherlands has been a net investor in West Germany over the past ten years. There are signs to suggest that direct investment may be replacing exports, thus reducing net employment and added value in the Netherlands. The interdependence in the field of trade in merchandise and services, as well as direct investment, is logically complemented in the monetary field, where Dutch policies have been directed towards maintaining a steady rate of exchange against the deutschmark within the European Monetary System (EMS).

The picture built up of the economic relationship between the Netherlands and the Federal Republic is one of complementarity. In itself this is not a bad thing. This ceases to be the case, however, if the complementarity is of such a nature as to result in unfavourable growth and development prospects for one of the two countries. According to the Council the economic relations between the Netherlands and the Federal Republic are characterized by an unfavourable relationship of this kind. Even after allowing for due qualification, the picture indicates the existence of structural deficiencies serving to limit growth and development prospects in the Netherlands. This creates a need for policies to strengthen industrial exports. Given the urgency of this objective, monetary policy assumes a special significance. In particular, efforts will have to be made to prevent the anticipated appreciation of the guilder against the deutschmark from proceeding too far. A policy of industrial restructuring would also require the Netherlands to take steps to improve its image as an exporter of industrial products.

The security policies of the Netherlands and West Germany are closely interwoven by virtue of their joint membership of NATO. The report examines the debate about NATO strategy, as well as the background to the anti-nuclear and peace movements in the Federal Republic. The Netherlands would inevitably be drawn into any West German efforts for greater European autonomy within the Atlantic Alliance. In this respect the Council considers there to be little margin for an independent security policy. If the Netherlands were to depart too radically from NATO strategy it could readily end up in international political isolation. If, on the other hand, the government were to accept obligations arising in the NATO context without question it would run the risk of having insufficient domestic support. What would be conceivable would be a policy directed towards greater independence within NATO on the part of Western Europe. This does not, however, necessarily mean that any form of «Europeanization» within NATO would increase the Netherlands' ability to pursue its own

policies. In an alliance dominated by the United States, there are certain opportunities for the Netherlands to follow policies of its own, but these might well be reduced if the accent were switched to close cooperation between the Federal Republic, France and perhaps the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, the report argued, the Netherlands would be able to support West German plans for stronger security cooperation in Western Europe.

As far as physical planning is concerned the Council reached the view that there was insufficient policy coordination in the two countries. This would appear to be due to a lack of political will. The Council decided that solutions to the problem of trans-frontier atmospheric and water pollution would have to be sought at multilateral level. At the same time, however, the Netherlands would have to conduct strict domestic policies so as to strengthen its position in international negotiations. The report devotes special attention to the trans-frontier effects of nuclear facilities in the West German border area. The Council decided it would be desirable for guidelines to be established at European Community level for the installation and operation of nuclear facilities in border areas.

#### *Preliminary studies*

A number of studies were carried out by experts by way of background for «The German Factor». In the field of economic relations it was sought to provide insight into merchandise trade between the Netherlands and West Germany, the interdependence and complexity of which was illustrated from a number of angles. In the case of nuclear facilities use was made of a survey carried out on behalf of the Council by the Twente University of Technology. This survey is based upon relevant German and U.S. safety studies. Research was also carried out in a field that was touched on only lightly in the report, namely politico-psychological relations. An essay was written concerning the significance of developments in West Germany in relation to problems in the Netherlands. In addition a survey was carried out into the image held of West Germany by a number of Dutch newspapers. These have all been included in the series «Preliminary and Background Studies».

#### *Standpoint adopted by the Government*

The Government's standpoint in relation to «The German Factor» was still being prepared when this report was written.

#### *Impact of the report*

Shortly before the publication of «The German Factor» in July 1982, the Prime Minister, Mr. Van Agt, made reference to the report during the visit to The Hague by the West German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt. In his after-dinner speech the Prime Minister raised the possibility that it might give rise to a thorough exchange of views concerning Dutch-German relations in the long term.

In the few months that have elapsed since publication of the report it is still not possible for its full impact to be assessed. Despite the summer break the report attracted a considerable amount of publicity, including in a number of foreign newspapers. In North Rhine-Westphalia the CDU opposition expressed the view in the Land Parliament that the report would provide a negative assessment of the economic policies of the SDP Land government. The Ministry of Economic Affairs in North Rhine-Westphalia expressed interest in a German version of the report (which is being prepared). The Netherlands-German Chambers of Commerce and the West German branch of the Dutch Dairy Bureau made critical comments on economic sections of the report. The results and analysis contained in the preliminary study on West German nuclear power plants played a role in one of the sessions of the «great debate» on energy policy in the Netherlands.

### **3.7. Futures research**

#### **3.7.1. *Futures study as part of the Council's activities***

In line with its statutory responsibilities to provide information on long-term developments, the Council carried out a general survey of the future in its first term of office, which was published in 1977 under the title «The Next Twenty-Five Years». On the basis of the experience acquired with this report, the Council also undertook a wide-ranging survey of future developments in its second term. The first part of this study, entitled «A Policy-Oriented Survey of the Future; Part 1: An Attempt to Challenge», was published in 1981. It did not prove possible for the final report to be completed by the end of the second term of office. This is expected to take place in spring 1983.

Needless to say these general analyses are not the only projects by means of which the Council complies with its statutory responsibilities. The other studies discussed above also deal with long-term developments and provide information on the basis of which priorities can be established and more coherent policies adopted. Unlike these other studies, however, the general survey of future developments is concerned with government policies in their entirety.

#### **3.7.2. *From a general survey towards policy orientation***

In its general survey of the future the Council sought to depict likely developments in a large number of fields by means of trend extrapolation and to bring these into relation with one another. The object was to outline a coherent picture of the future in the long term, including the problems to emerge from such an analysis. In doing so no consideration was given to whether these developments were considered desirable, and if so by whom and for what reason. The analysis was instead concerned with bringing together discussion material in the hope that this would contribute to opinion formation and facilitate political choice and ultimately the formulation of government policy. The general survey did not devote a great deal of attention to social, political and ideological contradictions. The government was discussed not in its authoritative role but as one of many social institutions. The extent to which the future could be shaped both generally and by government action in particular was not taken up in the survey.

The aim of carrying out an objective survey could not always be realized; at various points subjective choices were unavoidable. So as not to disturb the general nature of the survey, it was for example assumed that developments would not be dominated by any particular phenomena; a sudden energy crisis, or mass unemployment, for example, were not allowed for. Where it was uncertain how matters would develop, it was assumed, in the interests of continuity, that the existing state of affairs would persist. In the case of a number of problems that would otherwise have become over-dominant, this had the consequence that solutions were built in by adjusting expectations. In the case of a number of other important developments the problem of divergent assessments was dealt with by examining two variants side by side.

The inability to avoid subjective choices as encountered in the general survey of the future was taken in the policy-oriented survey as its point of departure. Instead of asking, as the former study did, what the future will look like, the policy-oriented analysis concentrates on examining how the future would look given certain subjective choices. The second survey is not therefore by way of an amendment to or improvement of the first, but emphasizes the underlying social and political processes that enable problems to be dealt with and which give shape to the future. The policy-oriented nature of this futures analysis indicates that, in its analysis

of this complex social field, the Council is primarily concerned with the role of government. This means that the report necessarily has a political and an administrative orientation.

In its political orientation the report is concerned with illuminating political choices that are of relevance for future developments and with promoting a debate based on explicit normative assumptions. The administrative orientation of the report is concerned with the functions of the state, the position of the government in the constellation of social forces, the level of government activity and the form taken by internal government. These matters are viewed differently by the major political movements, these views depending partly on political choices with respect to future developments.

The above emphasis on policy relevance means that this survey of future developments does not give rise to a sketch of developments to which a certain degree of plausibility or predictive value may be attached. Instead, it juxtaposes a number of scenarios expressly based on explicit normative assumptions that enjoy a demonstrable level of support in society.

The ultimate aim of the undertaking is to place the conflicts and problems arising out of long-term developments in such a context as to enable them to come into their own in the current forming of political opinion, the formulation of current policies and thinking on the position of the government.

### *3.7.3. A Policy-Oriented Survey of the Future; Part 1: An Attempt to Challenge*

The design of this project was set out in part one, which appeared on 10 September 1981.

As a basis for developing the scenarios a step-by-step approach was adopted, the first step being to outline a number of characteristic views of the way in which society operates. This laid the foundation for the next stage when, in the light of the reaction received from social groupings, the scenarios were developed, i.e. the second stage of the project. The characteristic views were arrived at by combining two distinctions. The first of these distinctions is ideological in nature and concerns the basic differences between the political streams – Liberal, Socialist and Christian-democrat.

The requirement for a second distinction is based on the observation that, quite apart from these different ideological orientations, there are major differences in the way in which the problems and solutions that dominate the political agenda are perceived, centring on the way in which they should be tackled. The first of these is characterized by reliance on the ability of technology and organization to come up with solutions, while the second places its confidence in initiatives stemming from group processes and individual emancipation. Between the two there is mutual suspicion. The first report used the terms «technocratic» and «sociocratic» to describe these two differing approaches.

By «crossing» these two sets of distinctions – i.e. Liberal/Socialist/Christian-democrat and technocratic/sociocratic – six so-called characteristic views were obtained. Each of these consists of a system of normative, general assumptions and attitudes concerning the cohesion of social phenomena, and which forms the basis for problem identification and solution. Collectively these characteristic views are intended to portray the entire spectrum of competing political attitudes in the Netherlands in so far as these are or relevance in terms of shaping the future. The six approaches form the basis for the scenarios to be developed.

The characteristic views are not tied to any time-schedule and are therefore still utopian in nature. This creates the danger that the scenarios

based on them will turn into blueprints and hence lack relation to current developments in society. The Council has sought to avert this danger by itself working out an example in part 1 of the report that derives directly from current trends, and which has been drawn up in such a way that its content forces a position to be adopted while its form invites the formulation of coherent alternatives.

To this end scenario «A» of the Interfutures report produced by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1979 was worked out specially for the Netherlands. This scenario is directed towards continuity, economic growth and liberalization. In narrowing down this scenario to the Netherlands, account was first of all taken of the more or less unalterable factors resulting from the special position of the Netherlands, followed by an examination of the economic, socio-cultural, environmental and political/administrative aspects of the scenario.

In elaborating the economic aspect a high and a low growth variant were distinguished. Among other things this examined energy consumption and employment on the basis of extrapolated industry trends. In the case of the socio-cultural aspect the adjustments were discussed that would be required in order to realize the selected economic scenario, with particular attention to the risks, labour system and pattern of money flows in the present-day welfare state. In the case of the environmental aspect the consequences of the depicted economic trends were examined for the environment in general and physical planning in particular. Extensive consideration was devoted to the constraints that would have to be imposed on developments in order to keep external effects within bounds. Finally the treatment of the political/administrative aspects concerned political decision-making and the implications of the scenario for government policy; the demands this would impose on the organization of government machinery; and the justification of government action. A number of implications for foreign policy of the scenario were also discussed.

#### *Government reaction*

In view of the fact that part 1 of the Policy-Oriented Survey of the Future views did not contain any recommendations for government policy, the issue of a government reaction did not arise.

#### *Impact of the report*

The Council's aim in formulating the six characteristic views and elaborating a «provocative example» in the first part of the study was to elicit reactions from social groupings in time for incorporation in the final result. This was considered particularly desirable given the fact that the working methods and goals of the survey tended to depart from the norm. With this in view a symposium was organized in January 1981 which centred on two questions:

- a. the recognizability and political relevance of the approaches towards social activity as identified in the Council's report.
- b. the room which international political and economic conditions and trends leaves for the Netherlands to pursue a path of its own.

A special report on this heavily attended symposium was included in the series Preliminary and Background Studies («Policy and the Future», V23, 1981). A postscript examined the results of the conference and indicated in broad terms how these would be incorporated into the remainder of the survey. Numerous reactions to part one of the Council's report were also received through other channels.

As emerges from the report on the symposium, the scenario worked out by way of example for the Netherlands aroused particular opposition on account of the position it adopted and its decidedly technocratic nature. In the case of a working group related to the international ecumenical movement and the churches in the Netherlands, this led to the formulation of an alternative entitled «An Open Path to the Future». In line with the views of the World Council of Churches this stressed the necessity for a just and sustainable society in which people participate in the choices that have to be made. Its report distanced itself from the technocratic view underlying the Interfutures scenario, although this does not necessarily mean that it should be designated as sociocratic in the sense outlined above. Other parties also came up with alternative formulations for certain sections of the report.

The widespread opposition aroused by the specific application of the Interfutures A scenario to the Netherlands, both in an ideological sense and in relation to the instrumental value attached to economic growth, underlines the desirability of formulating alternatives on the basis of different normative assumptions. For this reason the original survey design was broadly retained in the second half, subject to the proviso that the two distinctions drawn and the so-called characteristic views would be reviewed and supplemented in the light of the reactions received to part one. In the case of the views it is primarily a matter of putting them in more definite terms by focussing them on current circumstances. Increasing their practical relevance in this manner will go some way towards meeting the objections of those who believe that, in recent years, the problems with which society has been confronted have to a greater extent than hitherto been thrown up by practical circumstances; this would not, however, detract from the underlying premise of the report that the definition of problems and solutions is dependent on ideological perceptions.

#### 3.7.4. *The final report*

In the second part of this survey of the future the treatment concentrates on the same aspects and specialized areas as those dealt with in the first report on the special application of scenario A to the Netherlands, but in this case in conjunction with the six characteristic views towards society. This enables these aspects to be considered in terms of each of these views; alternatively the individual aspects and areas can be taken as the starting-point, to which the views can be applied. Given the fact that, as just noted, problems are to a greater extent than before being created by current circumstances, the second of these approaches is the one that has been adopted.

Part two of the survey will therefore commence in each case with an outline of the current situation, followed by an examination of the way in which problems and their solution are perceived in terms of each of the characteristic views on society. In the case of well-defined areas the desirable and the feasible are brought into juxtaposition, in which respect it is by no means always necessary or even possible to spell out six different strategies in more concrete terms. In these instances no more than a few perspectives need be elaborated, the acceptability of which naturally differs widely from approach to approach. This means that we may often be dealing with changing combinations of these characteristic approaches from problem area to problem area. To have worked out each approach in detail would on the one hand inevitably have meant repetition, while on the other the degree of overlap would not permit their number to be reduced. This constitutes an additional argument for the selected method of examining the approaches in parallel in each specialized area. This has the further advantage of being substantially more acceptable to those who would prefer a pragmatic approach to working on the basis of ideal-type constructs.

It did not prove possible to complete the elaboration of the analysis along these lines during the second term of office. The project is not a piece of futures research based on established methodology; as with the survey conducted in the first term of office it proceeds along untried lines, and this has been the main reason why the survey has lagged somewhat behind schedule. The interim elicitation of reactions, which formed a necessary step in the method employed, and their incorporation in the second part took longer than anticipated.

## APPENDIX 1. LIST OF PUBLICATIONS DURING THE SECOND PERIOD OF OFFICE

### I Reports to the Government

17. *Etnische minderheden – A. Rapport aan de Regering; B. Naar een algemeen etnisch minderhedenbeleid?* (Ethnic minorities – A. Report to the Government; B. Towards an Overall Ethnic Minorities Policy?), 1979.

18. *Plaats en toekomst van de Nederlandse industrie* (Industry in the Netherlands; its Place and Future), 1980.

19. *Beleidsgerichte toekomstverkenning; deel 1: Een poging tot uitlokking* (A Policy-oriented Survey of the Future; Part 1: An Attempt to Challenge), 1980.

20. *Democratie en geweld – Probleemanalyse naar aanleiding van de gebeurtenissen in Amsterdam op 30 april 1980* (Democracy and Violence – an Analysis of Problems in Connection with the Events in Amsterdam on April 30, 1980), 1980.

21. *Vernieuwingen in het arbeidsbestel* (Prospects for Reforming the Labour System), 1981.

22. *Herwaardering van welzijnsbeleid* (A Reappraisal of Welfare Policy) (1982)

23. *Onder invloed van Duitsland. Een onderzoek naar gevoeligheid en kwetsbaarheid in de betrekkingen tussen Nederland en de Bondsrepubliek* (The German Factor. A Survey of Sensitivity and Vulnerability in the Relationship between the Netherlands and the Federal Republic) (1982)

24. *Samenhangend mediabeleid* (A Coherent Media Policy) (1982)

### II Translated Reports

17. Ethnic Minorities (1979)

A. Report to the Government

B. Towards an Overall Ethnic Minorities Policy?

18. Industry in the Netherlands: its Place and Future (1982)

English summaries are available of the Reports nrs. 18, 19, 21 and 23. Summaries of the Reports 22 and 24 are forthcoming. Report 23 has been translated into German.

### III Preliminary and Background studies (in Dutch)

V 7. J. J. C. Voorhoeve, *Internationale Macht en Interne Autonomie* (International Power and Internal Autonomy) 1978

V 8. W. M. de Jong, *Techniek en wetenschap als basis voor industriële innovatie – Verslag van een reeks van interviews* (Technology and Science as a Base for Industrial Innovation) 1978

V 9. R. Gerritse, *Instituut voor Onderzoek van Overheidsuitgaven: De publieke sector: ontwikkeling en waardevorming – Een vooronderzoek* (The Public Sector: Development and Valuation) 1979

V 10. *Vakgroep Planning en Beleid/Sociologisch Instituut Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht: Konsumptieverandering in maatschappelijk perspectief* (Shifts in Consumption in a Societal Perspective) 1979

- V 11. R. Penninx, Naar een algemeen etnisch minderhedenbeleid? Opgenomen in rapport nr. 17 (Towards an Overall Ethnic Minorities Policy? Attached to Report nr. 17) 1979
- V 12. De quartaire sector – Maatschappelijke behoeften en werkgelegenheid – Verslag van een werkconferentie (The Quarternary Sector: Societal Requirements and Employment Opportunities) 1979
- V 13. W. Driehuis en P. J. van den Noord, Productie, werkgelegenheid en sectorstructuur in Nederland 1960–1985 (Output, Employment and the Structure of Production in the Netherlands, 1960–1985) Modelstudie bij het rapport Plaats en toekomst van de Nederlandse industrie (1980)
- V 14. S. K. Kuipers, J. Muysken, D. J. van den Berg en A. H. van Zon, Sectorstructuur en economische groei: een eenvoudig groeimodel met zes sectoren van de Nederlandse economie in de periode na de tweede wereldoorlog (The Structure of Production and Economic Growth: a Simple Six-Sector Growth Model of the Dutch Economy in the Post-War Period) Modelstudie bij het rapport Plaats en toekomst van de Nederlandse industrie (1980)
- V 15. F. Muller, P. J. J. Lesuis en N. M. Boxhoorn, Een multisectormodel voor de Nederlandse economie in 23 bedrijfstakken (A Multi-Sector Model of the Dutch Economy Divided into 23 Branches of Industry). F. Muller, Veranderingen in de sectorstructuur van de Nederlandse economie 1950–1990 (Shifts in the Structure of Production in the Dutch Economy 1950–1990). Modelstudie bij het rapport Plaats en toekomst van de Nederlandse industrie (1980).
- V 16. A. B. T. M. van Schaik, Arbeidsplaatsen, bezettingsgraad en werkgelegenheid in dertien bedrijfstakken (Jobs, Capacity, Utilization and Employment Opportunities in Thirteen Branches of Industry) Modelstudie bij het rapport Plaats en toekomst van de Nederlandse industrie (1980)
- V 17. A. J. Basoski, A. Budd, A. Kalff, L. B. M. Mennes, F. Racké en J. C. Ramaer, Exportbeleid en sectorstructuurbeleid (Export Policy and Structural Policies) Preadviezen bij het rapport Plaats en toekomst van de Nederlandse industrie (1980)
- V 18. J. J. van Duijn, M. J. Ellman, C. A. de Feyter, C. Inja, H. W. de Jong, M. L. Mogendorff en P. VerLoren van Themaat, Sectorstructuurbeleid; mogelijkheden en beperkingen (Structural Policies: Prospects and Limitations) Preadviezen bij het rapport Plaats en toekomst van de Nederlandse industrie (1980)
- V 19. C. P. A. Bartels, Regio's aan het werk: ontwikkelingen in de ruimtelijke spreiding van economische activiteiten in Nederland (Putting Regions to Work: Trends in the Regional Distribution of Economic Activity in the Netherlands) Studie bij het rapport Plaats en toekomst van de Nederlandse industrie (1980)
- V 20. M. Th. Brouwer, W. Driehuis, K. A. Koekoek, J. Kol, L. B. M. Mennes, P. J. van den Noord, D. Sinke, K. Vijlbrief en J. van Ours, Raming van de finale bestedingen en enkele andere grootheden in Nederland in 1985 (Estimate of the Final Expenditure and some other Data in the Netherlands in 1985) Technische nota's bij het rapport Plaats en toekomst van de Nederlandse industrie (1980)
- V 21. J. A. H. Bron, Arbeidsaanbod-projecties 1980–2000 (Projections of the Labour Supply 1980–2000) 1980
- V 22. A. Faludi, R. J. In 't Veld, I. Th. M. Snellen en P. Thoenes, Benaderingen van planning; vier preadviezen over beleidsvorming in het openbaar bestuur (Approaches to Planning) 1981.
- V 23. Beleid en toekomst (Government Policy and the Future), report of a symposium on the report Beleidsgerichte toekomstverkenning deel 1 (Policy-Oriented Survey of the Future, Part 1) (1981)

- V 24. L. J. van den Bosch, G. van Enkevort, Ria Jaarsma, D. B. P. Kallen, P. N. Karstanje, K. B. Koster, *Educatie en welzijn (Education and Welfare)* (1981)
- V 25. J. C. van Ours, D. Hamersma, G. Hupkes, P. H. Admiraal, *Consumptiebeleid voor de werkgelegenheid (Consumption Policy for Employment)*  
Background reports to the report *Vernieuwingen in het Arbeidsbestel (Prospects for Reforming the Labour System)* (1982)
- V 26. J. C. van Ours, C. Molenaar, J. A. M. Heijke, *De wisselwerking tussen schaarsteverhoudingen en beloningsstructuur (The Interaction between Relative Scarcities and the Remuneration Structure)*.  
Background reports to the report *Vernieuwingen in het Arbeidsbestel (Prospects for Reforming the Labour System)* (1982)
- V 27. A. A. van Duijn, W. H. C. Kerkhoff, L. U. de Sitter, Ch. J. de Wolff, F. Sturmans, *Kwaliteit van de arbeid (The Quality of Work)*  
Background reports to the *Vernieuwingen in het Arbeidsbestel (Prospects for Reforming the Labour System)* (1982)
- V 28. J. G. Lambooy, P. C. M. Huigsloot, R. E. van de Lustgraaf, *Greep op de stad? Een institutionele visie op stedelijke ontwikkeling en de beïnvloedbaarheid daarvan (Getting Cities under Control? An Institutional Approach to Urban Development and its Controllability)* (1982)
- V 29. J. C. Hess, F. Wielenga, *Duitsland in de Nederlandse pers – altijd een probleem? Drie dagbladen over de Bondsrepubliek 1969–1980 (Germany in the Dutch Press: Always a Problem? Reporting by three newspapers on West Germany, 1969–1980)* (1982)
- V 30. C. W. A. M. van Paridon, E. K. Greup, A. Ketting: *De handelsbetrekkingen tussen Nederland en de Bondsrepubliek Duitsland (The Trading Relationship between the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany)* (1982)
- V 31. W. A. Smit, G. W. M. Tiemessen, R. Geerts: *Ahaus, Lingen en Kalkar; Duitse nucleaire installaties en de gevolgen voor Nederland (Ahaus, Lingen and Kalkar: German Nuclear Facilities and their Implications for the Netherlands)* (1983)
- V 32. J. H. von Eije: *Geldstromen en inkomensverdeling in de verzorgingsstaat (Money Flows and the Distribution of Income in the Welfare State)* (1982)

#### **IV. Media Policy Preliminary and Background Studies (in Dutch)**

- M 1. J. M. de Meij: *Overheid en uitingsvrijheid (Government and Freedom of Speech)* (1982)
- M 2. E. H. Hollander: *Kleinschalige massacommunicatie: lokale omroepvormen in West-Europa (Small-scale Mass Communications: Local Broadcasting Forms in Western Europe)* (1982)
- M 3. L. J. Heinsman/Nederlandse Omroep Stichting: *De kulturele betekenis van de instroom van buitenlandse televisieprogramma's in Nederland – Een literatuurstudie (The Cultural Significance of the Inflow of Foreign Television Programmes in the Netherlands – A Survey of the Literature)* (1982)
- M 4. L. P. H. Schoonderwoerd, W. P. Knulst/Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau: *Mediagebruik bij verruiming van het aanbod (Media Use and a Wider Media Range)* (1982)
- M 5. N. Boerma, J. J. van Cuilenburg, E. Diemer, J. J. Oostenbrink, J. van Putten: *De omroep: wet en beleid; een juridisch-politologische evaluatie van de Omroepwet (Broadcasting – Legislation and Government Policy: A Legal and Political Evaluation of the Broadcasting Act)* (1982)
- M 6. Intomart B.V.: *Etherpiraten in Nederland (Radio Pirates in the Netherlands)* (1982)

- M 7. P. J. Kalff/Instituut voor Grafische Techniek TNO: Nieuwe technieken voor productie en distributie van dagbladen en tijdschriften (New Techniques for the Production and Distribution of Newspapers and Magazines) (1982)
- M 8. J. J. van Cuilenburg, D. McQuail: Media en pluriformiteit; een beoordeling van de stand van zaken (The Media and Diversity: An Assessment of the State of Affairs) (1982)
- M 9. K. J. Alsem, M. A. Boorman, G. J. van Helden, J. C. Hoekstra, P. S.H. Leeflang, H. H. M. Visser: De aanbodstructuur van de periodiek verschijnende pers in Nederland (The Supply Structure of Regular Press Publications in the Netherlands) (1982)
- M 10. W. P. Knulst/Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau: Mediabeleid en cultuurbeleid; Een studie over de samenhang tussen de twee beleidsvelden (Media Policy and Cultural Policy: A Study of the Interrelationship between the two Fields of Policy) (1982)
- M 11. A. P. Bolle: Het gebruik van glasvezelkabel in lokale telecommunicatienetten (The Use of Fibre Optic Cable in Local Telecommunications Networks) (1982)
- M 12. P. te Nuyt: Structuur en ontwikkeling van vraag en aanbod op de markt voor televisieproducties (The Structure and Development of Demand and Supply in the Market for Television Productions) (1982)
- M 13. P. J. M. Wilms/Instituut voor Onderzoek van Overheidsuitgaven: Horen, zien en betalen; een inventariserende studie naar de toekomstige kosten en bekostigingen van de omroep (Listening, Viewing and Paying: An Inventory Study of the Future Cost and Funding of Broadcasting) (1982)
- M 14. W. M. de Jong: Informatietechniek in beweging; consequenties en mogelijkheden voor Nederland (Information Technology in Flux: Consequences and Possibilities for the Netherlands) (1982)
- M 15. J. G. van Ours: Mediaconsumptie; een analyse van het verleden, een verkenning van de toekomst (Media Consumption: An Analysis of the Past and Survey of the Future) (1982)
- M 16. J. G. Stappers, A. D. Reijnders, W. A. Möller: De werking van massamedia; een overzicht van inzichten (The Operation of Mass Media: A Survey of the State of Understanding) (1983)
- M 17. F. J. Schrijver: De invoering van kabeltelevisie in Nederland (The Introduction of Cable Television in the Netherlands) (1983)

#### **V. Working documents (in Dutch)**

##### *Pertaining to report no. 18:*

- G. Grünning: Plaats en toekomst Nederlandse chemische industrie (Place and Future of the Chemical Industry in the Netherlands) (1980)
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The Council's publications are obtainable from the Staatsuitgeverij, Christoffel Plantijnstraat 1, P.O. Box 20014, 2500 EA The Hague, tel. 070-789911, or from bookshops. The publications in English and the working documents may be obtained on request from the WRR, Plein 1813 no. 2, 2514 JN The Hague, tel. 070-614031.

## APPENDIX 2. COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL

### *Members of the Council:*

Th. Quené, Chairman  
Dr. J. Boldingh  
Dr. N. H. Douben (from Sept. 1980)  
Dr. A. H. J. J. Kolnaar (till July 1980)  
M. Scheltema (till Sept. 1981)  
H. A. van Stiphout  
Dr. H. M. in 't Veld-Langeveld  
Dr. J. Volger  
Dr. C. T. de Wit  
Dr. A. van der Zwan

### *Advisory members:*

Dr. W. Begeer, Director-General of Statistics  
Dr. C. A. van den Beld, Director Central Planning Office  
Dr. S. Herweijer, Director-General, Ministry of Physical Planning  
A. J. van der Staay, Director, Social and Cultural Planning Office  
Dr. A. A. Th. M. van Trier

### **Composition of the office**

#### *Scientific staff:*

Dr. P. R. Baehr, Secretary  
J. C. F. Bletz  
Dr. M. L. A. ter Borg-Neervoort  
J. M. Dekkers  
Dr. W. van Drimmelen, Deputy Secretary  
A. A. van Duijn  
P. den Hoed  
Dr. J. H. J. van den Heuvel  
H. Huisman  
R. M. A. Jansweijer  
Dr. W. M. de Jong  
M. M. Kaag  
G. J. Kronjee  
J. W. Nelson  
J. C. van Ours  
J. C. I. de Pree  
F. M. Roschar  
W. Salet  
I. J. Schoonenboom  
H. van der Sluijs  
F. R. Veeneklaas  
K. Vijlbrief

#### *Ancillary staff:*

R. J. de Bruijn  
J. J. Diepenhorst  
P. Haighton  
M. G. van der Hulst  
E. W. van Luijk  
J. Oudshoorn  
Y. M. M. Starrenburg

*Library staff:*

C. M. J. van Helfteren  
S. Lunsingh Scheurleer-Krüger

*Administrative staff:*

M. R. Birfelder  
P. A. van den Boer-Swart  
G. M. Burke  
M. A. Bouwer  
M. C. Crinice Le Roy-Portielje  
M. Th. Nuijten-Pennings  
A. A. M. van Royen  
M. J. J. van Soolingen  
C. de Vries  
E. L. Willigenburg-van Royen

*Domestic staff:*

M. M. J. Borstlap  
J. den Dulk-van Vugt  
D. MacLeod Manuel  
E. Prijs-Plukker

### APPENDIX 3. SELECTED REFERENCES

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## Appendix 4

### **Integral text of the Scientific Council for Government Policy (Establishment) Act (Stb. 413, 5 August 1976)**

#### SCIENTIFIC COUNCIL FOR GOVERNMENT POLICY

Act of 30 June 1976 Establishing a Scientific Council for Government Policy

We, JULIANA, by the Grace of God, Queen of the Netherlands, Princess of Orange Nassau, etc., etc., etc.

To all and singular to whom these presents shall come, Greeting!

Whereas We have considered that for the shaping of Government policy it is desirable that information on developments which may affect society in the long term be supplied systematically,

that the establishment of a permanent body giving advice and assistance to replace the Provisional Scientific Council for Government Policy may contribute to that end:

We, therefore, having heard the Council of State, and in consultation with the States General, have approved and decreed as We hereby approve and decree: –

**Section 1.** There shall be a Scientific Council for Government Policy, hereinafter referred to as «the Council».

**Section 2.** The Council shall:

- a) supply for Government Policy scientifically sound information on developments which may affect society in the long term and draw timely attention to anomalies and bottlenecks to be anticipated; define the major policy problems and indicate policy alternatives;
- b) provide a scientific structure which the Government could use when establishing priorities and which would ensure that a consistence policy is pursued;
- c) with respect to studies undertaken in the sphere of research on future developments and long-term planning in both public and private sectors, make recommendations on the elimination of structural inadequacies, the furtherance of specific studies and the improvement of communication and coordination.

**Section 3.** 1. The Council shall comprise at least five and at most eleven members.

2. We shall appoint the Chairman and the other members of the Council on the recommendation of Our Prime Minister/Minister for General Affairs, made in accordance with the consensus of the Council of Ministers.

3. They shall, unless We provide otherwise, be discharged by Us on reaching the age of sixty-five, as from the following month.

4. The Chairman and other members shall be appointed for five years, except in the event of earlier discharge by Us. They shall be immediately re-eligible for appointment for one subsequent term.

5. A person appointed to fill an interim vacancy shall resign on the date on which the person he was appointed to replace would have had to resign.

**Section 4.** 1. The post of Chairman of the Council shall be a full-time function.

2. The other members of the Council shall make available for Council work at least two working-days a week of their total working-hours.

3. In exceptional cases the Prime Minister/Minister for General Affairs may stipulate that the working-hours made available to the Council under the preceding paragraph be decreased.

**Section 5.** The legal status of the Chairman and of the other members shall be laid down by General Administrative Order.

**Section 6.** 1. There shall be advisory members.

2. The Council may make recommendations to Our Prime Minister/Minister for General Affairs in the matter of the appointment of advisory members.

3. We shall appoint the advisory members of the Council on the recommendation of Our Prime Minister/Minister for General Affairs, made in accordance with the consensus of the Council of Ministers.

**Section 7.** 1. The Council shall have an office headed by a Secretary to assist it.

2. We shall appoint the Council's Secretary on the recommendation of Our Prime Minister/Minister for General Affairs.

**Section 8.** 1. The Council shall, in discharging its duties, avail itself of the results of research undertaken by other institutions.

2. General Government departments and institutions, and local authorities shall supply the Council with such information as it requires.

3. The Council may apply direct to other institutions or persons for information.

4. Our Minister shall ensure that the Council, if the discharge of its duties so requires, be informed in time of any research on future developments and of the results of such research undertaken under their responsibility, as also of any assumptions and intentions as regards long-term policy.

**Section 9.** 1. The Council may consult directly with experts from the public and private sectors.

2. The Council may set up committees. It shall require the approval of such of Our Ministers as may be involved for any assistance given by experts from the public sector.

3. The Council may maintain direct international contacts in its own particular sphere.

**Section 10.** The Council may, on its own initiative, request that certain studies or research projects be undertaken. This shall be done through the intermediary of such of Our Ministers as may be involved where departments or institutions working under them are concerned.

**Section 11.** The Chairman and the members of the Council shall be committed to secrecy as regards information that has come to their knowledge in the performance of their duties in so far as such commitment to secrecy is a natural consequence of the matter in question.

**Section 12.** 1. The Council shall report to the Government through the intermediary of Our Prime Minister/Minister for General Affairs.

2. Our Prime Minister/Minister for General Affairs shall inform the Council of the findings of the Council of Ministers with respect to such reports.

3. The Council of Ministers shall hear the Council, if it so requests, in connection with the findings referred to in the preceding paragraph.

**Section 13.** 1. The reports submitted to the Government by the Council shall be public, in so far as secrecy shall not have to be observed in accordance with section 11.

2. The Council shall publish the reports after the Council of Ministers has studied them.

**Section 14.** The Council may issue further rules for its procedure.

**Transitional and final provisions**

**Section 15.** The term of office of the members of the Council to be appointed on the entry into force of this Act shall terminate on 1 January 1978.

**Section 16.** This Act may be cited as the Scientific Council for Government Policy (Establishment) Act.

**Section 17.** Our Decree of 6 November 1972, «Staatsblad» – Bulletin of Acts, Orders and Decrees – No. 590, shall be repealed.

**Section 18.** This Act shall enter into force on a date to be determined by Us.

We direct and ordain that these presents be published in the «Staatsblad» and that all Ministerial Departments, Authorities, Bodies and Officials whom they may concern diligently implement them.

Given at Soestdijk, 30 June 1976.

JULIANA

The Prime Minister/Minister for General Affairs,  
DEN UYL

Published on the fifth of August 1976.  
The Minister of Justice a.i.,  
TRIP