

REPORTS TO THE GOVERNMENT

60

THE NETHERLANDS AS IMMIGRATION SOCIETY

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SUMMARY

The Netherlands is characterised by a relatively high level of immigration. This will remain so in the future. Furthermore, the migrants come from highly diverse countries of origin, each with their own separate culture, customs, norms and values. Both the scale of the migration flows and, in particular, the nature and diversity of those flows call for further reflection on the Netherlands ‘as an immigration society’. Seen from this point of view the report seeks to put forward an approach that would maximise the benefits of immigration, both for Dutch society and for the newcomers themselves.

The Netherlands as immigration society

Three principles are treated in this report as being central to an immigration society: participation, personal responsibility and encounter. This means that:

- immigrants and their descendants participate in and contribute towards Dutch society; in particular this calls for participation in employment and education;
- the realisation of such participation makes demands on individual responsibility;
- the participation does not remain confined to isolated segments of society.

For newcomers who have been admitted to the Netherlands this means that they accept these principles and are prepared to participate and invest in self-reliance and independence. For Dutch society it means that it promotes the participation of immigrants and invests in their social resources and the accessibility of Dutch institutions. In addition encounter and confrontation must be promoted and cultural diversity respected.

The perspective of an immigration society calls for the effective co-ordination of admissions and integration policy. It also places demand on the organisation and operation of the Netherlands as a social state. These three pillars are discussed in turn.

Immigration and admissions policy

- Asylum migration

The asylum issue is primarily a matter for policy at international – especially European – level. Given the interconnections between immigration, participation and the arrangements of the social state, the report calls for the restrictive admissions policy to be continued while, at the same time, pursuing a more active expulsion policy, implementation of which should be handled at the national level, concentrating on those lacking residential status.

In addition the personal responsibility and self-reliance of asylum-seekers need to be addressed at the earliest possible point. This means that the possibilities for work and education must be enlarged for all those awaiting a decision on admission. Those who are ultimately admitted can then integrate more quickly, while

those who are not can put the knowledge and experience gained to good use elsewhere.

- Family reunification and formation

Migrants falling into the family-reunification and formation category account for a substantial proportion of the total. From the perspective of an immigration society a right to family reunification or formation, as also provided for in the new Aliens Act¹, is not desirable for those who are given conditional protection on the grounds of the situation in the country of origin, as some of this group will ultimately not be permitted to stay. The possibility of family reunification creates false expectations and makes it more difficult to implement a negative decision with respect to residence. In addition, where people are admitted for reasons of family reunification and formation, measures should generally be taken to enhance the ability of the incoming partner to participate independently in Dutch society.

- Labour migration

As far as labour migration is concerned the Netherlands will remain a host country for labour migrants, especially the better educated. Apart from a few exceptions, their admission is however surrounded by bureaucratic obstacles. Rather than referring to labour migration it would be preferable to speak of *international labour participation* and it would be desirable for labour migration to be accepted as normal and for the entry procedures to be simplified.

On the other hand labour migration is not a suitable instrument of economic policy. According to the Council's analyses, an active labour immigration policy does not provide a good solution to shortages in the labour market. Nor is labour migration an appropriate means of ameliorating the economic consequences of ageing. Similarly regulated labour migration will do little to ease the pressure at the asylum gateway. In order to facilitate a modern form of seasonal labour, however, *a selective form of temporary labour migration* would be both desirable and suitable in a labour system less determined than before by geographical borders. This can also help prevent this form of labour migration from taking place illegally, as is so often the case now. This would however be on condition that the temporary nature of residence were strictly monitored from the outset.

Social participation and integration policy

An immigration society that is becoming ever more culturally diversified will, now and in the future, be primarily concerned with strengthening the individual resilience of each and every individual, rather than with the full-scale cultural adjustment and assimilation of newcomers. The latter is not required and may not even be desirable provided there are sufficient guarantees and instruments for social participation and provided also that there is sufficient room for encounter and exchange. Measures must be taken to ensure that diversity does not spill over into the segregation and/or marginalisation of certain groups.

In an immigration society the central government is primarily active in three key areas:

- effective integration of adult newcomers;
- good quality education, aimed in particular at the language skills of young people;
- promotion of economic participation.

Concentration on these key issues means that integration policy can be pared down. Such a retrenchment and concentration on core activities is desirable so as to maximise the attention to those aspects which have a proven record of improving migrant participation. In addition it should be emphasised that participation takes shape particularly at local level and therefore also needs to be promoted at that level. This factor applies *a fortiori* to the Netherlands, with its rich tradition of private initiative² and decentralised policy.

The emphasis on economic participation is to a significant extent related to the organisation of the Dutch social state and the fact that the system of mutual solidarity presupposes a sufficiently large percentage of active and involved citizens. In addition economic self-reliance is also the path to emancipation and fully-fledged social participation in an immigration society.

In this participation process, integration should be regarded as a first step, i.e. not just as a preparation. This calls for the differentiation of the integration programmes and, where possible, extension of the cooperation with businesses and community organisations that has been set in motion. The integration of newcomers calls for a substantial investment, particularly in order to increase the quality of teaching courses and teacher qualifications and skills.

The socio-cultural dimension of social participation

This report devotes separate attention to a number of socio-cultural aspects of significance for social participation in an immigration society. In particular these concern socio-demographic characteristics, the learning of Dutch and the institutional structure of Islam.

- Socio-demographic characteristics

Migrants come from highly diverse countries of origin, each with their own culture, customs, norms and values. They also bring their own socio-demographic characteristics, such as customary age of marriage, family size and choice of partner. This directly affects the social position of the migrants and their individual social mobility. Integration and language education are essential preconditions for resolving this problem.

- Education

The customary teaching of Dutch is ineffective for non-native speakers. This could be improved by setting the teaching of Dutch, for both school-age children and adults, wherever possible in a relevant context, based on migrants' specific circumstances. Children of school age who have not learned Dutch as their

mother tongue will benefit greatly by learning the language in relation to the factual subjects in the curriculum. At present priority needs to be given to investing in the further training of teachers and improvement of the conditions under which they are required to perform their work.

- Islam

The immigrant community contains a high proportion of Muslims. From the example of Islam it is evident that the institutional framework of immigrants' religions does not necessarily fit in with the customary organisation of church communities in the Netherlands and the related separation between church and state. This need not result in problems if this separation is interpreted in such a way that the government does not involve itself in church affairs in a substantive way. This principle should also apply to foreign governments in so far as the latter are involved with faith communities in the Netherlands. A change in this direction will however take some time.

The formation of a wider Islamic framework is highly important for the participation of Muslims in the Netherlands. One example in this context is the training of imams in the Netherlands. For this purpose Muslims could make use of existing or specially created facilities in Dutch higher education.

The Dutch social state

The perspective of the Netherlands as an immigration society also means that consideration must be given to the extent to which the institutions of the social state are geared and adequately respond to the process of ongoing immigration and the resultant diversity. The borders of the Netherlands are no longer primarily geographical; they now relate in particular to access to social institutions, such as the system of social security, health care and the housing and labour markets. In this respect 'borders' are to some extent consciously laid down, as in the case of the Benefit Entitlement (Residence Status) Act³, while in part they are also unintended and implicit.

The report draws attention to the two-tier nature of the Dutch constitutional state with, on the one hand, central laws and, on the other, independent and community-based institutions within which the laws must be upheld. Recent institutional developments such as the devolution of government tasks have further confirmed and strengthened this dual stratification. The influence of the central government's integration policy should not therefore be overestimated. Equally, the state government's policies should concentrate on those facilities that are a vital precondition for participation and where government encouragement is indispensable, as in the case of the Newcomers (Integration) Act.⁴

With reference to the Benefit Entitlement (Residence Status) Act it may be noted that this aliens law has placed an even greater burden on the agencies responsible for implementing public tasks to work within the collective interests of law enforcement, despite the private nature of those agencies. At the same time

decentralised features of the Dutch institutional system cast their shadows before them in this area, in that the social institutions concerned appear to be taking the liberty of making a further trade-off between collective, individual and institutional interests. In response the report underlines the importance of the proper enforcement of the Benefit Entitlement (Residence Status) Act. At the same time, however, it is noted that this act, as the final element in aliens policy, does not of course replace the formal admissions and expulsion policy.

At the same time the Benefit Entitlement (Residence Status) Act is an initial and important step in bringing the social state into line with an immigration society. Any further reforms to the institutional framework of the facilities of the social state should be subject to a test from the viewpoint of an immigration society.

From that viewpoint, it is not defensible that a person should have to renounce their original nationality in order to obtain Dutch nationality, as participation in Dutch society can increasingly be combined with a simultaneous orientation towards other – transnational – communities and local communities. The report therefore advises that dual nationality be formally accepted.

The role of the government

As far as the role of the government is concerned, government policy in an immigration society should be:

- coercive and concerned with sanctions at national level when it comes to the access and initial equipping of immigrants, including integration;
- otherwise be largely facilitating and encouraging, so that migrants can find their way in Dutch society and in organisations such as businesses, institutions and schools.

The initial equipping of immigrants relates to the two basic conditions for participation in Dutch society: language and occupational skills. The report argues for a pared down government programme that is consistently implemented and enforced.

Newcomers and non-indigenous persons⁵ meet Dutch society primarily at decentralised, local level. The diversity of wishes, needs and possibilities can best be responded to at that level. Local variety and independent room for policy manoeuvre for the organisations concerned are particularly important for a policy in which the emphasis is on social participation, individual resilience and encounter.

NOTES

- ¹ This new act, which came into force in 2001, is designed to accelerate the approval procedures.
- ² In the form of voluntary organisations that play a central role in the Netherlands in public tasks such as health care, housing and education.
- ³ This act prohibits organisations in the community from offering collectively funded help or education to people living illegally in the Netherlands.
- ⁴ The objective of this law is to present newcomers with a compulsory programme. The programme comprises Dutch language lessons, familiarisation with Dutch society, professional orientation and social guidance.
- ⁵ According to the definition of Statistics Netherlands (CBS), a non-indigenous person is someone at least one of whose parents was born abroad. Non-indigenous persons of the first generation were born abroad, while those of the second generation were born in the Netherlands.

PREFACE

This report examines the social consequences of a permanent and relatively high level of immigration and a growing diversity of immigrants. Recommendations are made in this regard with a view to the best possible coordination of government policy in the fields of immigration, integration and social state.

One of the main themes in this report is that an immigration society with a growing cultural diversity should concentrate in particular on strengthening the individual self-reliance of all residents. The report argues in favour of a consistently implemented and enforced government programme aimed at promoting the participation of immigrants. This imposes demands on the immigrants on the one hand and on the accessibility of the public and social institutions of the Dutch social state on the other. An immigration society moreover calls for a proactive and differentiated admissions policy covering more than just asylum migration. Such a policy will also respond to other migratory flows, especially labour migration and family reunification and formation. Labour migration is not a suitable instrument of economic policy for the Netherlands.

This report has been prepared by an internal project group of the WRR, chaired by Prof. P.L. Meurs, a member of the Council. When the report was completed the following members of the staff also formed part of the project group: J.C.F. Bletz, D.W.J. Broeders, Dr. H.P. van Dalen, Dr. P. den Hoed, Dr. G.J. Kronjee (project secretary) and Dr. J.C.I. de Pree.

Prof. R.C. Kloosterman formed part of the project group as an external expert and contributed towards the drafting of the report. In addition Dr. K. van Beek, Prof. W. Derksen and Dr. M. Trappenburg were involved in the first stage of the project.

The analyses in this report are based in part on the results of various studies carried out on behalf of the WRR. The WRR has made grateful use of these, while at the same time conducting its own evaluation of facts and insights in its report. These studies, which contain considerably more factual material than could be included in the report, have been separately published in the working documents series under the following titles:

- J.D.J. Waardenburg (Université de Lausanne) (2001) *Institutionele vormgeving van de islam in Nederland, gezien in Europees perspectief* (The institutional framework of Islam in the Netherlands, seen in European perspective), WRR Working Documents W118, The Hague
- Ingrid Esveldt and Jeroen Traudes (NIDI) (2001) *Kijk op en contacten met buitenlanders. Immigratie, integratie en interactie*, (Outlook on and contact with foreigners. Immigration, integration and interaction), WRR Working Document W119, The Hague.

- Mirjam van het Loo, Stephan de Spiegeleire, Gustav Lindstrom, James P. Kahan and Georges Vernez (RAND Europe) (2001) *A Comparison of American and Dutch Immigration and Integration Experiences. What Lessons can be Learned?*, WRR Working Documents W120, The Hague.
- J. Dagevos (SCP) (2001) *Perspectief op integratie. Over de sociaal-culturele en structurele integratie van etnische minderheden in Nederland* (Perspective on integration. On the socio-cultural and structural integration of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands), WRR Working Documents W121, The Hague.
- Ruben Gowricharn (Verwey-Jonker Instituut) (2001) *In- en uitsluiting in Nederland. Een overzicht van empirische bevindingen* (Inclusion and exclusion in the Netherlands. A survey of empirical findings), WRR Working Documents W122, The Hague.
- Helga A.G. de Valk, Ingrid Esveldt, Kène Henkens and Aart C. Liefbroer (NIDI) (2001) *Oude en nieuwe allochtonen in Nederland. Een demografisch profiel* (Old and new members of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. A demographic profile), WRR Working Documents W123, The Hague.
- S. Verhallen et al. (University of Amsterdam/Hogeschool Haarlem) (2001) *Nieuwe kansen voor taalonderwijs aan anderstaligen* (New opportunities for language education for non-native speakers), WRR Working Documents W124, The Hague.
- Dennis Broeders (WRR) (2001) *Immigratie- en integratieregimes in vier Europese landen* (Immigration and integration regimes in four European countries), WRR Working Documents W125, The Hague.

Document W120, which compares the Netherlands and the United States, was published in English.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE WORLD BECOMES SMALLER

The world has shrunk in recent decades. Thanks to the new possibilities of transportation and communication technology, people, goods, ideas and images now find their way everywhere. Geographical borders and lengthy distances are easily bridged, and people all over the world come into contact with and are more dependent on one another than before. Migration used to be something undertaken by individuals and was largely confined to neighbouring countries. Now migration flows find their way all over the world, driven out of their country of origin by suppression or in search of a better life elsewhere. As a result of these movements and due also to the growing economic relationships and prosperity-based tourism, individuals and groups from entirely different cultural backgrounds find themselves in daily contact. The process of globalisation and the associated extension and intensification of mutual relations is leading on the one hand to cultural homogenisation and on the other – partly in response – to globalisation and growing cultural distinctiveness. ‘Separate’ cultures have become permeated by aspects of other cultures, while even a (numerically) dominant culture undergoes the influence of people with different customs, habits and traditions. This process of ongoing cultural diversity therefore gives rise to a mixture of cultures and subcultures, as is the case for example in the Netherlands in respect of Moroccan-Dutch subcultures and/or subcultures of youth groups of Turkish and Surinamese origin.

In themselves these changes are not new. Culture is dynamic, not static, and certainly in an ‘open’ country such as the Netherlands there has always been change and external influence. What is new or at least of more recent date is the scale, speed, intensity and relative unpredictability of the worldwide relocation of people, images, ideas and goods referred to at the start.

The Netherlands has now had an uninterrupted migration surplus for a number of decades and this is expected to continue for some decades to come. The immigration comes partly from the European Union and other western countries and otherwise from a large number of non-western countries, which are far removed in an economic and cultural sense. The former category of migrants barely form the subject of debate. They settle in the Netherlands, go their own way and generally manage to build up an independent existence without the need for government intervention. Some stay on and opt for permanent residence, others return to their country of origin or leave for a different destination. The primary motive for residence is generally employment.

The national and international debate about migration and the resultant policy efforts do not focus on these persons and groups from the ‘rich West’. For a number of reasons we concentrate on the second category:

- the experience that the scale of this non-western migration can hardly or with great difficulty be predicted and directed and is determined more by exogenous factors than by Dutch policy;
- the experience that compared with the previous period, there has been an almost total absence over the past 20 years of immigration of well-defined groups in terms of cultural background, area of origin and education. There has been a marked increase in cultural diversity. As a result the way in which migrants make their way in the Netherlands has also become much more diversified;
- the expectation that the risk of deprivation, social exclusion, marginalisation and value-laden conflicts is greatest among such migrants;
- the fear that these migrants will make disproportionate demands on the facilities of the welfare state, to which they will be unable to contribute proportionately due to their lack of education, language skills and suitable work experience.

In this report the permanence of the migration process and the resultant cultural diversity are taken as starting point. Both the scale of the migration flows and, in particular, the nature and diversity of those flows call for further reflection on the Netherlands as an immigration society and an analysis of the possible policies.

The emphasis in this report is on migration processes from outside the European Union to the Netherlands, as a result of which greater account will need to be taken in immigration policy of differing and changing migration flows. This calls for the development of policies geared to both the differences in the migration flows themselves and to the numbers of migrants and their children.

1.2 THE PROBLEM

As argued above, international migration, which is becoming increasingly diversified, is a lasting phenomenon. As long as the Netherlands remains part of the prosperous part of the world it will also be an immigration country. The migration pressures will stem in particular from old and new countries of origin which, in an economic and cultural sense, are comparatively far removed from the rich West and from some of the prevailing norms and values in this country, and also from countries with which there are long-standing links. The 150 nationalities already present in the Netherlands may be expected to rise even further. This means that consideration needs to be given not just to the *growth* but, in particular, to the *nature* of the migration flows. A substantial and permanent inflow of migrants has consequences for Dutch society. On the one hand this concerns the equipping and future structure of Dutch society and the Dutch social democratic system and, on the other, the question as to how migrants and their children can find their way and participate in Dutch society.

In the light of the above the problem addressed by this report and the key research questions are:

What consequences should the process of sustained migration have for the admissions and integration policy and what does the cultural diversity to which the migration is giving rise mean for the organisation of the Dutch social state?

These research questions may be formulated more explicitly in terms of the following sub-questions:

- What course is the process of immigration taking and what consequences does this have for the prospects of integration and for the existing welfare state arrangements and their sustainability?
- To what extent and in what way do migrants and their descendants manage to establish an independent position for themselves in Dutch society and what are the key factors in this regard?
- What possibilities and limitations do Dutch institutions (both general and specialised) offer for the adequate reception and participation of migrants and their children?
- In what ways can an active contribution and an independent position by migrants settling in the Netherlands be encouraged? What must the Dutch institutions do and not do, and what must the migrants do and not do?
- Can a more creative immigration policy be conducted with a view to potential contributions by immigrants?
- To what extent and in what direction should the current integration policy be modified?

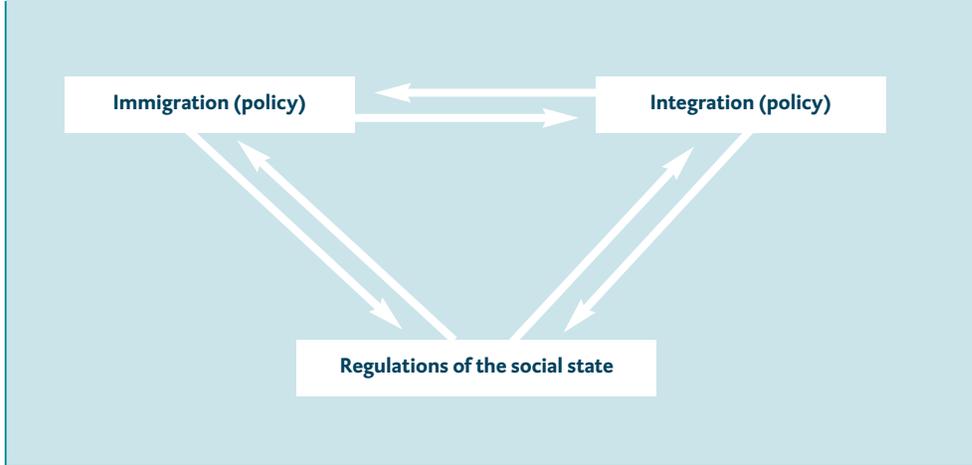
Analysis of three pillars: immigration, integration, social state

The problem addressed by this report is based around the interconnectedness of the various problem areas identified and the relevant policies, namely immigration policy, integration policy and the regulations of the social system. That interconnectedness certainly exists in an empirical sense and calls for policy cohesion, in the sense of efforts to promote mutual policy coordination, although this will not of course eliminate all problems. Finally it is a matter of deciding on the problems that the various choices involve, so that it can be determined in the decision-making process what is acceptable.

For the purposes of this report, *immigration policy* has been taken as covering those policies concerned with labour market migration, family reunification and the admission and reception of asylum-seekers. Reference is often made in this regard to aliens and/or admissions policy. Attention is also paid in passing to EU migration, the remigration of Dutch nationals and the migration of fellow citizens of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. *Integration policy* concerns the society as a whole but concentrates specifically on the position of ethnic minorities resident in the Netherlands. *The regulations of the social-democratic system* concern the existing regulations with respect to the rights and duties of government authorities, community organisations and citizens, both indigenous and non-

indigenous, in the areas of social security, employment, housing and health care. Each of these three pillars influences the other two.

In a diagram:



In this report the three pillars are not discussed in detail but instead it is attempted in respect of each pillar to identify those elements that provide insight into the nature of the interconnections and tensions between the three pillars. The social state is a 'social contract' with established citizens. The integration arrangements are in that sense of a different order and, if those arrangements fail to turn newcomers into established citizens, tensions are created in relation to the foundations of the social state. This also applies to the immigration process. Among other things the absorption capacity of Dutch society is determined by the extent to which immigrants come to play a more active role in Dutch society and contribute towards the social state. Where that is not the case, the foundations of the social state will also come in for discussion.

1.3 THREE PRINCIPLES

It did not prove possible to avoid a normative point of departure in the analysis. The principles in question were:

- the participation principle;
- the principle of personal responsibility;
- the principle of encounter.

An effective approach towards the tensions between immigration, integration and the social state is only possible if every effort is made to promote participation and personal responsibility, together with mutual encounter and confrontation.

These principles underline that the aim of assimilation, in the sense of the absorption into Dutch culture, is neither desirable nor necessary in a highly diversified immigration society. For the ongoing existence of the social-democratic system in the Netherlands, it is however necessary to lay down certain

requirements for immigrants and the host society. The requirements imposed on immigrants are aimed at their participation in Dutch society and those for the host society at the accessibility of the institutions of the social state and adjustment to the cultural diversity of the population.

A characteristic feature of the Dutch social state is that rights to facilities are linked to the requirements of socio-economic participation, for which each individual is responsible. In addition measures must be taken to prevent a highly segmented society, with the risks of segregation, ethnic conflict and loss of a shared basis for political decision-making and social security.

The three principles noted above provide the framework within which the processes of immigration and integration into the Dutch social-democratic system have been examined in this report. They apply not just to migrants and their children but in fact to all who form part of Dutch society: where there is a lack of participation, personal responsibility and encounter, solidarity will come under pressure and new dividing lines will be created. The three principles are discussed briefly below.

The participation principle

A society that highlights the participation principle and also manages to increase the opportunities for participation for all its residents has fulfilled an important condition towards achieving an integrated society. This applies *a fortiori* where migration is permanent in nature.

The participation principle relates to access to:

- education and work (i.e. being self-supporting and independent);
- housing and health care;
- influence (i.e. helping shape Dutch society at local and national level);
- knowledge of Dutch (as a precondition for the ability to communicate and for mutual understanding, thereby enabling individuals to occupy a less vulnerable position in society).

Participation may be partial. In some areas participation will be demanded and assumed while in others it will not. The former applies in particular to participation by adults in paid employment and by school-age children in basic compulsory education. The latter includes political and cultural participation.

The welfare state presupposes active citizens who through their work and by means of influence, et cetera, make a contribution to and display solidarity with those who are unable to contribute actively on account of illness or old age. The participation principle promotes the preservation of the Dutch social state and ‘compels’ active measures to be taken to combat an ethnically segregated underclass. The participation principle also makes it necessary to break open and, at least, render transparent the often complex and obscure organisation of the

Dutch social state. At issue therefore is not just the social participation of migrants but also the accessibility of Dutch institutions to migrants.

The principle of personal responsibility

For the purposes of this report the principle of personal responsibility means that crucial choices are left to the individual. On the one hand this is consistent with the general trend towards greater individualisation and diversity of lifestyles, while on the other it provides the possibility for the caring – and dependency-inducing – character of many facilities to be subjected to closer analysis.

The principle of personal responsibility relates not just to individual responsibility but also to the responsibility of organisations. The need for a context-based approach also shapes the framework within which organisations are required to deal with the growing diversity of their clientele. Executive agencies – be this a school, business or job centre – are responsible for conducting policies of their own that meet the demands and needs of their clients as effectively as possible. The government confines itself to laying down the general frameworks within which policies must be conducted and choices must be made in line with the specific circumstances. The participation principle and principle of personal responsibility at individual and organisational level are consistent with the emphasis placed in theory and practical policy on citizenship and the promotion of citizenship as a condition for an emancipated and free society.

The principle of encounter and confrontation

The other side of the coin of growing diversity and individualisation is formed by indifference, loneliness, segregation and loss of solidarity. Indifference is maintained and legitimated by unilaterally interpreted tolerance. In the Netherlands, with its ‘polder model’ and cultural compromise and tolerance, conflicts, including those between different cultures, are for preference not fought out but pacified. Wherever possible pragmatic solutions are put forward for resolving fundamental differences. This mental adaptability certainly has major advantages but it does create the risk that differences are underestimated as long as they remain ‘invisible’ and do not cause a nuisance. Differences must, however, not be brushed under the carpet in a multicultural society. Up to a certain point conflicts are inevitable and sometimes even desirable, precisely so as to keep the way in which institutions work transparent.

The choice in favour of encounter as one of the three guiding principles in an immigration society can also be understood in the light of the many debates conducted about the way in and degree to which immigrants seek integration in their country of residence. The research in this area has long assumed a process of straight-line assimilation (Alba 1997) whereby with each further generation the migrant origins play an ever-diminishing role as a distinguishing characteristic in a cultural and socio-economic sense. In recent years this underlying assumption has been increasingly challenged (e.g. Portes 1997). Moving to another country no longer means a separation for years, while the possibilities for ongoing contact

can result in the formation of the transnational communities. In addition the continuity of the immigration makes it possible for immigrants to remain largely oriented towards their own group in terms of culture, language and work (think for example of certain ethnic entrepreneurs), thus reducing the incidence of co-operation and encounter. The latter can be further accentuated by the way in which minorities often cluster together geographically. Finally it should be noted that the image of the group as a whole can suffer from ongoing immigration. This applies in particular if the migration of (in the main) poorly educated persons from a particular area of origin remains an ongoing process.

Placing the emphasis on encounter in an immigration society recognises on the one hand that total absorption into the majority culture is not at issue and that ties with the person's own country and/or the preservation of the distinctive culture in the country of residence is of value. On the other hand the greater cultural diversity means that the interaction between various members of the society must be maintained and promoted. The fact that confrontations and conflicts will also arise as part and parcel of such interaction is consistent with an immigration society that clearly subscribes to its own principles of a social state and, on the basis of those principles, is also willing to give the time of day to those who think differently.

1.4 POLICY DYNAMIC

Reference has already been made to the ideological overtones of the policy concerning admission and integration. With regard to present and future policies, there are two further issues that affect the way in which the tensions between the process of sustained migration, the process of integration and the arrangements and underlying principles of the Dutch social state are dealt with in the Netherlands. These are:

- the division of powers and responsibilities at the various administrative levels: vertical coordination;
- the division of policy between sectors and ministries and between general and group-specific policy: horizontal coordination.

Vertical division of powers or what should be the locus of policy?

The processes of globalisation and localisation raise the question as to what the locus of policy is and should be in order for immigration and integration policy to be effective. This not only concerns the division of policy responsibilities between the national and local level but also the division of policy responsibilities between the national and the supranational, European level and – in the case of asylum migration – the global level.

The question as to the locus of policy naturally applies not just to the areas of policy with which this report is concerned but is a basic question in any policy field. Nevertheless there is reason for explicitly posing the question as to the appropriate level of policy responsibility. This is because both the immigration and

integration issue are viewed in terms of the national government, whereas it may be asked whether the most effective policy efforts can in fact be made at that level. As far as immigration is concerned it is becoming increasingly clear that the actual borders of the Netherlands are no longer determined just by geographical factors and national policy but also by obligations under international conventions and by European policy or the policies of other (especially European) countries. The borders of the Netherlands have therefore become porous and the question arises as to whether an admissions/aliens policy based on national rules remains possible and desirable.

In line with the participation principle and the principle of personal responsibility, a part of the policy – especially the more detailed organisation and implementation – will need to take place at local level and at organisational and group level. Without detracting from the central responsibility for the determination of norms, underlying principles, procedures and resources, the increase in diversity means that context-based solutions will be required in specific cases. The question as to the locus of policy becomes all the more cogent in the Dutch context, with a social state that is stratified in nature and which leaves a high measure of policy freedom to independent organisations (such as schools and hospitals, which are not government institutions in the Netherlands). Cultural and other differences will in many cases be expressed at those levels and it is therefore also logical that this is where they should be bridged. Equally it is here that the implementation problems of national policy rules and laws will manifest themselves. Taking the locus of policy into account in the analysis prevents inappropriate generalisations from being made and obliges local and time-bound analyses to be conducted and caution to be observed when making generic recommendations.

Horizontal harmonisation and coordination

The migration and integration issue covers a number of policy fields and sectors where coordination is required but also awkward. The organisation of the government rapidly leads to a focus on procedural issues of consultation and coordination between departments, between sectors and between general and group-specific policy. An ambitious integration policy consequently runs the risk of getting bogged down in complicated coordination procedures.

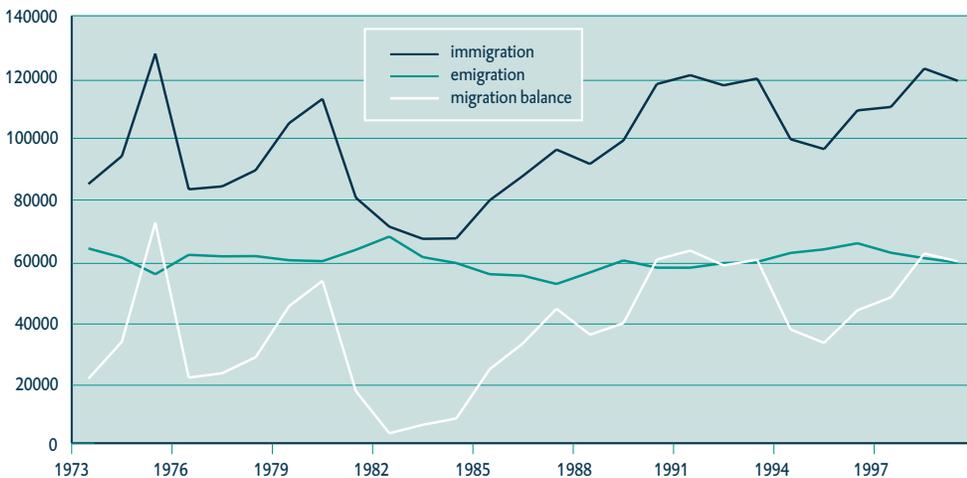
The solution to this problem is often sought in procedural remedies, for example additional consultation or the appointment of a separate coordination officer, or in group-specific measures, such as separate facilities and regulations. These solutions run the risk that separate measures are taken, as a result of which the differences one is trying to combat are in fact perpetuated. A second consequence is that substantive policies are neglected in favour of procedural agreements whereas, from the viewpoint of participation, it is essential that substantive goals are also set, for example that extra money for a 'black school' must lead to a demonstrable improvement in educational attainment within a defined period.

2 IMMIGRATION AND ADMISSIONS POLICY

2.1 THE NETHERLANDS MAINTAINING A HIGH LEVEL OF IMMIGRATION

The importance of national borders is declining. The phenomenon of the technologically and economically driven process of globalisation means that the activities of governments, all sorts of companies and community organisations are becoming increasingly transfrontier in nature. Thanks in part to the Internet, participation in international activities has also become much more commonplace for individuals. Apart from this the further development of the European Union as a supranational legal community is blurring the significance of national borders, with ongoing internationalisation in virtually all areas of policy. In addition to and partly in response to these trends there is however also a process of identification with national links. Particularly in the socio-cultural area, bonds and identities are being developed and fostered at local and regional level. In this way globalisation/internationalisation and localisation go hand in hand. Since the early 1970s the Netherlands has had a positive migration balance, resulting in a substantial if fluctuating level of immigration and, at a lower level, more or less steady emigration (see figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 International migration to and from the Netherlands, 1973-1999



Source: De Valk et al. (2001: 30).

At the same time that it may be concluded statistically that the Netherlands has become an immigration country, it must also be concluded that, on the same statistical basis, the country has become a multicultural or multi-ethnic society. The existence of numerous different cultures within and side by side with the Dutch culture is a relatively recent phenomenon and helps determine the way in

which migration is viewed within the Netherlands. Although processes such as individualisation also contribute towards the plurality of Dutch society, multiculturalism is linked first and foremost to the presence and integration of newcomers and their descendants.

Conversely immigration is related to the anticipated costs of integrating the newcomers. Language and deprivation problems, lack of education and an above-average chance that newcomers will be unable to be self-supporting and will consequently be dependent on the social security safety-net dominate the image of immigration. In practice, immigration is equated with the problems that characterise integration policy.

Nevertheless the bulk of migration to the Netherlands does not consist of the groups on which these often gloomy expectations of the future are based. On the contrary: the majority of immigrants in the Netherlands are quietly absorbed into Dutch society and without any problem. Contrary to what is often suggested, the link between migration and the Dutch multicultural society is therefore not a one-on-one relationship: in the case of the migration to the Netherlands there is a divide between actual or potential problematic groups on the one hand and non-problematic groups on the other. The former category includes the generally less well educated migrants from the non-industrialised countries, covering such matters as asylum migration, family reunification, family formation and migration stemming from former colonial ties. The non-problematic category primarily includes Dutch nationals – i.e. emigrants returning from abroad – and the labour migration of better educated persons and EU citizens. Table 2.1 provides a breakdown within the migration flows that brings out this divide.

Table 2.1 Immigration flows in the Netherlands by type of migration, 1999*

Type of migration	absolute	percentage
Total	119,000	100%
Of which:		
Dutch citizens	32,000	27%
EU citizens	18,000	15%
Labour migrants	20,816	18%
Antilleans	9,000	8%
Family reunification/formation	20,492	17%
Refugees/status-holders ¹	13,490	11%

* The table has been composed from various sources and does not therefore add up to 100%.

1 This category may however also include family reunification/formation migrants; see section 2.3.3 of this summary.

Table 2.1 indicates that a clear majority of the migration to the Netherlands consists of people in the ‘non-problematic’ category. Dutch nationals, EU citizens and labour migrants (most of whom nowadays are well-educated) together

account for 60 percent of the total. The debate about immigration, integration and social relations in the Netherlands is not however concerned with these groups but with the (small) groups making up the remainder of the total population, namely asylum-seekers and ethnic minorities within the meaning of the minorities policy.

Thanks in part to the government policies that have been conducted in these areas in recent years, it may be assumed that the Netherlands will for the time being retain its reputation as an attractive location. This is of course highly important for the country's ability to play an economic, scientific and cultural role in the world. The Netherlands' appeal as a location for international activity does however also have consequences for immigration. This applies not just to those whose visible economic contribution to society is welcome but also to others who are unable to make a contribution for the present but who wish to escape from poverty or political instability.

The Netherlands may therefore be expected to maintain a high level of immigration. Despite the restrictive admissions policy now in place the country will retain such appeal that it will never be possible completely to resist the immigration pressures. The immigration will consequently become increasingly important for the size of the population. Recent forecasts drawn up by Statistics Netherlands (CBS) suggest a stabilisation of the population at 18 million during the period up to 2050. In this regard the CBS is assuming a gradually declining migration balance from approximately 50,000 to 30,000 as a result of growing emigration from the Netherlands. These estimates are however hedged about by considerable uncertainty. If the underlying assumptions are not borne out in reality the figures could be considerably higher. It may however safely be assumed that the pattern of growing cultural diversity in the Netherlands will be sustained.

2.2 DEVELOPMENTS IN DUTCH ADMISSIONS POLICY

Post-war immigration in the Netherlands and the relevant official policies may broadly be divided into three periods. The first runs from 1945 to 1973, the second from 1973 to around 1985 and the final period from 1985 until the present time.

The *period 1945-1973* was primarily characterised by the decolonisation of the Netherlands-Indies and the recruitment of migrant or 'guest' workers. Both immediately after the war and following the transfer of sovereignty there was a substantial flow of migrants from the former Netherlands-Indies to the Netherlands. The main form of migration during this period, however, consisted of guest workers. Whereas the Dutch government concentrated on promoting emigration immediately after the Second World War, the success of reconstruction generated a requirement for unskilled and semiskilled labour in Dutch industry (see also: Lucassen and Penninx 1995). The period of migrant labour was the only

post-war period during which immigration was governed by the demand for labour and when the admissions policy operated on a large scale as a system of inclusion. To begin with the recruitment of foreign workers largely by-passed the government. Employers made the necessary contacts themselves in order to recruit labour from southern Europe and, later, Turkey and Morocco. The government did not take up the running until later, including recruitment contracts with these countries. The tightness of the labour market and the recruitment of labour became so to speak a national issue. In parallel with the official recruitment of labour migrants, however, a substantial 'spontaneous' flow of immigration got under way outside of the official channels, without meeting much resistance on the part of the Dutch authorities (many came at their own initiative on a tourist visa, found a job and then applied for an employment permit, which, having a job, they obtained without problem).

With the oil crisis in 1973 the decision was taken to halt the labour migration. The recruitment freeze brought two matters to light. In the first place it became clear that the assumption underlying the recruitment that guest workers would be a temporary phenomenon had been overtaken by events. The recruitment freeze exposed the existence of a large group of labour migrants, especially Turks and Moroccans who, contrary to the notion of temporariness, had already been in the Netherlands for some time and whose existence had hitherto been concealed in the statistics.

Secondly, the abrupt recruitment stop created a large group of illegals in the Netherlands for the first time. In a sense the government had shot itself in the foot by tolerating the irregular 'spontaneous' labour migration during the preceding period: the strict observance of the recruitment freeze meant that the labour migrants seeking to improve their lot no longer had any opportunities to legalise themselves. The fact that a substantial population of illegals had been created as a result of the turnaround in policy emerged during a one-off regularisation in 1975, when 15,000 illegals were added to the population register (De Beer 1998: 250).

During the *period 1973-1985* the government concentrated on limiting the flow of migration to the Netherlands by means of a restrictive policy. More generally, a restrictive admissions policy was conducted in all countries of Western Europe from the mid-1970s onwards, especially in relation to migrants from non-western countries who arrived unsolicited (TWCM 1995; Broeders 2001). During this period the admissions policy effectively changed from a system of inclusion to one of exclusion.

Despite these efforts by the government, the population of the original labour migrants grew strongly as a result of family reunification. The 'right' to family reunification is based on a number of international conventions to which the Dutch government is party. This does not eliminate but certainly curtails the possibilities for restricting such migration. According to the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) anyone who has settled legally in any of the coun-

tries of the European Union or other partners in the Council of Europe may invoke the right to family life (Doomernik et al. 1996). Both the right to family reunification and the right to family formation have been derived as a principle from this Convention. Article 8 of the ECHR formulates the fundamental rights to family life, but does not oblige states to implement this explicitly (Doomernik et al. 1996: 23).

Despite the recognition of these international obligations, the government introduced certain restrictive regulations in this field. Requirements were laid down in respect of the accommodation and income of the partner already present in the Netherlands. These requirements did however differ for the various categories of Dutch nationals, EU citizens and others. The requirements for non-EU citizens were tightened further in 1993. Non-EU citizens seeking family formation were expected to reside legally in the Netherlands for at least three years. In the case of family reunification it was decided that this should take place no later than three years after the immigrant living in the Netherlands had met the relevant requirements. In addition individuals lacking any right to permanent residence were excluded from the right to family reunification (Doomernik et al. 1996). At the same time, exceptions are always possible on compassionate grounds.

During the 1973-1985 period, the Dutch colonial legacy was also a source of considerable migration. After the immigration flow of Surinamese began to grow from 1965 onwards, with greater numbers of poorly educated persons, the Netherlands sought to choke off this stream as well. The *Statute of the Kingdom* (1954), which provided for single citizenship throughout the Kingdom, meant however that this was not possible without the co-operation of the Surinamese authorities. In Dutch politics the emphasis was increasingly placed on the limitation of migration by means of a new nationality regulation, on which negotiations were held in the run-up to Surinamese independence. The ultimate compromise – a transitional regulation of five years (1975-1980) under which the free movement of people between the Netherlands and Surinam continued to apply – proved a miscalculation (Penninx 1998: 722). The unhappy combination of a highly restrictive Dutch political debate, the marked enthusiasm for migration in Surinam and, in retrospect, the fairly incomprehensible transitional regulation produced precisely what the politicians had been seeking to avoid: large-scale Surinamese migration. In particular the Dutch rhetoric about a strict policy created the impression in Surinam that the Netherlands was about to close its doors for good. This led many to decide that they should make use of the ‘final opportunity’, to begin with immediately before independence in 1975 and later on immediately before the expiry of the transitional regulation in 1980.

Despite the fact that the government has continued to press for a restrictive policy, there are two reasons for distinguishing the 1985-*present day period* from the preceding period. In the first place the numbers of asylum-seekers coming to the Netherlands took off in the mid-1980s. The countries of origin also became more diversified and less predictable (see table 2.2). Asylum-seekers consequently

became one of the most important categories of immigrants to the Netherlands, in both policy terms and in the public debate. Secondly the European Union obtained an ever greater role in immigration matters during this period, both internally, in regulating the migration of EU citizens between the various member states, and in the field of asylum migration.

Table 2.2 Numbers of asylum applications and principal countries of origin, 1980-1999.

Year	Asylum applications	Principal countries of origin
1980	976	1 Turkey 2 Ethiopia 3 Chile 4 Iran/Pakistan
1981	832	1 Ethiopia 2 Pakistan 3 Iraq 4 Turkey
1982	840	1 Pakistan 2 Turkey 3 Iraq 4 Ethiopia
1983	1,400	1 Surinam 2 Turkey 3 Pakistan 4 Sri Lanka
1984	2,304	1 Sri Lanka 2 Turkey 3 Iran 4 Surinam
1985	4,522	1 Sri Lanka 2 Turkey 3 Iran 4 Surinam
1986	3,650	1 Turkey 2 India 3 Afghanistan 4 Iran
1987	13,460	1 Ghana 2 India 3 Turkey 4 Zaire
1988	7,486	1 Ghana 2 Ethiopia 3 Iran 4 India
1989	13,898	1 Somalia 2 Libanon 3 Poland 4 Ethiopia
1990	21,208	1 Sri Lanka 2 Romania 3 Iran 4 Somalia
1991	21,615	1 Yugoslavia 2 Sri Lanka 3 Iran 4 Somalia
Former	20,346	1 former Yugoslavia 2 Somalia 3 Iran 4 Sri Lanka
1993	35,399	1 former Yugoslavia 2 Somalia 3 Iraq 4 Iran
1994	52,576	1 former Yugoslavia 2 Iran 3 Somalia 4 former Soviet Union
1995	29,258	1 former Yugoslavia 2 Somalia 3 Iran 4 Iraq
1996	22,857	1 Iraq 2 Afghanistan 3 former Yugoslavia 4 former Soviet Union
1997	34,443	1 Iraq 2 Afghanistan 3 former Yugoslavia 4 former Soviet Union
1998	45,217	1 former Yugoslavia 2 Iraq 3 Afghanistan 4 former Soviet Union
1999	42,729	1 former Yugoslavia 2 Afghanistan 3 Iraq 4 Somalia

Source: Doornik et al. (1996: 27) and De Valk et al. (2001: 189).

As noted above, the number of asylum-seekers coming to the Netherlands on their own initiative picked up from the mid-1980s onwards. Before that time asylum-seekers consisted primarily of 'invited refugees', who had been assigned a status by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Although the numbers of these invited refugees were small, admission was often the subject of spirited debate between the various ministries represented on the interdepartmental working groups responsible for admission (Ten Doeschate 1994). When the numbers of 'spontaneous' asylum-migrants were still relatively small, this group too was subject to detailed and sometimes protracted consideration of their case for admission. With the rise in the numbers of 'spontaneous' asylum-seekers, however, the government could no longer permit itself the luxury of an extensive case-by-case approach and the admissions policy became more restrictive. Although the government is bound by the Geneva Convention, which was in fact never tampered with, every effort was made to explore the letter of the Convention in order to keep asylum-seekers out or at any event deny them refugee status. The tightened interpretation of the Geneva Convention led to a decline in

the numbers accorded refugee status (in relative terms), but this was accompanied by an increase in the numbers able to remain in the country with a different status. The majority of the asylum-seekers were not recognised as Convention refugees but, for varying reasons of a humanitarian nature, could also not be repatriated. They were given a secondary status (temporary or otherwise).

The Europeanisation of the immigration issue increased during the same period. In the first place this applies to the free movement of people between the member states of the European Union itself. The possibilities and rights of 'intra-EU migrants' have increased greatly in recent years. The right of EU member state citizens to migrate within the EU has gradually moved away from migration in relation to work ('free movement of economic agents') to free movement based on the fact that people are citizens of one of the member states of the Union (Kosłowski 1998). With respect to migration between the countries of the EU the system has therefore become steadily more inclusive. The Netherlands has also proved a popular country of residence: in terms of EU migration there has now been a substantial net inflow for a number of years.

By comparison the European regulation of migration from outside the European Union is still in its infancy. The first contours of this system are however becoming clearer and have been broadly incorporated into Dutch legislation. The Schengen Agreements (1985 and 1999) and the formal inclusion of the Schengen system in Community law under the Dublin and Amsterdam Treaties provide the core of European immigration policy. The joint policies in this area were arrived at during a period in which most of the member states were preoccupied with the rapid increase in the number of asylum-seekers. The European approach towards the immigration and asylum issue has been primarily directed towards reducing the numbers of asylum-seekers and illegal migrants and does not accordingly differ greatly from that of the member states such as the Netherlands. The use of three concepts and a high degree of consensus about those concepts provide the basis for a joint set of instruments in the asylum area.

- 1 In 1995 the European Council of Ministers adopted a common position on the definition of refugee status. The definition excludes a large group: according to the Community standpoint, those fleeing civil war, general armed conflict and persecution by non-state agents such as militia fall outside the refugee category (Kosłowski 1998).
- 2 The second guiding principle for the asylum-policy in most European countries is that of the 'safe countries of origin'. According to this principle an application for asylum status is declared unfounded if, according to the country processing the application, the country in question is regarded as safe. By safe is meant that civil, political and human rights are sufficiently enshrined in that country.
- 3 The third guiding principle is that of the 'third country of reception' or 'safe third country principle'. Having been established to counter 'asylum shopping', this principle refers to the situation in which an asylum-seeker has entered the country via another (non-EU) country that may be designated as

safe. Since this other country is safe, the asylum-seeker should have sought asylum there and the recipient country is authorised to send the asylum-seeker back to that country.

Partly as a result of the European developments, laws and rules became stacked up in the 1990s in order to regulate the migratory flows to the Netherlands and to reduce the numbers of asylum-seekers. Collectively these measures were referred to as *exclusion policy*, meaning those measures aimed at preventing potential asylum-seekers from reaching Dutch territory in order to submit an application or measures designed to the bar them from the asylum-assessment procedure (Doomernik et al. 1996: 27).

2.3 THREE CATEGORIES OF IMMIGRANTS IN MORE DETAIL

2.3.1 GENERAL

The analysis of immigration in this report has concentrated in particular on the following three categories of immigrants:

- asylum migrants;
- immigrants on the basis of family reunification and family formation;
- labour migrants.

Separate solutions apply to each of these categories.

2.3.2 ASYLUM MIGRATION

The asylum issue is a topic that is particularly suited to policy at international and especially European level. Given the interconnectedness of immigration, participation and the arrangements of the social state, the Council argues for continuing the restrictive admissions policy by at the same time tightening deportation policy, implementation of which also takes place at national level. In addition the report recommends enlarging the possibilities for work and education for all those awaiting a decision on admission. Those who are ultimately admitted can then assimilate more rapidly, while the others can deploy the knowledge and experience they gain elsewhere.

Asylum as an element of international policy

In terms of focus, manpower and money, Dutch policy concentrates in particular on the point of arrival in the Netherlands and the ensuing procedures. For policy-effectiveness influence needs to be exerted *earlier* in the chain and the chain must also be completed. The start of the chain may be influenced by bringing the asylum issue into international (foreign, development and foreign economic) policy. This means greater investment in the reception of refugees in the local region and in international measures to tackle human-trafficking. As far as development policy is concerned, good governance in the countries from which many asylum-seekers come is of particular importance. As the Council noted at an earlier point (WRR 2001a), the promotion of good governance has a broader relevance than

just increasing prosperity and reducing poverty. Human rights and the administrative quality of the government machinery are important factors in asylum-migration. For this reason the western world has an interest in good quality law and good governance elsewhere in the world. Combating human-trafficking and the effectiveness of deportation and return policy are also directly linked to this.

Increasing the effectiveness of asylum policy requires a coordinated approach wherever possible, and at least at European level. *Burden-sharing* should replace the *burden-displacement* so common at present. This requires a willingness on the part of the participating EU countries to define the problem along the same lines and effectively to tackle asylum and illegal migration as a common problem. These conditions are not yet sufficiently realised at present time. The necessity of a joint effort at European level is however increasingly recognised and translated into the standardisation of measures and policy *intentions*. In this regard an earlier WRR report, entitled *Towards a Pan-European Union*, noted the fact that the larger European Union should accord priority to the development of a coherent, explicit immigration policy that does justice to the balance between freedom and security and the good relations with the neighbouring countries of the enlarged Union (WRR 2001b).

International responsibility

The responsibility of the Dutch state is not confined to the 'gateway' but extends further. A policy of discouragement upon admission and reception may be justified if it is coupled with efforts to improve the reception of refugees in the region of origin. International aid programmes directed towards the regions from which refugees and asylum-seekers come may help limit the inflow.

More generally it will be necessary to examine whether the Convention on Refugees is in fact the appropriate framework for deciding on whether or not to grant asylum to large groups of asylum-seekers for which the Convention was never designed. The circumstances in which many people are obliged to live can force them to flee in order to survive or achieve a more tolerable existence. The borderline between 'genuine' (political) refugees and other (especially 'economic') refugees as drawn in the Convention does insufficient justice to the circumstances that can lead people to flee. In consequence access is regularly granted to so-called economic refugees on humanitarian grounds or because they cannot be sent back. A further consequence is the fact that – contrary to what was intended in the Convention – refugees have to go to a great deal of effort and trouble in order to demonstrate their 'right to a safe haven'. This leads to protracted waiting periods, complicated procedures and lengthy periods of uncertainty. In working towards the European standardisation of immigration and asylum policy, the current place, function and operation of the UN Convention Refugees will according to the report also need to be addressed.

Restrictive admission

Restrictive admission of migrants to the Netherlands will remain necessary in the future. It will have to be determined who are admitted temporarily or permanently to the Netherlands and who are required to leave again: societies simply do not have unlimited absorption capacity to deal with aliens. This certainly applies in the event of the sizeable immigration of people who differ so greatly from the host society in socio-economic and cultural terms that they can participate in that country only with great difficulty, if at all. Measures must be taken to prevent such immigration from resulting in greater and undesired social inequality in the Netherlands.

A genuine admissions *policy* is however only possible on the basis of a realistic picture of the scope for influencing the migratory flows and if the macro-perspective is taken into account. The current admissions policy tends to be reactive. The authorities wait to see who apply for admission and then assess each individual case. Seen in a macro-perspective this can result in incongruities. Those who feel most threatened are often incapable of reaching the Netherlands, while those who do reach the country tend to be in a comparatively favourable situation. This is made worse by the growing role of human-traffickers in migration. Once people have arrived in the Netherlands, asylum applications are subjected to standards of meticulous scrutiny. These standards can lead to protracted and frustrating procedures that are in sharp contrast to the way in which those whose efforts to migrate fail are left to their fate. Many therefore far prefer residence in the Netherlands on either an uncertain or an illegal basis to return home.

As a result of all these factors the policy towards asylum-seekers will remain under great pressure, while there is a growing feeling that the result can only be described as unsatisfactory and in part also unjust.

Asylum-migration will continue for the foreseeable future. On the basis of its own principles, the Netherlands will wish to stick to careful procedures and a system of legally valid decisions concerning the acceptance or rejection of asylum-applications. The tension between the high level of inflow and careful processing of asylum-seekers may therefore be expected to continue. Restrictive policies towards admission and reception remain required in an immigration society. Otherwise more and more people will knock on the Dutch door – particularly through the medium of human-trafficking – even though they stand next to no chance of admission. A strict policy at the front door does however need to be complemented by an equally strict policy at the back door. Without disregarding the requirements of meticulousness on the part of the Dutch state, an active deportation policy will need to be conducted against those who do not belong here. Deportation is at present largely non-existent. The result is that municipal authorities are confronted by the problem of asylum-seekers who have exhausted their appeals and no longer have a right to remain and who find themselves on the streets.

Self-reliance upon reception

Given the absorption capacity of Dutch society and the lack of prospects for many asylum-seekers in the Netherlands, the choice made in favour of short decision-making procedures in the Aliens Act is the correct one. Even so, many people will need to be held in reception centres for some time in anticipation of a decision. According to the report asylum-seekers should be addressed in terms of their personal responsibility and self-reliance as quickly as possible. This means that they should be given greater opportunities to work and earn an independent income and/or pursue a particular course of education or training. The argument that this might arouse undue expectations and that unnecessary investments would be made in asylum-seekers does not weigh against the social costs of doing nothing and the difficulty subsequently posed by assimilation. Even in the event of a negative decision, any training or work-experience gained may be of assistance upon return.

Accommodation in large-scale reception facilities can have a hospitalising and segregating effect. Initiatives to create greater numbers of small reception centres with closer links to the local community deserve replication and can also promote self-reliance, encounter and confrontation. This can also help guard against solely negative perceptions of asylum-seekers.

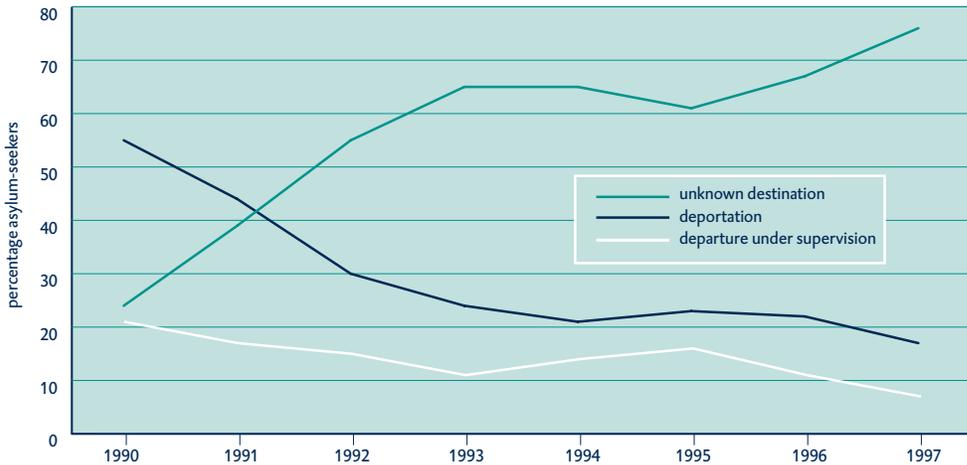
Return policy

Return policy is the final element in aliens policy and also one of the most controversial aspects. Dutch return policy is based on the personal responsibility of the asylum-seeker. The reasoning is that asylum-seekers have come to the Netherlands under their own steam and should therefore also return home or proceed elsewhere under their own steam (Ministry of Justice 2000). This point of departure has remained unchanged in all the recent amendments to return policy. The Netherlands does not therefore have a structural deportation policy as an element of return policy at the end of the asylum-chain. In practice only a very limited group are in fact deported; the vast majority 'disappear' to an unknown destination.

Under the basic policy, a rejected asylum-seeker is required to leave the Netherlands within four weeks on his own initiative. Upon expiry of that period the asylum-seeker's address is checked. If the alien is no longer present at the last known address, he or she is registered as '*administratively deleted*' (which generally entails 'departure for unknown destination'). The bulk of asylum-seekers who have exhausted their appeals are indeed classified as 'administratively deleted'. Coerced departure is an exception and may take the form of deportation or departure under supervision.

Figure 2.2 indicates that the majority of the rejected asylum-seekers in the Netherlands are classified as administratively deleted. It should be noted in respect of this figure that the absolute numbers of deported asylum-seekers or those who departed under supervision rose slightly in the 1990s.

Figure 2.2 Breakdown of repatriated asylum-seekers by departure with unknown destination, deportation and departure under supervision



Source: Netherlands Court of Audit (1999: 15).

Although the high proportion of ‘administratively deleted’ corresponds with the objective of promoting the personal responsibility of the rejected asylum-seeker there is no way of telling whether such individuals have in fact left the country. The question remains as to whether some of the rejected asylum-seekers are remaining illegally in the Netherlands. On the basis of the figures supplied by the organisations involved in asylum and return, this question can be neither confirmed nor denied (Netherlands Court of Audit 1999: 21). Most of the asylum-seekers who have exhausted their appeals and who do not ‘leave’ on their own volition are the difficult cases, i.e. those that are difficult to remove on either *policy* or *technical* grounds. Those difficult to remove on policy grounds are rejected individuals who are unable to return to their own country on account of the general situation. These individuals do not have a requirement to depart and may therefore remain in the reception system. Those who are technically difficult to remove may not be sent back as the country from which they have come cannot be determined, so that no country whatever is prepared to issue them with the necessary papers, or because there are no travel connections with the country of origin. The Ter Apel deportation centre has been specially set up for rejected asylum-seekers whom it is technically difficult to remove. However, the centre is not achieving its own targets for return. Equally the Assisted Returns Service of the International Organisation for Migration (IAM), which helps with voluntary return or onward travel, is not achieving its own target (in terms of numbers; Netherlands Court of Audit 1999: 16-17).

The strict policy of the national government has to be implemented at local level. In some cases, however, it is at the local level that the non-deportation of rejected asylum-seekers creates problems. A proportion of the people who have departed ‘for unknown destination’ will reappear in the illegal system. The numbers are

unknown, but it is logical to assume that a proportion will remain in the Netherlands illegally, temporarily or otherwise. The local authorities, in particular, will be confronted by this problem. Rejected asylum-seekers are deemed to return to their country of origin or move elsewhere, but initially find themselves on the streets. Many municipalities are already tolerating informal forms of reception by charitable organisations and private individuals; in some cases these organisations are even subsidised by the local authorities. This form of reception will in future probably be extended in order to counter the problems of vagrants and acute cases of homelessness. As against the strict asylum policy of the national government, local authorities are seeking solutions that are as far as possible not at variance with national laws but can at the same time resolve the problems of a humanitarian nature and the public order and safety with which they are confronted.

The national and local authorities have different interests, but are dependent on one another. The municipality of Groningen has the example set up a 'heated waiting room' in order to cope with what it refers to as the 'loose ends of the Benefit Entitlement (Residence Status) Act and the Aliens Act' (see VNG magazine, 2.3.2001). In the case of Groningen the reception is primarily concerned with people who no longer have a right to reception, such as asylum-seekers who have reached the stage of appeal, the outcome of which may not be awaited in the Netherlands. Other municipalities may also turn to such 'solutions' if more illegal and rejected asylum-seekers end up on the streets. Conversely these kinds of local solutions once again provide hope to rejected asylum-seekers and leave room for calculating behaviour. The signals issued by the Dutch government and society can provide the removable asylum-seeker with the idea that he or she will not after all be expelled (Van Andel 1999).

As much as any other aspect of aliens policy, the return policy should form part of any translation of 'the Netherlands as immigration society' into foreign policy. A high proportion of the return-related problems stem from the attitudes of the countries of origin. Many of these countries display little if any willingness to cooperate in taking back rejected asylum-seekers and react slowly if at all to applications for travel documents. In the event of the return of asylum-seekers under the Dublin and Schengen Agreements, the relationship with the other member states of the EU is often also a difficult one. According to these agreements the (EU) country in which an asylum-seeker first arrived is responsible for handling the asylum application. If it can be shown that the asylum-seeker had first been in another EU country, a request for return to that country can be submitted. A high proportion of the Schengen/Dublin claims however are not honoured; during the period 1995-1997 just 36 percent of the claims resulted in actual transfer (Netherlands Court of Audit 1999). Both the problems with the countries of origin and those with the EU countries are problems that also come under foreign policy.

2.3.3 FAMILY FORMATION AND FAMILY REUNIFICATION

In regard to the figures in table 2.1 it should be noted that the various categories may overlap. For example, those registered as asylum-seekers may also include individuals who came to the Netherlands for purposes of family reunification. A calculation of the total numbers of family reunifiers and family formers in 1998 indicates that 22 percent of non-Dutch immigrants came to the Netherlands for family formation. A further 17 percent came for family reunification and 6 percent as a co-emigrating family member; 27 percent for employment or education; 21 percent as asylum-seekers and 7 percent for other reasons (Nicolaas and Sprangers 2001). These figures indicate that partly as a result of family formation there is a relatively important inflow of new residents who have not had any basic compulsory education in the Netherlands and are now too old to do so, but who will presumably have children who will be educated in the Netherlands. In addition there are various categories in which there is a relatively high proportion of school-age children (e.g. the Afghans). This means that there will be a problem in switching to Dutch education.

There is a dilemma with respect to the policy towards family formation and family reunification. Particularly among older groups, there is every sign that it is the custom, as dictated by the cultural patterns in the country of origin, to look for a marriage partner from the same background. This custom is firmly based, in terms of both family tradition and religious belief. This phenomenon is however responsible for a flow of immigrants and the fact that successive new generations who have not grown up in the Netherlands are required to find a place in Dutch society – which may also adversely affect their children. Given the fact that this cultural pattern is not confined to Morocco and Turkey but also extends to other regions, it may be expected that a number of new groups will also start recruiting marriage partners in their country of origin. It is possible that this process will come to a halt as soon as sufficient numbers of suitable partners have been found in the Netherlands. In the meantime, however, there could be a considerable secondary migration.

Family reunifiers and family formers will therefore account for a substantial share of total migration, also in the near future. The main emphasis in government policy is on measures to prevent such migration from becoming a burden on the public purse. Hence the income requirement for relatives already living in the Netherlands. From the viewpoint of an immigration society, however, there is more at stake, in that the nature and scale of family reunification have a bearing on the social participation of migrants and the size of the intergenerational cultural and social gap.

When it comes to family reunification and formation attention will need to be paid to increasing the participation and individual resilience of the person concerned. Under the present Dutch social state each adult is expected to be responsible for his or her own income. The system of education is also geared to this.

Seen in this light the obvious course of action would be to help ensure that the arriving partner is capable of participating independently in Dutch society. This is something that requires attention upon arrival in the Netherlands, especially under the Newcomers (Integration) Act (WIN).

Such independence is also an important precondition for the participation by and prospects of success for migrants' children. If the members of the first generation that come to the Netherlands for purposes of family formation (i.e. marriage) also play an independent and active role in Dutch society, there will be a better chance of bridging the cultural gap between parents and children.

It would not be consistent with the principles of a social state to attach even stricter conditions to the possibilities for family formation and reunification. Qualified arrangements could however be introduced for some of those holding a temporary residence permit under the new Aliens Act. On the basis of this new law individuals granted conditional protection on the grounds of the situation in the country of origin also obtain a right to family reunification. Apart from the fact that this measure is out of step with the regulations in other European countries, it also has a perverse effect in other respects. The person granted a temporary residence permit must consistently have the temporary nature of such permission drawn to their attention. They must be convinced that in many cases it will not be possible for a permanent residence permit to be issued. The possibility of family reunification creates false expectations and makes it more difficult to implement a negative decision concerning residence.

With respect to the others who come to the Netherlands under the heading of family reunification/formation on the basis of the existing regulations, many will establish themselves here permanently and form part of Dutch society. In an immigration society it is particularly important to draw the attention of this group to the individual possibilities and opportunities and to promote their independent participation in society.

2.3.4 LABOUR MIGRATION

Contrary to popular perception, the bulk of migration to the Netherlands consists of 'problem-free cases'. In 1999 Dutch nationals who were remigrating, EU citizens and labour migrants (most of them well educated) accounted for the majority of the total number of immigrants. This point is often neglected in the debate about immigration.

An immigration society cannot just base its admissions policy on turning away immigrants. As noted above, the participation perspective needs to be taken into account in framing policies in respect of asylum migrants and family reunification and formation. The same also applies to labour migration.

Labour migration in international perspective

The Netherlands would like to remain a host country for labour migrants, especially the better educated. The internationalisation of the economy is also leading to the internationalisation of labour. The free movement of people within the European Union means furthermore that economic activity in the Netherlands will attract workers from other EU countries and, where necessary, that they will continue to be recruited. The policy of establishing favourable conditions for business development for foreign companies will also lead to an influx of foreign workers.

The coming and going of foreign workers form part and parcel of an immigration society and will remain so in the future. Some will come temporarily, for the duration of their contract of employment, while others will ultimately settle in the Netherlands for good. The current policy is barely geared to this group of foreign workers and, leaving aside a few exceptions, their admission is surrounded by all sorts of bureaucratic obstacles.

The obvious course of action would be for this form of labour migration – one might more appropriately speak of international labour participation – to be treated as a normal phenomenon and for the admission procedures to be simplified. In this way those we would like to welcome can be properly received.

Labour migration as an instrument of economic policy

Although the coming and going of foreign workers may be regarded as a normal feature of an immigration society, this does not make labour migration a suitable instrument of economic policy. The labour migrant who comes to the Netherlands to work will, it may be hoped, benefit, as presumably will the employer. But what works out well at the individual level need not necessarily work out well at the national or macro-economic level. There can be effects at macro-economic level transcending the individual level and which are not taken into account when concluding a contract of employment.

A country letting in labour migrants will, for example, find itself confronted by family formation or reunification and will need to provide facilities under the welfare state. Depending on the type of labour migrant this may work out either well or poorly. Research indicates however that a country such as the Netherlands does not on balance grow either rich or poor as a result of labour migration; there are better options for increasing the level of prosperity in a country (e.g. investments in R&D, education and increasing the labour force participation rate). The WRR report *A Continuing Growth of Labour Force Participation* (2000) referred for example to the large remaining pool of inactive persons in the Netherlands who could be activated as a source of labour.

On the basis of these arguments the report concludes that labour migration is not a suitable instrument of economic policy for the Netherlands. An active labour immigration policy – as called for by some in recent times – does not provide a

good solution in the Netherlands to labour market shortages. Nor is labour migration, as shown in various surveys (e.g. WRR 1993), a suitable means of ameliorating the economic consequences of ageing. A 'generationally-aware policy' (WRR 1999) presupposes that, on the basis of the precautionary principle, the government will itself resolve the economic problems associated with an increasingly ageing society, for example by means of timely and appropriate financial policies.

In assessing the benefits and drawbacks of a labour migration policy, the consequences for the migrant, the country of destination and the country of origin must consistently be taken into account. This may mean that in terms of labour migration, the Netherlands is in a different position from Germany and France – two countries that do wish to operate an active labour immigration policy as an instrument of economic policy. Given the starting position of the economies in those countries and the anticipated decline of the German population, such arguments are understandable. The demographic and economic position of the Netherlands is not comparable. Nor are the implications arising from the social state (i.e. the take-up of social security) the same in the three countries.

Selective and temporary labour migration

Temporary labour migration is particularly associated with an overstretched labour market. In certain sectors, various forms of temporary labour migration are already more common than they used to be, such as people who accept employment for a limited period without breaking their ties with the country of origin in a modern variant of seasonal cross-border labour. At present this type of labour migration is still generally illegal. Precisely in order to reduce these irregular practices, the Council considers that a selective form of temporary labour migration could be both desirable and appropriate in a labour system that is less determined by geographical borders than before. This would however necessarily be on condition that the temporary nature of the employment was strictly monitored from the beginning. The experience gained in other European countries could be drawn on in the further development of such a form of temporary labour migration. With regard to this selective form of temporary labour migration the obvious course of action would be to seek the potential recruitment countries among those at the head of the queue for admittance to an enlarged European Union. This might also contribute towards harmonisation at the European level. With the enlargement of the European Union, part of the frictions in the Dutch labour market that are now leading to illegal labour could in due course be resolved by means of modern seasonal employment under the free movement of people in an enlarged European Union.

Facilitating these kinds of labour migration however will hardly make a lasting impact on asylum migration. Temporary labour migration concerns a relatively small number of workers and it is not realistic to assume that such arrangements would reduce the pressures at the asylum-gate.

3 PARTICIPATION AND INTEGRATION POLICY

3.1 GROWING DIVERSITY

Immigrants will on the one hand seek integration into Dutch society and adapt to customary practices, while on the other retaining ties with their country of origin. The way in which the process of integration takes place and the extent to which people retain ties with their ethnic origins will differ from individual to individual and also depends on the migration history. There will also be differences over time: the children of migrants generally perceive the country of residence differently from their parents.

Growing cultural diversity is not just related to the process of immigration. In a society that attaches particular importance to self-reliance and independence there will be a wide variety of lifestyles and related attitudes and behaviour. This process will be strengthened by immigration.

An immigration society that is becoming increasingly diversified culturally will, now and in the future, be concerned in particular with strengthening individual resilience and less with full-scale cultural adjustment and the assimilation of newcomers. The latter is not required and may not even be desirable, provided there are sufficient guarantees and instruments for social participation and sufficient opportunities for encounter and exchange. Diversity must however be prevented from spilling over into the segregation and/or marginalisation of certain groups.

3.2 EVALUATION OF DUTCH INTEGRATION POLICY TO DATE

When it comes to the position of migrants and their (direct) descendants, government policy still lends itself to the threefold classification found in the literature. That position and government policy may be described and evaluated in terms of three dimensions, irrespective as to whether these are referred to as the socio-cultural, the socio-economic and the politico-legal dimensions (Fermin 1997 and, in his footsteps, Entzinger 1998), deprivation, discrimination and emancipation policy (Minorities Policy Document) or cultural policy, integration policy and legal position (WRR 1989). The first three dimensions noted above moreover turn out to operate in parallel with the three aspects of citizenship that may be distinguished if the concept is interpreted in broad terms (Penninx 1999).

With regard to legal position and combating discrimination – the politico-legal dimension – the main point of relevance is the virtually inalienable right of residence, going back some 20 years, that aliens acquire after five years and, in the event of family reunification, after three years. After five years it is moreover possible to participate in local elections. In addition the possibilities for acquiring Dutch nationality were widened in 1985, due to which, among other things,

third-generation children automatically obtain Dutch citizenship. Since 1990 naturalisation without renouncing one's original nationality – of particular relevance for Turks and Moroccans – has become more straightforward. In 1997 however this possibility was formally curtailed again.

As already noted, distinctions in the regulations linked to nationality, country of birth, culture and language have been systematically eliminated; the Equal Treatment Act (1994) is in fact designed to exclude such distinctions. In line with the anti-discrimination principle laid down in the Constitution since 1983, the criminal code and civil law have been modified to prevent discrimination.

All these formal provisions have not however succeeded in increasing the participation of immigrants in social life to any marked extent when compared with other countries. The turnout at local council elections, for example, is very low. According to Entzinger (1998: 10) the participation of ethnic minorities in civil society – the fine-mesh network of associations and organisations that to a significant extent holds Dutch society together – is very limited. He regards the main causes (probably correctly) as the lack of competence, knowledge and possibilities for practical participation in Dutch society. The gap in participation already has its roots in primary education, where most children from ethnic minorities start with a smaller (sometimes much smaller) Dutch vocabulary. Needless to say first-generation members of ethnic minorities are at an even bigger disadvantage and have much greater difficulty closing the gap. Only since recently have there been policies in this area – the integration policy for newcomers which was given a statutory basis in 1998. The policy however still largely by-passes 'oldcomers'.

In the socio-cultural field, the point of departure since the 1970s has been the ability of migrant groups to maintain and develop their own cultural and religious identity. At first a flexible return was an important motivation, but since the Minorities Policy Document the multicultural society has been an accepted fact and, it would sometimes appear, is also held up as the ideal. Not only were the freedoms in question and the rights to a separate language and organisations respected in accordance with the Constitution and international agreements, but the use of those rights was also officially facilitated and even actively promoted. Examples include the removal of obstacles towards certain non-Christian customs, education in a separate language and culture which, after the assumption of temporary residence had been overtaken by events, was considered to promote a sense of identity and self-awareness, and the subsidisation of migrant organisations. An important factor was, and remains, the still extant tradition of 'pillarisation' along denominational lines, which more or less presupposes organisation on the basis of shared group identities in all sorts of fields, of which education is the best-known surviving example.

The anti-deprivation policy – i.e. policies in the socio-economic field – is at once the most expensive and the least successful. In the field of employment, for example, the goal of proportional participation remains a distant ideal. At first the

restructuring of industry and fall in demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labour were generally regarded as the most important causes of disadvantage. The obvious remedy of education proved inadequate. These measures on the supply side were then supplemented by efforts to influence the demand side, in the form of statutory measures to promote proportional participation. With the same aim target figures were laid down for the government and agreements were reached at central level between trade unions and employers' organisations. Not until the economy picked up strongly did the ethnic minority participation figures improve. The deprivation in relation to the indigenous population has, however, remained roughly unchanged.

In the field of housing reference should in the first place be made to the reception policy for newcomers, which has been in place for decades since the arrival of persons repatriated from Indonesia up to and including the current reception of officially admitted refugees. Under the new Aliens Act that is now being drafted, the latter facility is to be replaced by a financial one, in the interest of promoting the concept of the 'independent citizen'. A second category of measures concerned the gradual opening up of the market for rented accommodation from the early 1980s onwards. The elimination of forms of practical discrimination, consisting for example of requirements with respect to ties with the intended place of residence or length of registration, in combination with agreements with municipalities and housing associations – the most important owners of cheaper rented dwellings – were the most important instruments. More difficult to combat or evaluate is the concentration of non-indigenous persons in old urban wards with relatively poor housing. Since enforced dispersal is ruled out by law, improvements in the financial position of those concerned and of the housing stock in deprived areas are the appropriate and most commonly used instruments.

Background: the organisation of integration policy

Since the introduction of the minorities policy shortly after 1980 the Minister of the Interior has played a central role as coordinating minister, a role which since 1998 has been performed by a separate Minister for Urban Policy and Integration of Ethnic Minorities (under the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations). The coordinating minister is responsible for putting in place the basic elements of a coherent integration policy and for working this up into a general policy philosophy. The Minister bears primary accountability towards Parliament for the initiation, direction and content of this philosophy; the spending ministers are responsible for the elaboration of the philosophy in their sectoral policies and for the effectiveness of the policies conducted in that sector to help integrate ethnic minorities. The most important elements of the coordinating minister's job description are periodically to examine to what extent the objectives of policy have been realised; to assess whether the social position of target groups justifies additional facilities; to monitor the progress and cohesion of policy implementation and to evaluate its effectiveness. The most important instruments at the disposal of the coordinating minister are political policy harmonisation in the Council of Ministers (and the preliminary bureaucratic stage), progress control by

publication of the Minorities (Integration) Policy Annual Survey (compiled from reports by the spending ministers), testing the effects of general government policy concerning minorities, and research and monitoring for the evaluation of measures and gaining insight into developments in the position of ethnic minorities. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, the ‘real’ policy instruments are of course the regulations as referred to below, the financial provisions and the numerous laws and implementation regulations designed to affect relationships in society across a broad field.

In brief, the coordinating minister is more of a spider in the web than a director. An examination of the *Integration Policy Annual Surveys* indicate that:

- only a fairly small proportion of the annual budget (1999: 31 million guilders or 105 million euros out of a total of 1,567 million guilders/711 million euros) comes under the budget of the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations;
- significant elements of the budget can hardly be assigned to integration (e.g. 80 million guilders/36 million euros for remigration policy) or indicate the total amount set aside for a certain form of general policy (e.g. 122 million guilders/55 million euros for education disadvantage policy);
- the majority of the financial resources are channelled to other bodies (especially municipalities) which, although they are required to spend this money for the designated purpose, have a wide measure of policy freedom when it comes to the implementation of statutory regulations.

Examining the totality of the regulations, as the Netherlands Court of Audit did for 1996 and 1997, it turns out that out of a total of 230 regulations with ‘external effect’, 118 measures were of a general nature (i.e. applied in principle to all residents). Nearly as many again (112) regulations were exclusively directed towards all ethnic minorities (‘specific measures’) (Netherlands Court of Audit 1998: 17); the trend is that the latter are declining in importance. Needless to say the content of the former group is determined not just by considerations relating to the integration of minorities.

The surveys do not reflect the fact that not only has the implementation of numerous financial important schemes been decentralised in recent years to the municipalities but also that certain schemes have lapsed in their entirety, with the funds released being used to supplement the municipalities fund. While the municipalities are expected to use these additional resources for their originally designated purpose, there is no guarantee that they will actually do so.

Conclusions about Dutch integration policy

This report shows that the influence of the central government’s integration policy should not be overestimated. The processes in question are largely autonomous in nature, while the influence of the indigenous and immigrant communities, all kinds of non-governmental organisations and other government authorities and semi-governmental agencies is highly decisive. The influence of State policy can therefore be little more than indirect.

Among other things the analysis has shown that the determination and implementation of the coordinated State policy are complicated. This is also a field that is subject to rapid and extensive change and where there are many and sometimes profound differences of insight. Once again the general proposition holds good that the more the effects and effectiveness of policy measures are unclear, the more the pressure increases to put in place new policies if the formulated objectives are not achieved, instead of seeking to improve the implementation of existing policies. It is important to resist such pressure wherever possible. The fact that new policy initiatives were provided in 2000 in such key areas as integration, language teaching, educational deprivation and labour participation is praiseworthy, but not every piece of data or each statement about the multicultural society or the percentage of Turks and Moroccans in social security schemes need lead immediately to further research and new measures. In particular steps should be taken to ensure that an in itself irreversible tendency such as that towards 'greater personal responsibility and input' or the current emphasis on liberal values spills over into exaggerated pressure to fall into line with the views of the majority.

The latter should not be equated with encouragement to adopt a wait-and-see attitude and to leave policy unchanged wherever possible. Precisely on account of the limited influence of the government there is every reason to focus on a number of aspects which it has now become clear are a vital precondition for integration, while a government stimulus is indispensable. Integration courses (under the Newcomers (Integration) Act (WIN)) and, more generally, education in Dutch stand out especially. In particular the WIN programme makes clear the extent to which considerations of customisation and uniformity have to be reconciled with one another in policy implementation: tailoring the provision to the varying level of education of newcomers and connecting up with other relevant facilities point towards a decentralised, municipal approach, while the assurance that everyone will be helped quickly and will in fact participate calls for a wider support-base. In the Council's view the prime emphasis should be placed on general quality considerations; this would also appear to fit in best with the somewhat more remote and non-group-based citizenship approach. Customisation should in principle be supplementary, without at the same time rejecting the targeted approach towards specific problems, such as localised crime by groups of young immigrants in certain localities.

A number of the main themes in this approach are supported by the observations elsewhere in this report concerning the two other pillars. The fact that immigration will further increase the diversity within and between groups provides a powerful argument for a general (deprivation) policy. The fact that participation in the labour process in a social state is so vital and that integration also stands to benefit so much from this similarly leads to a 'double argument' for focusing the efforts on such basic aspects as language proficiency, integration and education.

3.3 SOCIAL PARTICIPATION IN MORE DETAIL

3.3.1 ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

Migration patterns may in part be traced to the uneven distribution of prosperity and welfare in the world. A substantial proportion of the immigrants come from non-western countries and have little human capital of direct economic utility. They find it hard to get a foothold in Dutch society and poorly educated migrants have greater difficulty in getting a job than do their Dutch counterparts.

With this knowledge it is also possible to outline a realistic perspective for the participation of newcomers. For many it will take more than a generation before they find themselves in a position comparable to that of Dutch people born and brought up here. But that does not mean that policy efforts are superfluous. The immigrants will need to be reached effectively with education – most notably in deprived urban areas. While it is difficult to prevent the concentration of immigrants such as that now found in certain urban districts, access to the social institution which, above all others, determines people's prospects – education – may not be dependent on place of residence, ethnic origin or level of education and proficiency in Dutch. Education will need to counter the risk of drop-outs as far as possible.

Measures will need to be taken to prevent the poor labour market position of certain groups of immigrants from resulting in more or less permanent inactivity and lasting dependence on social security, as this results not in participation but in social segregation and isolation. Such a pattern can even become intergenerational in nature. Social inequality is bound to increase in an immigration society, not just because migrants find themselves placed at a disadvantage but also because their 'baggage' means that they do not have ready access to Dutch society. This calls for extra vigilance to prevent an increase in social inequality from resulting in the formation of an ethnic underclass.

In the current situation the labour market position of first generation non-western immigrants remains particularly unfavourable, despite the substantial gains made over the past five years due to the improved economic situation. In 1999 unemployment in the Netherlands was four times as high among immigrants as a whole as it was among indigenous persons. As may be seen from table 3.1, the biggest problem group is the first generation of non-western immigrants.

Table 3.1 Labour force participation and unemployment among persons aged 15-64, the Netherlands, 1999

Origin	Gross labour force participation			Registered unemployment		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Indigeneous	68	80	55	2	2	3
Immigrants	59	70	49	8	8	8
Western	65	76	55	4	4	5
1 st generation	63	74	52	6	5	7
2 nd generation	66	77	56	3	3	4
Non-western	53	64	41	13	13	13
1 st generation	53	65	40	14	15	14
2 nd generation	54	59	49	5	5	6

Source: CBS (1999).

The situation for the second generation is substantially better, particularly as they tend to be better educated. The economic participation of this group may be expected to increase further in the near future. Unemployment among young Turkish and Moroccan people has come down sharply of late, although it remains substantially higher than among their contemporaries in the Netherlands. Labour market policy must remain directed towards helping these young people participate in the formal labour process. This also applies to the wide range of new groups of immigrants, such as Iranians, Iraqis, Somalians and Ethiopians.

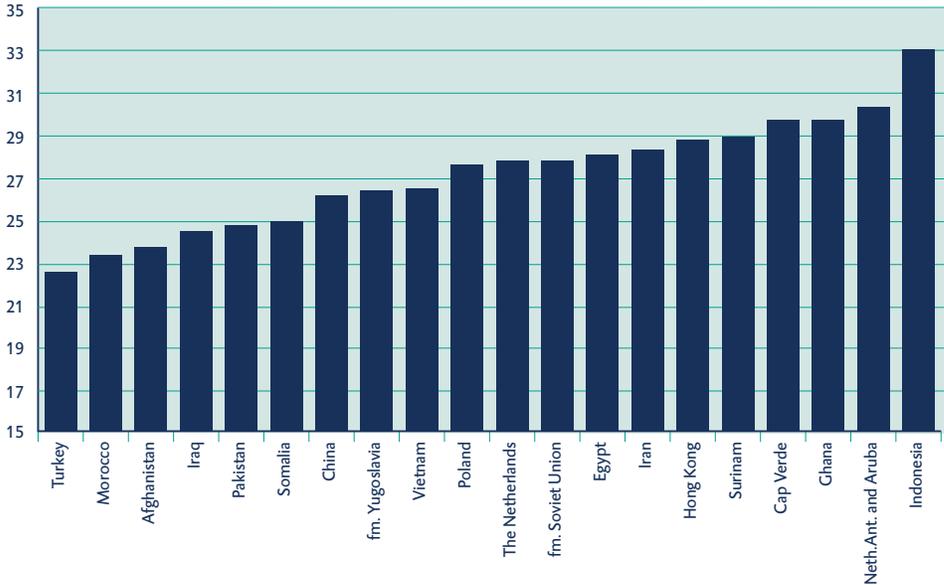
The emphasis on economic participation is largely related to the organisation of the Dutch social state and the fact that the system of mutual solidarity presupposes a sufficiently large percentage of active and involved citizens. In addition, economic self-reliance makes an important contribution in an immigration society to the emancipation of immigrants and their full participation and potential for exerting influence.

3.3.2 THE SOCIO-CULTURAL DIMENSION

In the discussion of the socio-cultural dimension of social participation the report examines in turn the significance of socio-demographic characteristics, the fact that Dutch is not the mother tongue of many immigrants, and the role of the formal structure of religion, with special emphasis on Islam.

Socio-demographic characteristics

Migrants come from highly divergent countries of origin, each with their own culture, customs, norms and values. They also bring with them their own socio-demographic characteristics, such as age of marriage, family size and partner choice. This directly affects the social position of the migrants and their individual social mobility. Partly on the basis of a study carried out for this report by the

Figure 3.1 Average age of women at first marriage by country of birth for the period 1995-1999.

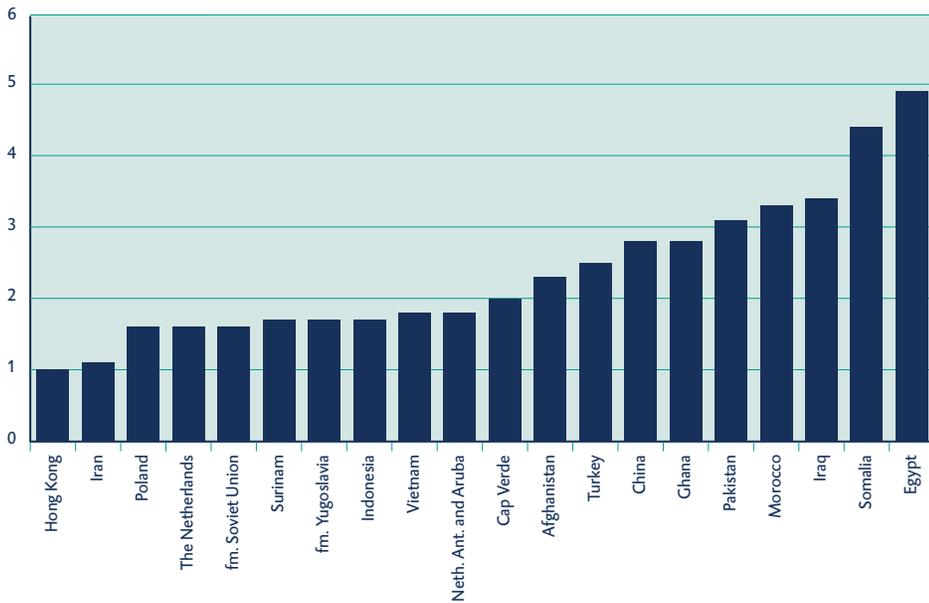
Source: NIDI/CBS.

Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute the Council drew up a demographic profile of 19 of the largest non-indigenous groups.

There are substantial cultural differences that result in differences in the private sphere between indigenous and non-indigenous residents in the Netherlands and within non-indigenous population categories. The low age of marriage (see figure 3.1), endogamy and the higher number of children (see figure 3.2) are particularly notable among certain population groups.

In due course there is however likely to be a convergence, in which the family relationships are brought into line with those of the western, Dutch society. As long as this adjustment is still taking place, it may be expected that the prospects will be less favourable for the social participation and mobility of non-indigenous population categories who have socio-demographic characteristics that are functional for a different kind of society. The adoption of the types of socio-demographic characteristics that belong to a modern society – and for which a long period of education may be required, something that will not always be compatible with early marriage and high fertility – takes time and can only be expected in the case of succeeding generations.

The available data from the aforementioned NIDI study indicate that, in terms of various demographic features, the second generation resembles the indigenous Dutch population more closely than does the first generation. There are for

Figure 3.2 Period-specific fertility figure by mother's country of birth, 1989

Source: NIDI/CBS.

example fewer births, fewer teenage births and fewer extramarital births among the second generation. In the near future a growing proportion of the non-indigenous persons commencing the process of relationship and family formation will form part of this second generation. This means that over time the family formation behaviour of the immigrant community as a whole is likely to resemble that of the indigenous population increasingly closely. The findings indicate that young people increasingly favour small families and are postponing the birth of the first child. In particular it is the young women who increasingly resemble their indigenous counterparts in terms of the number of children they want to have and the age at which they do so. At the same time it needs however also to be borne in mind that the second generation still differ substantially from indigenous Dutch persons on some of the above points. The differences and similarities between the attitudes of young people from the ethnic minorities and their indigenous contemporaries are also affected by education: the higher the level of education, the smaller the differences tend to be.

Dutch as second language

Important preconditions for the ability to participate in Dutch society are:

- a the learning of Dutch; and
- b the pursuit of education/vocational training among adults, and schooling by children.

- The integration of adult newcomers

Adults get to know Dutch society in various ways. When it comes to the initial familiarisation, the integration programmes are the main instrument for which the government is responsible.

The integration of newcomers calls for a substantial investment, not just on account of the large number of immigrants but also and more particularly in order to improve the quality of the course programmes and teachers. In order to underline the importance and necessity of integration, the obligation for new immigrants to take an integration course should in the Council's view be maintained, if necessary subject to penalties. The absence of any penalties for failing to meet this obligation would undermine the credibility of the policy and mean that the people at whom this is aimed – the newcomers – would not be taken seriously. At the same time the integration must also offer the prospect of participation in society; the participants must believe and see that participation in the integration programme leads to results.

The integration programmes should as far as possible be geared to migrants' specific situation and to the present and future spheres in which they operate: the workplace, parenthood, higher education and voluntary work. This means that education programmes aimed at preparing participants for all sorts of situations are replaced by courses aimed at various spheres in which people operate. Language instruction will as far as possible use teaching material relating to the sphere in question.

According to the Council this approach does justice to the growing diversity among immigrants in terms of education, experience and cultural background. It also means that integration already becomes an initial step in the participation process itself, rather than just a preparation for participation. The differentiation and focus of integration on future functioning requires co-operation and coordination with other parties such as the business sector, the education system and community organisations. The co-operation between regional training centres and businesses that has already been set in train in various places deserves support and development and copying elsewhere, as this will bring about the necessary link between integration and participation and because the confrontation with newcomers affects the culture, perceptions and working methods of the businesses and institutions in question.

- The language skills of children and young adults at school

If education is indeed to play a key role in social participation, pupils must be fluent in the language of instruction. For school-age children speaking and understanding Dutch are essential. At present the teaching of Dutch to non-native speakers is however inadequate. There is a trend towards segregation in language teaching: Dutch is learned separately and the emphasis is often placed one-sidedly on learning the language first. In line with a study by Verhallen et al. (2001) carried out for this report, the Council would, in the light of the participation objec-

tive, call for a broadly-based vision towards the teaching of Dutch. This comes down to the fact that the development of language proficiency should take place to a greater extent in activities other than just language lessons themselves and be associated with out-of-school support and situations. This broadening out at has all sorts of consequences for the organisation of education for non-native speakers. Initiatives such as the Community School (offering after-school activities), out-of-school learning and the linkage of adult education to the teaching of children deserve taking up more widely.

- Quality and support of teachers

At present the basic resources are lacking to provide a broadly based qualitative boost to and improvement of the education courses provided for non-native speaker children and adults. The necessary scale is lacking for realising the extensive ambitions. The quality of education to non-native speakers can only be guaranteed if the teachers themselves and those providing direct support are sufficiently educated and trained. In addition care must be taken to avoid placing excessive demands on teachers. Teachers must be given the time to take part in extra training and must be suitably rewarded for the extra input required in order to provide proper education to pupils who are at risk of falling behind. Otherwise there is a distinct possibility that new measures will primarily result in a heavier load for teachers, so that the desired result is not achieved. Investments in innovations in the education provided to immigrant pupils only have point if there are sufficient properly trained teachers.

Given the major importance of education and training for participation noted above, the report considers an investment in the further training of teachers to be required as well as an improvement in the primary and secondary conditions of employment of teachers in educational establishments with a high proportion of ethnic minority pupils. Their dedication and commitment deserve appropriate remuneration.

Islam

Immigration into the Netherlands has also seen a greater diversity of religions and philosophies of life. The migrants include many Moslems. As part of the participation objective it is important to establish the way in which Islam and the institutional organisation of Islam have a bearing on social participation.

Many Moslems – including second-generation Moslems – remain faithful to Islam, but this in no way prevents them from finding their way in Dutch society. Within Islam highly divergent positions are however possible, thereby giving rise to a chequered picture as regards the extent to and form in which identification with and orientation towards Dutch society are associated with being a Moslem and the relevant norms, values and conduct. In general it may however be said that Islam in the Netherlands is barely politicised.

Although the institutional organisation of Islam among immigrants in Western Europe is not necessarily consonant with the principle of the separation of church and state and hence also not with the related organisation of church communities in the Netherlands, this need not result in problems if that separation is interpreted in such a way that the government refrains from substantive interference in church affairs. That principle should apply not just to the Dutch government but also to foreign governments in so far as interference with faith communities in the Netherlands is concerned. Change in this direction will take some time. An important precondition for achieving this with respect to Islam is the availability of sufficient numbers of imams trained in the Netherlands. The education and training of imams in the Netherlands, as well as the formation of a wider Islamic framework, may be regarded as highly important for the participation of Islamic Dutch residents. In this regard the Moslems may draw on existing (or where appropriate expanded) higher education facilities. In addition the existing practice of contacts with Moslem organisations at local level can be continued.

3.3.3 SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AS THE FUTURE CORNERSTONE OF INTEGRATION POLICY

The choice in favour of social participation is consistent with the notion of 'active citizenship'. Individual independence and self-reliance should be promoted and dependence should be prevented wherever possible. It will be clear that the norms of independence and self-reliance form part of a western society. People are addressed in terms of their individual responsibility and individual contribution. These norms may be at variance with the norms in the country of origin. Such cultural differences should not however be elevated into group characteristics and certainly not be used as an argument for laying down specific requirements and/or introducing separate facilities; differences between Dutch persons and certain migrants would then be unjustifiably magnified. Social participation concentrates not on the differences but on universal membership in Dutch society.

The choice in favour of social participation as the goal of integration policy displaces the emphasis from a normative and, in particular, ideologically charged objective to a more instrumental approach. The process of participation takes a differentiated path, given the diversity of those who settle here and given the changing characteristics of Dutch society itself. The latter, in particular, rule out the possibility of determining 'objectively' when the integration process of a society with a diversity of cultures of new inhabitants has been totally completed and successful. Where the process is heading will change over time and depends not just on migratory flows but also on technological and economic developments. 'Integration' places the yardstick with Dutch society, while 'participation' is concerned with the individual possibilities and obligations of contributing towards Dutch society and influencing its shape and development.

As noted, this approach necessarily means that policy is highly instrumental and procedural in nature. The promotion of social participation and acceptance of

legal rules and democratic decision-making processes come first. Policy is also substantive to a limited extent only. The welfare state guarantees a minimum standard of living for those unable to arrange this for themselves. The social system is a form of institutionalised but also qualified solidarity, of which migrants also form part and to which they can contribute. They participate on the basis of generally recognised social and economic conditions and not on the basis of origin and/or ethnicity.

The concentration on individual participation provides an explicit recognition of cultural diversity in the Netherlands, only part of which can in fact be attributed to migration. The starting point of an immigration society is 'this land is your land', in a dual sense. Those who are here legally are welcome and form part of Dutch society. For immigrants this also means that they accept the dominant Dutch institutions and seek to influence the way in which these operate, so that their own preferences will also be respected. This approach does not mean that cultural differences are irrelevant or not permitted; the immigration society is however not just formed on the basis of those who 'were already here', but also undergoes the influences of those newly settling in the country.

Such a perspective has the effect of transcending the choice in favour of or against assimilation. That is a choice which immigrants must make themselves. The government does not adopt a stance on the issue. In an immigration society the government is not directly interested in the cultural attitudes of its citizens but in the functioning of and accessibility to the core institutions and the role of migrants in those institutions.

The non-creation of separate facilities, omission of specific measures and non-organisation of separate money flows and subsidies do not mean that the development and maintenance of separate (ethnic) organisations should be discouraged; on the contrary. It is not however the task of the government to treat these organisations differently from indigenous ones. Any financial support should be granted on the same basis. If ethnic organisations emerge primarily under their own steam, this will promote the self-confidence of their members and strengthen their sense of independent worth.

In an immigration society the central government is primarily active in promoting social participation, combating situations of permanent disadvantage and resolving conflicts in so far as these touch the core values of the Dutch social state, as formulated in the Constitution. Government policies to promote participation in accordance with this report centre in practice around three core points:

- effective integration of adult newcomers;
- good quality education, aimed in particular at the language skills of children and young adults;
- promotion of economic participation.

By concentrating on these core points as the Council advises, it is also possible to *slim down* integration policy. Such a slimming down and concentration on core activities are desirable so as to concentrate as fully as possible on those aspects that have been shown to promote the participation of migrants. In addition it should also be emphasised that participation takes shape largely at the local level and should therefore also be promoted at that level. This applies *a fortiori* to the Netherlands, which has a rich tradition of private initiative and decentralised policy.

4 THE DUTCH SOCIAL STATE

This report is based around the interwovenness of emigration, participation and the institutions of the Dutch social state. This interwovenness at practical level has implications for government policy. The choices in favour of a restrictive admissions policy and an integration policy in which the main focus is on participation in education and employment have been examined from the viewpoint of the functioning of the Dutch social state.

The perspective of the Netherlands as an immigration society does however also mean that it needs to be examined to what extent the institutions of the social state are properly equipped for and can adequately respond to the process of ongoing immigration and the resultant diversity. In practice this concerns factors that play a role in the encounter between newcomers and established residents – as well as the principles of participation and personal responsibility that are central in an immigration society. These factors are located at various levels, namely both formal factors (statutory access regimes) and less formal factors (forms of inclusion and exclusion in education and the labour market). Finally we are also dealing with policy factors that affect the actual functioning of facilities and that become visible particularly at the local level or on the ‘shopfloor’.

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4.1 INSTITUTIONAL DIVERSITY

On several occasions this report has referred to the growing cultural diversity of migrants who settle in the Netherlands. That diversity manifests itself both within and between groups. At the level of society as a whole the institutional diversity of the Netherlands should also be noted.

Dutch society may be regarded as a layered institutional system with, on the one hand, central laws and, on the other, a fine-mesh system of independent executive agencies within which those laws must be upheld. Recent institutional developments, such as the decentralisation of government tasks, further confirm and strengthen the two-tier nature of society. The public and private domains are more interwoven in the Netherlands than in most other West European countries, as reflected by the fact that the implementation of public tasks is in private hands in various areas, such as education, health care and housing.

This stratification has an internal as well as an external dimension. The number and diversity of rules and fundamental rights based on international agreements and flowing from European harmonisation have increased greatly in recent decades.

For those who settle here, the Netherlands is often an obscure and impenetrable place: laws and rules at one level need not apply at another. At the local level all sorts of tensions and conflicts can arise from clashes between the rules of the

game of the institutions on the one hand and the wishes and attitudes of an ever more diverse clientele on the other. These tensions and differences between supply and demand are resolved by means of negotiation, compromise and pacification, as well as by more or less subtle forms of inclusion and exclusion.

The Council has examined empirical data on the existence and operation of such inclusion and exclusion. In those spheres where encounter and interaction between indigenous and non-indigenous persons take place, such as work, school, the neighbourhood and leisure activities, the conclusion reached is that hybrid processes apply. Instead of the frequently suggested dichotomy between 'in' or 'out', there turn out to be all sorts of transitional or intermediate forms. It has also been established that there are no forms of total exclusion; what applies in the one sphere need not hold true in another.

The communication media play an important role in this context. With their ability to identify and portray role models, the media – particularly when successful members of ethnic minorities appear on television – provide examples of the interaction between the indigenous and non-indigenous communities.

Fluid transitions also apply to self-exclusion. In many cases the ethnic organisations are an important instrument for promoting inclusion in the institutions of Dutch society. Here too ties with one or more ethnic groups generally go hand in hand with an orientation towards the Netherlands. Only in a few isolated cases may the development of and investment in ethnic organisations be regarded as a form of self-exclusion.

4.2 FACTORS AT POLITICO/LEGAL LEVEL

The two-tier nature of the Dutch social state has consequences for the kind of policies required and the effectiveness of policy measures. The central government can enforce policy at the level of the politico/legal system and exert influence at that level on the emergence and preservation of formal systems of inclusion and exclusion. In fact we are concerned here with maintaining the principles of democracy under the rule of law in an immigration society.

Dual nationality

In the report the Council refers to the importance of the process of naturalisation of non-indigenous persons and of ties and loyalties, especially at the level of the constitutional state. The latter places the interaction in a joint legal framework based, in particular, on constitutional rights and makes it easier for people to be addressed in terms of their rights and obligations. The issue of dual nationality has been examined in this light.

Participation in Dutch society and the simultaneous orientation towards other – transnational – communities and other local communities is becoming increasingly commonplace and increasingly provides the basis for migrants' identity.

The present statutory practice under which dual nationality is not permitted under the naturalisation procedures but is nevertheless accepted where people are unable to give up their nationality makes it clear that account is taken of multiple loyalties. Numerous exceptions are therefore made to a law which in principle rejects dual nationality. According to the Council such a principle does not square with an immigration society. It would therefore be more consistent to drop the requirement for people to renounce their original nationality in order to obtain Dutch nationality.

Systems of equal treatment

Unequal treatment on the basis of race and nationality can be an important source of friction and can result in litigation in an immigration society. Apart from the possibility of appeal to the formal (independent) courts in the event of discrimination the possibility has existed for a number of years now for complaints to be submitted to the Equal Opportunities Commission (CGB). In Dutch practice a complementary system for the resolution of disputes has therefore been established: a social/administrative system as well as a legal system. The CGB issues non-binding advice and for a binding decision one must turn to the courts. Given the close interconnections that already exist between various institutions in the Netherlands and the major importance of equal treatment in an immigration society, it is important for there to be clear and largely unchanging rules of the game.

This Council draws attention to the European directives in this area and the recommendation of the CGB that its area of work as a government advisory body be extended. Reference should be made in this regard to the potential conflict of interest for a body that is at once an independent dispute resolver – including disputes involving the government – and an adviser to the same government. In an immigration society it is a matter of laying down clear rules of the game and a clear delimitation of tasks between the administrative and judicial systems that are concerned with issues of equal treatment.

The borders of the Netherlands

With the introduction of the Benefit Entitlement (Residence Status) Act a principle of the aliens legislation has been linked to social services policy. In this sense the Benefit Entitlement (Residence Status) Act may be regarded as an adjustment of the social state to the immigration society. The institutional interconnectedness is also reflected in this act: the legislator has opted for a method whereby executive agencies play an active role in turning away aliens. They are, as a result, required to carry out an original function of the state that does not contribute directly towards their own objectives and that may in some cases be at variance with those objectives or the organisation's own professional ethics. This means that institutions appear to be taking the liberty to reassess collective, individual and institutional interests themselves. This provides a seedbed for toleration, which is sometimes also justified by an appeal to universal fundamental freedoms.

A distinction may be drawn between the actual weighing of interests when considering the admission or refusal of access to benefits and facilities by the decentralised executive agencies on the one hand and the formal legal system of the Benefit Entitlement (Residence Status) Act on the other. To take the former first: in the deliberations within the institutions concerning access to facilities the Council considers the enforcement of the Benefit Entitlement (Residence Status) Act to be highly important. At the same time it needs to be clear to the institutions in question that the Act is a final element in government policy; the introduction of the Act does not replace the formal admissions and exclusion policy.

With respect to developments in the legal system it may be noted that the Benefit Entitlement (Residence Status) Act has rapidly brought about a significant adjustment of the Dutch social state in the direction of an immigration society. This is however only the beginning. The experience with the Act accordingly leads the Council to conclude that in further reviews of the formal arrangements for the provision of social security benefits and facilities, a test be built in from the perspective of an immigration society.

Toleration

In a fine-mesh network of institutions lacking any clear hierarchy, negotiations and compromise will set the tone. Parties have an interest in a certain diffuseness in the distribution of responsibilities and in using their own room for manoeuvre to translate a particular policy as they see fit. An immigration society leaves less room for such diffuseness. Clear frameworks that can be understood by ‘third parties’ and properly enforced are required instead. If toleration – which will always need to form part of the system – switches into violation of the law this could adversely affect the preservation of democracy under the rule of law. At present the collisions between fundamental rights and divergent interests frequently lead to pragmatic solutions and practices based on toleration. As a result the values and norms at issue are sometimes not taken seriously enough and the boundaries between what is and is not acceptable can become blurred. In an immigration society there is a need for the open discussion of conflicting standpoint and attitudes.

4.3 LOCAL DIVERSITY

Migrants meet the indigenous population and one another mainly at local and functional level. This is therefore also the level at which the greatest gains can be made when it comes to promoting participation. The ability to influence matters from the top – by the central government – is no more than limited and may even prove counterproductive.

Varying practices at local level

Addressing people and organisations in terms of their own creativity and powers of resolution is consistent with an immigration society, in which personal responsibility is central. This applies at both the individual level and the organi-

sational level. Wherever possible the latter must do justice to the needs and demands of citizens and take their specific circumstances into account. In this regard reference has been made to the need to improve the functioning of executive agencies, especially in education. The most important aspect here is quality control. It is important to encourage the separate learning capacity of organisations in education. In addition it must be possible for schools to help shape the conditions of their success themselves. In this respect too a differentiated conditions of employment policy is important, so that schools in deprived urban areas can attract and retain professionally competent teachers more readily.

Greater policy freedom to improve the quality of the provision, to increase the learning capacity and to help shape the conditions for one's own success is desirable not just for education but also for other executive agencies with which newcomers have to deal and which affect their social participation.

Government regulation and self-regulation by the group

As long as new groups of migrants have established themselves in the Netherlands the government has sought to regulate their relations with those groups. The question as to the relationship between formal institutions of the social state and informal systems of reciprocity should be answered primarily at the local level. Here too this is a matter of customisation and the weighing of interests in concrete situations, so that unnecessary formalisation and bureaucratisation of informal mutual support can be prevented while at the same time sufficient new initiatives are developed.

Pooling of knowledge and best practice

The possibilities for coordinating the policy have been explored in various parts of this report. In the case of integration policy it was also noted that this primarily concerns local types of work, which are moreover realised under public/private partnership. Local differences and practices can be responded to at this level.

At the central level it is possible to arrange for the pooling of knowledge and experience that have been built up in various places. A survey can also be made of best practices at home and abroad. On the basis of knowledge and experience, it can then be assessed at the local level which best practices deserve to be taken up.

5 THE DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITIES IN AN IMMIGRATION SOCIETY

The role of the central government has been examined in various parts of this report in the light of the locus of policy: what should be handled at the national level, and what at the local or international level?

Although in an immigration society the role of the national government is relatively confined, it can be defined with some precision. At national level government policy:

- is *coercive and concerned with sanctions* when it comes to the admission and initial equipping of immigrants, including integration;
- *facilitating and encouraging* so that migrants (both as individuals and as groups) can find their way in Dutch society and in organisations (businesses, institutions and schools).

The emphasis is on *the instrumental and initial equipping* of migrants so that they can make an effective contribution to Dutch society, wherever possible as they themselves see fit. As an immigration society is characterised by cultural diversity due to the existence of various independent links at local level and associated differences, it is important to decentralise the decision-making and to shift responsibilities to the level where the specific context can be taken into account the most effectively. In this way account can be taken of the diversity of wishes, needs and possibilities. Precisely in the case of a policy that places the emphasis on social participation, individual resilience and encounter, local variety – meaning the engagement of local authorities and institutions – and independent policy freedom for the institutions concerned are highly important.

The central government is also concerned with preserving the principles of the Netherlands as a democracy under the rule of law and as a full member of the international community. This means that an active role and normative contribution may be expected on the part of the national government in the European and international shaping of immigration policy. With respect to the internal policy in the Netherlands the national government is held to account for the creation and maintenance of the frameworks within which variety and independent policies at local level are possible.

On account of the close links between the Netherlands and the international community and the international nature of migration patterns, any policy in the field of immigration by definition has an international dimension. In this regard the European Union is the forum in which a wider migration policy in the broadest sense of the word will need to be developed. Partly in order to support policy measures in that context, the development of the countries and regions from which the migrants come is also a matter of European concern.

The ability to make effective choices on one's own soil will decline further in the future. The Dutch policy agenda in the migration field will therefore need to be played out at European level wherever possible and it is primarily at that level that national interests will need to be promoted.

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PRELIMINARY AND BACKGROUND STUDIES

Below publications in the series *Preliminary and Background Studies* are listed from the fourth term of office onwards. A complete list of these studies is available on the *wrr* website (<http://www.wrr.nl>) or at the Council's Bureau (+31 70 3564625). Most studies are available in Dutch only; a number of studies have been published in English.

Fourth term of office (1988-1992)

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- V65 H.F.L. Garretsen en H. Raat (1989) Gezondheid in de vier grote steden (Health in the Four Big Cities)
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