

Netherlands Scientific Council for  
Government Policy

# **Report on and Evaluation of the Third Term of Office**

**1983-1987**

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## **BACKGROUND**

The activities of the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) fall into five-yearly terms of office. The third of the Council's terms expired on 31 December 1987. As at the end of the first and second terms of office, the Council should like to provide an account of the way in which it has discharged its statutory responsibilities. This report sets out to provide a summary of the Council's activities. Chapter 1 outlines the responsibilities and organization of the Council. Chapter 2 deals with the Council's working methods, while the Council's reports and their effects within the political system and society in general are discussed in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 concentrates more on an evaluation of the way in which the Council has operated. In doing so the Council is complying with the requirement to produce a periodic evaluation report as laid down in the instructions for external advisory bodies issued by the Prime Minister on 11 March 1987. Chapter 4 also examines long-range research as an independent WRR activity.

# 1. RESPONSIBILITIES AND ORGANIZATION

## 1.1 Responsibilities

Under the Act of Establishment of 30 June 1976 the Council has the following responsibilities:

- a. to supply in behalf of 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; to define major policy problems and indicate policy alternatives;
- b. to provide a scientific structure which the Government can use when establishing priorities and which may 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.

The Council's activities are aimed at providing practical points of reference as well as a broader perspective for purposive government action. In doing so the Council seeks to provide information and to identify problems and policy alternatives as objectively as possible. In so far as policy choices are made, these are justified by the Council and are not prompted by party-political considerations. This is the meaning of the term 'scientific' in the name and terms of reference of the Council.

The way in which the Council interprets its terms of reference can vary from term to term. In the present term of office the emphasis has, as in the preceding term, been on elements a. and b. The survey of the long-range research that has been or is being carried out under government auspices could produce results of particular relevance for the third of the objectives listed above.

The freedom enjoyed by the Council to draw up its programme of work enables it not just to determine the subject matter but also to slant the individual nature of the reports. Reports will differ according to whether they set out the various policy options or explore a particular direction. Another difference in emphasis consists of the extent to which a report contains concrete policy measures. Over half of the reports produced in the third term of office tend in the latter direction. This is related to the nature and urgency of the problems in question and the extent to which they are acknowledged politically and by society in general, as reflected for example by a request from the Government for an advisory opinion. The Council has the impression that the more a report contains concrete policy proposals, the more direct its effects in society and the more immediately those effects are discernible. This is not to say that reports looking to the longer term have no effect, but their impact is generally discernible only after a longer interval.

During the debate of the WRR Establishment Act, the word 'government' was amended in the terms of reference to 'government policy'. This means that the Council's reports are destined not just for the Government but also for Parliament. With a view to the wider effects of its reports, the Council attaches particular importance to the public nature of its activities. The more the Council's reports and other publications attract attention and generate public debate, the greater the Council has found the effects of its work to be.

## 1.2 Organization

### 1.2.1 Composition of the Council

The WRR Act of Establishment lays down a minimum of five members and a maximum of eleven. At the end of the third term of office the Council consisted of eight members. The following served on the Council throughout the entire term: Prof. P.R. Baehr, Prof. N.H. Douben, Prof. C.J. van Eijk, Prof. L.A. Geelhoed and Prof. C.J.M. Schuyt. Prof. W. Albeda was appointed Chairman of the Council on 1 September 1985 in succession to Prof. Th. Quené, who was appointed Chairman of the Social and Economic Council as from 1 February 1985. Prof. C.T. de Wit, a member of the Council, acted as Chairman during this interim period. The following resigned from the Council before the end of the third term: Prof. M.A. Layendecker-Thung on 1 October 1984 and Prof. C.T. de Wit on 18 November 1986. Dr. A.A.Th.M. van Trier, who acted as an advisory member in the second term of office and as a full member from 1 January 1983, died on 26 November 1983. Dr. K. Teer was appointed to the Council on 1 January 1985 and Prof. A.M.J. Kreukels on 1 June 1986. Dr. W. van Drimmelen has been Secretary of the Council since 21 February 1983, while J.C.F. Bletz has been Deputy Secretary since 20 April 1983.

The office of Chairman is a full-time appointment. The remaining members of the Council were (as laid down in the Act) available for Council work for at least two working days a week.

The Chairman and members of the Council are appointed on a personal basis, primarily on the grounds of their expertise in particular fields. In doing so the Government seeks to ensure that, within these academic constraints, the composition of the Council reflects the diversity of society as a whole.

A number of 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. As a rule the Council meets several times a year with the advisory members. Responsibility for the reports resides with the Council. At the end of the third term of office there were four advisory members: the Director-General of Statistics, Prof. W. Begeer; the Director of the Central Planning Office, P.B. de Ridder; the Director of the Social and Cultural Planning Office, A.J. van der Staay; and the Director-General of Physical Planning, J. Witsen.

### 1.2.2 The bureau

The Council has a bureau, headed by the Secretary, to assist it in its work. The bureau comes under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of General Affairs. The composition of the staff as at 31 December 1987 is shown at Appendix 3.

Under the programme of government cuts, the number of establishment places was reduced during the third term of office as follows:

	Scientific staff incl. Secretary and Deputy Secretary	Research assistants	Other personnel	Total
31.12.1982	20	8	11	39
31.12.1987	20	5.5	10.5	36

As at 31 December 1987 the academic staff positions were distributed over the following disciplines: economics/econometrics (5), sociology (5), law (3), linguistics (1), political science (1), management science (1), physics (1), planning (1), cultural anthropology (0.5) and biology (1.5). The staff includes a computer expert, and the office has a reference library.

### 1.2.3 Budget

The Council's budget comes under Chapter III of the Government Budget (General Affairs). Apart from staff costs and other expenditure, the budget also contains an item for commissioning academic studies from other bodies.

The growth of budget is shown in the following table (in Dutch guilders).

Financial year	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Expenditure on personnel	4.325.000	4.425.000	4.000.000	3.700.000	3.925.000
Scientific studies	1.205.000	950.000	1.000.000	1.000.000	975.000
Total	5.530.000	5.375.000	5.000.000	4.700.000	4.900.000

that the Government would make its findings known within a period of three months. In practice the publication of a reaction can take longer than three months.

The Act provides the Council with the opportunity to be heard in relation to the Government's response, but to date no use has been made of this provision. Members of the Council and staff have, however, provided briefings on the reports on request at departmental level.

With a view to the wider effects of its reports, the Council attaches considerable importance to the maintenance of contacts with non-governmental organizations and experts in particular fields, both during the drafting stage and after the publication of reports. Once again the Council maintained direct links with numerous domestic and foreign institutions and individuals, and one member of staff was specially responsible for external communication. Requests for information on and explanations of reports and other publications are provided wherever possible. Conferences or symposiums have been organized on a number of occasions (generally in collaboration with other bodies) by way of follow-up to the Council's reports.

## **2.4 External contacts**

### *2.4.1 Government and Parliament*

As noted above, talks were held with the full Council of Ministers on 25 February 1983 concerning the provisional programme of work and with a number of Members of Parliament on 25 October 1983. The Chairman of the Council spoke from time to time with the Prime Minister. Other Ministers also maintained interim contacts with the Council (with the Prime Minister's approval) about aspects of the programme of work.

On a number of occasions the Council provided a background briefing on request to the Lower House. On 7 May 1987, for example, discussions were held with the Standing Parliamentary Committee on European Affairs in response to the report 'The Unfinished European Integration'. On 24 September 1987 the Standing Parliamentary Committee for Economic Affairs held talks with the WRR and the Central Planning Office concerning the report 'Scope for Growth'. On 24 February 1988 talks are to be held with the Standing Parliamentary Committee for Education and Science concerning the report on basic education by way of preparation for the consideration of the Basic Education Bill.

### *2.4.2 The scientific community*

The Council has a limited budget for commissioned studies and research. Many of the Council's contacts with the scientific community took place as the result of commissioned work, which is intensively prepared and monitored by the Council. The Council's reports also rely on the results of these external studies and commissioned research. Some of these have been published in the 'Preliminary and Background Studies' series, others in the 'Working Documents' series.

Apart from the studies and research carried out on behalf of the Council, the scientific community contributes towards the Council's work by providing information on request and furnishing comments on elements of the text as a report is being drawn up.

### *2.4.3 Advisory bodies*

In November 1983 the Organization for Strategic Labour Market Research (OSA) was set up, provisionally for a period of four years. That period has since been extended to the end of 1988. Under section 6 of the Establishment Decree, the OSA was required to hold discussions with the Council in drawing up its programme of work. The OSA's terms of reference are to encourage strategic research into the labour market and to translate the results of that research into policy.



In 1986, the Minister of Education and Science set up the Netherlands Organization for Applied Technological Research (NOTA) under the auspices of the WRR and the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. Four of the nine members of the NOTA steering group are appointed at the behest of the Council. NOTA's most important task is the preparation and implementation of a research programme into the social aspects of science and technology.

During the term under review, the Welfare Policy Harmonization Council (HRWB) and the WRR conducted an investigation at the request of the Ministers of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs and General Affairs into the possibility of integrating the former body's advisory functions into those of the Council. In a letter of 6 July 1987 the chairmen and secretaries of the two bodies indicated to the Ministers that such integration could take the form of the appointment of a standing committee as provided for under Section 9 of the WRR Act of Establishment. Since then a working group consisting of a number of members of both Councils and their bureaus have begun to draw up proposals for the way in which integration could be given practical expression.

The Chairman and Executive Secretary of the Council also took part during the third Council term in the periodic consultations held between the chairmen and secretaries of the central government's inter-sectoral advisory bodies. They also maintained regular contact with their colleagues from the Science Policy Advisory Council. In addition ad hoc bilateral contacts were established with other advisory bodies.

#### 2.4.4 *Other contacts*

In order to operate effectively the Council considers it essential to maintain effective contacts with and to obtain information from relevant organizations in the community both during the preparatory phase of a report and after it has been published. In part these are general contacts, for example those with national trade unions and employers' associations, while others concern the particular subject of study. Thus the report on Basic Education led to an intensive exchange of ideas with educational organizations; extensive discussions were held with experts in European Community affairs during the preparation of the reports on European integration; and the report on foreign cultural policy could not have been prepared without extensive discussions with relevant individuals and bodies. These contacts provide the Council with valuable information and suggestions. In addition, they help the Council to gauge the reaction to its report in the outside world.

#### 2.4.5 *Foreign contacts*

It is vitally important for a body such as the Council to stay in touch with comparable institutions in other countries or with foreign institutions and individuals which are able to provide the Council with useful information. Societal developments with the capacity to influence society, not just in the short but also in the longer term, often extend well beyond national borders. With a view to keeping interested parties abroad informed of the Council's activities, the reports have all been translated into English (either in their entirety or in summary form).

Of importance for the Council's work were its contacts with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris. Representatives of the OECD visited the Council on two occasions to obtain information on the Council's activities.

The Council also maintained contacts with the Swedish Secretariat for Futures Studies. In 1986 the Secretariat organized a study-day on prospective research at which the Council was represented. The Council also received a number of foreign visitors seeking information of a general or more specific nature on the Council's work. Thus an official from the Australian Department of Science visited the WRR in 1984 to explore the possibility of setting up a comparable institute in Australia. That body,

known as the Commission for the Future, was subsequently established in 1985, and a member of the Commission called on the Council in order to obtain details on the Council's working methods. In 1987 a delegation from the Swedish Parliamentary Commission for Futures Research visited the Council, while in the same year the Council received a delegation from the Finnish Prime Minister's Department in relation to proposals for setting up a comparable body in Finland. Representatives from the Council visited the Hungarian Institute for Economic Planning in 1986; a reciprocal visit to the WRR was made the following year.

In December 1987 the Council and the Centre National de Recherches Scientifiques (CNRS) jointly convened a conference on the role of the trade union movements in France and the Netherlands.

Members of the Council and the staff participated in a number of international scientific/academic conferences both domestically and abroad, as well as in various scientific and bureaucratic gatherings abroad. In some cases papers were presented.

## **2.5 Conferences**

The Council organized or assisted with a number of study days, conferences and symposiums during the third Council term. These have been reported on in the 'Preliminary and Background Studies' series or have been made accessible to a broader public in some other manner. They are listed below in chronological order.

Symposium on the advising of the central government by external advisory bodies convened on 16 November 1982 by the Council and five other advisory bodies. The report on this symposium was published in preliminary study no. 41, 'Advisory bodies in the political decision-making process'.

Symposium on the WRR preliminary study 'Planning as an enterprise' held on 2 May 1984. The aim of this symposium was to investigate the implications of this study for public administration in practice. The report on the conference was published in preliminary study no. 43, 'Planning and policy'.

Seminar on independent governing bodies organized in conjunction with the Ministry of Home Affairs on 12 November 1985 in response to the survey 'Organs and legal entities surrounding the central government' published by the Council in 1983. The aim of this study day was to survey the place and significance of these bodies within the existing practice and to examine the scope for these and similar bodies in public administration in the longer term. The report on the study day was published in preliminary study no. 54, 'Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisations'.

Conference on the report 'The Unfinished European Integration' held on 16 May 1986. This conference was jointly organized by the Council and the Interdisciplinary Study Group on European Integration. The aim of the conference was to evaluate the Council's approach to the process of integration from the viewpoint of the allocation of responsibilities and to explore new subjects for examination in a follow-up study along these lines by the Council. The report on this conference was published in preliminary study no. 55, 'European integration on the move'.

Conference on health variations and socio-economic status organized by the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs and the Council on 16 and 17 March 1987. The aim of this conference was to place health variations in a broader context and to formulate possible policy recommendations for narrowing those differences. The report on the conference was published in preliminary study no. 58, 'The uneven distribution of Health' (see also section 3.3.12).

Conference on the report 'Culture and Diplomacy', organized by the Netherlands Institute of International Relations (Clingendael) on 20 November 1987. This conference, which brought together representatives

from the cultural sector and the bureaucracy, focussed on the policy implications of the Council's report. The report on the conference is obtainable from the Clingendael Institute.

Conference on the role of the trade union movement in France and the Netherlands organized in conjunction with the Centre National de Recherches Scientifiques (CNRS) in Paris on 8 and 9 December 1987.

On 11 February 1988 the Association for Environmental Sciences will be organizing a study day in collaboration with the Council concerning the environmental aspects of the Council's report 'Scope for Growth'. The aim of this day will be to initiate a debate about the methodological and substantive approach towards environmental problems in the report. The Council will be publishing a preliminary study on the conference.

### **3. REPORTS**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

During the period under review the Council submitted nine reports to the Government. Two reports, 'Law Enforcement' and 'Margins for Government Policy,' are expected to be submitted to the Government and published in the first half of 1988. A survey into the future of the spread of conurbations was commenced in March 1987 and will be continued in the fourth Council term of office. In response to a request from the Government for an advisory opinion, a project was started in October 1987 in relation to future policy on ethnic minorities.

In spring 1988 a survey will appear of previous and current futures research conducted under the auspices of the government. This survey, which was commenced in the second half of the third Council term, aims to provide an interim account before possibly embarking on new initiatives in the field of general long-range studies.

#### **3.2 Other publications**

Apart from the reports the Council also publishes a 'Preliminary and Background Studies' series and a 'Working Documents' series. These series are intended to make available all the information and research results gathered together on behalf of or by way of follow-up to reports produced by outside experts or Council staff members. During the third term of office, twenty publications in the 'Preliminary and Background Studies' series and fifty working documents were published. Twenty-five of these were drawn up in connection with the report on basic education and have been gathered together in a separate series entitled 'Basic education working documents'. In addition all the Council's reports are translated in their entirety or in summary form into English, and a number of the reports are translated into German, French or Spanish.

Reports and publications in the 'Preliminary and Background Studies' series are obtainable from the Staatsuitgeverij in The Hague. Working documents are distributed by the Government Publications Distribution Centre, while translations are obtainable from the Council. A full list of the Council's publications in the third term of office is provided at appendix 2. Finally the Council issues a Newsletter with details of its activities.

#### **3.3 Published reports**

The reports that have been published or are still in the process of preparation are outlined below. Where possible an examination is also made of the Government's standpoint on the reports and their wider effects within society.

##### *3.3.1 Long-range studies*

###### **3.3.1.1 A Policy-Oriented Survey of the Future, part 2: Towards a Broader Perspective**

On 9 May 1983 the second part of the policy-oriented survey of the future (BTV) launched in the previous Council term was published. This report – known as BTV-2 – was issued under the responsibility of the new (third term) Council. The design and content of part one of this survey ,

which appeared in September 1980, were discussed in the report on the second term of office.

BTV-2 outlines a number of divergent developments on the basis of differing characteristic views of society. Taken in their totality, these characteristic views are designed to cover the full spectrum of political attitudes within Dutch society. The report is not a long-range study in which statements are made about the most probable developments in society, but centres around the notion that the future is shaped by political and social action. The aim of the survey was to chart the respective consequences – both intended and unintended – of the varying views as a constructive contribution to the political and social debate.

The report begins by discussing the factors that determine the unique position of the Netherlands and the constraints within which future developments will necessarily take place. The report then proceeds to outline six characteristic views towards developments in society. These views are based on the three main ideological streams in Dutch politics sub-divided according to the alternative attitudes towards the role of government and state institutions on the one hand and that of society, group processes and personal initiative on the other. Characteristic of the *sociocratic* position is a reliance on the self-regulating mechanisms of society, with the government's role being regarded as a mediatory rather than shaping one. The *technocratic* position, by contrast, emphasizes the shaping role of government in society. The sociocratic/technocratic distinction takes a different guise in each of the three ideological movements, thus combining to form six ideal-type views. In using this classification, the Council sought to give expression to the fact that political reality is rather more complex than assumed in theoretical constructs which ascribe to socialists a monopoly over problem-solving by means of government intervention and to liberals a monopoly over problem-solving by means of the market.

On the basis of these six views, and taking into account the basic constraints, alternative perspectives on the future have been elaborated for seven policy areas, with particular reference to policy implications. Some examples of these opposing perspectives are:

- in the socio-economic field:
  - a strengthening of the welfare state;
  - a guarantor state;
  - a durable society;
- in the field of public administration:
  - the interventionist state;
  - the regulative state;
- in the field of the European Communities:
  - continuing integration;
  - a federation of regions;
  - inter-governmental cooperation.

#### *Preliminary studies*

A number of studies were carried out by external experts for the purposes of part two of the policy-oriented survey of the future. In one of these, on housing corporations, the position currently occupied by these bodies in the field of public housing is outlined in terms of the six characteristic views noted above. Another study, on the reorientation of cultural policy, seeks to indicate what a sociocratic view of the arts and cultural policy would mean in practical terms. A study on sociocratic tendencies in Western Europe argues that trends in the Netherlands which might be regarded as sociocratic form part of an international movement and should not therefore be dismissed out of hand as unrealistic. In the socio-economic field, a study has been conducted into building up a model to outline the way in which the Dutch economy could evolve in the medium term on the basis of the characteristic views.

The above studies were published during the second Council term in the 'Preliminary and Background Studies' series. An outline is provided

separately below of the study 'Building blocks for an integrated agriculture' which was conducted on behalf of BTV-2.

#### *Government reaction*

By its nature, the report did not lead to recommendations to the Government, for which reason the latter did not formulate an official response.

#### *Impact of the report*

In seeking to identify alternative approaches towards the future (or starting points for that process), the report BTV-2 would appear to provide a source of inspiration, having been used in this sense on a number of occasions. On the occasion of the elevation of the town of Almere to municipal status, for example, a seminar devoted to the BTV study was organized in collaboration with the Council on the subject of 'The future of governmental democracy'. Other examples of instances in which use has been made of the conceptual framework put forward in the report include the seminar organized by the Institute for Theatre Research into perspectives for policy on the arts (on which the Institute published a report in January 1984) and a workshop on Christian politics organized by the Centre for Church and Society (19 April 1986). In 1987 the BTV report attracted attention in connection with an exhibition entitled 'The New Netherlands: Object of Design' held in the Amsterdam Commodity Exchange. This exhibition presented outlines and models of the Netherlands in the future based in part on the characteristic views put forward in BTV-2.

The political circuit displayed little interest in the publication of the report. This was undoubtedly due to the method employed, based on ideal-type constructs. The presentation of a number of alternative approaches presumably also held back political discussion, since the way in which problems are defined in the political and social arena tends to focus on just one or a few possible solutions at the expense of the insight that those problems can be tackled along fundamentally different paths. This means that alternative or more far-reaching perspectives are quickly lost to sight. At the same time, it is clear in retrospect that a reversal has taken place in political thinking since 1983 – a reversal incorporated in BTV-2 in the technocratic/sociocratic distinction.

#### 3.3.1.2 Survey of long-range studies (ITV)

A new project in the field of long-range studies was taken up by the Council in the second half of the term. This shares features from both the general survey of the future conducted in the first Council term and the policy-oriented survey of the second term. As in the former survey, the point of departure consists of developments in society, and as in both surveys the trends are not assigned the status of irreversibility. It is a study of developments that have been assumed in long-range studies carried out by government agencies, but which are not necessarily plausible. This project is concerned not so much with a survey of the future as with drawing up a survey of existing long-range studies and the expectations about future developments they contain.

This approach should be regarded as an interim step: before the Council undertakes any new initiatives in the field of general surveys of the future, an interim balance is being drawn up. There is every reason for doing so: in comparison with the situation ten years ago, the state of prospective research carried out on behalf of the government has changed radically. Where previously only a few bodies paid attention to longer-term developments, such studies have now become a standard component of policy preparation.

The survey will not just provide information on attitudes towards future developments but will also throw light on gaps in long-range studies and on the backgrounds to differences and similarities in the underlying assumptions and the results.

Studies seeking to chart longer-term developments in a particular field, and which therefore have a specialized focus, are nevertheless semi-general in nature since it is often necessary to explore developments in the area immediately surrounding the specialist area of interest. Important links can exist between the two. It is precisely this semi-general nature of many specialist long-term studies that makes a survey of the field of research interesting. It may be that the expectations concerning certain future developments converge to a large extent, but they may also diverge. In both cases a discussion of the background to the expectations in question is more interesting than the results themselves. For this reason the research survey has been conducted in collaboration with a forum composed of representatives from bodies conducting prospective research under government auspices in divergent fields. The composition of the forum is shown in Appendix 4.

It was expressly not the intention to arrive at a consensus through discussion in the forum. Instead, it was explicitly recognized from the outset that it is by no means always possible to arrive at a definitive judgement about the probability or plausibility of a development along objective scientific lines. In limiting the often broad margins of uncertainty, subjective factors can and must also play a role. Insight into these factors is often more informative than a consistent picture to which few are able to relate.

The survey, which is expected to appear in spring 1988, deals with international, demographic, environmental planning, technological and economic aspects, as well as with developments in the fields of the environment, life-styles, education, employment, income and social security, leisure, health care and social services and law enforcement.

In relation to the ITV survey, section 4.7 discusses prospective research as a separate Council activity.

#### 3.3.1.3 Preliminary study: building blocks for an integrated agriculture

In the context of part 2 of the policy-oriented survey of future developments, the Council published a preliminary study in 1984 entitled 'Building blocks for an Integrated Agriculture'. This study elaborates a perspective of 'agriculture with wider objectives'. By this is meant a form of agriculture in which greater account is taken of not just social and economic but also environmental aims. The study was carried out by the Environmental Biology Unit of Leiden University.

Integrated agriculture is defined as a durable, technically highly-developed system of agriculture with reasonable working conditions and a competitive rate of pay which is capable of producing not just agricultural products but also natural areas and a scenic landscape. The organization, utilization and management of agricultural areas it is not based on the assumption of an inherent conflict of interests among those concerned but on the existence of shared interests and the recognition that the environment fulfills various functions for all.

A major role is assigned in decision-making to those directly concerned: farmers and others who live, work or participate in recreational activities in a particular region. The government's task is to establish the appropriate framework and to provide certain services. The government's policy efforts will to a greater extent need to be directed towards eliminating the causes of problems in agriculture instead of countering the consequences of certain developments. Among other things the study calls for government measures in the form of levies and subsidies.

The ideas and proposals formulated in the study have attracted widespread interest in agricultural/environmental circles and also politically. Although certain elements of the concept and its elaboration were criticized, the approach may also be said to have attracted general support.

At the request of the Lower House, the Minister of Agriculture and Fishery also responded formally to the study in a document submitted to

the House on 2 October 1986. The Minister concentrated particularly on the set of objectives put forward in the study and on the proposed policy instruments. Qualifications were entered with respect to two objectives. In the first place the Minister felt unable to endorse the authors' definition of self-sufficiency in the EC, which covered not just agricultural commodities but also raw materials. Secondly the Minister notes that the decision-making process on the organization and management of the environment cannot simply be left to those concerned in the region when national or international interests are at stake. The Minister attaches particular value to information on possible alternatives and their effects as an instrument towards achieving the integration of agriculture, nature and the environment. Further research will also be required into the way in which such integration can be encouraged at operating level. The scope for altering the relative prices of labour on the one hand and the raw materials for animal feedstuffs on the other is regarded as limited. The Minister concludes that while the greatest possible integration of agriculture, nature and the environment is desirable, the achievement of an integrated agriculture is to a large extent dependent on policy instruments other than those put forward by the authors, especially in the field of legislation and administrative regulation.

For a minister to formulate a standpoint in response to a WRR preliminary study is in itself exceptional; the study was not a full report by the Council, on which the Government is obliged to adopt a standpoint, but a study carried out by and in the name of individual authors. The importance of the Minister's reaction lies in the fact that the debate about ways of integrating agriculture, nature and the environment is no longer confined to the scientific community and interest organizations but is now also forms an explicit part of the political agenda.

### 3.3.2 *Safeguarding social security*

The labour system has formed the recurrent subject of interest in preceding Council terms of office. The Council returned to the theme in its report 'Safeguarding Social Security', published on 22 May 1985. The problems with which the system of social security is confronted prompted the Council to take stock of the assumptions on which that system is based. The report outlines a new system of social security that will be capable of functioning in dissimilar economic and social conditions, and which could evolve out of the present situation.

The first of the reasons put forward by the Council is the growth in the number of recipients. The sharp rise in unemployment in the 1980s is a significant, but not the only cause of this growth. Partly as a result of the growth in the number of claimants, the level of income transfers has risen and the affordability of the present system has come under pressure. The high level of expenditure can depress investment and hence employment.

A second reason consists of the purchasing power of nationally accepted minimum income levels. Over the past ten years there has been a marked compression in income differentials at low and medium-income levels. The net minimum wage forms the sole source of income for a decreasing number of households. As such, the minimum wage has become less suitable as an instrument in provision for the genuinely needy. In addition there has been a trend in society towards greater participation in the labour market by women and towards greater variety in household types. The system of social security is at present based on the income position of households as a whole. The result is a continual conflict between the process of individualization on the one hand and the desire on the other to take account of the needs and economic means of individual households.

Thirdly income transfers affect the operation of the labour market. The comparatively high level of benefits means there is little incentive to accept work. The demand for labour is stimulated since social security benefits have the effect of maintaining the level of purchasing power, but



it is also discouraged since the payment of benefits increases the price of labour. Labour-intensive industries face particularly high labour costs. The demand for labour-intensive products and services is declining and shifting in favour of the informal sector. The base for collective levies has been shrinking, thus producing a vicious circle. The move towards shorter working-hours and job sharing provide further reasons in the Council's view for a reform of the system. A reduction in average working hours could mean that households with only one breadwinner fall below the national minimum, thus requiring them to be topped up by supplementary benefit. The Council notes that the allocative function and the need function of earned income are not readily combined in a single instrument, namely the legal minimum wage.

Finally the Council notes the complexity of the system. The system has grown rather than evolved. The division of responsibilities between the government and the social partners has resulted in a complex institutional structure. The emphasis on distributive justice has also made for a more complicated system. The numerous criteria are frequently open to more than one interpretation and the information supplied by the client is not readily checked.

The Council considers that the reforms to the system of social security that were in the pipeline when the report was being prepared do not take sufficient account of these problems. The amendments introduced to date appear to have been prompted by two aims, namely reducing the social security burden and compliance with the third EC Directive on the equal treatment of men and women in social security. The Council accordingly concludes that the system of social security calls for a more drastic revision than that proposed (and since introduced) by the Government. In the light of the problems noted above, the Council put forward the main elements in a new, proposed system of social security. The most important elements of this new system are outlined below.

1. A partial basic income (PBI), to which all persons legitimately resident in the Netherlands and all persons coming under the social security provisions would be entitled. The PBI would be fully individualized and would be equal to the difference between the national minimum for a couple and that for a single householder (approximately 450 guilders per month). The PBI would be claimable without the need to register formally for employment and irrespective of any other earnings on the part of the claimant or his or her partner. The PBI would mean that the link between employment and income was only partially cut; people would be required to top up their earnings by employment. The level at which the PBI would be set would solve the dilemma between the desire for individualization and the application of the need and economic means criterion. Supplements for partners would become superfluous, since one-person households and sole earners would need to bridge the same income gap to reach the national minimum.
2. General loss of earnings insurance (GLI) would be paid to all employed persons and would form a supplement topping PBI up to the national minimum for a single householder. It would be payable to both wage and salary earners and the self-employed and provide insurance against sickness, unemployment and employment disability. The insurance would be compulsory and would be financed by contributions. The combination of PBI and GLI would guarantee an income equal to at least the national minimum for virtually every person in the working population or unfit for work.
3. National assistance (NA) is a vital supplementary provision for those not or no longer qualifying for GLI. In terms of entitlement, national assistance would correspond with the present National Assistance Act, subject to the proviso that a large proportion of those at present coming under the Government Unemployment Assistance Regulations would fall within the GLI criteria. National assistance would therefore resume its original function as a supplementary provision.

4. Voluntary loss of earnings insurance (VLI) would provide a supplement to the minimum guaranteed income as provided by the PBI and GLI. VLI would be administered by the social partners and could be incorporated into collective agreements.

#### *Preliminary studies*

By way of follow-up to the report 'Safeguarding Social Security', two studies were carried out that were published in the 'Preliminary and Background Studies' series. The first of these, conducted by C. de Klein and J. Collaris of the Netherlands Health Funds Association, surveys the various solutions that are being implemented or under consideration in eight West European countries with a view to reining in the rising cost of health care under the system of national health insurance. This survey needs to be read against the background of the WRR report 'A Reappraisal of Welfare Policy' published in 1982.

In a brief preface to the study, N.H. Douben (a member of the Council) and J.M. Dekkers (a former staff member) argue that a change in the institutional structure of Dutch health care is unavoidable. They call for the introduction of an individual fixed premium as the basic element of health insurance; greater emphasis on directing the system of health care by means of agreements between the insurers (i.e. the health funds and private health insurance schemes) and providers of care with a view to increasing the effectiveness of care; and measures to prevent risk selection on the part of insurers.

The second study, by R.M.A. Jansweijer, a staff member of the Council, surveys the way in which household forms have evolved in society. It is noted that marriage remains the dominant household form but is losing ground to (in particular) single households and cohabitation. The nature of marital and familial patterns has also been changing: the number of families with children is on the decline, and there is less emphasis on the durability of relationships, with a corresponding increase in emphasis on the independence of the partners. The fact that various household forms are existing side by side has made for increasing and permanent diversity in this field.

The regulations as they stand are strongly oriented towards traditional families consisting of a breadwinner, housewife and children. A wide variety of facilities have, accordingly, been created for the dependent partner, enabling him or her to withdraw from the labour market (for example to attend full-time to the children). The obverse to these facilities is the fact that they can only be used if there is a dependent partner, thus obstructing the widely held view that people should be free to select the household form they want.

Government policy necessarily involves drawing up a classification of social reality, even – or precisely – when there is a high degree of diversity. Jansweijer has proposed an administrative system of voluntary registration of household forms that would help resolve these difficulties. The system would provide a means of distinguishing household forms according to the degree of financial interdependence and permanence. The system can also afford a solution to privacy and control problems and to a number of problems in the current regulations, for example in relation to maintenance payments.

#### *Government reaction*

The Government's official standpoint issued in relation to 'Safeguarding Social Security' of October 1985 pays particular attention to the financing of the PBI. The Council's proposals are treated as radical, and rejected. The main reasons for the Government's negative stance are that the new system would entail an expansion of the public sector and create problems in relation to the alternative levies. The expansion of the public sector could make informal employment more attractive than at present. The less direct link between employment and income could, moreover, disturb the allocative function of the labour market. The reduction in working

hours to which the PBI would give rise could create skill shortages; these are already being experienced in certain areas.

The Government also has reservations on other scores. Problems could arise in relation to lowering gross wages in order to compensate for the PBI received by persons employed in the private sector. This reduction would have to be brought about by means of collective bargaining on terms of employment. Government measures in this field could complicate matters considerably. Relative prices would change in many respects, thus affecting purchasing power. Efforts to pass on the cost could prove a disruptive factor in the adjustment process. In addition the Government foresees cross-border problems arising from the wage differentials that would arise between the Netherlands and neighbouring countries.

The Government's overall stance towards the proposals is a negative one. It does not consider the time ripe for a fundamentally different basis for the social security system. On the other hand the Government does see an important role for the report in the debate about reforming the social security system in the medium and long term.

#### *Impact of the report*

The report met with rejection not just from the Government but also from the social partners. The employers emphasized the fact that, as a basic income, the PBI would undermine the work ethic, while the trade unions levelled serious objections against the abolition of the minimum wage. The report was issued at the time that the review of the current social security system was being completed. Even though the Council took particular care to emphasize that its proposals were not to be regarded as an alternative to these reforms, it was not able to prevent an unintended link between the two from being established.

Now that there is a growing realization that the amendments to the social security system are not the last word and that the controllability and affordability of the system will remain a problem, the Council's proposals are enjoying renewed interest, especially as regards the partial basic income.

#### *3.3.3 Basic education*

On 21 December 1983 the Government asked the Council to advise it on the desirable content, duration and structure of basic education. In the Government's request for an advisory opinion, basic education was defined as the education essential for individuals to function effectively in society. The request for an opinion related to primary education and the first stage of secondary education, but was formulated against the background of the debate about the education system, which had come to focus on the organization of secondary schooling. A new Primary Education Act had just been passed, for which reason the Council concentrated in its report (which appeared on 22 January 1986) on the final attainment standards of basic education.

Basic education was defined by the Council as 'the provision of communal, general education in the intellectual, cultural and social fields with a view to enabling individuals to develop their personality, to function effectively as a member of society and to make a well-considered choice of further study and career'.

The question of the desirable content, duration and structure of basic education cannot be answered solely on scientific grounds; political and normative choices also play a part. The contribution made by the Council's report therefore resides primarily in its detached, objective line of reasoning. In doing so the results of relevant academic research have been drawn upon.

The report examines the various aims of basic education. It contends that the knowledge and skills should focus on:

- a knowledge of basic structures in various subjects, of an analytical and abstract nature;

- the ability to do something with that knowledge;
- insight into the cultural environment and the ability to orient oneself in it.

These three components of basic education need to be in proper balance in all disciplines and for all pupils. Among other things this means that various subjects will need to be selected from the wide variety now on offer in the different types of school to make up the core curriculum of basic education.

In addition the quality of education needs to be improved. An important means to this end is teacher training and teacher motivation. Given the increasingly exacting demands that the society of the future will make of its citizens, basic education will also need to be longer in duration. At present universal basic education ceases at the end of primary school, i.e. at around the age of 12. At this point pupils or their parents are forced into making choices whose implications they do not fully understand but which will have critical bearing on their subsequent careers.

An improvement in the level of education and deferment of choice of continuing education can be achieved by the introduction of general basic education in the first three years of secondary schooling and by the improvement of vocational education. During this first stage of secondary education all pupils should according to the Council be required to follow the same core curriculum. This would comprise the following subjects: Dutch, English, a second modern language (French or German), mathematics, biology (including health and hygiene), physics plus elementary principles of chemistry, computer studies, history and civics, geography, economics (including home economics), technics, art education, music and physical education. In addition the Council would include a free part consisting of around 20 percent of teaching time, in which pupils could do other subjects depending on their aptitudes and preferences. They could also use the free element to study the compulsory subjects in greater depth, or alternatively the free part could be used to help pupils who had got behind to catch up or for labour-market orientation and religious and humanistic instruction. At any event all schools should be required to offer a third modern language (French or German) in the free part. The subjects taken in the free part would not, however, carry with them any entitlement to further education beyond the basic level.

The subjects making up the core curriculum should be offered in all schools at two levels, a general and a higher one. The knowledge and skills acquired in basic education would be tested by means of nationally determined examinations. Pupils would have various options as to what exams to sit, ranging from the general level in all subjects to the higher level in all subjects. The introduction of basic education would be compatible with the various kinds of schools in the Netherlands. The Council takes the view that schools should in principle be free to decide on the way in which they taught and grouped their pupils. It would recommend that the new system be introduced gradually over a period of ten years, at the end of which all schools would be required to have introduced the core curriculum.

Given a standard syllabus and final, nationally set attainment levels, the duration of basic education should be variable so as to enable all pupils to achieve the best level of which they were capable. Given the demands that the proposed basic education would make on both pupils and schools, the course would need to be at least three years in duration, with provision for a fourth year for pupils unable to attain the general standard in three years and for those who, having attained the general level, wished to qualify at the higher level in certain subjects.

The structure of basic education favoured by the Council would also permit the necessary re-evaluation of junior vocational education, which tends currently to be stigmatized as 'residual' education and to offer inadequate prospects in society. In its report the Council recommends a

separate course the first two years of which would be devoted to general basic education, while the third would combine basic education with vocational training. Pupils opting for this course would, however, also conclude their basic education with an examination at the general attainment level (or higher if desired).

#### *Preliminary studies and working documents*

The 'Basic Education' report was preceded by some 30 studies, which were published in the 'Preliminary and Background Studies' series and the 'Basic Education Working Documents' series. The first of these series included:

- A study on the structure of education. This addresses itself to two questions: will the results of basic education differ according to the structure of the education? In terms of present educational insights, what would be an adequate structure for a basic education course following primary schooling?
- A study on mass media and basic education. This study is concerned with the question as to whether the educational function performed by the mass media inside and outside school have any influence on the demands that can and should be made of basic education and adult education. In other words, can newspapers, radio and television support – or perhaps even supplant – the role of schools or teachers and help adults make up for any basic education on which they may have missed out?
- A report of a survey among teachers. Teachers were asked questions about their profession and their attitudes towards educational reforms in general, and about the scope for introducing a universal basic education in the first few years of secondary schooling.
- A study concerning the extent to which children in basic education should be taught to handle computers and the way in which computer systems could help support the existing curriculum.
- A study of basic education in other countries, namely West and East Germany, Britain, the United States and Denmark.

In the first place, the working documents published on basic education concern subjects that might make up the core curriculum during the first stage of secondary education. Teaching methodologists were asked to indicate the desirable subject matter in the various disciplines and to specify possible and desirable changes to the syllabus and educational tools, taking into account the pupils' capacities and the subject matter taught in other fields. In addition working documents were produced on various aspects of basic education: the role of libraries, the assessment of educational results, legal aspects of introducing a new system, insights in the fields of educational and developmental psychology, the potential for using computers in the management and evaluation of education, the division of material into subjects or fields of learning, the relationship between basic education and vocational training, the international debate (in the United States, Britain, France and Denmark) about the quality and content of secondary education and finally the debate in the Netherlands about the first stage of secondary education.

#### *Government reaction*

In its reaction to the report (May 1966), the Government indicated that it broadly shared the Council's analysis and that it intended adopting its proposals. A bill proposing the introduction of basic education was submitted to the Lower House of Parliament in 1987. By way of preparation for the deliberation of the bill, the Standing Parliamentary Committee for Education and Science held talks with a delegation from the Council on 24 February 1988. In the bill, virtually all the Council's recommendations in relation to the curriculum and course objectives have been adopted, but, unlike the WRR report, the emphasis is primarily on the maintenance of the existing school structure.

### *Impact of the report*

Since the appearance of the first preliminary study, entitled 'Education at the Crossroads', at the end of 1985, the Council's publications in the field of basic education have attracted exceptional interest. The presentation and analysis of the Council's proposals have occupied a prominent place in the media for an extended period of time. On 2 April 1986 a Ministry of Education and Science convened a conference for educationalists and representatives from organizations in the community concerning the 'Basic Education' report. The Ministry subsequently published a report on the conference in the background studies series with a view to secondary education planning and policy. The reactions received from other countries to the English translation of a summary of the report provided evidence of marked interest in the subject, not least because a number of countries are working on similar proposals for the introduction of basic education.

A number of educational organizations submitted a reaction direct to the Council. Special congresses have also been devoted to the proposed basic education system at which the chairman and members of the project group have, at the organizers' request, discussed the report's analysis and recommendations.

There has been considerable discussion in the Netherlands about the structure of education, especially the pros and cons of middle schools. The reactions to the report suggest that the switch in emphasis in the debate from the structure to the content of education has met with approval among the various participants in the educational debate. The proponents of greater unity in education have responded favourably to the recommended standardization of the curriculum, while others endorse the proposed improvements to the quality of education. Doubts have, however, been expressed about the financial consequences; as the report indicates, the introduction of basic education will involve additional costs.

### *3.3.4 The Netherlands in European cooperation*

#### *3.3.4.1 The Unfinished European Integration*

On 26 March 1986 the Council submitted its report 'The Unfinished European Integration' to the Government. The report focusses on the necessity of completing the process of economic integration by the achievement of a single market for industrial products and services and a reorientation of the Common Agricultural Policy.

Market integration does, however, impose limitations on the freedom of national governments in the Member States to set their own policies, especially in the economic field. As it is the unfinished process of integration has already seriously undermined national policy capacity, without the Community having been able to fill the gap. Assuming that the need for government intervention will not decline appreciably in coming years, the movement towards greater market integration therefore calls for policy integration if the public capacity to act is not to be eroded. The division of responsibilities between the Community and the Member States needs to be reviewed in this light.

The differences in views within and between the Member States about the way in which the EC should evolve render it impossible to come up with straightforward, all-embracing solutions to this problem. The report accordingly examines the minimum changes that are required and examines the scope for solutions along the path of differentiated integration and strengthened inter-governmental cooperation in specialized fields.

A further liberalization of the market for industrial products – coupled by the elimination of barriers in the market for services – calls for the further unification of the common commercial policy, the strengthening and broadening of competition policy and the improved coordination of national industrial policies in the Member States. In particular, the report explores the possibilities for an offensive European industrial and technological policy.

With respect to the Common Agricultural Policy, the reports examines three central problems: the problem of surpluses, the environmental problem and the problem of marginal areas. The report concludes that these problems cannot be handled by means of the present policy; nor will production quotas be the answer in the long term. The Council therefore argues in favour of a reform of the Common Agricultural Policy along more market-oriented lines, with an overall reduction in prices towards world levels. At the same time new instruments need to be developed and financed for the marginal areas of the EC.

Finally the report discusses various aspects of the institutional problems facing the Community as well as the consequences of integration for policy preparation and control in the Netherlands. The report recommends that a survey of these consequences be carried out in each policy area under the auspices of the Coordinating Committee on European Affairs. At political level the Council considers it desirable for a Standing Parliamentary Committee for European Affairs to be appointed, provided this were primarily concerned with the policy coherence of individual departments in the Community context. Monitoring the conduct of Dutch ministers in the Community institutions would need to remain confined to an assessment of overall policy coherence and to avoid excessive linkage to by national parliaments.

#### *Preliminary studies and working documents*

Three studies, the results of which were published in the 'Preliminary and Background Studies' series, were prepared for the report.

The first of these, by J. Meester and D. Strijker of the Institute of Agricultural Economics in The Hague, examines the consequences of the change in the Community's status over time from a major importer of agricultural products in the world market to a major exporter. This switch calls for a fundamental reform of agricultural policy.

According to the authors, the problems arising from the EC's agricultural policy are primarily attributable to the imperfect functioning of the integrated market and price policies. On account of the fact that technical advances have led to ever-increasing yields per animal and per acre in conditions of sluggish demand, the Community has increasingly become a net exporter of agricultural products. In consequence intervention payments and marketing subsidies, which were originally conceived of as supplementary instruments, have now become the most important measures for supporting agricultural prices, while import levies at the EC's common external border play a steadily less important role. As a result spending on agricultural policy has risen sharply, while the revenue from import levies has declined.

For the Netherlands, the increase in agricultural production and consequent shifts in imports and exports have significantly decreased the transshipment and processing of imported agricultural products. In addition the increasing self-sufficiency of the other Member States has been eroding the export possibilities for the Dutch agricultural and food processing industries. In working towards the inevitable reform of agricultural policy in the Community, the Netherlands is therefore particularly interested in those options that seek to rein in the rise in production in the EC.

The internal EC market for industrial products has been examined by J. Pelkmans of the European Institute of Public Administration, Maastricht. Pelkmans' study discusses the major benefits that the elimination of market fragmentation in the Community will have for the EC's competitiveness in world markets and hence for economic growth. The study leads to a number of specific recommendations for promoting market integration and may as such serve as a guideline in the completion of the internal market.

The third study, conducted by K.J.M. Mortelmans and J.J. Feenstra of the Europa Institute, Utrecht University, examines the extent to which differentiated integration ('various speeds') could assist the development

of the Community. They see a limited scope for such a system in areas falling outside the Community's key tasks.

#### *Translations*

The report 'The Unfinished European Integration' was translated in its entirety into English. The first copies were presented to the other heads of government by Prime Minister Lubbers on the occasion of the European Council at The Hague on 26-27 June 1986. A summary of the report was translated into English, French, German and Spanish (included in the WRR 'Working Documents' series).

#### *Government reaction*

On the day that the Council's report appeared, the Government published a preliminary reaction in which it adopted the central notion that compensation needed to be found at European level for the erosion in national capacity to act resulting from market integration.

The Government issued its definitive reaction on 28 November 1986. In it the Government stressed that limitations on the European and national capacity to act should as far as possible be neutralized by the strict application of the EC Treaty and the Single European Act, as well as by the implementation at both levels of a consistent policy of deregulation. If policy and the body of legislation and regulations remain confined to the broad outline and do not get caught up in unnecessary detail, problems of application and nationally divergent provisions can also be kept limited.

With reference to the distinction drawn by the Council between 'positive' (policy) integration and 'negative' (market) integration, the emphasis should in the Government's view be placed on negative integration, i.e. the elimination of obstacles in the free market. In so far as measures aimed at positive integration have to be taken, these will need to be aimed at creating the sorts of conditions conducive to cooperation.

The Government adopted the suggestion made in the report for a general study to be carried out under the auspices of the interdepartmental Coordinating Committee on European Affairs into the cohesion between national and Community policies with a view to preventing national legislation not directly linked to or properly coordinated with Community decisions from creating undesired obstacles for the process of European integration. In addition the Cabinet decided that a European section will in future be appended to bills of European relevance, thus giving expression to any tensions between national and European policy.

In the light of the special attention that will have to be devoted to the coordination of macro-economic policy and monetary cohesion in the coming years and to the Community's financing problems, the Government announced that it would be commissioning a special follow-up study on these subjects from the Council.

#### *Impact of the report*

'The Unfinished European Integration' generally met with approval. Of the major parties in the Lower House, the Labour Party, the Christian Democratic Appeal and the D'66 endorsed the thrust of the report from the outset. At the request of the Standing Committee on European Affairs, a WRR delegation provided a background briefing on the report on 7 May 1987 to assist the Committee in connection with the Government's reaction.

The Netherlands Association of Entrepreneurs (VNO) and the Netherlands Federation of Christian Employers (NCW) also indicated that they endorsed the main lines of the report. The Industrial Board for Agriculture praised the quality of the report, but considered the Council went too far in recommending that agricultural prices be brought closely



into line with price trends in the world market. On 16 May 1986 the Interuniversity Cooperative Body for European Integration (ISEI) held a workshop on 'The Unfinished European Integration'. On 13 December 1986 the European Movement devoted its annual conference to the report.

The report received extensive publicity, both domestically and abroad. In particular, a detailed account was provided of the report in a leading article in 'Agence Europe', the Brussels newsletter widely read by European policy-makers.

#### 3.3.4.2 The financing of the European Community

In its reaction to 'The Unfinished European Integration', the Government asked the Council to conduct a follow-up study on the coordination of economic and monetary policy in the European Community, as well as on the financing of the EC.

In view of the fact that decisions on the financing problem were due to be taken at top level at the European Council in Copenhagen on 4 and 5 December 1987, the Council decided to present its views to the Government in the form of an interim report. This occurred on 20 November 1987. The Council will be submitting a report to the Government on economic and monetary policy during the forthcoming Council period.

In the first place the interim report emphasizes the necessity of improving the controllability of the budgetary procedure, particularly in respect of agricultural spending, which absorbs some two-thirds of the budget.

In policy terms the Council refers to its earlier proposals to move towards a more market-oriented agricultural policy. In this respect the new study concentrates in particular on the institutional weaknesses of the budgetary process. By way of remedy the Council would propose the introduction of binding decision-making rules for the European budgetary authorities and the Councils of Ministers. To this end the European Council could every five years establish a financial ceiling as part of a structural financial framework for the budget as a whole. Both the Commission and the Parliament would be drawn into this process. In determining the framework, a balance would have to be struck between the available financial resources and the Community's future tasks, such as occurs at national level. If individual Member States so desire, national income support for the agricultural sector would in the Council's view be permissible, provided it were clearly social in nature.

The Council would, however, stress that reining in agricultural spending will not in itself be enough to solve the Community's financial problems. The continuing decline in agricultural levies and customs duties has created a structural financing problem for the Community, which has been accentuated by the agreement under the Single European Act to strengthen the process of convergence.

Partly for practical reasons, the Council would advise retaining the existing sources of revenue for the next five years. An increase in revenues will need to be achieved by increasing the VAT share, with a mechanism for correcting clear instances of inequity.

If the aim of convergence should lead in due course to a requirement for a structural increase in resources, the Council considers the Community will inevitably have to be given a limited financial sovereignty of its own. Corporation tax might well provide a useful starting point.

In order to avoid the debates about costs and benefits which have proved so injurious to the Community in the past, the Council would propose the introduction of an objectified compensation procedure. This could be applied once the net balance of contributions and receipts for one or more Member States had been shown to be structurally and significantly out of balance in terms of their relative prosperity.

### *Government reaction*

The Council of Ministers took note of the report on 20 November 1987. A Government reaction is in the process of preparation.

### *Translations*

The report on the financing of the European Community has been translated in its entirety into English. A summary is available in French.

#### 3.3.5 Scope for growth

Part of the Council's programme of activity in the third term of office consisted of a study of the necessary conditions for a self-sustaining process of economic growth. The study centred on the following questions. From a technical economic viewpoint, is it possible to return to a high and sustained rise in prosperity such as that attained in the 1960s? Can the growing supply of labour be deployed, and can the high level of unemployment be significantly brought down? What threats to and opportunities for economic growth are there? The report on this study appeared in May 1987 under the title 'Scope for Growth; threats to and opportunities for the Dutch economy over the next ten years'.

The study was carried out with the aid of a dynamic multi-sector model and an optimization technique. The calculations are based on long-range studies in the various sectors of the Dutch economy. The model describes potential trends in 18 economic sectors. In addition the model incorporates a substantial environmental element, on the basis of which it is examined to what extent objectives in the environmental field could cut across socio-economic goals. On the basis of this comprehensive but comparatively simple core model it has been examined whether a higher rate of growth is feasible and to what extent goals in the fields of the environment, income, employment, consumption and the balance of payments are complementary or come into conflict.

The results indicate a rate of growth of over 4 percent a year to be attainable. An important condition for achieving this rate of growth is a substantial increase in the level of investment, including investment to protect the environment. Another condition is an annual growth in exports of 5 to 6 percent. Economic growth of this order would lead to a 2 percent annual rise in employment. The increase would need to be concentrated primarily in the business and personal services sectors and, on account of the rise in investment, in construction.

The study also examined what happened if these conditions are not fulfilled. If, for example, the growth in exports is halved, the maximum attainable growth in income is cut by a third, while employment then rises by a maximum of 1.1 percent a year. A stagnation in investment has even more serious consequences: even if the level of investment over the next decade were on average 10 percent higher than that in 1985, the demand for labour would fall.

In a technical economic sense, the structure of the Dutch economy does not prevent a growth rate of over 4 percent or the simultaneous achievement of objectives such as the enlargement of employment, increasing the level of consumption, balance of payments equilibrium, cutting back the budget deficit and the introduction of environmental measures. In practice, however, the realization of these generally endorsed objectives falls well short of what is theoretically feasible. The main factors responsible for this shortfall are imperfections in market forces and the intertwining of the public and private sectors. In the Council's view, the best prospects for achieving better results are afforded by the coordination of decisions among economic actors. The Council recommends that the tripartite consultations between the government and the social partners be used to promote such coordination. These consultations would be designed to produce agreement on the respective contributions to be made to the package of measures required for the realization of the generally accepted objectives. In this respect the Council would stress the importance of understanding that the economy

does not have to be a zero-sum game. The results presented in this report indicate the benefits potentially to be obtained by each of the parties in the consultations.

More specifically the study reaches the following conclusions. As far as the environment is concerned, the calculations indicate that a reduction in the emission of potentially acidifying substances and the implementation of a number of other environmental protection measures would lead to a certain trade-off between environmental and socio-economic objectives. The achievement of acceptable values for all objectives would require an additional annual level of environmental investment of 1.9 billion guilders. In addition it is evident that significant environmental problems will continue to persist, even if economic growth lags behind. A continuing effort is required to identify environmental problems in good time and to develop active policies.

Labour-intensive services will become more expensive but it is precisely in this area, the calculations suggest, that much of the rise in employment will need to take place. The promotion of labour-intensive services by means of selective policies is possible to only a limited extent. For certain government tasks, such as defence, the administration of justice and youth education, a prosperous society will have to pay a rising price. This applies also to the broad field of social services and health care. Here, however, there is a certain scope for decollectivization, thus loosening the link with the tax and social insurance burden. Various forms of collective financing are conceivable that would not result in any augmentation of that burden. Training and child-minding could, for example, be provided as fringe benefits, while more individual facilities could be defrayed through private insurance.

As far as the infrastructure is concerned the Council notes that an increase in expenditure in this field is vitally important for production capacity and productivity. It is, however, difficult to establish the precise link between infrastructural facilities and production. As a result, expenditure on infrastructural facilities has become excessively dependent on the annual budget negotiations and relative power of the interested parties. In order to cut this link the Council proposes that it would be advisable to draw up a detailed and systematic survey of plans in the infrastructural field. Consideration also deserves to be given to greater involvement by the private sector in the management and financing of infrastructural facilities. Certain conditions for such privatization would need to be laid down with respect to quality and accessibility.

#### *Preliminary studies*

With respect to the model-based approach and the optimization technique, the method employed for the study builds on the WRR report 'A Policy-oriented Survey of the Future: Part 2' published in 1983. The method used in that study, on which a report was provided in the preliminary study 'Limits to and possibilities of the economic system in the Netherlands' (1983), was adapted while fresh data were assembled on a CBS basis and of course brought up to date.

When it turned out that an increase in the level of investment formed an important precondition for the realization of the objectives, three researchers at the Free University of Amsterdam were asked to conduct a critical review of the functioning of the financial infrastructure in the Netherlands. This resulted in a research report entitled 'Growth-inhibiting factors and the role of financial institutions in the financing of investment' (Free University, 1987), an abridged and adapted version of which was published in the 'Preliminary and Background Studies' series under the title 'Investment and the Financial Infrastructure' (1987).

#### *Government reaction*

In a brief reaction (July 1987) the Government indicated that 'the conclusions of the report confirmed the Government in its belief that a continuation of its present policies held out good prospects for the

realization of a satisfactory growth in production, income and employment, as well as reducing environmental pollution to more acceptable proportions'. While it does not consider the 'operational value' of the report to be great, it regards the report as providing useful background information for policy purposes. The report is also valuable in the Government's view in warning against defeatism.

#### *Impact of the report*

The full impact of the report 'Scope for Growth' has not yet emerged in the six months since publication. Employers associations, trade unions and a number of political parties reacted positively when the report was published, and it also aroused interest in the press. The model came in for favourable comment, especially in academic journals.

The Standing Parliamentary Committee for Economic Affairs, together with the Minister for Economic Affairs, met a delegation from the Council and the Central Planning Office in September 1987. The Christian Democratic Appeal party appointed a committee under the chairmanship of J. Zijlstra to study the report. Extensive use of the analysis in the WRR report was made in a report entitled 'Sliding Panels', drawn up by a Labour Party committee chaired by J.P. Pronk (November 1987).

In line with the Council's report, the public discussion has concentrated on the need to intensify the consultations between the social partners and the government and to use those consultations to improve the coordination of decision-making among the economic actors. On request, the chairman and members of the project group have provided background briefings on the model and the research results. The way in which economic and environmental objectives have been integrated in the model has also aroused considerable interest. The Association of Environmental Sciences, in conjunction with the WRR, is convening a symposium in early 1988 focussing especially on this aspect of the report.

#### *3.3.6 Tailoring Policy to the Needs of the Small and Medium-sized Business*

Based on the contribution that the small and medium-sized business (SMB) can make to economic growth and employment, the Council decided to include in its programme of work a study of the function of such businesses in the Dutch economy. The report 'Tailoring Policy to the Needs of the Small and Medium-sized Business' was submitted to the government on 15 June 1987. The report indicates the measures that could be taken by the government with a view to strengthening the contribution of the SMB to the domestic economy.

If the SMB is to play its full part, government policy will need to take account of the capacity for absorption of the SMB. The form and content of government measures will need to reflect the fact that the SMB is not simply a smaller version of the large enterprise. The SMB has a number of characteristic features, including a limited informational and administrative capacity, limited specialization on the part of the entrepreneur and his or her staff, limited sources of finance and modest company size. The extent to which the form and content of government regulations are geared to the specific characteristics of the SMB could be improved.

The Council sees increasing evidence of an intensive interaction, in the form of networks, between large and small firms. It is, therefore, important to ensure that there is a balanced structure of enterprise size in industry. Subcontracting and supply activities, which are particularly common in manufacturing industry, no longer take place on an ad hoc basis but take the form of a new external organization of production. If the manufacturing SMB lags behind on this score, this will in due course create problems for the development of large firms as well. This complementarity between large and smaller firms can inhibit economic growth and employment. As such the Council sees an important role for the government in creating the right conditions by means of the provision

of integrated advice for the SMB on a regional basis. It is important for the transfer of knowledge to be integrated since the problems faced by the SMB are not generally isolated in nature. It is recommended that such assistance be provided at regional level since this would help lower the threshold for the SMB to seek advice. In doing so use can be made of existing institutes already active in this field. In contrast to the recommendations of the Dekker Advisory Committee on the Extension of Technology Policy, the Council considers that the existing advisory channels offer sufficient scope.

Small and medium-sized businesses form a heterogeneous group, for which reason particular relationships or features do not occur to the same extent in all such firms. This applies, for example, to the relationship between the black economy and the SMB. Competition with the black economy constitutes a particular problem in the sector of commercial personal services. Tightening the statutory conditions for establishing a business would in the Council's view be unworkable and would be tackling the symptoms only. For the problem to be properly tackled a different strategy is required. The essence of the problem consists of the differences in the price/level of quality between the services offered in the two circuits. Fundamental changes can be achieved only by means of lowering the market price of formal services, but the Council sees no practical possibilities for achieving a substantial differential in sectoral costs by means of national policy. The competition between the black circuit and the SMB services industries has an international dimension. Consideration deserves to be given to sectoral variations in VAT rates at European level as a first step towards discouraging the black economy, with lower rates for those SMB sectors particularly susceptible to competition from the black economy. In the long term the introduction of a partial basic income, as proposed by the Council in its report 'Safeguarding Social Security' (1985) could provide a solution, since this would tackle the distortion of competition between the black circuit and the SMB. This would also tackle another sectoral problem facing the SMB, namely the gradual disappearance of retail establishments in small rural centres and certain urban areas. The contraction in the retail-trade distribution network cannot be reversed without structural measures.

#### *Preliminary opinions*

In preparing the report on small and medium-sized businesses, the Council draw on a number of specially commissioned preliminary opinions. These studies, by A.F.M. Nijsen, B. Nooteboom, C.W. Kroezen, J. Godschalk and Prof. J. Buursink, are incorporated in part 2 of the report. The responsibility for the content of the preliminary opinions rests with the individual authors.

In order to do justice to the variety of forms taken by the SMB, a sectoral approach has been adopted but, within that framework, flexibility has applied in the choice of fields for attention in each sector, depending on their relevance. The sectors discussed are manufacturing industry, retail trade, commercial personal services and business services. Thus not all SMB sectors are covered (e.g. not the wholesale trade, construction and transport). In order to bridge this gap, a general sketch has been provided of the SMB in both qualitative and quantitative terms before proceeding to examine the individual sectors.

#### *Government reaction*

The Government's standpoint in relation to the Council's report on the SMB appeared in November 1987 and was incorporated into the policy document 'Clearing the way for enterprise: a new strategy for small and medium-sized business'. The Government endorsed the instrumental approach towards the SMB advocated by the Council, as well as the recommendations that government policy towards the SMB should primarily create the right conditions and that a framework of general and functional policy measures is required. In view of its own interest in

setting up regional business advice centres, the Government endorses the Council's call for an integrated, regionally-based advisory system. With respect to the Council's proposal that the form and content of government measures be simplified, the Government notes the steps already being taken in this direction.

The Government also agrees with the Council on the necessity to discourage informal, especially black economic activities. The Government, however, rejected the notion put forward at the same time by the Council of a partial basic income, as well as the suggestion to introduce an operating subsidy for the retail trade in small rural centres and in inner cities. The Government has not explored the Council's recommendation of sectoral variations in VAT rates at European level as a first step towards the discouragement of the informal, black economy.

In addition the Government does not consider there to be obstacles in the financial field at present that would justify the financing reserve and a form of risk-bearing loan (e.g. if a special legal status for self-employed entrepreneurs were introduced). Concerning the obstacles noted by the Council with respect to bankruptcy legislation, the Government should like first to wait for the opinions to be submitted by the Mijnsen Committee appointed by the Minister of Justice to look into a possible review of the legislation in this field.

#### *Impact of the report*

In general the report received favourable commentary in the press. Reactions from organizations representing the SMB, such as the Christian Association of Small and Medium-sized Enterprises in the Netherlands (NCOV) and the Netherlands Small and Medium-sized Business Federation (KNOV), praised the analysis of the position of the SMB in the economic and social system and stressed the importance of acknowledging that government policy towards the SMB needs to be more positive if their potential for growth is to be exploited more effectively. They also endorsed the Council's recommendations with respect to adjustments to government policy and changes in tax legislation. Similarly the Netherlands Association of Entrepreneurs and the Netherlands Christian Employers Federation were able to support the broad policy recommendations. The Council's report formed a significant source of inspiration in relation to government policy on the SMB at a number of meetings, organized for example by the Council for the Small and Medium-sized Business, the NCOV and D'66.

#### *3.3.7 Culture and Diplomacy*

The report 'Culture and Diplomacy' submitted to the Government in June 1987 concerns the Netherlands' foreign cultural relations and the government's role in this field. The report was undertaken at the Council's own initiative, which took a decision to this effect in the second half of the Council term. Two considerations played a part in this respect.

In the first place the Council received indications that relations between the Netherlands and other countries in the cultural, scientific and educational fields were stagnating in both a quantitative and a qualitative sense. Among the organizations to note this tendency have been the Arts Council and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). A more detailed survey by the Council confirmed these indications. If this trend were to persist, the Council foresaw the Netherlands ending up in a position of cultural isolation in the face of the increasing internationalization of cultural activities.

A second consideration was more organizational in nature. For many years, responsibility for the development and implementation of foreign cultural relations within the government apparatus has been highly fragmented. Three ministries Foreign Affairs, Education and Science, and Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs – all play a major part, while within those ministries the responsibilities are further fragmented. As a result conflicts of interest frequently arise. In addition not just the formulation

but also the implementation of policy is largely in bureaucratic hands. Given the government's traditional reluctance to take part directly in cultural activities, this is a particular anomaly and one that does not serve the interests of a dynamic foreign cultural policy.

In preparing the report there turned out to be virtually no systematic information on the foreign cultural relations of the Netherlands. The registration of international contacts in the cultural field depends on all sorts of accidental factors, while the government departments were unable to provide the full information required on the number and nature of the activities subsidized by them. With the odd exception, there are no publications of any academic worth on foreign cultural policy in the Netherlands, for which reason the Centre for Research into Social Conflict of Leiden University was commissioned by the WRR to compile a survey.

This survey was published in the 'Working Documents' series at the same time as the report. Apart from Dutch policy the authors also examine the situation in Britain, Sweden and West Germany in some detail.

Central to the report 'Culture and Diplomacy' is the theme that foreign cultural policy serves two objectives: diplomatic and cultural. The improvement of relations with other countries, for example in the commercial or political field, demands different activities from the elevation of cultural activities in the Netherlands by means of international contacts. Both are legitimate objectives of government policy, but they need to be more clearly separated than at present. If a choice has to be made, the latter objectives should in the Council's view take precedence.

The Council considers that foreign cultural policy should be interpreted much more broadly than at present to include all trans-frontier activities in the fields of education, the arts, science and the dissemination of information. The funds set aside for these purposes in the government budget amount to 20 times the amount currently allocated for activities in the field of foreign cultural policy.

The Council would also propose that the implementation of policy be placed on an independent footing. To this end two new semi-government bodies should be established. One of these, the 'Netherlands Cultural Institute', would operate in the field of the arts and the dissemination of information. The institute would establish representative organizations in seven foreign cities of cultural importance to the Netherlands: Paris, Rome, Jakarta, Brussels, London, New York and Cologne. The other semi-government body would administer international contacts in the educational field. The Council hopes that this would strengthen the international orientation of higher education, for in comparison with the rest of Western Europe, the Netherlands lags seriously behind in this respect. The implementation of the international element of science policy should be handled in its entirety by the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO), while Dutch language and literature policy should be handled by the Dutch Language Council (Nederlandse Taalunie). The World Broadcasting Service would remain unchanged.

In principle, the proposed measures can be financed by juggling departmental budgets. Savings can be effected by placing policy implementation on an independent footing and by less elaborate coordinating structures. Co-financing by non-governmental bodies will also become easier. The Council considers that within the national budget, high priority should be accorded to stimulating the internationalization of education and scientific activity in the Netherlands.

#### *Government reaction*

The Government's standpoint on the report was still being awaited when this report was finalized.

### *Impact of the report*

It is still too early to provide a full account of the impact made by the report. It received considerable publicity on publication, including in the Belgian press. The reaction was predominantly favourable. On 23 November 1983 the Netherlands Institute of International Relations (Clingendael) hosted a conference on the subject. The report also came in for attention at an international meeting that took place in the context of 'Amsterdam cultural capital of Europe' on 12 December 1987.

### *3.3.8 An Active Labour Market Policy*

Given the social undesirability of large-scale and long-term unemployment, the Council initiated a project in the second half of its third term of office into the types of labour-market policies which, given the potential for economic growth, are required in order to engage as large a part of the actual or potential working population in the labour process. Particular attention was paid to long-term unemployment, the re-entry of women into the labour market, the phenomenon of hard-to-fill vacancies and the functioning of the labour market. Seen in this light labour-market policy is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for achieving a situation of sustained economic recovery and rising employment. Not sufficient in the sense that it is just one of the growth-promoting factors; necessary in that a return to full employment can be achieved only on the basis of a properly functioning labour market.

In its report submitted to the Government on 31 December 1987, the Council put forward the concept of an active labour-market policy, with recommendations in four main areas: job placement, training, job-experience places and greater labour market flexibility.

A diversified system of job placement is of major importance for the optimal allocation of labour and hence for exploiting the growth potential of the economy. The early removal of the monopoly status of the public job-placement services could play an important part in this respect; provided there were guarantees to protect those seeking work from abuses, commercial enterprise could make an effective contribution. Such safeguards could be provided by a licensing system. On efficiency grounds, and in the interests of the transparency of public placement services for the consumer, it is important for the public employment offices to be the only agencies within the government service to provide direct or indirect placement services.

A coherent system of on-the-job training facilities can make an important contribution towards the necessary retraining, extra training or refresher training of those already in work, the unemployed and women re-entering the labour market. A further streamlining of the existing facilities is required. Apart from an extension of industry-based training, this requires an effective division of tasks between the short vocational education course and the apprenticeship system and improved coordination of training facilities at regional level. In terms of the effective functioning of the regional training market it is important for public employment offices to have freedom to select the types of training facilities they wish to subsidize, i.e. those for the unemployed, re-entrants and those in work but threatened with redundancy.

The Council also advocates the introduction of a system of job-experience places as means of providing the long-term unemployed and re-entrants with relevant work experience. A system of this kind could only get off the ground with the assistance of employers and trade unions in both the private and the non-profit sector. An essential requirement in the Council's view would be a tripartite commitment to set up the system; this undertaking would then be spelled out in more detail in individual collective labour agreements. Policy implementation would be decentralized. The work-experience places would be created by employing organizations, who would bear the responsibility for the job specification and for the recruitment and employment of the target group. The public employment offices would occupy a central position in referring the



unemployed and re-entrants to job-experience places. An important element in the proposed system of job-experience places is that they would not need to be superfluous positions. The Council recommends that the set of labour-market policy instruments be radically simplified. It sees good prospects for a single, uniform regulation covering job-experience places, consisting of a financial facility in the form of an exemption from employers' social insurance contributions and another for an in-work programme.

The fourth element of an active labour-market policy consists of greater flexibility in the labour market. Greater employment flexibility can relate to the more flexible engagement of labour both in the labour process and in terms of people's private lives. A proposal related to the first of these aspects would make it possible for a temporary contract of employment to be extended twice without the employee in question obtaining legal protection against dismissal. This relaxation of the regulations could be expected to have a positive effect on employment. This proposal would also be socially acceptable since empirical research has shown that a high proportion of temporary appointments are converted into permanent positions.

The redistribution of labour could also make a significant contribution in the coming years towards the level of unemployment. The scope for shorter working hours and part-time work would by no means appear to have been exhausted. While many employing organizations have discovered the advantages in terms of efficiency and flexibility of part-time work, they have not exploited them to the full. These possibilities match up with the increasing participation of women, which will among other things lead to a substantial increase in the number of part-time workers.

With respect to the collective reduction in working hours, a certain stagnation has set in. The process could obtain a new and meaningful impulse if it were to be brought into relation with (i) the increasing demand for various kinds of nursing leave, and (ii) the identified need for greater training for those in work. Collective reductions in working hours could, for example, take the form of training days. This would achieve various objectives at once: a modest increase in employment, improvements in labour productivity resulting from the training, and enhanced internal and external labour mobility.

The success of an active labour-market policy as advocated by the Council would depend heavily on the commitment and responsibility of employers, employers' associations and trade unions. Placing the manpower services system on a successful tripartite basis is more than just a matter of changing the administrative guard. The possibility of success and hence also of failure will depend on the extent to which those concerned are able to reach agreement. There would, however, be no alternative to fall back on. A labour market policy can be effective only to the extent that it is supported by the actors in the labour market. The Council is working on the assumption that the proposed active labour market policy is consistent with that supportive capacity.

#### *Government reaction*

The report was only submitted to the Government on the last day of the third term of office, so that the Government's standpoint was not yet known when this report was being finalized.

#### *3.3.9 Margins for government policy*

The project 'Margins for government policy' was included in the Council's third term of office in response to the widely shared concern about the growing scale and especially intrusiveness of government involvement and the dissatisfaction with the efficacy and efficiency of government policies. The government's set of responsibilities is the result of complex political and social developments, for which reason an over-hasty reduction in government action could prove a worse remedy than

the disease. The research is designed to analyse the causes of the unsatisfactory policy results with a view to finding other ways in which government policy can be formulated and implemented.

As originally conceived, the project was designed as a study in three parts. The first part successively examines the constitutional, democratic and administrative parameters of government policy. This part is largely completed. Part two deals with the practical margins for government policy in a number of selected policy areas. In the field of socio-economic policy, empirical studies have been carried out into income-distribution and price policies. In the field of social care, policy has been analysed in relation to care of the elderly and family care (including health aspects). This analysis has been published as a preliminary study. In the case of individual welfare services, studies have been conducted into policy relating to advisory and information bureaux and policy concerning day-nurseries. In the field of environmental policy, case studies have been carried out into the Town and Country Planning Act and the Noise Abatement Act. The latter study appeared as a working document. Finally two studies were carried out in the field of housing policy into rent subsidy and financing policy. Both these were issued as preliminary studies. The empirical part of the project is largely completed. The final part of the project as originally conceived was designed to draw together the findings of the two preceding parts.

The original conception of the project had, however, to be amended on the basis of findings made as the project proceeded. In particular, it became evident during the first part of the research that while government policy in specific sectors was subject to all sorts of limits as regards the principles, assumptions and points of departure of a parliamentary democracy, these constraints were in fact virtually unenforceable. In practice the legislature and, in its wake, the executive have a high degree of freedom in deciding on the form such policies should take. The limits to government policy often only become clearly evident in the effects of those policies. This occurs for example when the executive takes a cumulative series of selective measures which not only disrupt the balance of social forces but also interfere with the operation of government itself. For this reason the focus of the project switched from the formative to the substantive margins for government policy, with increasing emphasis on the state-control side of government policy. In this respect the distinction and relationship between regulative and shaping measures occupies a central place. It did not, however, prove possible to complete the project along these lines during the third term of office. At the same time, the project is at an advanced stage and it is expected to submit the concluding report to the government during the first half of 1988.

#### *Preliminary studies*

As just noted, three preliminary studies were published in the previous term of office as part of the 'Margins for Government Policy' project. The first of these, 'Margins for Housing Policy: Towards a more flexible legal framework for a market-sensitive sector', was carried out by C. A. Adriaansens and H. Priemus. The study analyses the gradual expansion and intensification of post-war housing policy, noting that there has been such an accumulation of special regulations that the main lines of the government's policy have been lost to sight.

The authors warn against trying to encapsulate current policy in ever more detailed legislation, since this would only detract from the necessary policy flexibility in a market-sensitive sector. Instead of the further introduction of legislation in specific fields, it would be better for the present Housing Act to be converted into a comprehensive Public Housing Act. Under the new Act, a 'Schedule of public housing' would be produced annually. In addition the present rent-determination regulations could be applied more flexibly, thereby enabling policy in this

area to develop more closely in accordance with the state of demand and supply in the housing market. Finally the study recommends the integration of bricks-and-mortar subsidies and rent-relief schemes.

The second preliminary study, 'Regulation and Management of Housing Policy', was carried out by W.G.M. Salet, a staff member of the WRR. The essential problem identified in the study is the fact that the state often interferes in social processes without taking prior account of the norms determining the relationship between the public and private sectors and the responsibilities and competences of the parties concerned in the area of policy in question. The study is based on an analytical approach towards state control centring on the concepts of regulation and shaping. By 'regulation' is meant the principles on which social activity is based and which serve to define the responsibilities of the government and actors in the market. Regulation in this context relates to establishing the 'rules of the road'. 'Shaping' refers to purposive government intervention designed to steer market processes in a certain direction. Here, the government is itself a participant 'on the road'. The author recommends that shaping measures specified by time and place be harmonized with the prior regulation of relationships between market parties.

The author concludes that while the legislature recognizes the importance of regulative principles in determining legislative and administrative provisions it consistently allows the latter to be overshadowed by current issues, which are then tackled as isolated policy problems. Thus the Rent Act provides an adequate regulative framework based on the conditional freedom of contract between landlords and tenants but shaping rent policies continually cut across this basic regulative principle. In the case of rent-relief and financing policy in relation to rental accommodation the regulative principles underlying the body of legislative and administrative provisions have not (according to the author) been sufficiently worked out. Building on his analytical framework of state-control, the author outlines a number of possible solutions.

The third preliminary study, 'Regulation and Management of Care for the Elderly', was carried out by H. van der Sluijs, a staff member of the WRR. The problem of care of the elderly is examined in this study from a legal/administrative angle. The provision of facilities for the elderly has to a large extent become dependent on the financial facilities the government is able to offer. This dependence on the financial and political determination of priorities in the public sector cannot be viewed in isolation from the place and task that the government has assumed as a matter of course in relation to care of the elderly.

The author analyses how the regulation inherent in the Residential Homes for the Elderly Act has gradually been overshadowed by shaping policies, concluding that a radical review is required of the government's place and role in care of the elderly. In principle, a reformed system could be based on the autonomous capacity for action by the providers and demanders of care, thereby creating a structure with a minimal requirement for shaping government action.

The study recommends that the future care of the elderly be based on a compulsory system of insurance funded partly out of income-related premiums. Although it is not argued that the necessary funding for elderly persons in need of chronic and expensive care would therefore be assured, the extent to which the government, either directly or indirectly, was responsible for the funding of care could be clearly and precisely established by law. In this way care of the elderly could become a right rather than a favour. Exposed to a market system tempered by the legislature, the supply of facilities would, according to the author, be able to develop on the basis of an effective allocative mechanism.

### 3.3.10 *Law enforcement*

On 6 March 1987 the government asked the Council to advise it by 31

December 1987 of the way in which the government's efforts to prevent unlawful behaviour could be improved. Given the past and present changes in society, the government posed the question as to how the state can best arrange its conduct in the broad sense so as to discourage the incidence and frequency of unlawful behaviour among the general public. The Council was asked to pay particular attention to the scope for prevention by means of changes to legislation and administrative provisions and changes in government conduct.

The Government's request was a follow-up to the proposals of the Roethof Committee concerning the direct prevention of common forms of crime. The recommendations made by this committee were incorporated into the policy document 'Society and Crime' (1985). An action plan based on this document was submitted to the Lower House of Parliament in January 1987. The plan notes that it is the intention to ask the WRR for its opinion.

Upon receipt of the request for an opinion the Council drew up a project description elaborating the issue as identified by the government and making proposals for further analysis. Among other things the Council notes that the Government evidently does not regard the proposals for direct prevention at local level as going far enough to reduce the scale of crime. The Government sought wider means of preventing crime and improving law enforcement.

The project description builds on the recommendations of the Roethof Committee. It also endorses the Committee's view that dealing with crime is not just a matter for the Ministry of Justice.

The project description was then sent to outside experts in the police, legal, taxation, insurance, public administration and academic (criminology and penal law) fields, seeking comments on the proposals and suggestions for the more detailed analysis of specialized subjects. In response to the generally constructive comments on the project description, the project design was then modified. In its adapted form, the project is based on three perspectives towards the backgrounds to and solutions for the violation of norms and unlawful conduct:

- a. changes in social control, which may be able to play a significant part but are probably susceptible in small degree to government policy;
- b. government regulations and conduct that can sometimes be conducive to crime, and which lend themselves more readily to improvement (special attention was asked for this subject in the request for an advisory opinion);
- c. the effectiveness and efficiency of law enforcement, which a number of external experts consider to be inadequate and capable of improvement.

A start along these lines was made in the second half of 1987. From the outset it was evident that there was little use in blanket references to 'crime'. Vandalism and traffic offences, for example, are not comparable, in terms either of background or ways in which they might be tackled. For this reason the Council decided wherever possible to tackle the various kinds of norm violations and legal infringements in separate categories. This approach dealing with so-called 'normative spheres' has proved to be too time-consuming to enable the target date for completion of 31 December 1987 to be met. The report is now expected to be completed in spring 1988.

### 3.3.11 *Metropolitan areas*

In March 1987 the Council embarked on a new project concerning the future of metropolitan areas. This has been the subject of interest on the part of the Council for some time, as evident for example from the publication of the preliminary study 'Getting Cities under Control' in 1982, but this was the first time a specific project had been devoted to the subject. Social and political interest in the big cities has not only increased in recent times but has changed in character. Whereas the interest in the cities in the early 1980s was mainly prompted by economic and social

problems, the growth potential of the cities has been more clearly in the forefront since then. Internationally the noises about the urban renaissance have cropped up already in various places.

The basic starting point for the project on metropolitan areas is that the future outlook for the cities is governed by the special dynamics of growth potential and problems. The conditions in which opportunities arise in the economic, cultural and social fields will be examined in each of the four leading cities in the Netherlands on the basis of studies of the respective strengths and weaknesses. Secondly the intensity of the potential threats will be examined and brought into relation with the opportunities for growth. A significant criterion in this respect will be the position of large cities in the international context. Lessons will also be drawn from the experience abroad. The third prong of the project consists of the administrative/institutional framework of the metropolitan areas at local, regional and national level. In particular, the question will be examined as to whether the administrative infrastructure is adequately equipped to deal with the policy tasks confronting the metropolitan areas where threats and opportunities collide as noted above. Special attention is being devoted to adjustments in the balance of administrative responsibility between the large cities and the national government.

The preparatory work for the project was completed during the period under review. The provisional project description has been adjusted in consultation with a number of experts. At the same time studies have been commissioned on five selected research topics. These relate to the structure of economic activity, developments in health care, the cumulation of urban problems, unemployment and the financial policies of the big cities. The project will be continued in the fourth term of office and is likely to be completed in the first half.

#### 3.3.12 *Preliminary study 'The uneven Distribution of Health'*

The preliminary study 'The uneven Distribution of Health' reports on a conference convened jointly by the WRR and the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs on 16 and 17 March 1987 on the relationship between socio-economic status and health. Research in a number of Western countries has indicated that socio-economically determined health variations can be substantial and that these have not declined in recent decades. Although the Netherlands clearly lags behind other countries in this field of research, such evidence as there is also provides indications of socio-economic health inequalities. The conference discussed ways in which these differences could be narrowed by means of government policy, e.g. preventive and curative care. The World Health Organization has set a target of a 25 percent reduction by the year 2000. A number of policy options were formulated by the Council with a view to attaining this objective. In this respect the possibility was also discussed of asking the Council for an opinion on the subject, focussing on the way in which policies in this area need to be coordinated with other areas of government policy.

#### 3.3.13 *Ethnic minorities*

Shortly before the end of the Council term, on 1 October 1987, the Government requested an opinion from the Council concerning future policy on ethnic minorities.

The Council issued a report on ethnic minorities in 1979, during the second term of office. This report played an important part in the formulation of a coordinated minorities policy, the main lines of which were laid down in the Minorities Policy Document of 1983. In its recent request to the Council for an opinion, the Government suggests that a preliminary, interim balance of minorities policy indicates that the progress made has been too limited, especially on substantive issues such as the position of minority groups in education and the labour market. The Government considers that a number of strategic policy choices will need to be made in 1990 with respect to the future of its policies on ethnic

minorities. With this in mind the Government has asked the Council, on the basis of a general survey of future developments, to advise on the allocation of priorities and the adjustment and deployment of new instruments.

The Council made a start on compiling its opinion in the third term. The Government is expecting the newly constituted Council to submit its report in the course of 1988.

## **4. EVALUATION**

### **4.1 Introduction**

Under the instructions concerning external advisory bodies issued by the Prime Minister on 11 March 1987 (no. 375699a), such bodies are required to issue a periodic evaluation report examining the way in which they have discharged their responsibilities. The evaluation report is expected to cover at least the responsibilities, composition, organization and working methods of the advisory body.

This report on the third term of office is among other things designed to discharge that requirement. The preceding chapters include elements of evaluation in respect of these points, while the wider impact of each report is also examined. The most important points are reviewed briefly below. In addition the various functions of WRR reports are examined, together with long-range studies as an independent Council activity.

### **4.2 Responsibilities**

During the term under review, the Council has placed the emphasis on aspects a and b of its statutory responsibilities. In this respect something of a shift has taken place in relation to both the choice of subjects and the extent to which reports tend to give rise to policy recommendations. Over half the reports issued in this Council term make concrete policy recommendations. This is related to the nature and urgency of the problems investigated and the extent to which these are acknowledged politically and socially, which may among other things manifest itself in a request from the Government for an advisory opinion. During the third term of office the Government directed four such requests to the Council. Two preliminary studies were produced in close collaboration with ministries. These were no. 44 on an integrated agriculture (produced with Agriculture and Fishery and the former Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Welfare) and no. 58 on the uneven distribution of health (with the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs). The Council welcomes this increase in interest on the part of the government, although the extent to which it is able to comply with such requests is limited by the cuts in the staff and finances at its disposal (see section 4.4). It is perhaps unnecessary to note that the WRR is a Council for government policy (and not of the government). This means that care has to be taken to ensure that the programme of work is not excessively influenced by departmental pressures.

### **4.3 Composition**

Under the Act of Establishment, the Council must have been between five and eleven members. At the end of the third term of office the Council had eight members; from 1 January 1988 it will have nine. The Council considers that the requirement of academic diversity and the need to reflect to some extent the heterogeneity of society can be adequately met with a Council of this size. As noted earlier the chairman and members of the Council are appointed primarily on the basis of their expertise. This criterion has consistently been applied and is in the Council's view inextricably bound up with the Council's ability to function as a scientific advisory body.

The meetings with the advisory members (the directors of the major planning bureaus in the Netherlands) are valuable for the Council's work and contribute towards what can be intensive contacts at working level. It

does, however, need to be recognized that it is not always easy in practice for the consultations with the advisory members (including the timing of such meetings) to be arranged to such a way as to make best use of their knowledge and expertise in compiling the reports. This aspect has itself formed the subject of consultation with the advisory members on a number of occasions but an optimal structure has yet to be agreed.

#### **4.4 Organization**

As part of the government economy drive, the Council's establishment was reduced during the period under review from 39 at the end of 1982 to 36 at the end of 1986, and is planned to fall still further to 34 by the end of 1990. While recognizing that it must play its part in the economy drive, the Council has expressed its concern to the Ministry it comes under, not least because the amount available for commissioned research has been cut substantially (1982: Fl.1.2 million; 1987: Fl.900,000). The effect of these developments has been to threaten the necessary support for the Council's work. This applies especially to the cuts in research staff, where a certain range of disciplines is essential and a 'critical mass' is required below which the institute is unable to operate effectively. Precisely in a period in which many policies are coming in for fresh examination, the Council considers it inadvisable to cut back on bodies that can help throw light on the tasks of government in the future. The proposed incorporation of the Welfare Policy Harmonization Council into the Council may conceivably afford some relief, although the integration of advisory responsibilities in the welfare field with those of the WRR will mean an expansion in the Council's functions and will place extra demands on staff and financial resources. In other respects the Council sees good opportunities for integration, provided this can be done by means of the appointment of a permanent committee as provided for under Section 9 of the WRR Act of Establishment.

#### **4.5 Working methods**

The third term of office also commenced with the compilation of a provisional programme of work, which formed the subject of discussion with a great many bodies and individuals. Among other things the programme was discussed by the Council of Ministers on 25 February 1983. On 25 October 1983 an exchange of views took place with Members of Parliament. Contacts also took place with other groupings, such as the social partners, at various stages of proceedings. The Council attaches particular value to such contacts, which it considers indispensable for its ability to function effectively.

The programme of work was filled out with a number of other projects during the course of the third term of office. Some of these stemmed from requests for advice from the government, but in addition this reflected a need on the part of the Council for a more flexible organization of its programme of work, under which less of its capacity would be committed over a number of years, thus enabling it to work more effectively. The fact that a number of reports of limited length were produced needs also to be viewed in this light. The Council continues to meet once a fortnight, in addition to which frequent meetings are held of the project groups responsible for preparing the reports. In recent years there has been a tendency to make the project groups smaller and for their composition to be less rigid, again with a view to promoting the Council's flexibility. The Council remains a 'working council', in the sense that members of the Council contribute to the text of the reports together with the staff. In addition the Council frequently draws on outside experts, who are able to help with the preparation of reports in various ways.



#### 4.6 Effects of the reports

No evaluation of the Council's work would be complete without an examination of the effects of its reports: the ultimate justification of the institute lies in what it achieves through its work.

An assessment of these effects is not straightforward. The problem is one of finding a yardstick. In the case of requests for advice related to the Government's programme it may be possible to examine the extent to which recommendations are converted into specific policies and to use this as a measure of effectiveness. The bulk of the reports, however, are undertaken at the initiative of the Council itself, and have a time horizon that is significantly longer than a government term of office, which makes it difficult to decide on an appropriate evaluation point. Furthermore reports range in nature from the informative to the advisory and, in line with the Council's terms of reference, are directed to a broader public than just the government. These considerations mean that the reaction of the Cabinet of the day, no matter how important, is not sufficient to determine the wider effects of a report.

During the 15 years of its existence the Council has become aware that its reports serve a number of clearly identifiable functions:

- a Council report can set in train a public debate by focussing timely attention on structural long-term problems which current policies have difficulty in addressing (e.g. 'Industry in the Netherlands: its Place and Future');
- reports can help overcome a political and social impasse by standing back from government policy as it has evolved and all the associated sensitivities ('Basic Education');
- by approaching matters from a fresh angle, reports can place familiar problems in a new light and open up new policy perspectives ('The Unfinished European Integration');
- some reports make a comparatively direct contribution towards policy formation and the recommendations merge almost imperceptibly into policy ('Ethnic Minorities');
- other reports gradually affect the state of public opinion ('A Reappraisal of Welfare Policy' and 'Safeguarding Social Security');
- other studies of a long-range nature are more by way of a 'service' that set the context for other policy-framers ('The Next Twenty-Five Years' and also 'A Policy-Oriented Survey of the Future');
- in a number of cases a report or preliminary study by the Council mark the first occasion on which a particular field was systematically reviewed, thereby providing a basis for the development of policies (e.g. 'External Advisory Bodies of the Central Government', the preliminary study 'Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisations' and the preliminary study 'The Uneven Distribution of Health');
- the available knowledge and expertise can be mobilized and synthesized on behalf of reports in a comparatively short space of time ('Basic Education');
- finally there is the function of generating and disseminating policy-oriented knowledge; this applies especially to the 'Preliminary and Background Studies' and the 'Working Documents' series.

The WRR may perhaps be said to derive its chief *raison d'être* from the fact that, as an independent body of experts that is nevertheless close to policy and unhampered by the strait-jacket of short-term politics, can provide a perspective on the solution of structural problems with which the government may find itself confronted. In doing so the Council challenges the validity of the conventional wisdom by confronting it with academically rigorous insights. As a result the Council is able to provide the necessary counterweight to the short-term and departmentally-based nature of government policy.

WRR reports are designed to bring new problems into focus, to place

existing problems in a broad context and to provide new perspectives and potential solutions. They are policy-oriented, but not necessarily policy-conformist. It is difficult to measure the effectiveness of reports in the short term, but then that is not what they set out to achieve. Over the longer term the results of the Council's work may be said to depend in part on the willingness of bodies to whom it is addressed – i.e. the Government and bureaucracy, and also Parliament and community organizations – to take stock of differing views and to incorporate even 'awkward' reports into policy.

#### **4.7 Long-range studies as an independent WRR activity**

Part of this evaluation necessarily consists of a review and preview of the Council's work in the field of long-range studies. (See the WRR Act of Establishment, Section 2. This Act is included at Appendix 1).

During the past 15 years, the Council's responsibilities in the field of futures research has primarily taken the form of problem-oriented projects, in which relevant future developments are brought into focus. In addition one project has been undertaken in each Council term of office centring specifically on futurology. In the first term of office this was the general survey of future developments (ATV), which was rounded off with the report 'The Next Twenty-Five Years' (1977). The second term saw the policy-oriented survey of the future (BTV), which was concluded in 1983 with the report 'A Policy-Oriented Survey of the Future: Part 2. Towards a Broader Perspective'. During the second half of the third term of office the Council conducted a survey of expectations in relation to the future (ITV), which will give rise in 1988 to a report. The ITV is not a new, general long-range study by the Council but an attempt to provide a conspectus of the characteristics and findings of the long-range studies being conducted under the auspices of the government. The remainder of this section concentrates on futures research as an independent WRR activity.

The ATV in the first term of office was designed to provide an objective, value-free description of more or less probable developments that could affect Dutch society over the longer term. The ATV was carried out by a committee of experts from 16 different fields chaired by a Council member. The aim was to produce a broad and comprehensive survey of the future. The study was based on the underlying assumption of a dynamic continuity in future developments. Abrupt, extraordinary changes, such as natural disasters or wars, were left out of account. It was also assumed that the broader setting would remain largely unchanged, while government policy would be marked by only limited changes in direction.

The ATV was carried out on the basis of trend extrapolation in various areas. The exercise finally resulted in two outlines of the future, the A-variant, based on sustained economic growth of 3 percent a year, and the B-variant, which assumed zero growth.

The methodological underpinning of the study was modest. Partly as a result of gaps in the empirical knowledge, the integration of the future expectations in the individual fields took place only in retrospect. This not only impaired the integral nature of the survey but strengthened the subjective element in the choices made.

The hope was that the outline of future developments in the ATV study would give rise to political choices and ultimately to policies. In doing so the ATV study as it were displaces the moment of making policy choices the future to after the study.

By contrast BTV, in the second term of office, sought to incorporate the moment of choice in the survey itself. The intention was to go beyond the implicit, subjective nature of the ATV study by making divergent political views and attitudes towards problems and their solution part of the survey itself. The approach adopted seeks to reduce potential problems in the future to differences in political view in the present. In

this sense the future is treated not as an objective reality but as the result of decisions based on divergent normative views of the type of future to be worked towards. The outcome itself was regarded as unpredictable; what the survey did aim to do was to make the consequences of these divergent views visible.

The starting point for the survey consisted of the compilation of ideal-type political value-orientations. The BTV study was expressly concerned with aims for the future, rather than the future as an actuality, as in the ATV study. The intention was for the sketch of the future presented in the final report to lead to a debate based on the consequences spelled out in the report (e.g. for government policy) of the various value-orientations or characteristic views, as they were termed. The wider impact of the BTV study has already been examined in section 3.3.1.1.

The BTV study opted for a pragmatic approach, in which ideal-type constructions of existing values and attitudes towards problems and their solution were taken as the point of departure. One of the aspects which the Council sought to stress in its BTV study was the fact that normative attitudes often have a decisive bearing when it comes to charting the future.

The response to the Council's two general surveys of the future revealed that, unintentionally, many people regarded the former survey as a forecast and the latter as a statement of political reality. The Council's ambitions were, however, rather more modest. At most, the surveys were designed to elucidate the uncertainties surrounding certain future trends. Seen in this light the success of a long-range study does not depend on whether it is borne out by future events but on its usability in terms of taking decisions at the present time. If the survey is a sound one these decisions should lead to selective measures to prevent the problems identified in the future. In this sense a successful long-range study does not have to be borne out by events.

Other important aspects to emerge from the response to the ATV and BTV studies concerned their integral nature and the value-orientation of long-range studies.

Government policy is to a large extent sectoral policy. For this reason the need for and usability of general (in the sense of broad) long-range studies among policy-makers is less pronounced than the need to obtain insight into the way in which future developments interact in various fields. The knowledge required for this purpose is invariably partial and selective.

People and organizations base their actions on expectations about the future. The quality of decision-making can be improved by spelling out the uncertainties and normative choices at issue and the consequences of the various options.

These general findings need to be viewed against the background of the change in the climate of futures research that has taken place in the Council's 15 years of existence. Since the (provisional) WRR was set up in 1972, faith in social-shaping and dirigist government has declined. This does not mean that there is now less need for insight into future developments, but that this insight can less easily be directly deduced from and linked to government policy itself. As faith in the government's ability to mould the future has receded, it has become all the more imperative to chart future uncertainties and to focus on possible solutions to problems with which the government is or could be confronted. The growth in long-range studies since the mid-1970s among the various government departments, among local government, in industry and among non-profit organizations indicates that this need has not diminished. Futures research has become an increasingly standard element in policy preparation. Generally speaking these are restricted surveys of the future of a semi-general nature, in the sense that the expectations relate to developments in the 'environment' of the policy area in question.

Given the experience with the broad surveys of the future in the first

two Council terms and against the background of change in climate of futures research noted above, the Council decided in the third term of office not to embark independently on a further survey of future developments. Instead, the Council felt there was a requirement for an overview of the long-range studies being conducted under government auspices. In this respect attention focussed especially on the underlying assumptions and the way in which the various surveys treat the environment. A methodological description of this survey (ITV) is provided in section 3.3.1.2.

In response to the experience with and findings from this ITV survey, the Council took stock at the end of the third term of the way in which its long-range research responsibilities should be handled. The Council considers that this task is probably best handled within the problem-oriented projects (which, it may be noted, also make up the bulk of the Council's programme of work). This does not rule out the possibility of thematic long-range studies in which a number of fields are surveyed on the basis of a central subject. The Council does, however, believe that the difference between a thematic and a problem-oriented long-range study is no more than marginal, in the sense of the number of fields covered by the study. In addition the Council sees itself as having a particular role in examining the potential developments associated with certain trends or phenomena and how these may be realized or countered. The ITV, for example, indicated that the extent to which the identified trends can be influenced is generally left out of account. More commonly, the long-range studies conducted under government auspices are concerned with the types of problems with which the government will be faced as a result of these trends. Making the trends themselves the object of study has the added benefit of focussing on potential deviations from the trend-path in contrast to normal futures research, which generally neglects switches or breaks in the trend.

Another aspect of its long-term planning responsibilities on which the Council might concentrate more consists of the 'clearing-house' function with which a start was made in the ITV study. This function fits in well with part c of the Council's responsibilities as identified in Section 2 of its Act of Establishment. Among other things this function might take the form of periodic surveys of expectations in relation to the future along the lines of the ITV survey. In this respect the object would be not so much the mutual coordination or injection of greater coherence into the various models of the future but the exchange of information, the identification of new subjects and trends and the confrontation of opinions and insights. In this way the function of drawing attention to certain problems, which has to date characterized the Council's futures research, could be stimulated and expanded in close collaboration with other bodies active in this field.

## APPENDIX 1

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 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, 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.

**APPENDIX 2:  
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS DURING THE THIRD TERM OF OFFICE**

**I. Reports to the Government**

25. Beleidsgerichte toekomstverkenning: deel 2; Een verruiming van perspectief (A Policy-Oriented Survey of the Future: Part 2: Towards a Broader Perspective), 1983.
26. Waarborgen voor zekerheid; een nieuw stelsel van sociale zekerheid in hoofdlijnen (Safeguarding Social Security), 1985.
27. Basisvorming in het onderwijs (Basic Education), 1986.
28. De onvoltooide Europese integratie (The Unfinished European Integration), 1986.
29. Ruimte voor groei (Scope for Growth), 1987
30. Op maat van het midden- en kleinbedrijf (Tailoring Policy to the Needs of the Small and Medium-sized Business), 1987.
31. Cultuur zonder grenzen (Culture and Diplomacy), 1987.
32. De financiering van de Europese Gemeenschap (Financing the European Community), 1987.
33. Activerend arbeidsmarktbeleid (An Active Labour-Market Policy), 1987.

Report 34 concerning the survey of long range studies (ITV) will be published in spring 1988.

**II. Translations in English**

25. A Policy-Oriented Survey of the Future (1983)
26. Safeguarding Social Security (1985)
27. Basic Education, (1986)
28. The Unfinished European Integration, (1986)
29. Scope for Growth, (1987)
30. Tailoring Policy to the Needs of the Small and Medium-sized Business, (1987)
31. Culture and Diplomacy, (1987)
32. Financing the European Community, (1987)
33. An Active Labour-Market Policy, (1987)

Summaries of report 28 are available in English, French, German and Spanish in the 'Working documents' series.

**III. Preliminary and Background Studies**

- V40 G.J. van Driel, C. van Ravenzwaaij, J. Spronk, F.R. Veeneklaas: Grenzen en mogelijkheden van het sociaal-economisch stelsel in Nederland (Limits and Potential of the Economic System in the Netherlands), 1983
- V41 Adviesorganen in de politieke besluitvorming (Advisory Bodies in the Political Decision-Making Process); Report of a Symposium by A.Th. van Delden, J. Kooiman, 1983
- V42 E.W. van Luijk, R.J. de Bruijn: Vrijwilligerswerk tussen betaald en onbetaald werk; een verkennende studie op basis van een enquête (Volunteering between Paid and Unpaid Work; an Exploratory Study Based on a Survey), 1984
- V43 Planning en beleid (Planning and Policy); Report of a Symposium on the Study Planning as a Form of Action, 1984
- V44 W.J. van der Weijden, H. van der Wal, H.J. de Graaf, N.A. van



- Brussel, W.J. ter Keurs: *Bouwstenen voor een geïntegreerde landbouw (Towards an Integrated Agriculture)*, 1984\*
- V45 J.F. Vos, P. de Koning en S. Blom: *Onderwijs op de tweesprong; over de inrichting van basisvorming in de eerste fase van het voortgezet onderwijs (The Organization of the Core Curriculum in the First Stage of Secondary Education)*, 1985
- V46 G. Meester, D. Strijker: *Het Europese landbouwbeleid voorbij de scheidslijn van zelfvoorziening (The European Agricultural Policy Beyond the Point of Self-Sufficiency)*, 1985
- V47 J. Pelkmans: *De interne EG-markt voor industriële producten (The Internal EC-Market for Industrial Products)*, 1985\*
- V48 J.J. Feenstra, K.J.M. Mortelmans: *Gedifferentieerde integratie en Gemeenschapsrecht: institutioneel- en materieelrechtelijke aspecten (Differentiated Integration and Community Law: Institutional and Substantive Aspects)*, 1985
- V49 T.H.A. van der Voort, M. Beishuizen: *Massamedia en basisvorming (Mass Media and the Core Curriculum)*, 1986
- V50 C.A. Adriaansens, H. Priemus: *Marges van volkshuisvestingsbeleid (Margins of Housing Policy)*, 1986
- V51 E.F.L. Smeets, Th.J.M.N. Buis: *Leraren over de eerste fase van het voortgezet onderwijs (Teachers' Opinions on the First Stage of Secondary Education)*, 1986
- V52 J. Moonen: *Toepassing van computersystemen in het onderwijs (The Use of Computer Systems in Education)*, 1986
- V53 A.L. Heinink, H. Riddersma, J. Braaksma: *Basisvorming in het buitenland (An International Comparison of Core Curricula)*, 1986
- V54 *Zelfstandige bestuursorganen (Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisations) Verslag van de studiedag op 12 november 1985*, 1986
- V55 *Europese integratie in beweging (European Integration in Motion) Verslag van een conferentie, gehouden op 16 mei 1986*, 1986
- V56 C. de Klein, J. Collaris: *Sociale ziektekostenverzekeringen in Europees perspectief (National Health Insurance in a European Perspective)*, 1987
- V57 R.M.A. Jansweijer: *Private leefvormen, publieke gevolgen (Private Households, Public Consequences)*, 1987
- V58 *De ongelijke verdeling van gezondheid (The Unequal Distribution of Health) Verslag van een conferentie op 16-17 maart 1987*, 1987
- V59 W.G.M. Salet: *Ordering en sturing in het volkshuisvestingsbeleid (Regulation and Management of Housing Policy)*, 1987
- V60 H.G. Eijgenhuijsen, J. Koelewijn, H. Visser: *Investerings en de financiële infrastructuur (Investments and the Financial Infrastructure)*, 1987
- V61 H. van der Sluijs: *Ordering en sturing in de ouderenzorg (Regulation and Management of Care for the Elderly)*, 1988

#### IV. Working documents (mostly in Dutch)

- W1 *Programme of Work for the Third Council Term of Office 1983-1987; part 1 (1983)*
- W2 *Programme of Work for the Third Council Term of Office 1983-1987; part 2 (1984)*

Pertaining to report 25:

- W2 M.L.A. ter Borg, G.A. Fahrenkrog, E.T. Ferguson, L. Leydesdorff, E.J. Tuininga: *De maatschappelijke beoordeling van technische kennis-toepassing (The Social Evaluation of the Application of Technical Knowledge)* (1984)
- W4 W.J. van der Weijden, H. van der Wal, H.J. de Graaf, N.A. van Brussel, W.J. ter Keurs/ *Environmental Biology Department, Leiden University, in association with Th. Bakker/ Institute of*

\* Also available in English.

- Agricultural Economics: Towards an Integrated Agriculture (Full English translation of V44) (1984)
- W8 H. van der Wal, H.J. de Graaf, N.A. van Brussel, W.J. van der Weijden, W.J. ter Keurs/ Environmental Biology Department, Leiden University, in association with Th. Bakker/ Institute of Agricultural Economics: Speelruimte voor een geïntegreerde landbouw: verkenningen met behulp van een model (Scope for an Integrated Agriculture: A Model-Based Survey) (1985)

Pertaining to report 26:

- W5 R.W. van Engers and G. Veerman/ Industrial Insurance Administration Office Amsterdam: De complexiteit van de sociale verzekering (The Complexity of Social Insurance) (1985)
- W6 M.J. Huiskamp and K. Dullemond: CAO's en premie-afwenteling; een pilot-study naar de plaats van werknemersverzekeringen in een tiental CAO-onderhandelingen (Collective Labour Agreements and Passing on the Contribution Burden: a Pilot Study into the Place of Employees' Insurance in ten Collective Labour Agreement Negotiations) (1985)
- W7 J. van Weeren, project under the leadership of A.J.M. Hagenaars and B.M.S. van Praag/ Centre for Research into the Economics of the Public Sector, Leiden University: Een nieuw stelsel van sociale zekerheid? (A New System of Social Security?) (1985)

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- WB2 A.J. Treffers: Biologie (Biology) (1985)
- WB3 G. Berghuis, A.J. Bielderma, W.G. Jansen: Economie (Economics) (1985)
- WB4 C.G. van der Kooij, F.W.P. Dijkstra, W.P. Blockmans: Geschiedenis, staatsinrichting en maatschappijleer (History, Political Science and Sociology) (1985)
- WB5 F. Jansen: Nederlandse taal (Dutch) (1985)
- WB6 J.H. Raat: Natuurkunde (Physics) (1985)
- WB7 F. van der Blij, A. Treffers: Rekenen-wiskunde (Arithmetic/ Mathematics) (1985)
- WB8 G. Casimir, G. Wieggers: Verzorging (Care and Nursing) (1985)
- WB9 T.J.M. van Els, W.N. de Jong: Moderne vreemde talen (Modern Foreign Languages) (1985)
- WB10 E.M.C. Ploegmakers-Verstegen: Algemene technieken (General Technics) (1985)
- WB11 I. Stolwijk, G. Dinsbach, L. Melis, J. Ligtoet, P. Parren: Beeldende vorming (Visual Arts Education) (1985)
- WB12 R. Westerhof, O. Loopstra: Lichamelijke opvoeding (Physical Education) (1985)
- WB13 J. van Lieshout, J. van Rossem: Muziek (Music) (1985)
- WB14 A.H. Verdonk, W.M. de Jong: Scheikunde (Chemistry) (1985)
- WB15 G.M. van Trier, H.A.M. Frissen: Bibliotheken en basisvorming (Libraries and Basic Education) (1985)
- WB16 B.P.M. Creemers, J. Schaveling: Verhoging van onderwijseffectiviteit (Improving Educational Effectiveness) (1985)
- WB17 National Institute for Educational Measurement (CITO): Periodiek peilingsonderzoek in de basisvorming (Periodic Assessment of Standards in Basic Education) (1985)
- WB18 P.W.C. Akkermans: Regelgeving over algemene basisvorming (Legislation and Regulations on General Basic Education) (1985)
- WB19 C.F.M. van Lieshout, A.W. Smitsman: Ontwikkeling, onderricht en leren; ontwikkelingspsychologische achtergronden van het

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- WB20 C.F.M. van Lieshout, E. Wardenaar: Onderwijs: differentiatie en computergebruik voor beheer en evaluatie van onderwijs (Education: Differentiation and the Use of Computers for the Management and Evaluation of Education) (1985)
- WB21 C.F.van Parreren: Leer- en ontwikkelingspsychologische aspecten van de basisvorming (Learning and Developmental Psychology Aspects of Basic Education) (1986)
- WB22 Editorial committee: G.J. van den Brink, A.W.M. Gussenhoven, I. Labordus et al.: Over basisvorming en leergebieden (On Basic Education and Fields of Learning) (1986)
- WB23 R. Bronneman-Helmers, J. Geurts, A.C. Glebbeek, E. van Imhoff, Th. Mensen, F. Meijers, K. Vijlbrief: Preadviezen over de relatie algemene basisvorming en beroepsopleiding (Preliminary Opinions on the Relationship between General Basic Education and Vocational Training) (1986)
- WB24 D.B.P. Kallen in collaboration with P. Rutgrink: Kwaliteit en inhoud van het voortgezette basisonderwijs: een internationale discussie (The Quality and Content of Integrated Secondary Education in the First Stage: an International Discussion) (1986)
- WB25 S.C. de Hoo, E. van Luijk in collaboration with H. Böttcher, J. Steenkamp: Zin en onzin van voortgezet basisonderwijs; reacties op de nota Verder na de Basisschool (Sense and Nonsense in Integrated Secondary Education in the First Stage: Reactions to the Policy Document 'Beyond Primary School') (1986)

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- W14 S. van der Veen: De bestrijding van geluidhinder (Combatting Noise Nuisance) (1986)

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- W11 S.L. Louwes: Landbouwbeleid in de EG: het besluitvormingsproces (Agricultural Policy in the EC: The Decision-Making Process) (1986)
- W12 J.W. Pauw: Plaats en toekomst van een vervoersbeleid in de Europese Gemeenschap (Place and Future of Transport Policy in the European Community) (1986)
- W13 D.M. Ligtermoet: Continuïteit in het Nederlandse beleid ten aanzien van de Europese samenwerking (Continuity in Dutch policy concerning the European cooperation) (1986)
- W16 La inacabada integracion europea. Resumen del informe al Gobierno (Spanish summary of report no. 28) (1986)
- W17 The Unfinished European Integration. Summary of the Report to the Government (English summary of report no. 28) (1986)
- W18 L'integration europeenne inachevée. Résumé du Rapport ar Gouvernement (French summary of report no. 28) (1986)
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- W9 W. Benink: Lange-termijn vooruitzichten voor de electrotechnische industrie (Long-Term Prospects for the Electrotechnical Industry) (1985)
- W10 K. Hoekerd: Het onderwijs in cijfers, 1983-1993 (Education in Figures, 1983-1993) (1985)

- W15 J.W. Pauw: Goederenstructuur en vooruitzichten van de transportsector (Goods Structure and Prospects of the Transport Industry) (1985)
- W20 M.J. Zandstra: Vooruitzichten voor de verzorgende dienstverlening (Prospects for the Provision of Services in Care and Nursing) (1986)
- W21 H. van der Wal: Vooruitzichten voor de landbouw en de voedingsmiddelenindustrie (Prospects for the Agricultural and Foodstuffs Industry) (1987)
- W22 O.H. Swank: Vooruitzichten voor de metaalverwerkende industrie (Prospects for the Metal-Processing Industry) (1987)
- W27 H.A. Berends, F. Veeneklaas: A formal presentation of the model used in 'Scope for Growth'; TEB-4 Technical economic bookkeeping version 4 (1988)\*

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- W23 A.P. Schmid, Y.C.L.M. van Dongen: Buitenlands cultureel beleid; Een terreinverkenning (Foreign Cultural Policy, an Exploration of the Field) (1987)

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- W28 J.J. Feenstra, K.J.M. Mortelmans: Communautaire-rechtelijke toelaatbaarheid van nationale inkomenssteun in de landbouw; een eerste verkenning (The Admissability under Community Law of National Income Support in Agriculture; an initial survey) (1988)

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- W24 O. Albers: Flexibele arbeid: juridische aspecten (Flexible Employment: Legal Aspects) (1987)
- W25 W.A. Trommel: Flexibele arbeid: een werknemerstypologie (Flexible Employment: a Typology of Employees) (1987)
- W26 J.M. Bekkering, J.C. Cramer, J.A. Doornik: Determinanten van arbeidsmarktgedrag (Determinants of Labour-Market Behaviour) (1988)
- W29 Bureau for Economic Analysis: Een onderzoek naar de achtergronden van moeilijk vervulbare vacatures (A Survey of the Background to Hard-to-fill Vacancies) (1988)

\* Only available in English

\* Also available in English

\* Also available in English

### **APPENDIX 3: COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL AND THE OFFICE**

#### **Members of the Council:**

Th. Quené, Chairman (to 1 February 1985)  
Dr. W. Albeda, Chairman (from 1 September 1985)  
Dr. P.R. Baehr  
Dr. N.H. Douben  
C.J. van Eijk  
L.A. Geelhoed  
Dr. A.M.J. Kreukels (from 1 June 1986)  
Dr. M.A. Layendekker-Thung (to 1 October 1984)  
Dr. C.J.M. Schuyt  
Dr. K. Teer  
Dr. A.A.Th.M. van Trier († 26 November 1983)  
Dr. C.T. de Wit (to 18 November 1986)

#### **Advisory members (as at 31 December 1987):**

Dr. W. Begeer, Director-General of Statistics  
P.B. de Ridder, Director, Central Planning Office  
A.J. van der Staay, Director, Social and Cultural Planning Office  
J. Witsen, Director-General, Ministry of Physical Planning

#### **Composition of the office (as at 31 December 1987):**

Dr. W. van Drimmelen, Secretary  
J.C.F. Bletz, Deputy Secretary

#### *Research staff:*

H.A. Berends  
R.J. de Bruijn (computer expert)  
Dr. W.J. Dercksen  
Dr. H.B. Entzinger  
R.M.A. Jansweijer  
Dr. W.M. de Jong  
P. den Hoed  
J.C. Huisman  
G.J.J. Keijzers  
G.J. Kronjee  
H.C. van Latesteijn  
J.C.I. de Pree  
F.M. Roschar  
W.G.M. Salet  
H. Schartman  
I.J. Schoonenboom  
H. van der Sluijs  
S. van der Veen  
F.R. Veeneklaas  
K. Vijlbrief  
H. van der Wal

*Ancillary staff*

P. Haighton  
M.G. van der Hulst  
E.W. van Luijk  
Y.M.M. Starrenburg

*Library staff:*

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

*Administrative staff:*

M.R. Birfelder  
M.A. Bouwer  
G. Buurman-van den Ende  
M.C. Crince Le Roy-Portielje  
M.J.J. Goedhart-van Soolingen  
M.Th. Nuijten-Pennings  
A.A.M. van Royen  
G.M. Tdlohreg-Burke  
J.W. Verhoef  
C. de Vries  
E.L. Willigenburg-van Royen

*Domestic staff:*

J. den Dulk-van Vugt  
D. MacLeod-Manuel  
M.W.G. Netten-Franchimon  
E. Prijs-Plukker

**APPENDIX 4:  
COMPOSITION OF FUTURES STUDIES SURVEY FORUM**

Dr. W. Albeda (WRR, Chairman)  
Dr. P.R. Baehr (WRR)  
Dr. W. Begeer (Central Bureau of Statistics)  
E. Berg (Association of Netherlands Municipalities)  
H.J. Brouwer (Min. of Social Affairs and Employment); deputy Dr. G.E. van Vliet  
N.J. Dersjant (Min. of Education and Science)  
Dr. W. van Drimmelen (WRR)  
Dr. J.J.M. van Dijk (Centre for Scientific Research and Documentation, Min. of Justice);  
J.P.J. Fit (Planning Service); deputy J.B.T. van Dam  
P. Jansen Schoonhoven (Policy Analysis Division, Min. of Finance)  
R.M.A. Jansweijer (WRR)  
A.H.M. de Jong (Central Planning Office); deputies Dr. C. van Paridon and H.R. Timmer  
J.A. van de Kraats (Min. of Transport); deputies P. Veninga and H.J.M. Verkooyen  
Dr. A.M.J. Kreukels (WRR)  
Dr. D.J. Kuenen (former Chairman, Council for Environmental and Nature Research)  
H.H.K. Labohm (Min. of Foreign Affairs), succeeded by J.J. de Visser of same Ministry  
Dr. A.P.N. Nauta (Social and Cultural Planning Office)  
C.M.I. Richter (Min. of Housing, Physical Planning and Environmental Control), succeeded by H.E. Gordijn of same Ministry  
F.M. Roschar (WRR)  
H. Schartman (WRR)  
I.J. Schoonenboom (WRR, secretary)  
R.F. Schreuder (Min. of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs)  
Y.M.M. Starrenburg (WRR)  
Dr. F.J.A. Willekens (Netherlands Inter-University Demographic Institute), succeeded by Dr. J. de Jong-Gierveld (same Institute); deputy N. Keilman  
Dr. C.T. de Wit (former member, WRR)  
W.C.L. Zegveld (TNO)

## APPENDIX 5: SELECTED REFERENCES

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## The Council has published the following Reports to the Government

### First term of office

1. *Europese Unie* (European Union), 1974.
2. *Structuur van de Nederlandse economie* (Structure of the Netherlands Economy), 1974.
3. *Energiebeleid op langere termijn* (Long-term Energy Policy), 1974. Reports 1 to 3 are published in one volume.
4. *Milieubeleid* (Environment Policy), 1974.
5. *Bevolkingsprognoses* (Population Forecasis), 1974.
6. *De organisatie van het openbaar bestuur* (The Organization of Publics Administration), 1975.
7. *Buitenlandse invloeden op Nederland: Internationale migratie* (Foreign Influence on the Netherlands: International Migration), 1976.
8. *Buitenlandse invloeden op Nederland: Beschikbaarheid van wetenschappelijke en technische kennis* (Foreign Influence on the Netherlands: Availability of Scientific and Technical Knowledge), 1976.
9. *Commentaar op de Discussienota Sectorraden Wetenschapsbeleid* (Comments on the discussion Paper on Sectoral Council of Science Policy), 1976.
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14. *Overzicht interne adviesorganen van de centrale overheid* (Survey of Internal Advisory Bodies of the Central Government), 1977.
15. *De Komende vijftientig jaar, een toekomstverkenning voor Nederland* (The Next Twenty-Five Years: a Survey of Future Developments in the Netherlands), 1977.
16. *Over sociale ongelijkheid, een beleidsgerichte probleemverkenning* (On Social Inequality: a Police-oriented Study), 1977.

### Second term of office

17. *Etnische minderheden – A. Rapport aan de regering; B. Naar een algemeen etnisch minderhedenbeleid?* (Ethnic minorities – A. Report to the Government; B. Towards on Overall Ethnic Minorities Policy?), 1979.
18. *Plaats en toekomst van de Nederlandse industrie* (Industry in the Netherlands: its Place and Future), 1980.
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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. *Vernieuwing in het arbeidsbestel* (Prospects for Reforming the Labour System), 1981.
22. *Herwaardering van welzijnsbeleid* (A Reappraisal of Welfare Policy), 1982.
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27. *Basisvorming in het onderwijs* (Basic Education), 1986.
28. *De onvoltooide Europese integratie* (The Unfinished European Integration), 1986.
29. *Ruimte voor Groei* (Scope for Growth), 1987.
30. *Op maat van het midden- en kleinbedrijf* (Tailoring Policy to the Needs of the Small and Medium-sized Business), 1987.
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