

Migration and migration policies in the Netherlands 2007

Dutch SOPEMI-Report 2007

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Contents

Contents	i
Preface	iii
Chapter 1 The changing Dutch immigration regime	1
1.1 Short overview	1
1.2 Family formation and family reunification	2
1.3 Policies on labour migration	3
1.4 Policies on asylum migration	7
1.5 Policies on illegal immigrants and migration	9
1.6 Policies on return	11
1.7 Policies on civic integration	13
1.8 Policies on citizenship	16
Chapter 2 Migration to and from the Netherlands	19
2.1 Summary	19
2.2 Immigration to the Netherlands	20
2.3 Immigration by migration motive	30
2.4 Family migration	34
2.4.1 Family reunification and marital migration	34
2.5 Emigration from the Netherlands	36
Appendix for Chapter 2	41
Chapter 3 Labour migration	49
3.1 Introduction	50
3.2 Labour migration	51
3.3 Work permits	54
3.4 Labour migrants from CEE countries 2007	60
Appendix for chapter 3	62

Chapter 4	Developments in asylum migration	63
4.1	Introduction	64
4.2	Asylum requests	64
4.3	Granted and rejected asylum requests	69
Chapter 5	Foreign nationals and immigrants in the Netherlands	73
5.1	Introduction	74
5.2	Numbers of non-Dutch residents and immigrants in the Netherlands	76
5.3	Some demographic characteristics of the immigrant population	81
5.4	Acquisition of Dutch citizenship	83
5.5	Undocumented immigrants in the Netherlands	86
	Appendix for Chapter 5	92
Chapter 6	Labour market integration of immigrants in the Netherlands	97
6.1	Introduction	97
6.2	Level of education of non-Western immigrants	98
6.3	Employment and unemployment of immigrants	101
6.4	Non-Western immigrants and social benefits	106
6.5	Labour position of non-Western immigrants	108
	Appendix for Chapter 6	112
Chapter 7	Social embeddedness and immigrant entrepreneurs: examining the importance of informal and formal networks in running a business	117
7.1	Introduction	118
7.2	Immigrant entrepreneurship and mixed embeddedness	119
7.3	Study object and research population	122
7.4	Acquiring scarce resources	126
7.5	Embeddedness in (in)formal social networks	134
7.6	Conclusions	136
	References chapter 7	138
	References	143

Preface

This is the sixth Dutch SOPEMI report compiled by a group of Rotterdam researchers associated with Rotterdam and the Rotterdam Institute for Social Policy Research (RISBO). This report was commissioned by the Dutch Ministry of Justice and the Dutch Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment. In the Netherlands the Ministry of Justice is responsible for both migration policies and immigrant integration.

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Chapter 1 **The changing Dutch immigration regime**

1.1 Short overview

This section gives a short overview of the Dutch policy-intentions on integration and immigration. The new Dutch Cabinet (Balkenende IV), which took office in February 2007 will shortly be introduced and the policy-intentions on these themes as stated in their coalition agreement and policy-statement will be explored.

Already from 2002 until 2006 the Christian Democratic Alliance provided the Prime Minister. The fourth Balkenende-cabinet is constituted by the Christian Democratic Alliance (CDA), the Labour Party (PvdA) and Christian Union (CU). Their motto is 'Working together, living together'. As they state in their policy-statement:

'It is socially unacceptable for people to be excluded from society, and economically irresponsible. Everyone is part of society. The government wants to join all residents of the Netherlands in cultivating the full spectrum of talent in our country'.

'Social participation' and 'social integration', therefore, are key-elements in the policy-intentions of this Cabinet. More than previous cabinets, the current cabinet focuses more on social and cultural integration in Dutch society. Bridging the social and cultural distances becomes all-important. These intentions are clearly reflected in their policy-intentions in the field of integration:

'Peaceful coexistence, public spiritedness, shared mores and values and solidarity are characteristics that enable a national community to make the most of opportunities and maintain its resilience in an open, international society. Achieving social cohesion requires permanent commitment to fostering a climate of security, responsibility and participation, and social integration is a prerequisite for that'.

The Balkenende-cabinets have a strict approach to issues of immigration and immigrant integration in common. They focus on restrictive immigration practices and promote the integration of immigrants and their children, already living in the Netherlands.

As shown in earlier Dutch SOPEMI-reports, the Balkenende-cabinets shifted their focus from a more restrictive towards a more selective approach on immigration, as announced in the policy paper 'Towards a modern migration policy' (2006). Main goal is to simplify the admission system in general. The government intends to be 'reliable and clear' on the subject of immigration. The Government focuses on a righteous, humanitarian and reliable implementation of the Aliens Act (2000) and a quick settlement of the old Aliens Act (by a special arrangement by which a residence permit is granted ex officio, better known as the 'General pardon', see section 1.5). They, secondly, promote the idea of mutual responsibility of Dutch society and the immigrant: '...opportunities come with obligations. We need everyone to play an active part'. Thirdly, the Governments based its new policy partly on utilitarian principles. The Netherlands wants to be an attractive country for highly qualified workers (and the foreign investors they in their turn attract). The regulation concerning this group is more flexible.

In this chapter these policy developments will be discussed. First, the policies on different forms of immigration will be in focus. The policy on family formation and family reunification will be discussed in section 1.2. In section 1.3 the focus is on policies on labour migration, in section 1.4 on asylum migration and in section 1.5 on illegal immigrants and migration. Second, the policies that follow on these forms of migration are topic of discussion. In section 1.6 policies on return are in focus, followed by policies on civic integration in section 1.7. In section 1.8 follow policies on (obtaining) citizenship.

1.2 Family formation and family reunification

This section discusses the policies on family formation and family reunification. As a result of ongoing marital migration (family formation), new and often poorly educated immigrants enter the Netherlands, where they have limited opportunities on the labour market. More generally, marital migration is often taken as evidence of the poor integration of immigrants into Dutch society, as stated in earlier Dutch SOPEMI-reports. Already in the

Aliens Act (2000) various measures to limit marital migration and family reunification were taken.

In 2004, the regulations for family formation were tightened up. The minimum age for marital migration was set at 21 years, where it had been 18 years and the minimum income requirement for marital migration was increased from 100% to 120% of the official minimum subsistence level, as already mentioned in the Dutch SOPEMI-report 2006. With the new Civic Integration Abroad Act (Dutch acronym: WIB) of March 2006, foreign nationals between the ages of 16 and 65 coming to the Netherlands for marriage or family reunification as well as immigrants who want to reside in the Netherlands as a spiritual leader or religious teacher, must pass a civic integration test prior to entering the Netherlands. The Civic Integration Abroad Act is described in more detail in section 1.7 on civic integration in the Netherlands.

In April 2007 the policy regarding family reunification with family members, other than spouse/partner or minor children, was adapted. From April 2007 on, not only children of age, but also family members as nephews, nieces and grandparents can join their family members in the Netherlands. The conditions are similar to those applying to children of age: the relative is and was in the country of origin an actual member of the household and leaving behind this relative is considered 'unduly harsh' in the Minister of Justice's view.

1.3 Policies on labour migration

This section discusses the policies on labour migration. These policies focus on, in general, first, a demand based policy on admission, second, an active admission of highly qualified workers and third, a selective admission of (non-highly qualified) foreign workers.

The Aliens Employment Act (Dutch: Wet Arbeid Vreemdelingen, WAV, described in detail in earlier Dutch SOPEMI-reports) regulates the temporary work permit (Dutch: tewerkstellingsvergunning, TWV) for the employer and employee. Before allowing the employer to recruit abroad, the Centre for Work and Income (CWI) assesses whether jobseekers from the priority workforce (Dutch, EU) are available. The Dutch government prefers stimulating labour market participation of women and older employees to inviting foreign workers (except highly qualified workers) to the Netherlands. In the perception of the Dutch government, labour migration is only desirable

for vacancies for which there are no Dutch job seekers (or job seekers from other EU-countries) available. The CWI will issue the work permit if the salary is in accordance with the applicable collective labour agreements, or at least the minimum wage, and if there is adequate housing.

In many cases, not only a TWV is needed, but also a residence permit. The employer can apply for a (provisional) residence permit at the Immigration and Naturalization Service (Dutch: Immigratie en Naturalisatie Dienst, IND). The TWV is obtainable at the CWI. To simplify the procedure, the cabinet proposed the implementation of one office for both applications, which has been opened since October 2008. Because the procedure of a so called provisional residence permit (Dutch: Machtiging tot Voorlopig Verblijf, MVV) is relatively time-consuming, bigger companies have the possibility to close on an agreement with the IND. The ambition is to end the procedure within two weeks, under certain conditions.

If an employer employs an illegal immigrant he risks being sanctioned heavily, with a fine up to €8,000 for legal bodies and €4,000 for natural persons (per alien) (as regulated in the Aliens Employment Act). The Netherlands try to block access to the formal labour market by these heavy sanctions and by a protective ring of bureaucratic requirements. More on illegal immigrants in section 1.5.

Two developments in the policies labour migration will now be discussed. First of all, the highly qualified workers, second the (non-highly qualified) foreign workers.

Policies on highly qualified workers

Starting in October 2004, the Dutch government has relaxed the admission rules for highly skilled migrants. The regulation has a demand-based character. With the introduction of the Modern Migration Policy in 2006, the developments are as follows. Highly skilled foreign workers receive a residence permit for a period of five years if they are in possession of, or about to be granted, a work contract of unlimited duration. When having a work contract for a limited period, the residence permit will be granted for the duration of the contract, with a maximum of five years. The IND supplies the immigrant the residence permit: a distinctive TWV is not needed. The whole procedure should take two weeks.

Foreign workers are considered highly skilled if they earn a certain amount of income. Differing from other countries, the Netherlands does not use a list of occupations, which are considered to be highly skilled. The general income criterion is a salary of at least € 47,565. If under 30 years it is € 34,881 and

if it concerns a graduated student, it is € 25,000 euro (within one year after graduation). Until 2006, foreign students had limited opportunities to stay and find work in the Netherlands after graduating or receiving a degree. In fact, foreign students from outside the EU/EEA were often requested to leave the country directly after completing their studies. The graduated student now also has a search period for a job of one year, from December 2007. By implementing these policies, the Government followed the advice of the Dutch Advisory Committee on Aliens Affairs (Dutch: Adviescommissie voor Vreemdelingenzaken, ACVZ), which we outlined in the Dutch SOPEMI-report of 2006.

To start a self-employed entrepreneurship is also a possibility. Also, for 'self employed entrepreneurs and researchers or creative top talents', a 'talent regulation' based on a point system will be introduced. The point system was not yet introduced in 2007, but will probably be introduced beginning 2009.

Finally, to make working in the Netherlands for highly qualified workers more attractive, the spouses, partners and underage children can also apply for a permit at the IND-office. This rule was implemented by December 2007.

Policies on (non-highly qualified) foreign workers

As noted in previous Dutch SOPEMI-Reports, the number of foreign workers coming to the Netherlands with a temporary work permit (TWV) has increased enormously in recent years. The total numbers of temporary work permits issued for foreign workers jumped from around 20,000 in 1999 to 74,000 in 2006 (see chapter 3 of this report). In 2005, more than half of the work permits were issued for unskilled or semi-skilled work in Dutch agriculture and horticulture sectors. The bulk of the work permits were given to foreign workers from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), especially from Poland.

Interestingly, the strong influx of foreign workers from Poland and other CEE-countries began before the EU-enlargement of 2004. In the late 1990s, Dutch agricultural and horticultural companies found it difficult to find enough seasonal workers. Although employees from especially Poland were available, it was considered difficult to obtain the necessary documents. In 2002, the Dutch government put an end to this situation with the so-called Project Seasonal Work that made it easier for agricultural and horticultural companies and temporary employment agencies to legally hire seasonal workers from Poland and other CEE-countries. As a result, at least 25,000 Polish workers were employed in the Dutch agricultural and horticultural

sector in 2004. Most of them were working on a temporary basis, for a few months out of the year. The majority of these Polish workers were employed via a temporary work permit (TWV).

After the EU- expansion in May 2004 the number of foreign workers from Poland and other CEE-countries increased. During this period the Netherlands was one of the countries that kept their borders officially closed for employees from the new EU-member states. Between 2004 and May 2007, a transitional measurement was introduced whereby workers from the new member states who did not have access to the Dutch labour market could apply for a work permit. However, in May 2007 the TWV-restrictions for foreign workers from new EU-members Poland and other new member states of 2004 have been annulled. Individuals from these countries now have free access to the Dutch labour market. This does not hold for nationals from the last two new EU-member states, Bulgaria and Rumania. Nationals from these two countries, that joined the EU in January 2007, must still undergo a transitional period in which their employers must apply for a work permit in the Netherlands. In November 2008, the Government has decided to continue the transitional measures for nationals from Bulgaria and Romania. The EU is an important player in the field of labour migration policies. As José Manuel Durão Barroso, the president of the European Commission, stated in a speech on October 23rd, 2007: 'We need a European approach to legal immigration if we want to be serious in becoming the most competitive, knowledge-based society in the world'. The Commission adopted two major proposals in the field of labour migration. One on a so-called 'EU blue card', which aims at a demand-based regulation for an increased admission of highly qualified workers. Mobility for highly skilled workers within the EU should also be improved. Another proposal is adopted on a 'single application procedure' for foreign nationals, which focuses on only one permit, both for work and residence. As mentioned earlier, the Netherlands now has two permits (a TWV and a (temporary) residence permit). The Netherlands does not yet agree on this proposal and would like to keep those two permits. This proposal also includes a common system of rights granted to all foreign nationals who work and reside legally in Europe. These rights should be comparable to those of EU citizens.

To shortly conclude: for nationals from the EU-countries, there is 'free movement' of workers. They are allowed to work in the Netherlands, without a TWV or a residence permit. For Rumania and Bulgaria there are transitional regulations. Employers need a TWV for them. People from outside the EU

need a TWV and a residence permit. Highly qualified workers only need a residence permit.

1.4 Policies on asylum migration

This section discusses the Dutch policies on asylum migration. First of all, the conditions under which a foreign national can be granted a residence permit for asylum in the Netherlands will be highlighted. Secondly, the Alien Act 2000 will be outlined in more detail.

A foreign national will be granted a residence permit for asylum in the Netherlands if:

- the alien is refugee as defined in the 1951 Convention (and the 1967 New York Protocol),
- there is a real risk of being subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (article 3 ECHR, CAT),
- he cannot, for pressing reasons of a humanitarian nature connected with the reasons for his departure from the country of origin, reasonably be expected, in the opinion of the Minister, to return to his country of origin;
- the return to the country of origin would, in the opinion of Our Minister, constitute an exceptional hardship in connection with the overall situation there;
- the alien is considered for family reunification.

As in other Western countries, asylum policy continues to be a thorny political issue. In the Netherlands following the large influx of asylum seekers in the 1990s, the Dutch State adopted a new Aliens Act (2000). Its primary purpose is the formulation of a more efficient asylum policy. A crucial problem of the pre-2000 Dutch asylum policy was its lengthy procedure. It often took years before a final decision on an asylum request was made, especially if asylum seekers appealed against a negative decision of the immigration authorities (IND) or continued the procedure in an effort to obtain a better status. The Aliens Act 2000 aimed to shorten the asylum procedures in three ways.

First of all, measurements were taken to simplify and accelerate the asylum procedure. Within a 48 hours-assessment asylum seekers will be informed on a direct rejection of the request, the possibility to lodge an application for review was abolished. Instead, the alien can now present his View to an Intended Decision. The purpose for this was to make the first instance decision more meticulous. After this decision, the alien can lodge an

appeal at the Court. A possibility for further appeal at the Council of State was introduced.

Secondly, and most important, the Netherlands introduced a single asylum status. Prior to the Aliens Act 2000, the Netherlands had various asylum statuses with different rights and privileges depending on the grounds for asylum. As of 1 April 2001, every asylum-seeker whose asylum request is approved receives the same temporary residence permit, regardless of the grounds for asylum. Each asylum-seeker who is admitted first receives a temporary residence permit for a maximum of five years (until 1 September 2004 this was three years). After a period of five years the permit can be converted into a permanent residence permit. Uniform rights and facilities are attached to this single status. All asylum migrants who have been admitted to the Netherlands (status holders) have the same rights. During the procedure, asylum seekers have only a limited right to engage in paid employment and have no access to the Dutch national assistance system. The basic principle is that asylum seekers remain outside Dutch formal social and economic society. If they were actively participating in Dutch society, it would only make it harder for them to leave again. Asylum seekers who have finalized their legal proceedings are themselves responsible for their return to their country of origin. More on this topic in section 1.5.

Between 2002 en 2005 several studies were carried out by the Research and Documentation Centre (WODC) of the Ministry of Justice and a number of other organisations to evaluate the new asylum procedure brought in by the Aliens Act 2000. One of the main conclusions was that, during the research period, the statutory periods of the asylum procedure were regularly exceeded. In other words, the new Aliens Act did not quite succeed in reducing the time it takes to complete the asylum process, which was one of the main aims of the new Act.

To perform a quick settlement of the old Aliens Act, the Government decided on a special arrangement by which a residence permit was granted on civil-official grounds. Asylum seekers, who met five objective requirements, received a residence permit. For example, the first asylum request must be applied before April 1st, 2001 and there should be no indications of a criminal history or war crimes. This regulation is generally known as the somewhat confusing term of 'General pardon'. This regulation will be discussed in more detail in section 1.5.

The influx of asylum seekers was at a historically low point in 2007. The number of first requests came to 7000. In total, around 9800 asylum

requests were processed in 2007. The influx showed a small rise in the second half of 2007. Mainly aliens from Iraq and Somalia showed a rise in number. Research showed that displaced persons who formerly stayed in the region of Iraq are now moving on to Europe.

1.5 Policies on illegal immigrants and migration

As pointed out earlier, the IND implements the policies on immigration (Aliens Act) and is able to grant or refuse a residence permit. An immigrant is considered illegal if he has no right to stay (lawful residence) in accordance with art. 8 of the Aliens Act, that is: if the IND does not grant him an asylum or temporary residence permit and, when the whole procedure is ended, does not leave the country when ordered to.

Numbers on how many asylum seekers actually leave the country or are still in the Netherlands without lawful residence (that is to say 'illegal') are not available. There are some figures about the number of expelled (asylum) migrants, but it is not clear if for example the asylum seekers who by 'check of address' are not met have actually left the Netherlands (see section 1.6). The previous Minister for Immigration and Integration declared an effective return migration policy to be one of the four focal points of her policies and has taken various measures to assure a more effective implementation of return migration. More on (policies on) return in section 1.6. First, the special regulation called 'General pardon' will be in focus. Further on, policies on the treatment of illegal immigrants will be discussed.

The 'General pardon' of 2007

In recent years, there were lengthy political debates in the Netherlands on the issue of rejected asylum seekers who were still in the country. In 2006 for example, the Association of Dutch Municipalities (Dutch: Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten, VNG) asked the Dutch cabinet to solve the problem by means of a pardon for those asylum seekers who lodged their initial asylum request before 1 April 2001 and were resident in the Netherlands. Also various social organisations such as Defence for Children International, Amnesty International and the Dutch Council for Refugees advocated a 'General pardon' for the so-called 'old cases' among the asylum seekers. Until 2006 the Dutch cabinet maintained that a 'General pardon' for this category of asylum seekers was undesirable and that rejected asylum seekers should leave the country. The phrase 'General pardon' is cause of

somewhat confusion (also in the Netherlands), because after all, it is a pardon for a rather specific category of illegal immigrants in the Netherlands. However, the national elections of November 2006 gave the advocates of such a regulation a majority in the new Dutch parliament. This new parliamentary majority first instructed the outgoing cabinet to suspend the deportation of rejected asylum seekers who applied for asylum before April 2001. The new Dutch cabinet of Christian Democrats and Social Democrats decided for a regulation which came into effect June 15th 2007. The 'General pardon' gives those foreign nationals in the Netherlands a residence permit if they:

- submitted their initial application for asylum before 1 April 2001 (before the new Aliens Act 2000 came into effect),
- have resided continuously in the Netherlands since 1 April 2001;
- are not suspected as war criminals,
- have not criminal antecedents in the Netherlands,
- have not repeatedly given false information about their identity and
- stop any pending legal procedures against the Dutch state when accepting residence under this regulation.

Meanwhile, the first information about the number of immigrants involved in the 'General pardon' is available. According to recent estimations, around 27,500 individuals will receive a residence permit in the Netherlands as a consequence of the 'General pardon'. At January 28th 2008, almost 25,000 foreign nationals received a written notice that they are eligible for a residence permit on the basis of the regulation; 21,000 persons have already accepted the terms on which a residence permit is given. At the end of 2007, 17,500 procedures were actually ended. 5,000 foreign nationals were refused a residence permit. The most important reason for the refusal is that the individuals involved have not lived in the Netherlands continuously (for instance asylum seekers who tried to receive asylum in neighbouring countries after their application was rejected in the Netherlands or families who stayed for some time with relatives in other EU-countries). Some applications for a residence permit were refused because of the suspicion, so not a legal judgement, of war crimes.

If an immigrant does not meet the criteria for the 'General pardon', he has to return. The return policy will be discussed in the next section. If the immigrant is staying illegally in the Netherlands after all, the Dutch policy is focused on excluding these immigrants from public services, such as welfare, social security and public housing. Illegal immigrants will get urgent medical care and all children (within compulsory education-age), also illegal children,

have the right to education. Since 1991, it is impossible for illegal aliens in the Netherlands to enter their names in the Municipal Administration and thus obtain a social-fiscal number, the 'entry ticket' to legitimate work. It is very difficult for illegal aliens to get a job in the legal, regular economy (employers are sanctioned heavily if found guilty at employing illegal immigrants). In 1998, the Benefit Entitlement (Residence Status) Act came into force. This Act aims at terminating and preventing the provision of unlawful benefits for persons residing illegally. This prevents them from building up a quasi-legal position. This act was to ensure that only immigrants with residence permits could obtain social security and other social rights.

In reaction to a publication concerning illegal stay in the Netherlands by the Research and Documentation Centre (WODC) of the Ministry of Justice, the State Secretary of Justice presented her policy on illegal stay of aliens on June 20 of 2008. Priority is given to illegal aliens committing criminal offences or causing troubles. Policy on these aliens is based on of the idea 'departure or detention'. The first goal is to return illegal aliens committing crimes. If return is not yet possible all efforts are aimed at putting or keeping them in detention. Moreover, aliens for which there is an indication that they have been staying illegally in the Netherlands, will be restricted in their freedom of movement and will be obliged to report to the authorities twice a day.

Detention of aliens will be enforced more often in the case of aliens who have exhausted all legal remedies and repeat their asylum applications without presenting new facts/developments or circumstances. There will also be an increased focus on vulnerable groups of illegal aliens. There will be new field-research on circumstances of the lives of Unaccompanied Minor Foreign Nationals (UMFN).

1.6 Policies on return

In this section the policies on return will be discussed. The Aliens Act was, as discussed in earlier, changed in 2000. What treatment aliens receive depended on whether they submitted their initial request for residence before or after April 1st, 2001. The settlement in return policies under the 'old' Aliens Act 2000 has extensively been discussed in earlier Dutch SOPEMI-Reports and it will suffice to mention that this Act is now out of order. As pointed out earlier in section 1.5, the special regulation called 'General

pardon', is part of the settlement of this act. Now, the policies on return under the new Aliens Act 2000 are in focus.

The Aliens Act 2000

Return Policies under the new Aliens Act imply faster and shorter procedures. Already at the start of the asylum procedure, the asylum seeker will be notified about the possibility that his request might not be accepted and he will have to return. The procedure in which the alien will be informed about the feasibility of his request on asylum, takes 48 hours (five workdays). After a final decision, the asylum seeker has four weeks to arrange his departure. Rejected asylum seekers themselves are responsible for leaving the country on time. Assistance within voluntary return programmes, by IOM on behalf of the Dutch authorities, is available to all the asylum seekers who meet the criteria. For example, they are not able to pay for the journey themselves. After this period, the official reception will be ended and the authorities may enforce return by expulsion without further issuance of orders. Since January 2007 a special service, called the Service on Return and Departure (Dutch: Dienst Terugkeer & Vertrek, DT&V) fosters these departures.

Twenty-eight days after the alien has been informed that they must leave the country, a check is performed to establish whether this has actually happened. An 'address check' at the last known address of the alien is carried out. The alien is considered to be 'administratively removed' if they are not encountered at the address and it is assumed that they have departed. In the majority of cases this implies 'departure with unknown destination'. If the alien is found at the last known address after 28 days and forced return is possible, then the person is taken into custody before being expelled or forced to depart under supervision. In the case of expulsion the alien is taken across the border under supervision and if necessary transported to the country of origin. In case of departure under supervision an alien can leave the country alone, but their travel documents are taken in and only given back at the place where the alien leaves the country.

If forced return is not possible, the alien can be evicted from their home or from reception centres for asylum seekers. In practice it is however possible that rejected asylum seekers end up on the street. There are no clear data on the number of illegal migrants that will continue to remain in the Netherlands on an illegal basis. Without any formal support they have to survive by themselves, sometimes with help from so-called informal social safety nets (organized by, for example, churches or other private organisations). The municipalities, which also organized some of these safety nests, are not

allowed to do so anymore. The municipality must stop the (funding of) temporary reception facilities for illegal immigrants, which is a premise under which the Municipalities, united in the Association of Dutch Municipalities (Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten, VNG) settled with the Government. Detention and expulsion are regarded as the final stages of an effective illegal aliens policy. The legal basis of alien detention differs in the European countries. In Belgium, France, Germany and to some extent England, illegal residence is punishable. The penalty usually consists of imprisonment or a fine. In the Netherlands, illegal residence as such is not an offence. The most important reason for non-penalization is that this can prolong illegal residence. Irregular immigrants may be detained – under specific conditions and with access to remedies and judicial review - and expelled on the basis of the Dutch Aliens Act. For families with children, some special arrangements are made. Thus, in a legal sense this type of detention is an administrative matter and not a penal measure. In enforcement priority is given to detention and expulsion of persons causing public order disturbances or who are involved in crime.

Under the Aliens Act 2000 it has become easier to arrest and detain illegal immigrants. On September 30th, 2004 the number of immigrants held in custody (1655) because of immigration laws had almost quadrupled since 1994 (425). This increase was partly aided by the construction of special repatriation centres at Schiphol and Rotterdam airport. Approximately half the number of immigrants in custody were there for less than seven days. These immigrants are easy to expel. On average, however, illegal immigrants are not detained any more often than in previous years, although the average length of detention has risen significantly. From 2000-2001, 60% of the almost 20,000 illegal immigrants in custody were deported. Van Kalmthout (2005) concludes that in less than half of the cases of illegal immigrants who have been apprehended and detained, the authorities are not able to enforce expulsion due to practical impediments (e.g. non cooperation, lack of documents etc). The person involved is then, after all, released and ordered to leave the country.

1.7 Policies on civic integration

Since 1998, the Netherlands has a Civic Integration Programme for newly arrived immigrants ('newcomers'). Immigrants coming to the Netherlands were obliged to fulfil the civic integration obligation by passing an

integration exam. The assumption is that by learning the Dutch language and some aspects about Dutch society, immigrants are better prepared to participate in Dutch society in general and the labour market in particular. However, the ultimate objectives of the civic integration programmes are more comprehensive, as this paragraph from the 'Integratienota 2007 – 2011' shows:

'The Cabinet asks all citizens to participate in the society on basis of mutual respect and equality. Just like the 'autochthons', the 'allochthons' will be expected to try to conquer a position in society, by learning the language, studying, earning an income, being responsible for raising their children. It's also about curiosity into affairs of Dutch society and the social environment of the (autochthonous) fellow citizens, and this especially counts for the Dutch culture and history. By participating in society, identification with it will be possible'.

In 2006 and 2007, the Dutch civic integration policies were drastically changed. The essence of the new measures is that the integration of non-Western immigrants is to be accelerated by making civic integration more compulsory. The changes are twofold. Firstly, the already mentioned Civic Integration Abroad Act that came into effect in March 2006. Secondly, a new Civic Integration Act (Dutch acronym: Wi) was introduced on 1 January 2007.

Civic Integration Abroad Act

In March 2006 the Civic Integration Abroad Act (Dutch acronym: WIB) came into effect. In the terms of this Act, foreign nationals between the ages of 18 and 65 coming to the Netherlands for non-temporary purposes, such as marriage or family reunification as well those who want to reside here as a spiritual leader or religious teacher, must pass a civic integration test prior to entering the Netherlands. These newcomers need to have acquired basic knowledge of both the Dutch language and Dutch society before they arrive in the Netherlands. This knowledge will be examined by an exam, taken in the Dutch embassy or consulate in the newcomer's country of origin (or current country of residence) where the migrant applies for a provisional residence permit (Machtiging tot Voorlopig Verblijf [MVV]). Only migrants that pass the test are eligible for a provisional residence permit that is necessary to enter the Netherlands.

Excepted from this exam are EU nationals and nationals from a specific group of industrialised countries (in other words: those nationals who are not MVV-obligated). Other exceptions are nationals who:

- are under 18 years,
- are nationals of Surinam and can prove that they have undertaken basic education in the Dutch language either in Surinam or the Netherlands,
- come to the Netherlands for a temporary objective, such as study, au pair, exchange, medical treatment,
- are family members of someone having an asylum-related residence permit,
- have a work permit, are self-employed, or highly qualified migrants.

As of March 2008, the requirements for passing the exam have been adjusted. The participant will have to answer more questions correctly in order to pass the exam.

At this moment the Civic Integration Abroad Act is being evaluated. This evaluation will include an investigation into the effect of the civic integration examination abroad on the integration programme and the language level of newcomers in the Netherlands. The evaluation will give a first indication of the effectiveness on integration. The results of this evaluation will be expected in the spring of 2009.

The new Civic Integration Act (2007)

In January 2007, a new Civic Integration Act (Dutch acronym: Wi) came into effect. One major change in the new act is that civic integration is obligatory for both newcomers and oldcomers. The latter category is defined as non-Dutch nationals between 18 and 65 years old living in the Netherlands, who did not live in the country during the time span for compulsory education (in the Netherlands from 4 to 16 years) for at least eight years. Non-Dutch nationals that do not fulfil this requirement and do not have a certificate showing they have sufficient command of the Dutch language, have to fulfil their integration obligation by passing a civic integration test within three and a half or five years. This exam replaced the requirement of obligated participating in a civic integration program. A passed integration exam is a condition for naturalization, which will be topic of section 1.8. Some categories are exempted from taking the test:

- People younger than 16 or older than 65 years,
- People who have lived in the Netherlands for eight years or longer during the age of compulsory education (between 4 and 16 years of age),

- People who have a certificate or other proof that their Dutch and knowledge of Dutch society is good,
- People who passed a so called 'Short Exemption test',
- People from the European Union, the European Economic Area or Switzerland,
- People who are not staying permanently in the Netherlands,
- People with medical grounds for exception.

The minimum level for writing and speaking for newcomers and oldcomers are based on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEF). The introduction of the compulsory civic integration exam enables local authorities responsible for the implementation of civic integration to enforce sanctions (e.g. an administrative fine) when participants fail to pass the test.

Another major change in the Dutch system of civic integration is that individual participants themselves are in principle responsible for their own civic integration trajectories. Municipalities can play a role in informing participants about existing integration courses offered by education institutes or private suppliers of language and other courses. Participants can decide what course they will take if they follow a course of their own choice. The only obligation is that participants fulfil their obligation within the fixed time period. Originally, as described in the Dutch SOPEMI-report 2006, participants had to finance their own civic integration course, although they were eligible for a loan covering the costs. As already mentioned in the Dutch SOPEMI-report 2006, the execution of the law showed major difficulties. The classrooms could not be filled with enough participants. The Civic Integration Act is now officially being revised under the Delta Plan Civic Integration.

A municipality may offer the immigrant to pay the course and the exam. Those who have to take care of the payment for the course and the exam themselves are eligible for a loan (as was also the case in 2006) and, under certain conditions, a reimbursement. An important change within the Delta Plan will be the offer the municipalities will make towards the participants. The participant still pays a personal contribution of 270 euro, to stress the 'own responsibility' to integrate.

1.8 Policies on citizenship

The last decennium, (laws on) nationality and citizenship were topic of lengthy debates in the Netherlands. First, the topic of Dutch citizenship will

be discussed. Secondly, the heatedly debated subject of double nationality will be in focus.

The Act on Dutch Citizenship (Dutch: Rijkswet op het Nederlandschap, RWN) regulates the subject of Dutch nationality. This law regulates when someone can become Dutch, under what conditions and under what conditions one can lose one's Dutch nationality. Becoming Dutch is possible through two procedures: the naturalization regulation and the option regulation. To obtain Dutch citizenship through naturalization foreign nationals have to meet the following conditions:

- You are of age,
- You have lived in the Netherlands, the Dutch Antilles or Aruba for an uninterrupted period of 5 years with a valid residence permit. This also means you have always extended your residence permit on time. There are a number of exceptions to this rule,
- You are sufficiently integrated in Dutch society and are able to read, write, speak and understand Dutch. You must prove this by passing a civic integration exam. Some groups are exempted,
- In the last four years you have not been given any custodial sentence, training order, community service order or high monetary penalty,
- You are prepared to give up your current nationality. If you do not give up your current nationality even though you are supposed to, your Dutch nationality may be revoked. There are a number of exceptions to this rule,
- You have a residence permit for a non-temporary objective, such as family reunification.

Becoming Dutch through the naturalization procedure will take 6 months up to a year. The 'option regulation' takes up to three months. This procedure was enlarged in 2003, which was already discussed in the 2006 Dutch SOPEMI-report. If someone belongs to one of eight categories, he may 'opt' for Dutch nationality. The idea is that these non-Dutch nationals are already at home in the country and they do not have to pass an integration exam (which already discussed in the section 1.7). It is not compulsory to abandon his other nationality. The municipality of residence decides whether or not someone is eligible for the option regulation.

As of 2006 candidates will officially receive the Dutch nationality if they are present at a so-called obliged 'naturalization ceremony'. With this ceremony the Dutch government wants to emphasise the importance of obtaining Dutch citizenship. The aim is to strengthen the immigrants' link and loyalty to Dutch society. A 'Statement of Solidarity' (Dutch: Verklaring van Verbondenheid)

will be the final act of this ceremony. This statement was introduced per April 2008.

Already in 2005, the Minister for Immigration and Integration proposed a bill in which she proposed the possibility to withdraw the Dutch citizenship because of causing severe damage to the essential interests of the Dutch Kingdom. Spying, for example, is one these severe damages, as mentioned in the European Nationality pact. A proposal to change the Law of the realm (Rijkswet) on Dutch Citizenship is still (November 2008) under preparation.

The subject of double nationality became of sudden importance with the instalment of the Balkenende IV-Cabinet. Two candidate-members of the Government had, and still have, a double nationality. The Party For Freedom (Dutch: Partij Voor de Vrijheid, PVV) filed a motion of no-confidence against them. The debate focuses on loyalty: how loyal is one with a double nationality to the Dutch state? The Cabinet and other parties did not agree with this motion. From 1992 to 1997 it was not needed to renounce 'the other' nationality to become Dutch. Thereafter, this rule was introduced again, but there were some exceptions. The last Cabinet proposed to limit these exceptions in 2005 (as discussed in the Dutch SOPEMI-report 2006), but the Balkenende IV-Cabinet withdrew the bill in 2007.

Starting point of the Dutch law is to limit plural nationalities, because a single nationality enhances a clear legal status, which is defined by the nationality of that person. In principle, one has to abandon his original nationality, but there are some exceptions to this rule. Some countries, for example Morocco, do not allow citizens to abandon the Moroccan nationality.

Chapter 2 **Migration to and from the Netherlands**

2.1 Summary

Main trends in migration to and from the Netherlands

- In 2007, the number of immigrants entering the Netherlands increased - as it did in 2006- from 101,150 to 116,819. Immigration numbers rose by 15,000.
- The number of emigrants leaving the Netherlands, Dutch and foreign nationals alike, continues to increase, although with a relatively small number compared to 2006. With immigration increasing and emigration being stable in 2007, the immigration surplus (immigration minus emigration) increased. In 2006, the corrected surplus was – 30,000. In 2007, the corrected immigration surplus was still negative, but with a negative surplus of around –2800 far less. In 2000, the immigration surplus was many times bigger (54,000).
- An important explanation for the declining immigration in the period 2002-2005 is the sharp fall in the number of immigrants from, mostly, typical refugee countries such as Angola, Congo, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan, former Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka, Syria, the former Soviet Union and Morocco. The declining immigration from these countries is the intended result of the stricter Dutch asylum policies in recent years. The main explanation for the higher immigration in 2006 and 2007 is the increased number of immigrants from mainly the new Eastern European EU-countries as well as from India, China and Germany.
- In the media, and in public and political debate, immigration is often associated with immigrants from Third World countries with a non-Western cultural background who find it hard to integrate into Dutch society. However this popular picture is true for only a minority of the immigrants entering the Netherlands. 78 percent of the 116,819 immigrants in 2007 were either Dutch nationals (including Antilleans and Arubans) or immigrants from other Western countries such as the other EU countries, the United States, Indonesia or Japan. Even if we exclude the immigrants from the Netherlands Antilles, 74 percent of the immigrants of 2007 were still either Dutch nationals or non-Dutch

nationals coming from other Western countries. In 2007, almost 20,000 non-Dutch immigrants (that is 17 percent of the total immigrant population) came from the twelve new EU-countries or from other European countries, such as the former Russian Federation and former Yugoslavia. The largest single non-Dutch immigrant groups coming to the Netherlands in 2007 came from Poland (9945), Germany (7087), Bulgaria (4814) and the United Kingdom (3929). 22 percent of the immigrants in 2007 came from various non-Western countries. The five largest single immigrant groups from non-Western countries came from China (3498), India (2345), Turkey (2323), Iraq (1544), Somalia (1128), Morocco (1108), and from Surinam (1020). Iraq and Somalia are newcomers in the top of largest single non-Dutch immigrant categories.

- When looking at the developments over the last years, it appears that non-Dutch immigrants from Western countries are an expanding category. In 2000, less than half of all foreign nationals immigrating to the Netherlands came from various Western countries. In 2007, this figure was almost 68 percent. As could be expected, the proportion of immigrants from the 12 new EU countries in particular, increased rapidly (from 4.5 percent in 2000 to 25 percent in 2007). On the other hand, the proportion of immigrants from non-Western countries declined over the years from almost 50 percent in 2000 to 32 percent in 2007.
- Statistically, the 'unspecified' motives are the most important reasons for coming to the Netherlands. After that follow family reasons: marriage, family reunification. In some non-Western groups, the proportion of immigrants that came to the Netherlands for family reasons is significantly higher.
- About one in three immigrants to the Netherlands leave again within six years. The percentage of return migrants is larger among Western than non-Western immigrants. The percentage of return immigrants seems to be the lowest among immigrants coming to the Netherlands to seek asylum or for family reasons. This table could not be updated for 2007.

2.2 Immigration to the Netherlands

This chapter describes the migration flows to and from the Netherlands. What are the central trends? Who are the immigrants and why do they come to the Netherlands? After the Second World War, the Netherlands was a country of emigration. Officially encouraged by the Dutch government, many Dutch

citizens emigrated to the United States, Canada or Australia. This situation only changed in the early 1960s with the arrival of guest workers from the Mediterranean. As the term *guest worker* implies, they were only expected to stay temporarily in the Netherlands and return to their home countries once they had done their job. This myth of migrants returning home dominated official Dutch thinking about immigration and immigrant integration for many years. Only when the guest workers brought their families to the Netherlands and when major flows of post-colonial immigrants from the Caribbean (Suriname, Netherlands Antilles) started to come, in the 1980s and 1990s, did it become clear that immigrants were here to stay and that the Netherlands was turning into a country of immigration.

However, the last few years have brought new significant changes in the migration to the Netherlands. Table 2.1 shows the numbers of immigrants to the Netherlands since the early 1980s and makes clear that migration to the Netherlands was at its maximum in 2000 and 2001 (with 130,000 immigrants coming to the Netherlands in each year). After this peak of migration around the Millennium Change, the total number of immigrants fell rapidly to 92,000 in 2005. That is, in only four years time (2001-2005) the number of immigrants coming to the Netherlands declined noticeably by 30%. In 2006 and 2007 however, migration numbers to the Netherlands showed a remarkable rise up to 101,150 in 2006 and up to 116,819 in 2007. A rise of almost 15,000 immigrants.

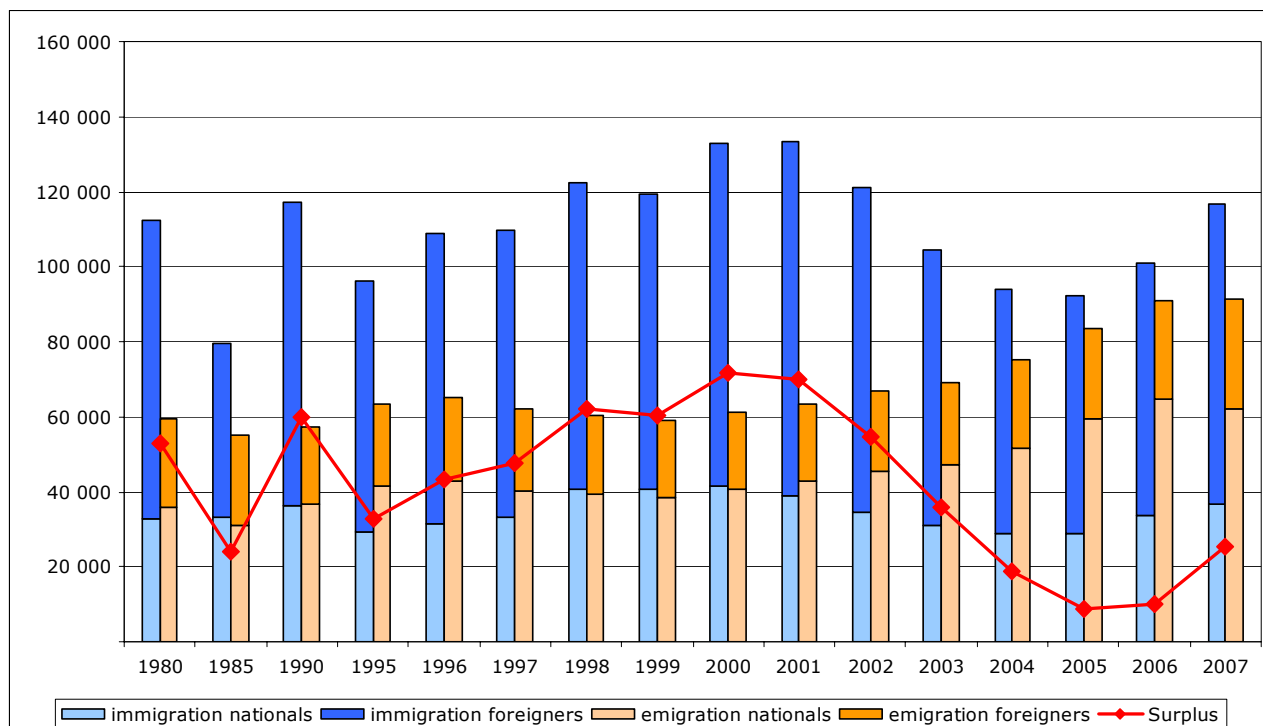
The main reason for the falling number of immigrants in the period 2001-2005 was the rapid decrease of asylum migration to the Netherlands (see also chapter 4). Table 2.1 shows that the increased migration in 2006 and 2007 is mainly explained by a remarkable rise in migration to the Netherlands by foreign nationals (+ 12601).

Returning to table 2.1, we can see that despite the falling immigration numbers until 2005 the level of immigration to the Netherlands is still significantly higher than in most of the 1980's.

In 2007 the number of emigrants leaving the Netherlands continues to increase, but only by a small number compared to the increase between 2005 and 2006. The total number of emigrants went up from 59,000 in 1999 to around 91,000 in 2007. Section 2.3 will give more detailed information about these emigration figures. With, primarily, immigration rising and emigration being stable, the immigration surplus (immigration minus emigration) rose strongly compared to 2006 and 2005. In 2007, the immigration surplus was around 25,000, 15,000 more than the surplus of 2006 (+10,000). In 2004 the Dutch migration surplus also was at a higher

level (19,000), and in 2001 – at the height of immigration to the Netherlands – the immigration surplus was 70,000.

Figure 2.1 Immigration and emigration of Dutch and Foreign Nationals to and from the Netherlands and migration surplus (1980-2007, selected years) (in absolute numbers)



Source: Statistics Netherlands (Statline)

The last column of table 2.1 gives a corrected figure for the immigration surplus to the Netherlands. This requires some explanation. Local authorities carry out these so-called administrative corrections. Municipalities can include someone in the local population register by request of the person involved. More important, however, are withdrawals from the local population register. A municipality withdraws someone from the population register when it is established that the place of residence of the person is unknown, the resident cannot be reached and when it is assumed that he or she is not a resident of a Dutch municipality anymore. These administrative corrections imply in practice that the emigration from the Netherlands is larger than was assumed, and that consequently the immigration surplus is even lower than we reported thus far. Using these corrected figures (as in the last column of table 2.1); we can see that the Netherlands has a negative immigration surplus since 2003. This means that emigration is larger than immigration. In 2007, the negative immigration surplus fell to -2,757, in 2005 and 2006 being around -30,000. More details about administrative corrections on the immigration and emigration figures are given in the Appendix to this chapter.

Table 2.1: Immigration and Emigration of Dutch and Foreign Nationals in the Netherlands (1980-2007)

Year	Immigration			Emigration			Surplus	
	Dutch nationals	Foreign nationals	Total	Dutch nationals	Foreign nationals	Total	Surplus	Corrected surplus*
1980	32 684	79 820	112 504	35 837	23 633	59 470	53 034	53 034
1981	29 767	50 416	80 183	38 216	24 979	63 195	16 988	16 988
1982	29 810	40 930	70 740	39 413	28 094	67 507	3 233	3 233
1983	30 321	36 441	66 762	32 810	27 974	60 784	5 978	2 331
1984	29 616	37 291	66 907	31 824	27 030	58 854	8 053	5 133
1985	33 196	46 166	79 362	31 009	24 206	55 215	24 147	19 887
1986	34 585	52 802	87 387	31 155	23 563	54 718	32 669	26 780
1987	35 080	60 855	95 935	31 139	20 872	52 011	43 924	35 091
1988	32 976	58 262	91 238	34 403	21 388	55 791	35 447	27 242
1989	33 529	65 385	98 914	38 218	21 489	59 707	39 207	26 851
1990	36 086	81 264	117 350	36 749	20 595	57 344	60 006	48 411
1991	35 912	84 337	120 249	35 998	21 330	57 328	62 921	49 610
1992	33 904	83 022	116 926	36 101	22 733	58 834	58 092	43 118
1993	31 581	87 573	119 154	37 019	22 203	59 222	59 932	44 366
1994	30 887	68 424	99 311	39 409	22 746	62 155	37 156	20 083
1995	29 127	66 972	96 099	41 648	21 673	63 321	32 778	13 904
1996	31 572	77 177	108 749	42 921	22 404	65 325	43 424	16 804
1997	33 124	76 736	109 860	40 278	21 940	62 218	47 642	27 887
1998	40 706	81 701	122 407	39 175	21 266	60 441	61 966	43 118
1999	40 786	78 365	119 151	38 358	20 665	59 023	60 128	40 372
2000	41 467	91 383	132 850	40 474	20 727	61 201	71 649	53 873
2001	38 897	94 507	133 404	42 921	20 397	63 318	70 086	50 838
2002	34 631	86 619	121 250	45 571	21 157	66 728	54 522	24 332
2003	30 948	73 566	104 514	47 015	21 870	68 885	35 629	-317
2004	28 898	65 121	94 019	51 500	23 549	75 049	18 970	-16 216
2005	28 882	63 415	92 297	59 415	23 984	83 399	8 898	-27 428
2006	33 493	67 657	101 150	64 552	26 476	91 028	10 122	-31 320
2007	36 561	80 258	116.819	62 250	29 037	91 287	25 532	-2 575

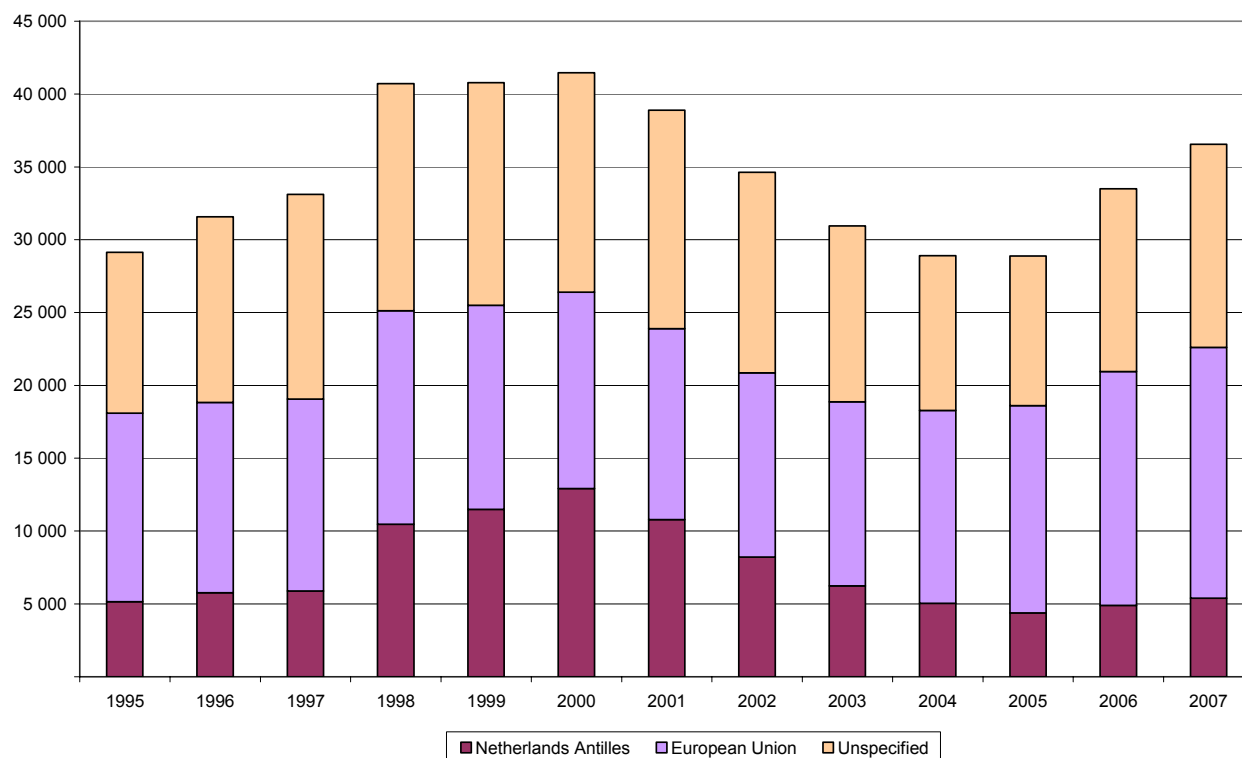
*Migration figures in the Netherlands need to be corrected by the number of net administrative corrections, a figure that is largely influenced by the unreported emigration of foreigners. If the net administrative corrections are deducted from the registered migration surplus, the result is a lower corrected migration surplus. Statistics Netherlands presents the registered migration statistics as well as the net administrative corrections.

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline¹

Who are the 116,819 immigrants that came to the Netherlands in 2007?

Around one third of the immigrants are Dutch nationals coming or returning to the Netherlands (about 36,561 people in 2007, Table 2.1). The number of Dutch nationals coming or returning to the Netherlands was much higher, however, in the late 1990s (about 40,000). Figure 2.2 shows where these Dutch nationals entering the Netherlands came from. Almost half of these immigrants were Dutch nationals living in other EU-countries who returned to the Netherlands. A specific category among the Dutch nationals immigrating to the Netherlands is residents from the Dutch Caribbean islands, the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba. In the late 1990s more than 10,000, with a peak in 2000 with around 13,000, Antilleans came to the Netherlands due to the poor economic situation there. In 2007, the number of Antillean immigrants declined to about 5,000 (around 4.5% of the total immigration to the Netherlands) (table 2.2).

¹ The figures are based on information of Statistics Netherlands as reported to Statistics Netherlands by the municipal population registrations.

Figure 2.2: Immigration of Dutch Nationals (selected categories) 1995-2007

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline (figures are based on the municipal population registrations)

Table 2.2 gives an overview of who came to the Netherlands in 2007. The data in the table refers to both the nationality and country of origin of immigrants. First a distinction is drawn between Dutch nationals (including immigrants from the Netherlands Antilles) and foreign nationals. The countries of origin mentioned in the table are not necessarily the country of birth, but the country immigrants came from when arriving in the Netherlands. Following official Dutch statistics, the countries of origin are subdivided in Western countries (such as the EU, countries in Central and Eastern Europe and other Western countries) and non-Western countries.²

² Statistics Netherlands distinguishes between Western and non-Western countries. Western countries are all European countries including Central and Eastern Europe except Turkey, North American countries, some Asian countries (Japan and Indonesia) and the countries in Oceania (Australia, New Zealand). Turkey and all the countries in Latin and South America, Africa and Asia are considered non-Western.

Table 2.2: Immigration of Dutch and foreign nationals by country of origin and gender 2007

	Male		Female		Total	
		in %		in %		in %
Total	60 798	100.0	56 021	100.0	116 819	100.0
Dutch nationals	19 802	32.6	16 759	29.9	36 561	31.3
<i>of whom from</i>						
Dutch Antilles and Aruba	2 692	4.4	2 693	4.8	5 385	4.6
25 EU countries	9 466	15.6	7 754	13.8	17 220	14.7
Non-Dutch nationals	40 996	67.4	39 262	70.1	80 258	68.7
<i>of whom from</i>						
Western Countries	27 931	45.9	26 737	47.7	54 668	46.8
<i>of whom from</i>						
EU-countries (27)	22 895	37.7	21 032	37.5	43 927	37.6
<i>of whom from</i>						
old EU-countries (15)	12 502	20.6	11 484	20.5	23 986	20.5
<i>of whom from</i>						
Germany	3 234	5.3	3 853	6.9	7 087	6.1
United Kingdom	2 338	3.8	1 591	2.8	3 929	3.4
France	1 137	1.9	1 017	1.8	2 154	1.8
Belgium	1 081	1.8	1 213	2.2	2 294	2.0
new EU-countries (12)	10 393	17.1	9 548	17.0	19 941	17.1
<i>of whom from</i>						
Poland	5 589	9.2	4 356	7.8	9 945	8.5
Bulgaria	2 468	4.1	2 346	4.2	4 814	4.1
Romania	866	1.4	1 382	2.5	2 248	1.9
Slovak Republic	417	0.7	247	0.4	664	0.6
Other Europe	1 260	2.1	1 892	3.4	3 152	2.7
<i>of whom from</i>						
Soviet Union (former)	654	1.1	1 159	2.1	1 813	1.6
Yugoslavia (former)	233	0.4	303	0.5	536	0.5
other Western	3 776	6.2	3 813	6.8	7 589	6.5
<i>of whom from</i>						
United States	1 766	2.9	1 696	3.0	3 462	3.0
Canada	384	0.6	394	0.7	778	0.7
Japan	573	0.9	545	1.0	1 118	1.0
Indonesia	561	0.9	662	1.2	1 223	1.0
Australia	388	0.6	403	0.7	791	0.7
Non-Western countries	12 987	21.4	12 444	22.2	25 431	21.8
<i>of whom from</i>						
Turkey	1 296	2.1	1 027	1.8	2 323	2.0
Morocco	546	0.9	562	1.0	1 108	0.9
Ghana	216	0.4	184	0.3	400	0.3
South Africa	211	0.3	416	0.7	627	0.5
Somalia	690	1.1	438	0.8	1 128	1.0
Nigeria	240	0.4	206	0.4	446	0.4
Suriname	408	0.7	612	1.1	1 020	0.9
Brazil	336	0.6	559	1.0	895	0.8
Colombia	94	0.2	154	0.3	248	0.2
China	1 679	2.8	1 819	3.2	3 498	3.0
India	1 607	2.6	738	1.3	2 345	2.0
Thailand	221	0.4	443	0.8	664	0.6
Pakistan	393	0.6	182	0.3	575	0.5
Iraq	960	1.6	584	1.0	1 544	1.3
Philippines	110	0.2	465	0.8	575	0.5
Iran	291	0.5	286	0.5	577	0.5
Unknown	78	0.1	81	0.1	159	0.1

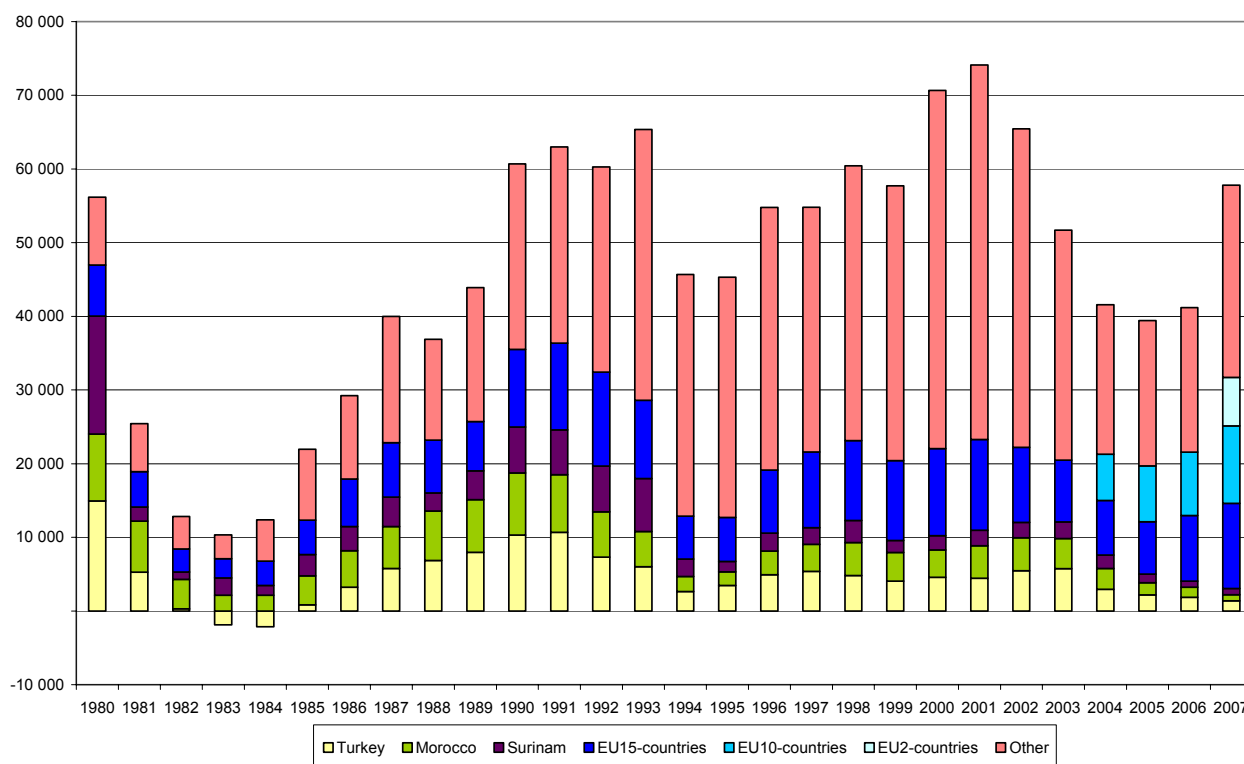
Source: Statistics Netherlands

In our opinion, the figures in table 2.2 put the current concern about immigration to the Netherlands into the proper perspective. In the Dutch public and political debates and in the media immigration is often associated with people from the Third World countries with a non-Western cultural background that find it hard to integrate into Dutch society. However, as table 2.2 makes clear, this popular picture of immigration is true for only a minority of the immigrants coming to the Netherlands. 78% of the 116,819 immigrants in 2007 are either Dutch nationals (including Antilleans and Arubans) or immigrants from other Western countries such as the other EU countries, the United States, Indonesia or Japan. Even if we exclude the immigrants from the Netherlands Antilles, around 74% of the immigrants in 2007 were still either Dutch nationals or non-Dutch nationals coming from other Western countries. In 2007, almost 20,000 non-Dutch immigrants (that is 17% of the total immigrant population) came from the *twelve* new EU-countries and around 3,000 came from other European countries, such as the former Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia. In 2006 only 10,000 non-Dutch immigrants came from *ten* new EU-countries, which was 10% of the total. In 2006 Rumania still belonged to the 'other EU countries', and is in 2007 a 'new EU-country'. Bulgaria also is a 'new EU country' and was not counted for last year. The four largest single non-Dutch immigrant groups coming to the Netherlands in 2007 came from Poland (9945), Germany (7087), Bulgaria (4814) and the United Kingdom (3929). In no time Bulgaria came to a top-three position.

All of this implies that the proportion of non-Western immigrants of the overall immigration in 2007 to the Netherlands is around 22%. The largest single immigrant groups from non-Western countries came from China (3498, a rise of around 500), India (2345, + 400) Turkey (2323, - 400), Iraq (1544) and Somalia (1128), Morocco (1108, - 600) and Surinam (1020, stable) Iraq and Somalia are new in the top five and took the place of both Morocco and Surinam. It is interesting to note that the more or less 'traditional' immigrant groups in the Netherlands (Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean) still constitute a relatively large proportion of the non-Western immigrants, but their share in the overall immigration to the Netherlands declined to 8% in 2007. In 1990 the proportion of these four traditional immigrant groups in the overall immigration to the Netherlands was still 30%. Simultaneously with the declining immigration from these traditional immigration countries for the Netherlands, new immigrants arrived from a variety of countries all over the world. The arrival of new immigrant groups to the Netherlands, in addition to the declining 'traditional' immigration, can be interpreted as a sign of the

growing differentiation in the flow of immigrants to the Netherlands. Figure 2.3 shows this trend in a historical perspective.

Figure 2.3: Migration Surplus of Non-Dutch Immigrants by Country of Origin, 1980-2007



Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline (figures are based on the municipal population registrations)

In the early 1980s, immigration to the Netherlands was still rather homogeneous: more than two thirds of all non-Dutch immigrants to the Netherlands came from just three countries (Turkey, Morocco and Suriname). Since the mid-1990s, the proportion of these three non-Dutch immigrant groups in the overall immigration of foreign nationals is at a much lower level (from 15 to 20%). The proportion of non-Dutch immigrants from the EU countries in the overall immigrant population increased from around 20% in 2003 (the old EU countries) to 38% (including the twelve new EU countries) in 2007. This increase in immigration from other EU-countries can be explained by immigration from the 12 new-EU countries. Immigration from these new EU-countries more than tripled from 3300 persons in 2003, before they became an EU-member, to almost 13,000 in 2007, excluding the 'newest' EU-countries of Bulgaria and Romania. With Bulgaria and Romania included, the immigration number from EU-countries is almost 20,000. Immigration from the old EU-countries (EU15) also increased. The percentage of immigrants from other non-Western countries (without Turkey,

Morocco, Surinam and EU-countries) increased from less than 30% in the early 1980s to 70% or more in the late 1990s. After 2001, this number decreased until 2006 and increased a little in 2007. All the figures show an increasing heterogeneity of the immigrant population in the Netherlands, with now coming almost 50% of all immigrants coming from Western countries. (see also table 2.3).

What were the fastest growing and declining immigrant groups in the Netherlands over the past decade? Table 2.3 shows historical patterns in immigration from selected countries from 2000 to 2007.³ The countries of origin are again divided into Western and non-Western countries. The table, again, shows the decline in the number of foreign-born immigrants in the period 2001-2005 (from 94,507 in 2001 to 63,356 in 2005) and the increase in 2006 (to 67,618) and in 2007 to a number of 80,258. The fastest growing immigrant category of the last decade is no doubt immigrants from the EU-countries, to be more specific: from the new EU-countries (EU10) and Romania and Bulgaria (EU2, in table 2,3). The total number of immigrants from the new EU10-countries went up from scarcely 3200 in 2000 to almost 13,000 in 2007 (an increase of more than 400 percent). The total number immigrants coming from Bulgaria and Romania rose to more than 7,000, starting with 844 in 2000. The number of immigrants coming from non-Western countries fell from 44,915 in 2000 to 25,431 in 2007 (a decrease of 43%).

Table 2.4 summarizes table 2.3 and gives a picture of the ten countries with the largest growth and the largest decline of immigration to the Netherlands over the last decade. The table shows again that the largest growth of immigration to the Netherlands comes from the new EU-countries in Middle and Eastern Europe, plus the other countries of India, Brazil, China and Germany. Six out of ten countries with the largest growth of immigration to the Netherlands belong to these new EU-countries (Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Slovak Republic and Czech Republic).

³ In table 2.3 the foreign-nationals by country of origin are presented. There are no detailed figures for the immigration of foreign-nationals by country of origin for the period 1995-1999. However these figures are available for the foreign-born. In Table A3.4 in the appendix the immigration of foreign-born 1995-2007 is presented.

Migration to and from the Netherlands

Table 2.3: Immigration of foreign-nationals to the Netherlands by country of origin (2000-2007)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total	91 383	94 507	86 619	74 654	65 121	63 415	67 657	80 258
<i>of whom from</i>								
Western countries	45 285	44 390	39 556	36 154	36 707	37 348	42 430	54 668
<i>of whom from</i>								
EU-countries (27)^b	26 341	26 856	25 247	23 439	27 020	27 976	32 466	43 927
<i>of whom from</i>								
EU-countries (15)	22 323	22 230	20 806	19 138	18 644	18 223	20 921	23 986
<i>of whom from</i>								
Germany	5 276	5 186	4 983	4 834	5 260	5 408	6 077	7 087
United Kingdom	5 635	5 649	4 774	3 985	3 587	3 126	3 637	3 929
Belgium	2 178	2 069	1 962	1 791	1 684	1 635	1 949	2 294
France	2 235	2 053	2 022	1 824	1 822	1 792	1 993	2 154
Spain	1 369	1 418	1 515	1 482	1 439	1 380	1 572	1 797
EU-countries (10)^b	3 174	3 651	3 436	3 187	7 316	8 856	10 458	12 879
<i>of whom from</i>								
Poland	1 705	2 011	2 087	1 962	4 949	6 512	8 065	9 945
Hungary	500	565	443	424	567	596	576	967
Czech Republic	338	372	296	276	496	484	492	542
Slovak Republic	360	360	243	163	450	504	638	664
EU-countries (2)	844	975	1 005	1 114	1 060	897	1 087	7 062
Romania	580	650	579	656	658	508	665	2 248
Bulgaria	264	325	426	458	402	389	422	4 814
other Europe	11 117	9 554	6 630	4 920	3 583	3 049	2 928	3 152
<i>of whom from</i>								
Yugoslavia (former) ^b	4 559	2 993	1 599	1 132	749	593	521	536
Soviet Union (former) ^c	5 698	5 686	4 240	3 074	2 108	1 794	1 672	1 813
other Western countries	7 827	7 980	7 679	7 795	6 104	6 323	7 036	7 589
<i>of whom from</i>								
United States	3 483	3 255	3 270	2 790	2 400	2 722	3 299	3 462
Canada	671	740	582	531	527	599	685	778
Indonesia	1 437	1 564	1 570	1 357	1 185	1 078	1 057	1 223
Japan	1 189	1 213	1 184	1 178	1 164	1 094	1 114	1 118
Australia	789	955	872	701	670	676	708	791
Non-Western countries	44 915	49 166	46 379	38 029	28 135	25 821	25 032	25 431
<i>of whom from</i>								
Turkey	5 196	5 646	5 899	6 389	4 245	3 116	2 776	2 323
Morocco	4 068	4 818	4 787	4 392	3 217	2 013	1 638	1 108
Somalia	1 773	1 343	672	235	197	257	487	1 128
South Africa	987	1 024	787	687	549	516	570	627
Angola	1 163	1 822	3 429	1 088	274	96	39	51
Sudan	1 468	1 339	782	389	156	161	94	90
Egypt	446	497	586	583	466	386	345	303
Sierra Leone	768	1 514	1 867	576	166	104	81	107
Ghana	356	315	277	427	347	836	610	400
Congo	461	492	506	319	165	116	101	37
Nigeria	358	421	436	481	360	526	419	446
Ethiopia	443	510	477	317	300	287	298	358
Suriname	2 095	2 225	2 202	2 417	1 985	1 338	1 016	1 020
Brazil	613	627	681	733	697	829	893	895
Iraq	4 014	2 802	1 269	1 037	840	770	777	1 544
Afghanistan	4 247	4 064	2 416	1 407	604	426	379	229
China	2 569	3 560	3 789	3 915	3 383	3 041	2 933	3 498
Iran	1 585	2 061	1 316	863	562	476	474	577
Thailand	810	987	1 006	946	906	769	851	664
Pakistan	725	581	589	504	345	780	804	575
India	620	655	575	562	533	1 098	1 899	2 345
Philippines	516	533	588	569	482	508	546	575
Syria	1 023	1 115	652	408	277	192	144	250
Sri Lanka	649	590	465	341	183	126	133	126
Unknown / asylum-centre	1 183	951	684	471	279	246	195	159

Source: Statistics Netherlands, a including Slovenia and Baltic States, b. Slovenia not included, c. Baltic states not included

Table 2.4 also shows the ten countries with the largest declining immigration in 2007 to the Netherlands. Most of the top-ten countries with the fastest decline in immigration to the Netherlands are considered 'typical refugee countries' (Angola, Afghanistan, Sudan, Congo, Yugoslavia (former), Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Syria, Morocco and Soviet Union (former)). Remarkably, in 2006 Iraq and Somalia also showed large declining numbers. Migration from former Yugoslavia was at its height in 1995 (with 7300 immigrants in 1995 alone). Migration from Iraq grew until 2000 (4000 immigrants), but after that gradually declined to the level of 2006 (777 immigrants). But in 2007, numbers doubled for Iraq, to 1544 (table 2.3). Migration numbers from Somalia almost tripled between 2006 and 2007, to 1108. Morocco, considered a traditional immigrant country, now shows a relative fast decline in numbers.

Table 2.4: Countries with the fastest growing and fastest declining number of immigrants (2000-2007)

	Number of immigrants in 2000	Number of immigrants in 2007	% of all Immigrants in 2007	Increase since 2000 (2000=100)
Growing number of immigrants*				
Bulgaria	264	4 814	6.00	1823
Poland	1 705	9 945	12.39	583
Romania	580	2 248	2.80	388
India	620	2 345	2.92	378
Hungary	500	967	1.20	193
Slovak Republic	360	664	0.83	184
Czech Republic	338	542	0.68	160
Brazil	613	895	1.12	146
China	2 569	3 498	4.36	136
Germany	5 276	7 087	8.83	134
Declining number of immigrants**				
Angola	1 163	51	0.06	4
Afghanistan	4 247	229	0.29	5
Sudan	1 468	90	0.11	6
Congo	461	37	0.05	8
Yugoslavia (former)	4 559	536	0.67	12
Sierra Leone	768	107	0.13	14
Sri Lanka	649	126	0.16	19
Syria	1 023	250	0.31	24
Morocco	4 068	1 108	1.38	27
Soviet Union (former)	5 698	1 813	2.26	32

*selection 400+ in 2007, **selection 400+ in 2000

Source: Statistics Netherlands (processed by RISBO)

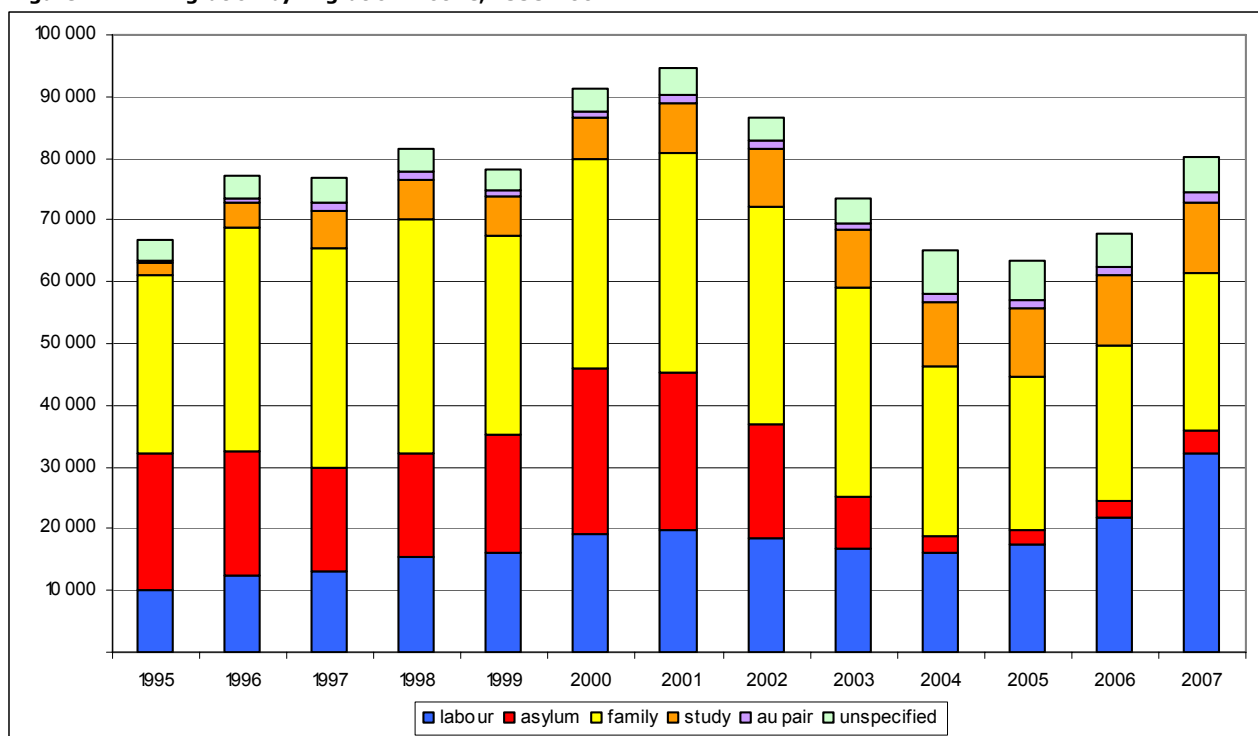
2.3 Immigration by migration motive

For what reason immigrants came to the Netherlands? Figure 2.4 shows the main immigration motives of immigrants over the period 1995-2007 (see also

table A2.4 in the appendix).⁴ Figure 2.4 confirms the assumption that immigration in 2006 and 2007 increased mainly due the number of labour migrants. Immigration for employment reasons almost doubled from 17,500 in 2005 to 32,000 in 2007. Labour migration is responsible for almost all (87 percent) of the total increase in immigration to the Netherlands in the period 2005-2007. Figure 2.4 also confirms the assumption that the decline in overall immigration to the Netherlands in the period 2001-2005 is largely due to the falling number of refugees and asylum-seekers. The number of immigrants settling in the Netherlands for asylum dropped from 25,500 in 2001 to no more than 2300 in 2005. This means that the decline in asylum migration accounts for 60 percent of the overall decline in immigration to the Netherlands in this period. Immigration for family reasons also declined in these years from almost 36,000 in 2001 to 25,000 in 2005. In 2006 and 2007 family migration remains more or less stable at 25,500.

Another purpose for which foreign nationals can be admitted to the Netherlands is to pursue fulltime study at an institution for higher, secondary or vocational education. The number of immigrants coming to the Netherlands to study increased from 2000 in 1995 to 11,500 in 2007. In 2007 almost 40% of the 11,500 students came from only four countries, Germany, China, United States and Indonesia (see table A2.5 in the appendix).

⁴ Immigration statistics refer to all persons who enter the Netherlands with the intention of staying in the country for a certain period of time and are based on information as reported to Statistics Netherlands by the municipal population registrations. The municipal population registrations holds no information about the migration motives of immigrants. However by merging the immigration statistics with data about migration motives from the Dutch Immigration and Naturalization Service, Statistics Netherlands was able to determine the migration motives of foreign national immigrants. Because the Immigration and Naturalization Service only register foreign nationals, there is no information about the migration motives of Dutch nationals.

Figure 2.4: Migration by migration motive, 1995-2007

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline (figures are based on the municipal population registrations)

We conclude this section with a breakdown of the data on immigration motives by country of birth (table 2.5). Obviously, there are significant differences in migration motives between different categories of the immigrant population. For immigrants from the EU countries, specifically the new EU countries, employment is clearly the dominant reason for coming to the Netherlands. For immigrants from the so-called 'other Western countries' (USA, Canada, etc.) the different motives for immigration more or less balance each other. For specific western countries like the United States and Japan family reasons are the dominant immigration motive. For immigrants from 'other European countries' (non-EU) family reasons are clearly the dominant motive for immigration. This also goes for most non-Western immigrant groups. For some single immigrant groups (Turks, Moroccans, Ghanians, Surinamese, and Thais) the large majority of all immigrants came to the Netherlands for family reasons.

In paragraph 2.4 we will focus on family migration. In the next two chapters we will go more into detail on labour migration (chapter 3) and asylum migration (chapter 4).

Table 2.5: Immigration of Foreign Nationals by Country of Birth and Motive, 2007

	Total (N)	Labour (%)	Asylum (%)	Family (%)	Study (%)	other (%)
Total	80 257	40.0	4.7	31.7	14.3	9.4
<i>of whom from</i>						
Western countries	52 069	51.7	1.1	25.5	11.8	9.9
<i>of whom from</i>						
EU-countries (25)^a	41 084	58.3		22.8	9.5	9.4
<i>of whom from</i>						
old EU-countries	21 003	55.4		22.9	12.9	8.8
<i>of whom from</i>						
Germany	6 224	46.0		18.3	26.2	9.6
United Kingdom	3 382	65.3		25.7	2.0	7.0
France	1 910	63.2		22.0	8.7	6.2
Belgium	1 696	49.5		26.9	5.4	18.1
Italy	1 547	71.2		15.3	7.4	5.9
Portugal	1 524	69.7		20.6	3.4	6.4
Spain	1 342	58.8		17.4	18.6	5.2
new EU-countries^a	20 081	61.3		22.8	5.9	10.0
<i>of whom from</i>						
Poland	10 175	63.9		23.4	3.5	9.2
Czechoslovakia (former)	1 210	62.2		17.1	7.0	13.4
Hungary	966	59.0		17.6	14.0	9.2
Bulgaria	4 832	64.5		20.6	8.1	6.8
Romenia	2 380	45.0		30.0	7.8	17.1
other Europe	3 859	22.3	14.3	37.2	17.2	9.1
<i>of whom from</i>						
Soviet Union (former) ^b	2 383	19.6	14.8	38.3	17.0	10.2
Yugoslavia (former) ^c	791	12.6	24.8	45.3	13.0	4.2
other Western	7 126	29.5		34.3	22.6	13.5
<i>of whom from</i>						
United States	3 047	33.7		38.6	20.9	6.8
Canada	649	27.9		24.7	19.4	27.7
Indonesia	1 248	14.5		24.9	49.4	11.3
Japan	1 170	40.9		46.9	10.9	1.2
Non-Western	28 188	18.3	11.5	43.2	18.9	8.4
<i>of whom from</i>						
Turkey	2 437	14.0	4.8	64.0	14.6	2.6
Morocco	1 297	5.0	2.9	81.5	4.9	6.0
Somalia	1 237	0.0	52.8	45.7	0.0	1.5
South Africa	723	30.7	0.1	29.5	8.7	30.7
Nigeria	489	14.7	5.9	44.0	23.3	12.3
Ghana	450	8.4	2.7	66.7	17.8	5.3
Ethiopia	397	3.8	12.8	21.7	44.6	18.1
Brazil	1 078	22.4	0.2	52.4	13.2	12.2
Suriname	1 025	2.1	1.2	80.4	5.2	10.9
China	3 525	25.3	5.0	16.8	41.4	11.6
India	2 584	58.9	0.1	27.8	10.6	2.6
Iraq	1 838	1.7	51.5	42.7	1.6	2.6
Iran	690	15.1	31.6	35.2	16.2	1.9
Philippines	655	11.8	0.6	29.8	6.7	51.0
Thailand	614	9.6	0.2	69.2	10.1	11.2
Pakistan	594	20.2	4.0	34.0	40.7	1.7
Korea Republic of	546	24.7	0.2	44.7	28.6	2.0

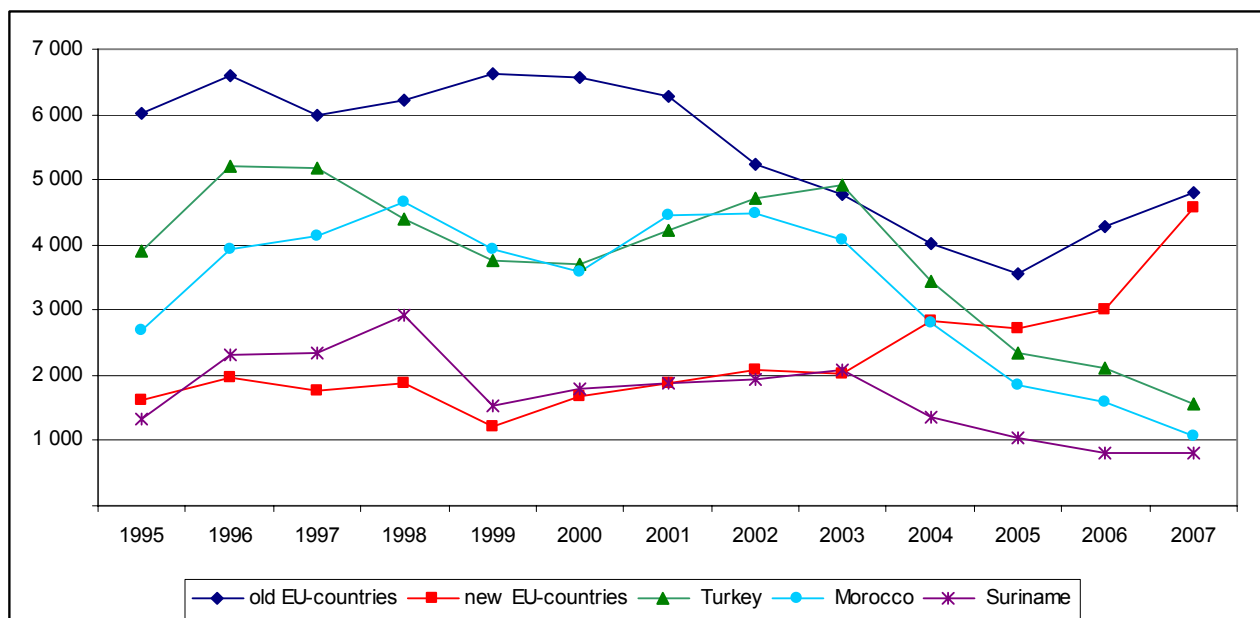
Source: Statistics Netherlands (figures are based on data of the Ministry of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service)

^a figures include data of Malta, Cyprus, Slovenia and Baltic States,^b excluding Baltic States^c excluding Slovenia

2.4 Family migration

As observed in paragraph 2.3, immigration for family reasons also declined from almost 36,000 in 2001 to 25,000 in 2005. In 2006 and 2007 family migration remains more or less stable at 25,500. Figure 2.5 gives a picture of five immigrant populations over the last decade. It shows that family migration of the three major immigrant populations in the Netherlands declined substantially in the period 2004-2007. At same time family migration from the old and the new EU-countries -especially Bulgaria, Poland, Romania- increased sharply (see also table A2.6 in the appendix).

Figure 2.5: Migration for family reasons, 1995-2007



2.4.1 Family reunification and marital migration⁵

Table 2.6 distinguishes different family-related migration motives. Marital migration or 'family formation' means that an immigrant comes to the Netherlands to start a new household with his or her spouse who already lives in the Netherlands. Family reunification means that a family already existed prior to migration and that one or more family members (spouse, children) are joining the immigrant who already lives in the Netherlands. In 2007, 19,469 first residence permits were granted to migrants who came to the Netherlands for family reasons. The largest subcategory (13,182

⁵ Unfortunately on the basis of migration motive figures of Statistics Netherlands it is not possible to make a distinction between Family reunification and marital migration. The figures in this paragraph are based on data of granted requests for a first residence permit presented by the IND (IND/INDIAC, 2008a) and is therefore not (completely) comparable with the figures of Statistics Netherlands.

persons or 67 % of all family-related immigration) concerns family reunification. Among the ten largest immigrant groups with a family related motive, the three largest ethnic minorities in the Netherlands (Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese) are represented, although Surinam ends up at position eight. We also see relatively high numbers of migrants coming from Bulgaria and Romania to the Netherlands. Poland, in 2006 at position four disappeared from this ranking.

Table 2.6: Granted requests for a first residence permit for family reasons by nationality, 2005-2008

Family reunification								
	2005		2006		2007		2008 (January thru June)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nationality (top 10-countries)								
Turkey	1 328	8.7	2 011	11.7	1 508	11.4	899	11.9
Morocco	1 348	8.8	2 025	11.7	1 225	9.3	640	8.5
United States	827	5.4	862	5.0	953	7.2	543	7.2
India	219	1.4	431	2.5	581	4.4	391	5.2
Bulgaria	62	0.4	54	0.3	248	1.9	377	5.0
China	376	2.5	420	2.4	489	3.7	297	3.9
Japan	473	3.1	547	3.2	487	3.7	291	3.9
Surinam	510	3.3	409	2.4	319	2.4	266	3.5
Brasilia	240	1.6	232	1.3	284	2.2	229	3.0
Romania	84	0.5	99	0.6	264	2.0	199	2.6
Other	9 817	64.2	10 154	58.9	6 824	51.8	3 408	45.2
Sex								
Male	6 413	42.0	7 559	43.8	5 725	43.4	3 206	42.5
Female	8 831	57.8	9 683	56.2	7 457	56.6	4 321	57.3
Total	15 284	100.0	17 244	100.0	13 182	100.0	7 540	100.0
Marital migration								
	2005		2006		2007		2008 (January thru June)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nationality (top 10-countries)								
Turkey	2 165	16.9	1 662	15.9	889	14.1	924	19.0
Morocco	1 792	14.0	1 330	12.7	751	11.9	544	11.2
Surinam	945	7.4	624	6.0	577	9.2	399	8.2
China	507	4.0	540	5.2	388	6.2	307	6.3
Thailand	478	3.7	406	3.9	182	2.9	247	5.1
Brasilia	348	2.7	311	3.0	185	2.9	175	3.6
Indonesia	370	2.9	289	2.8	207	3.3	169	3.5
Ghana	453	3.5	474	4.5	153	2.4	120	2.5
Philippines	229	1.8	200	1.9	108	1.7	118	2.4
Russia	304	2.4	273	2.6	199	3.2	117	2.4
Other	5 243	40.9	4 340	41.5	2 648	42.1	1 753	36.0
Sex								
Male	4 120	32.1	3 153	30.2	1 957	31.1	1 565	32.1
Female	8 700	67.8	7 295	69.8	4 329	68.9	3 303	67.8
Total	12 834	100.0	10 449	100.0	6 287	100.0	4 873	100.0

Source: IND/INDIAC, Introductie Trendrapport regulier, 2008a

In 2007 6,287 first residence permits (33% of all family-related immigration) were granted to marital migrants: migrants that come to the Netherlands to marry or to start a household with his or her spouse that already lives in the Netherlands. Unfortunately, Table 2.6 gives no information about the partners of marital migrants that already live in the Netherlands, in other words: those who have a partner that's coming to the Netherlands for marital reasons. This means we do not know whether they are native Dutch *or* that they are first or second-generation immigrants themselves that find their spouse abroad (mostly in the country of origin). However, we do know from other research that many first and second-generation migrants from the largest immigrant groups (Turkish, Moroccan, and Surinamese) often find their spouse in their country of origin. Marital immigrants from those three countries together account for between 34% and 39% of the marital immigrants in 2005, 2006 and 2007 and is therewith relatively stable.

Lastly, Table 2.6 shows the percentages of men and women among the migrants for family reasons. In general, family-related migration is a more female than male phenomenon. Almost 70% of the immigrants for marital reasons in 2005, 2006 and 2007 were women. For family reunification the women account for almost 60% in these years.

2.5 Emigration from the Netherlands

Earlier in this chapter we already mentioned that emigration from the Netherlands has increased in recent years, although almost as much people are immigrating to as emigrating from the Netherlands. As table 2.1 showed, emigration from the Netherlands fluctuated in most years prior to 2001 between 50,000 and 60,000. However, after 2001 the emigration figures continuously increased from 63,318 (in 2001) to 91,287 (in 2007). These figures do not include the so-called administrative corrections (explained earlier in this chapter). When using the corrected figures, emigration from the Netherlands is even higher then the data in table 2.1 suggest (see Appendix 1 to this chapter). Netherlands Statistics warns that ongoing high emigration may become an impediment for population development in the Netherlands.⁶

⁶ Statistics Netherlands, Press release 10 November 2006.

Table 2.7: Emigration of Dutch and Non-Dutch Nationals by Country of Destination and Gender, 2007

	Dutch Nationals			Non-Dutch Nationals			Total		
	male	female	total	male	female	total	male	female	total
2007	33 525	28 725	62 250	14 669	14 368	29 037	48 194	43 093	91 287
in %	36.7	31.5	68.2	16.1	15.7	31.8	52.8	47.2	100.0
Western countries	24 189	20 464	44 653	10 642	10 802	21 444	34 831	31 266	66 097
<i>of whom to</i>									
Germany	4 696	3 528	8 224	1 528	1 761	3 289	6 224	5 289	11 513
Belgium	5 465	4 821	10 286	783	899	1 682	6 248	5 720	11 968
United Kingdom	3 080	2 814	5 894	1 217	1 171	2 388	4 297	3 985	8 282
Spain	1 601	1 319	2 920	520	509	1 029	2 121	1 828	3 949
France	1 355	1 274	2 629	533	539	1 072	1 888	1 813	3 701
Italy	297	371	668	436	369	805	733	740	1 473
Sweden	467	387	854	161	174	335	628	561	1 189
Portugal	260	185	445	242	193	435	502	378	880
Ireland	229	203	432	113	100	213	342	303	645
Austria	298	254	552	91	132	223	389	386	775
Denmark	214	177	391	128	138	266	342	315	657
Greece	139	209	348	221	143	364	360	352	712
Poland	174	85	259	852	697	1 549	1 026	782	1 808
Hungary	124	98	222	127	113	240	251	211	462
other Europe	1 449	1 157	2 606	621	739	1 360	2 070	1 896	3 966
<i>of whom to</i>									
Switzerland	563	464	1 027	197	242	439	760	706	1 466
Norway	460	384	844	85	117	202	545	501	1 046
Yugoslavia (former)	159	131	290	115	131	246	274	262	536
Soviet Union (former)	222	140	362	194	214	408	416	354	770
other Western countries	3 794	3 283	7 077	2 416	2 400	4 816	6 210	5 683	11 893
<i>of whom to</i>									
United States	1 591	1 388	2 979	1 114	1 054	2 168	2 705	2 442	5 147
Australia	998	873	1 871	269	315	584	1 267	1 188	2 455
Canada	586	500	1 086	183	213	396	769	713	1 482
Japan	74	49	123	459	435	894	533	484	1 017
Indonesia	229	136	365	324	312	636	553	448	1 001
New Zealand	304	327	631	65	65	130	369	392	761
non-Western countries	9 336	8 261	17 597	4 027	3 566	7 593	13 363	11 827	25 190
<i>of whom to</i>									
Turkey	632	762	1 394	517	424	941	1 149	1 186	2 335
South Africa	339	312	651	95	188	283	434	500	934
Morocco	334	260	594	176	98	274	510	358	868
Netherlands Antilles	2 059	2 323	4 382	11	9	20	2 070	2 332	4 402
Aruba	469	482	951	3	7	10	472	489	961
Suriname	651	504	1 155	84	83	167	735	587	1 322
Brazil	211	126	337	143	156	299	354	282	636
China	483	303	786	418	504	922	901	807	1 708
Thailand	401	166	567	49	125	174	450	291	741
Iraq	264	212	476	14	25	39	278	237	515

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline (figures are based on the municipal population registrations)

Table 2.7 gives further details about the levels of emigration in 2007 (our figures do not include administrative corrections!). Almost 70 percent of all emigrants in 2007 were Dutch nationals. Of course, this category includes both native Dutch and foreign-born residents that received Dutch citizenship. However, there are strong indications that the current emigration flows are

not only an issue of former immigrants leaving the country. The two most popular countries of settlement for Dutch emigrants appear to be Belgium and Germany. With more than 11,000 emigrants each, Belgium and Germany together take 26% of all emigrants in 2007. It is assumed that these emigrants are predominantly native Dutch persons that settle in Belgium or Germany near the Dutch border for cheaper housing and a more attractive tax climate, while still working in the Netherlands. Another reason for the increased emigration to Belgium may be that first or second-generation immigrants with a Turkish or Moroccan background temporarily settle in Belgium to welcome their spouse from their country of origin. In this way they avoid the new obligatory language test that immigrants coming from non-EU countries have to take in their country of origin prior to their arrival in the Netherlands (see chapter 1 of this report). After the foreign bride or groom arrives in Belgium and a new household is created, they can return to the Netherlands without taking the language test (the compulsory language tests do not apply for immigrants from other EU-countries). How many first or second generation immigrants temporarily emigrate to other EU-countries to return to the Netherlands with their foreign bride or groom is not known. The third largest country of desitnation for the Netherlands is the United Kingdom (8282 emigrants from the Netherlands in 2007).

Unfortunately there is little information about the backgrounds of emigrants from the Netherlands. We assume that the emigrants to the United Kingdom are both native Dutch persons and persons with an immigrant background that leave for the United Kingdom for employment reasons. However, there are also rumours of relatively large flows of Somalian immigrants (mostly with Dutch citizenship) that move to the United Kingdom to join the relatively large Somalian community in that country. The fourth largest country of emigration for the Netherlands are the Nederlandse Antilles and Aruba (together 5363 emigrants in 2007). We assume that these are mainly Antillean and Aruban people (Dutch nationals) returning to their home country. The fifth largest country of emigration for the Netherlands is the USA (5147 emigrants in 2007). When emigration to the USA reflects immigration from that country to the Netherlands, the main motives for emigration will be both employment and family reasons. The sixth largest country of emigration is Spain (3949 emigrants in 2007). It is assumed that these are mainly elderly people spending their retirement on the Spanish coasts.

Finally we would like to point out that emigration flows to typical immigration countries for the Netherlands (Turkey, Morocco, Surinam) are relatively small, to wit 2335 to Turkey, 868 to Morocco and 1322 to Surinam. This means that

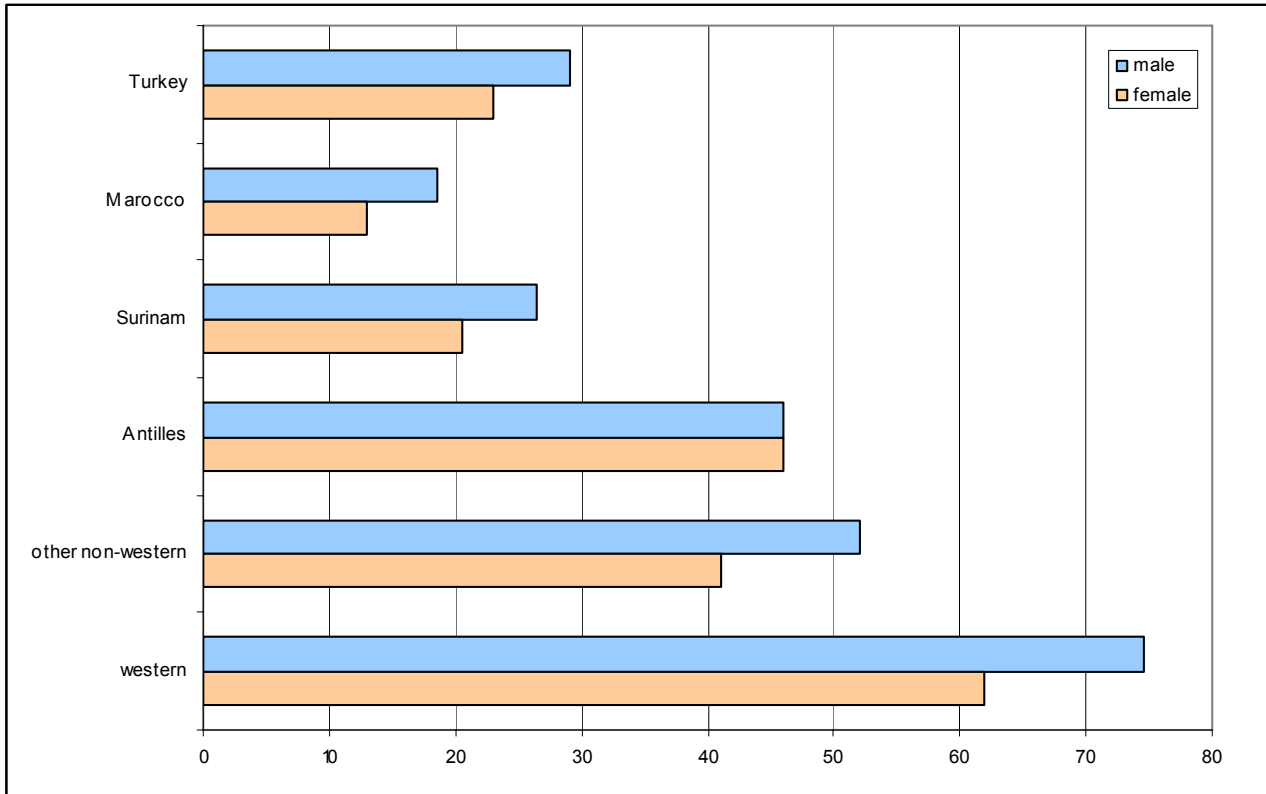
return migration to these countries is at the moment not developed. Whether this migrationflow will be developed, is unclear.

Figure 2.6 gives some further insight into the extent of return migration. The table shows the proportion of immigrants that arrived in the Netherlands in 1995 and has left the Netherlands twelve years later in 2007 (Nicolaas 2009).⁷ The main conclusion is that although most of the immigrants settle in the Netherlands permanently, a significant proportion of them leave again within a relatively short period of time. Also there are considerable differences in the level of the departure percentages between Western and non-Western migrants. Because there are significant differences in departure rates between men and women the figures of both sexes are presented separately. Figure 2.6 shows that departure rates are the highest among Western immigrants. More than 75 percent of the western male and about 60 percent of the western female immigrants left the Netherlands twelve years later. For non-Western immigrants on the whole departure rates are much lower. However, there are differences within this broad category. Within the category of non-Western immigrants, the departure figures are relatively low for immigrants from Morocco and high for immigrants from the Netherlands Antilles.

These departure figures for each immigrant group seem to be related to the dominant immigration motives for each group (*cf.* Figure 2.4). Immigrant groups that primarily come to the Netherlands for employment or study are much more apt to leave again within a relatively short period than immigrant groups that predominantly come to the Netherlands to seek asylum or for family reasons.

⁷ The following is taken from: (Alders and Nicolaas 2003 and Nicolaas et al. 2004). These studies are a so-called cohort analysis that covers the period from 1995 to 2002 (more recent updates of the data are not available). The data are taken from the municipal population registers (Dutch acronym GBA).

Figure 2.6: Percentage of Immigrants who Arrived in 1995 and have left in 2007



Source: Nicolaas, Statistics Netherlands, 2009

Appendix for Chapter 2

Definitions and data sources⁸

Migration

External migration statistics refer to all persons who enter the Netherlands with the intention of staying in the country for a certain period of time, or who leave the Netherlands to live in another country for a certain period of time. For people arriving in the Netherlands, registration is obligatory if they stay in the country for at least four months during the first six months following registration. People leaving the country are obliged to notify the authorities if they intend to live outside the Netherlands for at least eight months in the first year following this notification.

Western countries

All countries in Europe (except Turkey), North America, Oceania, Indonesia and Japan.

Non-western countries

Non-western countries include Turkey and countries in Africa, South America and Asia except Indonesia and Japan. The latter two countries are included with the western countries on the basis of their socio-economic and socio-cultural position.

Population

All data mentioned concerns the registered population of the Netherlands. The figures shown in this publication relate to the resident ('de jure') population: persons who reside habitually in the Netherlands and who are recorded in the municipal population registers. In principle all those residing in the Netherlands for an indefinite period are entered into the population register of the municipality where they usually live.

Used external sources

The figures are based on information as reported to Statistics Netherlands by the municipal population registrations.

⁸ Source Statistics Netherlands

Immigration

Immigration relates to all individuals arriving in the Netherlands whose arrival results in being entered into a municipal population register.

Emigration

Emigration relates to all individuals departing from the Netherlands whose departure results in a removal from a municipal population register.

Emigration (incl. net adm. corrections)

Administrative corrections consist of inclusions in and withdrawals from the municipal population registers for other reasons than birth, death, migration or redefinition of municipal borders. Most of these administrative corrections refer to people for whom it has been demonstrated that they have left the municipality, often to live abroad. Entries often concern people who reappear in the same or in a different municipality and are then included in the population register. This explains why the net administrative corrections are included in emigration (and net migration) but not in immigration. This means that in some cases (like specific ages) the value of emigration including net administrative corrections may be negative.

Net migration

Immigration minus emigration.

Net administrative corrections

Migration figures in the Netherlands need to be corrected by the number of net administrative corrections, a figure that is largely influenced by the unreported emigration of foreigners. If the net administrative corrections are deducted from the registered migration surplus, the result is a lower corrected migration surplus. Statistics Netherlands [Dutch acronym: CBS] presents the registered migration statistics as well as the net administrative corrections. The corrected migration surplus (1980-2004) as stated in this appendix should be regarded as an unofficial figure.

Migration to and from the Netherlands

Table A2.1: Development of External Migration 1972-2007 (Total)

	Immigration (1)	Emigration (2)	Surplus (1 - 2)	Emigration (incl. adm.corr.) (3)	Surplus (incl. Adm.corr.) (1-3)
1972	81,329	62,200	19,129	-	-
1973	84,691	63,623	21,068	-	-
1974	93,796	60,655	33,141	-	-
1975	127,264	55,209	72,055	-	-
1976	82,953	61,530	21,423	-	-
1977	83,899	61,051	22,848	63,555	20,344
1978	89,184	61,117	28,067	62,579	26,605
1979	104,553	59,779	44,774	61,517	43,036
1980	112,504	59,470	53,034	61,948	50,556
1981	80,183	63,195	16,988	65,814	14,369
1982	70,740	67,507	3233	72,024	-1284
1983	66,762	60,784	5978	64,431	2331
1984	66,907	58,854	8053	61,774	5133
1985	79,362	55,215	24,147	59,475	19,887
1986	87,387	54,718	32,669	60,607	26,780
1987	95,935	52,011	43,924	60,844	35,091
1988	91,238	55,791	35,447	63,996	27,242
1989	98,914	59,707	39,207	72,063	26,851
1990	117,350	57,344	60,006	68,939	48,411
1991	120,249	57,328	62,921	70,639	49,610
1992	116,926	58,834	58,092	73,808	43,118
1993	119,154	59,222	59,932	74,788	44,366
1994	99,311	62,155	37,156	79,228	20,083
1995	96,099	63,321	32,778	82,195	13,904
1996	108,749	65,325	43,424	91,945	16,804
1997	109,860	62,218	47,642	81,973	27,887
1998	122,407	60,441	61,966	79,289	43,118
1999	119,151	59,023	60,128	78,779	40,372
2000	132,850	61,201	71,649	78,977	53,873
2001	133,404	63,318	70,086	82,566	50,838
2002	121,250	66,728	54,522	96,918	24,332
2003	104,514	68,885	35,629	104,831	-317
2004	94,019	75,049	18,970	110,235	-16,216
2005	92,297	83,399	8898	119,725	-27,428
2006	101,150	91,028	10,122	132,470	-31,320
2007	161,819	91,287	25,532	122,576	-2,757

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline

Table A2.2: Development of External Migration 1972-2007 (Dutch Nationals)

	Immigration (1)	Emigration (2)	Surplus (1 - 2)	Emigration (incl. adm.corr.) (3)	Surplus (incl. Adm.cor.) (1-3)
1972	39,698	36,908	2790	-	-
1973	40,438	37,673	2765	-	-
1974	48,420	37,028	11,392	-	-
1975	72,016	33,123	38,893	-	-
1976	34,019	35,801	-1782	-	-
1977	34,020	36,355	-2335	37,212	-3192
1978	33,587	37,009	-3422	37,668	-4081
1979	32,381	35,396	-3015	35,831	-3450
1980	32,684	35,837	-3153	36,423	-3739
1981	29,767	38,216	-8449	38,636	-8869
1982	29,810	39,413	-9603	40,625	-10,815
1983	30,321	32,810	-2489	33,510	-3189
1984	29,616	31,824	-2208	32,603	-2987
1985	33,196	31,009	2187	32,297	899
1986	34,585	31,155	3430	32,847	1738
1987	35,080	31,139	3941	32,862	2218
1988	32,976	34,403	-1427	35,888	-2912
1989	33,529	38,218	-4689	40,845	-7316
1990	36,086	36,749	-663	39,059	-2973
1991	35,912	35,998	-86	38,888	-2976
1992	33,904	36,101	-2197	38,680	-4776
1993	31,581	37,019	-5438	40,584	-9003
1994	30,887	39,409	-8522	42,807	-11,920
1995	29,127	41,648	-12,521	48,495	-19,368
1996	31,572	42,921	-11,349	49,544	-17,972
1997	33,124	40,278	-7154	47,554	-14,430
1998	40,706	39,175	1531	45,078	-4372
1999	40,786	38,358	2428	46,485	-5699
2000	41,467	40,474	993	47,871	-6404
2001	38,897	42,921	-4024	50,714	-11,817
2002	34,631	45,571	-10,940	57,324	-22,693
2003	30,948	47,015	-16,067	60,970	-30,022
2004	28,898	51,500	-22,602	64,161	-35,263
2005	28,882	59,415	-30,533	72,537	-43,655
2006	33,493	64,552	-31,059	79,986	-46,493
2007	36,561	6,250	-25,689	74,649	-38,088

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline

Migration to and from the Netherlands

Table A2.3: Development of External Migration 1972-2007 (Foreigners)

	Immigration (1)	Emigration (2)	Surplus (1 - 2)	Emigration (incl. adm.corr.) (3)	Surplus (incl. Adm.cor.) (1-3)
1972	41,631	25,292	16,339	-	-
1973	44,253	25,950	18,303	-	-
1974	45,376	23,627	21,749	-	-
1975	55,248	22,086	33,162	-	-
1976	48,934	25,729	23,205	-	-
1977	49,879	24,696	25,183	26,343	23,536
1978	55,597	24,108	31,489	24,911	30,686
1979	72,172	24,383	47,789	25,686	46,486
1980	79,820	23,633	56,187	25,525	54,295
1981	50,416	24,979	25,437	27,178	23,238
1982	40,930	28,094	12,836	31,399	9531
1983	36,441	27,974	8467	30,921	5520
1984	37,291	27,030	10,261	29,171	8120
1985	46,166	24,206	21,960	27,178	18,988
1986	52,802	23,563	29,239	27,760	25,042
1987	60,855	20,872	39,983	27,982	32,873
1988	58,262	21,388	36,874	28,108	30,154
1989	65,385	21,489	43,896	31,218	34,167
1990	81,264	20,595	60,669	29,880	51,384
1991	84,337	21,330	63,007	31,751	52,586
1992	83,022	22,733	60,289	35,128	47,894
1993	87,573	22,203	65,370	34,204	53,369
1994	68,424	22,746	45,678	36,421	32,003
1995	66,972	21,673	45,299	33,700	33,272
1996	77,177	22,404	54,773	42,401	34,776
1997	76,736	21,940	54,796	34,419	42,317
1998	81,701	21,266	60,435	34,211	47,490
1999	78,365	20,665	57,700	32,294	46,071
2000	91,383	20,727	70,656	31,106	60,277
2001	94,507	20,397	74,110	31,852	62,655
2002	86,619	21,157	65,462	39,594	47,025
2003	73,566	21,870	51,696	43,861	29,705
2004	65,121	23,549	41,572	46,074	19,047
2005	63,415	23,984	39,431	47,188	16,227
2006	67,657	26,476	41,181	52,484	15,173
2007	80,258	29,037	51,221	47,927	32,331

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline

Table A2.4: Migration Motives of Foreign Nationals, 1995-2007

	labour ¹	asylum ²	family	study	au pair	unspecified	total
1995	10 111	22 093	28 997	1 958	173	3 394	66 732
1996	12 518	19 917	36 360	4 140	507	3 700	77 163
1997	13 176	16 854	35 389	6 215	1 278	3 777	76 736
1998	15 279	17 009	38 012	6 325	1 394	3 613	81 624
1999	16 229	19 118	31 945	6 390	1 146	3 527	78 358
2000	19 010	27 117	33 785	6 545	1 225	3 678	91 380
2001	19 849	25 530	35 658	8 013	1 151	4 274	94 502
2002	18 463	18 388	35 276	9 414	1 199	3 858	86 616
2003	16 758	8 262	34 148	9 143	1 116	4 129	73 561
2004	16 113	2 613	27 480	10 482	1 237	7 201	65 120
2005	17 467	2 319	24 956	11 065	1 102	6 527	63 416
2006	21 753	2 896	25 064	11 382	1 316	5 257	67 648
2007	32 067	3 790	25 434	11 481	1 678	5 861	80 257

¹ including granted requests of knowledge migrants for 2005-2008

² not all asylum seekers in a particular year are counted as immigrants in that year because entry in a municipal population register which is only realised after some time or not at all (if the request is turned down), is required.

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Ministry of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service

Table A2.5: Immigration of Foreign Nationals by Country of Birth and Motive, 2007

	labour		asylum		family		study		other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	32 066	100.0	3 790	100.0	25 435	100.0	11 483	100.0	7 540	100.0
<i>of whom from</i>										
Western countries	26 918	83.9	554	14.6	13 263	52.1	6 163	53.7	5 180	68.7
<i>of whom from</i>										
EU-countries^a	23 955	74.7			9 379	36.9	3 888	33.9	3 862	51.2
<i>of whom from</i>										
old EU-countries	11 645	36.3			4 802	18.9	2 706	23.6	1 853	24.6
<i>of whom from</i>										
Germany	2 863	8.9			1 136	4.5	1 630	14.2	596	7.9
Belgium	840	2.6			457	1.8	92	0.8	307	4.1
United Kingdom	2 209	6.9			869	3.4	69	0.6	236	3.1
new EU-countries^a	12 310	38.4			4 577	18.0	1 182	10.3	2 009	26.6
<i>of whom from</i>										
Poland	6 505	20.3			2 383	9.4	352	3.1	936	12.4
Czechoslovakia (former)	753	2.3			207	0.8	85	0.7	162	2.1
Hungary	570	1.8			170	0.7	135	1.2	89	1.2
Bulgaria	3 119	9.7			997	3.9	389	3.4	329	4.4
Romania	1 072	3.3			715	2.8	186	1.6	406	5.4
other Europe	859	2.7	552	14.6	1 438	5.7	664	5.8	353	4.7
<i>of whom from</i>										
Soviet Union (former) ^b	468	1.5	352	9.3	913	3.6	407	3.5	244	3.2
Yugoslavia (former) ^c	100	0.3	196	5.2	358	1.4	103	0.9	33	0.4
other Western countries	2 104	6.6			2 446	9.6	1 611	14.0	965	12.8
<i>of whom from</i>										
United States	1 026	3.2			1 177	4.6	637	5.5	207	2.7
Canada	181	0.6			160	0.6	126	1.1	180	2.4
Indonesia	181	0.6			311	1.2	616	5.4	141	1.9
Japan	479	1.5			549	2.2	127	1.1	14	0.2
Non-Western countries	5 148	16.1	3 236	85.4	12 172	47.9	5 320	46.3	2 360	31.3
<i>of whom from</i>										
Turkey	340	1.1	118	3.1	1 560	6.1	356	3.1	64	0.8
Morocco	65	0.2	37	1.0	1 057	4.2	64	0.6	78	1.0
Egypt	58	0.2	4	0.1	208	0.8	34	0.3	11	0.1
Ethiopia	15	0.0	51	1.3	86	0.3	177	1.5	72	1.0
Ghana	38	0.1	12	0.3	300	1.2	80	0.7	24	0.3
Nigeria	72	0.2	29	0.8	215	0.8	114	1.0	60	0.8
Somalia		0.0	653	17.2	565	2.2		0.0	18	0.2
South Africa	222	0.7			213	0.8	63	0.5	222	2.9
Suriname	22	0.1	12	0.3	824	3.2	53	0.5	112	1.5
Brazil	241	0.8			565	2.2	142	1.2	131	1.7
Colombia	40	0.1			173	0.7	92	0.8	38	0.5
Afghanistan	4	0.0	124	3.3	224	0.9	6	0.1	5	0.1
Iraq	31	0.1	946	25.0	785	3.1	30	0.3	47	0.6
Iran	104	0.3	218	5.8	243	1.0	112	1.0	13	0.2
China	893	2.8	177	4.7	591	2.3	1 458	12.7	409	5.4
India	1 523	4.7			719	2.8	273	2.4	67	0.9
Philippines	77	0.2			195	0.8	44	0.4	334	4.4
Pakistan	120	0.4	24	0.6	202	0.8	242	2.1	10	0.1
Taiwan	97	0.3			71	0.3	193	1.7	29	0.4
Thailand	59	0.2			425	1.7	62	0.5	69	0.9
Vietnam	19	0.1	17	0.4	83	0.3	151	1.3	13	0.2
Korea Republic of	135	0.4			244	1.0	156	1.4	11	0.1

Source: Statistics Netherlands (figures are based on data of the Ministry of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service)

a figures include data of Malta, Cyprus, Slovenia and Baltic States,

b excluding Baltic States

c excluding Slovenia

Migration to and from the Netherlands

Table A2.6: Immigration of Foreign Nationals for family reasons by Country of Birth, 1995-2007

	1995	1997	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total	28 997	35 389	31 945	33 785	35 658	35 276	34 148	27 480	24 956	25 064	25 434
<i>of whom from</i>											
Western countries	12 544	12 786	13 188	14 213	14 176	13 108	12 155	11 179	10 165	11 063	13 262
<i>of whom from</i>											
EU-countries (25) ^a	7 646	7 744	7 831	8 237	8 141	7 318	6 808	6 846	6 282	7 279	9 379
<i>of whom from</i>											
old EU-countries	6 018	5 979	6 613	6 565	6 268	5 233	4 783	4 007	3 556	4 275	4 802
<i>of whom from</i>											
Netherlands	1 133	885	1 595	1 655	1 407	1 154	913	674	630	572	565
Germany	1 586	1 412	1 331	1 251	1 254	992	1 014	885	804	977	1 136
Belgium	432	545	520	497	429	387	390	292	278	553	457
United Kingdom	1 178	1 234	1 248	1 387	1 296	1 090	948	954	758	777	869
France	418	529	507	536	521	409	382	278	276	370	420
Italy	238	257	230	192	196	191	196	162	131	170	237
Spain	262	288	226	218	271	219	172	147	120	213	233
new EU-countries ^a	1 628	1 765	1 218	1 672	1 873	2 085	2 025	2 839	2 726	3 004	4 577
<i>of whom from</i>											
Poland	998	908	505	783	858	998	941	1 692	1 882	2 242	2 383
Czechoslovakia (former)	160	205	197	221	231	224	182	318	226	221	207
Hungary	154	202	116	142	182	149	120	163	97	92	170
Bulgaria	58	117	124	118	152	235	250	177	150	116	997
Romenia	201	252	215	315	325	337	406	309	231	243	715
other Europe	1 869	1 948	1 929	2 350	2 597	2 421	2 415	1 961	1 575	1 292	1 437
<i>of whom from</i>											
Soviet Union (former) ^b	745	958	1 021	1 285	1 523	1 500	1 544	1 331	1 048	769	913
Yugoslavia (former) ^c	887	707	667	808	792	672	682	454	370	355	358
other Western	3 029	3 094	3 428	3 626	3 438	3 369	2 932	2 372	2 308	2 492	2 446
<i>of whom from</i>											
United States	1 317	1 364	1 541	1 635	1 423	1 459	1 184	960	965	1 099	1 177
Canada	235	253	261	298	301	249	194	138	144	147	160
Indonesia	585	552	609	654	656	656	669	458	437	454	311
Japan	653	657	654	649	651	623	590	581	525	556	549
Non-Western countries	16 453	22 603	18 757	19 572	21 482	22 169	21 993	16 301	14 792	14 001	12 172
<i>of whom from</i>											
Turkey	3 898	5 180	3 763	3 714	4 222	4 720	4 923	3 451	2 331	2 110	1 560
Morocco	2 694	4 128	3 924	3 577	4 448	4 487	4 071	2 806	1 843	1 587	1 057
Algeria	137	139	89	92	96	134	99	90	52	57	31
Congo	131	104	92	117	102	100	81	78	111	83	58
Egypt	403	537	410	344	404	444	442	325	291	285	208
Suriname	1 340	2 334	1 539	1 786	1 885	1 925	2 074	1 355	1 044	807	824
Brazil	350	477	380	431	447	511	601	502	587	686	565
Afghanistan	92	384	687	812	980	1 045	1 027	703	613	465	224
Iraq	471	1 411	1 049	1 214	993	618	553	581	510	545	785
Iran	411	392	319	359	384	354	361	309	236	193	243
China	663	668	470	515	537	610	649	548	622	618	591
India	333	339	287	274	294	257	261	210	416	687	719
Philippines	481	365	298	352	298	372	360	249	297	286	195
Pakistan	428	323	315	287	223	244	204	147	335	319	202
Sri Lanka	124	210	325	234	246	211	197	118	72	90	73

Source: Statistics Netherlands (figures are based on data of the Ministry of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service)

^a figures include data of Malta, Cyprus, Slovenia and Baltic States,

^b excluding Baltic States

^c excluding Slovenia

Chapter 3 **Labour migration**

Main findings

- Official migration statistics show that immigration for employment reasons increased from 22,000 in 2006 to more than 32,000 in 2007.
- Labour migration from these CEE countries increased strongly from 1200 in 2003 to more than 12,000 in 2007.
- In 2007 the total number of labour migrants coming from Bulgaria and Romania went up rapidly to 4000 from no more than 400 in 2006.
- The number of labour migrants coming from non-Western countries also increased from 3600 in 2006 to more than 5000 in 2007.
- The upward trend in the number of labour migrants coming from non-Western countries is associated with the fact that Highly-Skilled Migrants Scheme was introduced. With regard to the foreign nationals who come to the Netherlands for residence as a highly-skilled migrant, a large proportion hold Indian or Chinese nationality.
- Short term (labour) migrants thus don't show in the official migration figures of Statistics Netherlands because of registration methods of Dutch migration statistics. To get an indication of the magnitude of the labour migration some statistics about work permits are presented. The number of work permits granted strongly increased from 11,000 in 1997 to 74,000 in 2006. Most of the TWVs were issued to CEE nationals.
- In the first four months of 2007, the number of TWVs issued rose even faster. In this first trimester of 2007 alone, no less than 38,261 permits were issued in the Netherlands. Again, the large majority of these work permits (34,564) were given to CEE nationals. In the next eight months of 2007, the number of TWVs fell sharply to 11,766, mainly because after May 2007 CEE nationals (with exemption of Romanian en Bulgarian nationals) no longer needed a work permit to be employed in the Netherlands.
- Work permits issued to nationals from the member states that joined in 2007, Bulgaria and Romania, increased from 1,700 in 2004 to over 3,600 in 2007.

3.1 Introduction

The desirability of labour migration is a much-discussed topic in member countries of the EU. Both the European Commission and some European governments have argued that labour migration in EU countries is indispensable to alleviate existing and future tensions in the European labour markets. Proponents of further labour migration argue that the influx of labour migrants is necessary to compensate for the decreasing birth rates in most European countries and to restore the balance between the number of economically active and inactive citizens in the ageing European populations. The Dutch government on the other hand has always stated that labour migration is only desirable for vacancies where there are no Dutch or European job seekers available. Even during the period of job growth in the Netherlands during the second half of the 1990's the Dutch cabinet accepted labour migration only when there was insufficient labour supply available from the Dutch/EU labour market. The Dutch government argued there were still unacceptably large numbers of job seekers in the Netherlands. Furthermore, it wants to stimulate labour market participation of women and older workers. As a consequence, work permits were only issued in specific economic sectors where there is a high demand and short supply of manpower (for instance in the ICT-sector).

However, as described in Chapter 1 of this SOPEMI Report this rather conservative position on labour migration has changed. The Netherlands specifically wants to attract more highly skilled workers. Moreover, since the opening of the borders for foreign workers from the new EU-member states there is a large influx of low qualified labour migrants from the CEE-countries.

In this chapter we focus on the influx of labour migrants. In the previous chapter we presented figures about immigration motives of foreign nationals. According to the official statistics about 80,000 migrants came to the Netherlands. A substantial number of those immigrants came to the Netherlands for reasons of labour. In paragraph 3.2 we will focus some more on these figures. However these labour migration statistics only show part of the total labour migration. As already stated in chapter 2 external migration statistics refer to all persons who enter the Netherlands with the intention of staying in the country for a certain period of time, or who leave the Netherlands to live in another country for a certain period of time. For people arriving in the Netherlands, registration is obligatory if they stay in the country for at least four months during the first six months following

registration. Short term (labour) migrants thus don't show in the official migration figures of Statistics Netherlands. To get an indication of the magnitude of the labour migration we therefore also present some statistics of work permits (paragraph 3.3). As a general rule, all labour migrants from outside the EU are required to obtain a work permit in the Netherlands, whereas labour migrants coming from other EU countries are exempted from this obligation. Up till 2006 it was possible to get an indication of the magnitude of temporary labour migration from outside the EU 15 countries by looking at the statistic of work permits. In May 2007 however, all restrictions on foreign workers from Poland and the other new 2004-member states were lifted. Individuals from these countries from then on have free access to the Dutch labour market and thus don't need a work permit anymore. Therefore in paragraph 3.4 the magnitude of labour migration from the CEE countries will be discussed.

3.2 Labour migration

Table 3.1 shows the number of labour migrants according to official migration figures of Statistics Netherlands. In Chapter 2 we already observed that immigration for employment reasons increased from 22,000 in 2006 to more than 32,000 in 2007. Table 3.1 shows historical patterns in labour migration of foreign nationals from selected countries over the period 1995 to 2007. The countries are again divided into Western and non-Western countries. The fastest growing category of the last decade is no doubt immigrants from the new EU-countries. The total number of labour migrants from the new EU-countries went up gradually from scarcely 200 in 1995 to 1200 in 2003. From then on labour migration from these CEE countries increased rapidly to more than 12,000 in 2007. In 2007 the total number of labour migrants coming from Bulgaria and Romania went up strongly to 4000, from no more than 400 in 2006.

The number of labour migrants coming from non-Western countries also increased from 3600 in 2006 to more than 5000 in 2007. The upward trend in the number of labor migrants coming from non-Western countries is associated with the fact that Highly-Skilled Migrants Scheme was introduced. Subsequently this scheme became known to a broader public. Policy changes that may also have contributed to the upward trend are the broadening of the scheme for scientific researchers, physicians training to be specialists and foreign nationals who want to work for start-up companies, and the addition

of a third salary criterion for foreign nationals who have recently graduated (INS 2008 p10). This upward trend appears to be continuing in 2008 (see table A3.1). With regard to the foreign nationals who come to the Netherlands for residence as a highly-skilled migrant, a large proportion hold Indian or Chinese nationality.

Labour migration

Table 3.1: Immigration of foreign nationals by reasons of labour by country of birth 1995-2007

	1995	1997	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total	10 111	13 176	16 229	19 010	19 849	18 463	16 758	16 113	17 467	21 753	32 067
<i>of whom from</i>											
Western countries	8 600	11 120	13 716	16 197	16 547	15 097	13 154	13 437	14 616	18 171	26 919
<i>of whom from</i>											
EU-countries (25) ^a	6 878	8 824	10 895	13 195	13 636	12 507	10 895	11 359	12 442	15 828	23 955
<i>of whom from</i>											
old EU-countries	6 689	8 435	10 363	12 160	12 104	11 338	9 695	8 493	8 154	9 969	11 645
<i>of whom from</i>											
Germany	1 203	1 429	1 745	2 121	2 161	2 352	1 970	1 900	1 815	2 225	2 863
United Kingdom	1 889	2 599	2 930	3 546	3 629	2 874	2 372	1 899	1 556	1 918	2 209
France	455	725	998	1 089	1 060	984	785	770	911	1 023	1 207
Italy	494	672	864	952	959	866	753	647	823	934	1 102
Portugal	218	252	496	683	834	837	763	657	538	876	1 062
Belgium	579	783	850	925	868	857	756	602	606	613	840
Spain	306	382	547	739	751	785	724	639	660	749	789
new EU-countries ^a	189	389	532	1 035	1 532	1 169	1 200	2 866	4 288	5 859	12 310
<i>of whom from</i>											
Poland	84	194	246	563	810	696	775	2 019	3 360	4 500	6 505
Czechoslovakia (former)	27	56	67	129	195	117	90	279	431	632	753
Hungary	24	37	58	113	199	99	92	184	175	238	570
Bulgaria	10	31	49	60	73	54	75	62	65	108	3 119
Romenia	33	56	97	148	223	169	141	167	143	310	1 072
other Europe	347	383	627	712	799	739	591	601	591	549	860
<i>of whom from</i>											
Soviet Union (former) ^b	133	139	294	365	417	374	309	341	335	219	468
Yugoslavia (former) ^c	38	57	109	130	141	81	85	62	48	80	100
other Western countries	1 375	1 913	2 194	2 290	2 112	1 851	1 668	1 477	1 583	1 794	2 104
<i>of whom from</i>											
United States	619	1 028	1 130	1 168	974	831	790	650	750	833	1 026
Canada	91	173	171	219	208	157	147	122	135	169	181
Japan	499	467	479	485	477	511	464	440	435	460	479
Indonesia	19	54	84	54	95	54	53	64	69	78	181
Non-Western countries	1 511	2 056	2 513	2 813	3 302	3 366	3 604	2 676	2 851	3 582	5 148
<i>of whom from</i>											
Turkey	196	259	175	234	308	458	960	279	253	303	340
South Africa	59	128	226	284	325	191	188	161	143	172	222
Nigeria	18	50	66	71	66	69	98	55	55	62	72
Morocco	121	176	127	172	137	142	174	139	60	56	65
Egypt	33	57	37	35	49	71	97	59	25	38	58
Brazil	35	54	80	83	99	100	81	111	132	153	241
India	155	215	340	277	292	237	241	209	494	986	1 523
China	163	132	184	168	272	222	216	229	308	286	893
Korea Republic of	42	36	70	77	85	74	72	72	96	120	135
Pakistan	72	53	46	73	72	85	68	55	50	108	120
Iran	27	32	27	40	48	47	58	56	36	65	104
Taiwan	22	77	86	98	109	97	102	78	101	99	97
Philippines	28	60	23	38	90	59	41	47	29	57	77
Thailand	11	20	17	43	30	13	20	19	48	26	59

Source: Statistics Netherlands (figures are based on data of the Ministry of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service)

^a figures include data of Malta, Cyprus, Slovenia and Baltic States,

^b excluding Baltic States

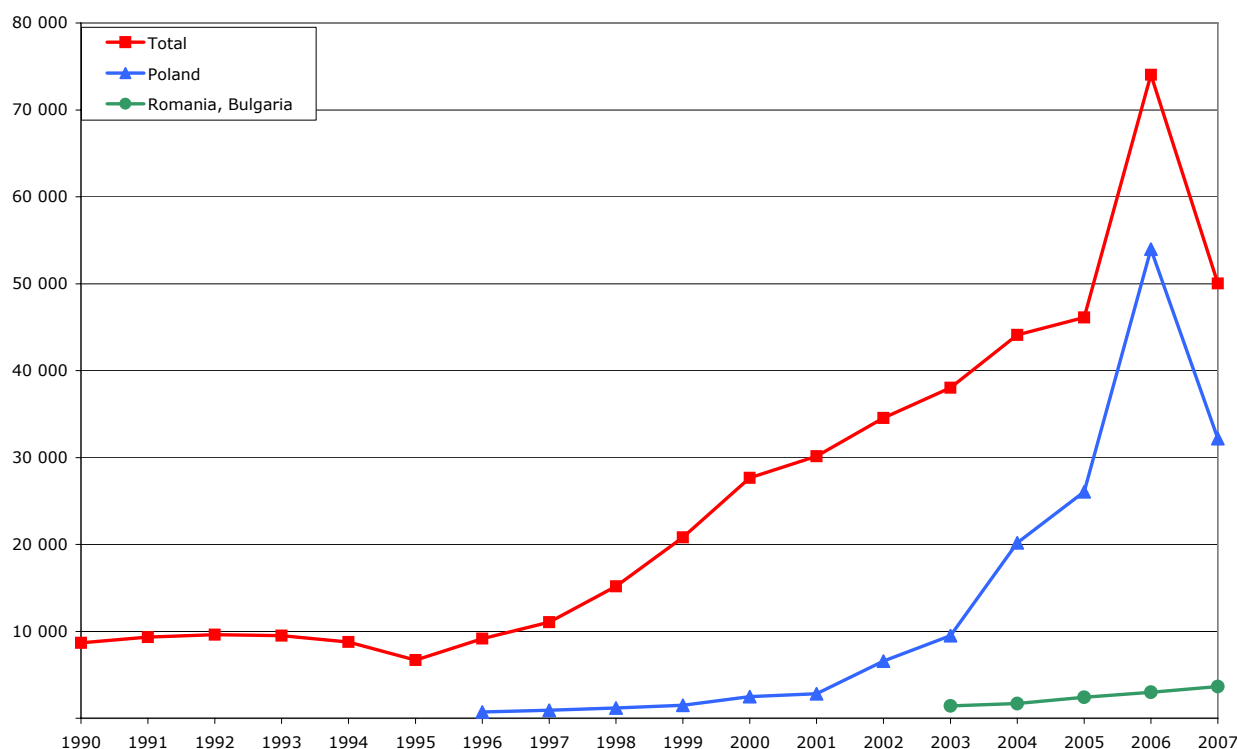
^c excluding Slovenia

3.3 Work permits

In the previous chapter we presented figures about immigration of foreign nationals. According to the official statistics about 80,000 migrants came to the Netherlands. As mentioned up till 2006 it was possible to get an indication of the magnitude of temporary labour migration by looking at the statistic of work permits. As a general rule, all labour migrants from outside the EU are required to obtain a work permit in the Netherlands, whereas labour migrants coming from other EU countries are exempted from this obligation. Dutch employers can only recruit foreign employees when there are no 'preferred status workers' available – that is, jobseekers in the Netherlands or in other EU countries. Only when employers are unable to find a potential employee among preferred-status workers can they apply for a temporary work permit (TWV) for a foreign employee. The Dutch Central Organisation for Work and Income (the public employment service, or CWI) assesses applications made by employers for a temporary work permit for foreign employees. Originally, this procedure also applied in the case of labour migrants from Poland and other new EU members. However, before enlargement in 2004, several exemptions were introduced from these relatively strict labour market regulations. In the late 1990s, the Netherlands had a period of economic growth and a fairly tight labour market. In this period, there was high demand for labour, particularly seasonal labour in the Dutch agricultural and horticultural sectors. At the same time, it became clear for instance that in the Westland, a well-known horticultural region in the Netherlands, one in four companies employed irregular immigrants (WRR 2001; Engbersen et al. 2006). In 2002, the Dutch government tried to end this situation with its Seasonal Work Project, which made it easier for agricultural and horticultural companies to hire seasonal workers from Poland (Broeders and Engbersen 2007). In the same period, Dutch temporary employment agencies started to recruit temporary workers from Poland and other CEE countries. Polish workers with German passports – who mainly came from the German-Polish border region – were in particular demand. Because of their German passports, these workers did not need a temporary work permit to be employed in the Netherlands. Consequently, as early as 2004 at least 25,000 Polish workers were employed in the Dutch agricultural and horticultural sector. Most of them had temporary work permits, but about 10,000 Polish workers had German citizenship and therefore did not need a formal work permit (Corpeleijn 2007: 181). Later in the chapter, we will present data about the numbers of temporary work permits issued, showing

that in the years prior to EU enlargement in 2004 there was already a sharp increase in the influx of mainly Polish workers to the Netherlands. After the EU enlargement in May 2004, the number of foreign workers from Poland and other CEE countries further increased. As stated in the introduction, the Netherlands was a 'third wave' country: it kept its borders officially closed to employees from the new EU member states. In 2004, a transitional measure was announced allowing workers from the new member states access to the Dutch labour market provided they had a temporary work permit. In May 2006, this transitional measure was prolonged for another year. However, many restrictions on foreign workers from Poland and other CEE countries were lifted as early as 2006. Although foreign workers from the new member states of 2004 still needed a temporary work permit, these were issued more easily and often without a labour market test. This implied that employers looking for foreign employees were no longer obliged to check whether potential personnel was available in the Netherlands and in the 'old EU'. In May 2007, all restrictions on foreign workers from Poland and the other new (2004) member states were lifted. Individuals from these countries now have free access to the Dutch labour market. This does not apply to nationals of the latest arrivals to the EU, Bulgaria and Romania. Nationals of these two countries, which joined the EU in January 2007, are still confronted with a transitional period in which they need a temporary work permit in the Netherlands. To 2006, only limited numbers of formal immigrants from Bulgaria and Romania have come to the Netherlands. In 2007 the number of formal immigrants from Bulgaria and Romania strongly increased.

Figure 3.1: The number of work permits and 'declarations' issued on the ground of the Dutch Foreign Nationals Labour Act (WAV) in the period 1990-2007



Source: CWI

Figure 3.1 shows that the number of work permits granted has strongly increased in the period 1997-2006, but dropped significantly in 2007. From 1990 to 1997 the number of work permits was fairly stable. In 1997 the number of work permits exceeded 10,000 per year for the first time. In the period 1997-2004 the number of work permits increased every year with an average of approximately 5,000 a year to reach 46,000 in 2005. In 2006 the number of work permits continued to rise and at a much faster pace. In 2006, a total of 74,000 work permits were issued, almost 28,000 (61%) more than in 2005. Most of the latter TWVs were issued to CEE nationals.

In the first four months of 2007, the number of TWVs issued rose even faster. In this first trimester of 2007 alone, no less than 38,261 permits were issued in the Netherlands. Again, the large majority of these work permits (34,564) were given to CEE nationals. In the next eight months of 2007, the number of TWVs fell sharply to 11,766, mainly because after May 2007 CEE nationals no longer needed a work permit to be employed in the Netherlands.⁹ Polish nationals are by far the largest subcategory among these temporary foreign workers. In 2006 alone, almost 54,000 TWVs were issued to Polish nationals (73 percent of a total of 74,000 TWVs issued in

⁹ Only nationals of Bulgaria and Romania, which joined the EU in 2007, still need a TWV to work in the Netherlands.

2006). Work permits issued to nationals from the member states that joined in 2007, Bulgaria and Romania, increased from 1,700 in 2004 to 3000 in 2006. In 2007, the number of TWVs issued to Bulgarians and Romanians further increased to over 3,600. The explanation is that it became much easier for Bulgarians and Romanians to enter the Netherlands once their countries joined the EU; they no longer need residence permits (Van den Berg et al. 2007: 30).

Table 3.3 shows the countries of origin for labour migrants who came to the Netherlands with a work permit. In 2006 almost 90 percent of the temporary labour migrants came from Western countries and only one-tenth came from non-Western countries. In particular, the number of temporary labour migrants from new EU-countries has increased sharply over the last few years. In 2002 about 9,400 temporary workers came from countries that are now part of the European Union to the Netherlands. Four years later, in 2006, their number increased to more than 58,000. This means that three-quarters of all temporary labour migrants who came to the Netherlands in 2006, came from the 10 new European Union countries, whereas in 2002 this was only 27 percent. Especially the number of temporary workers from Poland has increased sharply (from 2,800 in 2001 to 54,000 in 2006) i.e. due to a project of the Dutch Organisation for Agriculture and Horticulture (LTO) and the Centre for Work and Income (CWI), which was supported by the Dutch government, that made formal recruitment of Polish seasonal workers possible. From 1 May 2007 on, no work permit was required for labour migrants from the ten new EU-countries. This is reflected in the figures of 2007. In the first four months of 2007, the number of TWVs continue to rise in an even faster pace. In this first trimester of 2007 alone, no less than 38,261 permits were issued in the Netherlands. Again, the large majority of these work permits (34,564) were given to CEE nationals. In the next eight months of 2007, the number of TWVs fell sharply to 11,766.

Table 3.3: Number of work permits (WAV) by nationality (1996-2007)

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total	9 173	11 062	15 181	20 816	27 678	30 153	34 558	38 036	44 113	46 113	74 056	50 027
Western countries	-	-	-	11 994	16 234	17 633	20 175	22 663	32 538	37 011	65 791	42 166
<i>of whom from</i>												
New EU10-Countries^a							9 400	12 542	24 424	29 443	58 128	34 314
Poland	735	928	1 184	1 501	2 497	2 831	6 572	9 511	20 190	26 076	53 981	32 195
Czechoslovakia (former)	174	256	282	606	1 058	1 673	1 494	1 653	2 690	2 193	2 907	1 326
<i>of whom from</i>												
Czech Republic							879	967	1 454	1 163	1 402	443
Slovak Republic							615	686	1 236	1 030	1 505	883
Hungary	275	349	502	662	718	1 063	1 000	953	1 080	646	633	530
Lithuania							157	213	302	378	346	150
Latvia							60	48	72	61	171	76
Slovenia							68	104	49	56	54	26
Estonia							27	50	37	32	36	11
New EU2-Countries^a				775	1 030	1 168	1 184	1 476	1 700	2 429	3 005	3 653
Romenia	287	193	299	458	643	741	860	1 095	1 300	1 885	2 266	2 657
Bulgaria				317	387	427	324	381	400	544	739	996
other Europe	-	-	-	2 867	4 718	4 882	4 253	3 174	2 177	2 007	1 779	1 483
<i>of whom from</i>												
Soviet Union (former) ^b	-	-	-	2 121	3 572	3 784	3 309	2 547	1 741	1 621	1 469	1 288
Yugoslavia (former) ^c	-	-	-	746	1 146	1 098	944	627	414	354	294	185
other Western countries	-	-	-	5 556	6 186	5 980	5 295	5 443	4 235	3 131	2 877	2 716
<i>of whom from</i>												
United States	1 945	2 275	2 603	2 822	3 133	2 918	2 595	2 564	2 024	1 232	1 178	1 132
Canada	286	412	439	604	628	504	408	405	446	400	259	406
Japan	949	893	871	890	945	909	1 008	1 204	823	768	683	542
Indonesia	146	148	211	482	547	799	795	870	578	555	569	461
Australia	240	263	312	444	505	515	376	324	300	145	149	129
Non-Western countries	-	-	-	8 695	11 229	12 245	14 012	14 977	11 311	8 964	8 198	7 826
<i>of whom from</i>												
Turkey	467	442	661	710	1 007	931	1 108	1 276	478	369	289	274
South Africa	197	223	588	479	566	646	377	402	358	264	239	259
Cameroon	-	-	-	45	92	144	222	322	251	228	163	98
Morocco	-	-	-	198	230	198	211	195	129	102	81	118
Nigeria	-	-	-	-	-	-	149	139	170	106	79	53
Angola	-	-	-	31	110	268	583	754	428	170	65	11
Liberia	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	79	123	120	62	12
Sierra Leone	-	-	-	31	81	222	1 047	1 252	560	161	54	12
Suriname	-	-	-	261	364	445	387	313	240	217	245	153
Brasil	-	-	-	-	-	-	166	176	204	185	179	187
China	578	489	512	701	980	1 161	1 741	2 252	2 402	2 494	2 536	2 753
India	390	519	830	901	1 006	974	776	845	1 050	1 279	1 572	1 663
Iraq	12	30	964	1 520	1 627	1 176	782	786	663	260	195	99
Iran	-	-	-	160	300	448	533	470	250	163	167	171
Korea Republic of							148	168	187	217	159	130
Vietnam							191	225	207	216	156	72
Philippines	-	-	-	-	-	-	136	128	140	133	153	275
Thailand	-	-	-	-	-	-	129	94	124	143	117	116
Taiwan	-	-	-	-	-	-	113	152	124	151	106	81
Israel	-	-	-	-	-	-	187	187	155	124	86	74
Afghanistan	8	15	238	651	580	699	973	1 008	555	163	64	37
unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	368	396	263	138	65	35

Source: CWI

^a figures includes Slovenia and Baltic States,^b without Slovenia^c without Baltic States

Table 3.4 shows the types of jobs for which work permits were issued. Contrary to the popular idea that work permits are primarily issued for highly qualified professions, the data reveal that the highest number of work permits is issued for work in the agricultural and horticultural sectors and that this number increased strongly over the last five years. In 2000 about one-quarter of all work permits were issued for agricultural and horticultural work and in 2006 this was more than 60 percent. The increase in the number of Polish temporary labour migrants from the year 2002 is related to the growing need for agricultural and horticultural workers in the Netherlands. The increasing number of foreign agricultural and horticultural workers is striking, since the idea of employing Dutch unemployed persons in this sector is frequently discussed. Other lower-qualified professions that attract a relatively large number of labour migrants are various industrial production jobs, chauffeurs and personnel for 'unskilled work'. In 2007 permits issued for work in the agricultural and horticultural sectors decreased because of the fact that Polish temporary labour migrants don't need a work permit anymore.

Table 3.4: Number of work permits (WAV) by type of profession (2000-2007)

	Absolute						in percentages					
	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007
agriculture / horticulture	7 694	11 141	21 161	26 208	46 876	24 737	27.8	32.2	48.0	56.8	63.3	49.4
artistic professions	4 324	3 971	2 992	2 106	1 551	1 477	15.6	11.5	6.8	4.6	2.1	3.0
production work	1 996	4 735	6 258	4 542	10 705	10 091	7.2	13.7	14.2	9.8	14.5	20.2
science	2 851	2 576	3 360	2 814	3 007	2 125	10.3	7.5	7.6	6.1	4.1	4.2
computer specialists	2 209	1 193	984	1 199	1 392	1 376	8.0	3.5	2.2	2.6	1.9	2.8
executive professions	1 889	1 712	1 762	1 411	1 216	979	6.8	5.0	4.0	3.1	1.6	2.0
advisors	1 919	1 443	1 114	899	716	588	6.9	4.2	2.5	1.9	1.0	1.2
drivers	1 088	1 396	1 681	1 814	2 237	1 093	3.9	4.0	3.8	3.9	3.0	2.2
hotel and catering industry	672	1 543	1 142	1 245	1 599	2 156	2.4	4.5	2.6	2.7	2.2	4.3
other services	2 032	3 240	2 269	1 926	1 887	1 690	7.3	9.4	5.1	4.2	2.5	3.4
construction	278	294	393	950	206	593	1.0	0.9	0.9	2.1	0.3	1.2
health care	291	605	495	396	324	287	1.1	1.8	1.1	0.9	0.4	0.6
sports	256	199	219	277	322	290	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.6
unskilled work	43	310	127	183	1 871	2 377	0.2	0.9	0.3	0.4	2.5	4.8
mechanics	59	125	89	55	82	108	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2
other professions	76	75	67	89	65	60	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
unknown	1						0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
All professions	27 678	34 558	44 113	46 114	74 056	50 027	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: CWI

Table 3.3 shows the types of jobs in which temporary workers from different countries are employed. It is no surprise there are clear differences between the sectors temporary workers from the more developed Western countries and temporary workers from Eastern Europe and developing countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia, work in.

Table 3.5: Work permits(WAV) by type of profession and region 2007 (percentages)

	Total (N)	Western					Non-western			
		new EU- countries	Other Europe	Northern- America	Japan and Indonesia	Oceania	Turkey	Africa	Other America	Other Asia
agriculture / horticulture	24 719	63.6	16.0	0.2	2.6	-	1.1	10.6	4.7	2.9
artistic professions	1 477	0.3	46.8	11.7	4.9	8.7	12.8	23.0	11.5	1.6
production work	10 090	23.2	12.1	12.7	7.1	4.0	7.7	12.9	11.3	10.4
science	2 124	0.6	8.8	13.8	14.8	23.7	20.8	13.6	25.4	17.3
computer specialists	1 374	0.2	1.8	4.8	2.3	6.9	3.3	2.5	5.0	18.5
executive professions	979	0.1	1.8	23.1	21.9	22.5	4.0	2.3	4.2	4.1
advisors	588	0.1	1.8	9.6	5.5	15.6	2.6	3.7	4.1	3.7
drivers	1 093	2.3	1.8	0.0	0.0	-	5.1	1.3	0.0	3.0
hotel and catering industry	2 153	0.5	1.2	0.9	26.3	0.6	5.5	2.0	4.7	27.1
other services	1 681	1.3	3.7	9.2	8.9	5.2	33.2	17.1	18.2	8.9
construction	593	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.8
health care	287	0.2	1.3	1.4	3.8	2.3	1.1	6.7	2.9	0.8
sports	290	0.0	1.5	11.6	0.4	5.8	1.1	1.1	6.0	0.3
unskilled work	2 376	6.1	0.2	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.4	2.8	0.5	0.2
mechanics	108	0.2	0.1	0.7	-	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.2
other professions	60	0.0	1.0	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.5	0.3
total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n)	49 992	37 968	1 484	1 538	1 003	173	274	1 026	617	5 909

Temporary workers from the developed Western countries (USA, Canada, Japan, Oceania, including Australia and New Zealand) predominantly work in high-skilled jobs such as executive professions and as advisors. American temporary workers are also frequently employed in artistic professions and sports. Temporary workers from the new EU-countries (in particular Poland), other European (mainly workers from the former Soviet Union and Romania) and from African countries predominantly work in the agricultural and horticultural professions and as production workers. Other European and Latin American temporary workers also frequently work in artistic professions. African temporary workers frequently work in agricultural and production jobs. Asian temporary workers are frequently employed as scientists and computer specialists.

3.4 Labour migrants from CEE countries 2007

The presented data on (temporary) work permits have their limitations. Firstly, like any official data, they do not include foreign workers in the Netherlands who are here without formal residence permits or work permits. Secondly, these data only refer to foreign workers who work here for Dutch employers. CEE nationals working in the Netherlands on a self-employed basis are not included. Self-employed individuals from the new EU member states had free access to the Dutch labour market as early as 2004. Thirdly, figures relating to temporary work permits refer to the number of permits

issued in a certain year, but not to the number of individuals receiving a work permit. There are, however, several estimates of the number of foreign workers in the Netherlands from Poland and the other CEE countries available. According to one estimate, in 2004 there were 97,000 jobs in the Netherlands taken by temporary workers coming from the CEE countries. Most of these jobs were in agriculture and horticulture, and with temporary employment agencies. Since about one in four temporary workers from the CEE countries had more than one job, the total number of temporary labour migrants from CEE countries in 2004 is estimated at 72,000 (both employed and self-employed) (Corpeleijn 2007: 181). A more recent estimate of the number of temporary labour migrants from CEE countries in the Netherlands refers to the situation in 2008. The conclusion was that in 2008 a minimum of 100,000 CEE nationals were working in the Netherlands on a temporary or permanent basis. This figure is also used by the Dutch government as the official estimate of labour migration from the CEE countries to the Netherlands.

Appendix for chapter 3

Table A3.1: Highly skilled migrants granted a first residence permit by nationality, 2008-2005

	2005		2006		2007		2008 (January thru June)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Top 10-countries								
India	280	17.4	934	26.0	1 513	29.2	855	29.5
United States	286	17.7	528	14.7	734	14.2	363	12.5
China	98	6.1	189	5.3	341	6.6	184	6.4
Japan	88	5.5	189	5.3	259	5.0	155	5.4
Turkey	79	4.9	160	4.5	256	4.9	133	4.6
South-Africa	37	2.3	98	2.7	150	2.9	123	4.3
Romenia	36	2.2	93	2.6	141	2.7	82	2.8
Australia	76	4.7	131	3.6	129	2.5	79	2.7
Russia	50	3.1	109	3.0	157	3.0	74	2.6
Canada	52	3.2	111	3.1	142	2.7	66	2.3
Other	531	32.9	1 050	29.2	1 355	26.2	780	27.0
Total	1 613	100.0	3 592	100.0	5 177	100.0	2 894	100.0

Source: IND/INDIAC, Introductie Trendrapport regulier, 2008

Chapter 4 **Developments in asylum migration**

Main findings

- Since 2007 it is possible to distinguish first applications from follow up applications. As of 1 January 2007, the definition of asylum influx concerns only the first applications.
- The influx of asylum seekers was at a historically low point in 2007. The number of first requests came to 7000. In total, around 9800 asylum requests were processed in 2007.
- In 2007 the number asylum applications declined in almost all European countries as it did in 2006. Sweden is the only country that experienced an increase in the number of asylum seekers in 2007.
- To perform a quick settlement of the old Aliens Act, the Government decided on a special arrangement, by which a residence permit is granted on civil-official grounds. Asylum seekers, who meet five objective requirements, receive a residence permit. For example, the first asylum request must be applied before April 1st, 2001 and there should be no indications of a criminal history or war crimes. This regulation is generally known as the 'General Pardon'. The 'General Pardon' is discussed in more detail in paragraph 1.5.
- According to recent estimations, around 27,500 individuals will receive a residence permit in the Netherlands as a consequence of the general pardon.
- About 5000 foreign nationals were refused a residence permit. The most important ground for the refusal is that the individuals involved have not lived in the Netherlands continuously (for instance asylum seekers who tried to receive asylum in neighbouring countries after their application was rejected in the Netherlands or families who stayed for some time with relatives in other EU-countries). Some applications for a residence permit were refused because of the suspicion, so not a legal judgement, of war crimes.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter briefly describes recent developments with respect to the influx of asylum seekers. A foreign national can apply for asylum in the Netherlands if he - is persecuted in his country because of race, religion, nationality, political conviction or because they belong to a specific social group, - is in danger of inhumane treatment, such as torture, - has had traumatic experiences in his country, - comes from a country which the Dutch government believes is not safe enough to return to, - has a family member that was recently granted a asylum residence permit'. For a detailed description of the developments with respect to the asylum policy we refer to chapter one. In this chapter we will mainly focus on the influx of asylum seekers to the Netherlands and changes in the composition of this category (paragraph 2). The submission of an asylum request is the first step in a process where only some of the asylum requests are actually approved. In paragraph 4.3 information about the number of asylum requests granted is presented. The majority of aliens who request asylum in the Netherlands do not receive a residence permit and therefore there is a constant stream of aliens leaving the Netherlands. In paragraph 4.4 we will focus on return and expulsion of asylum seekers.

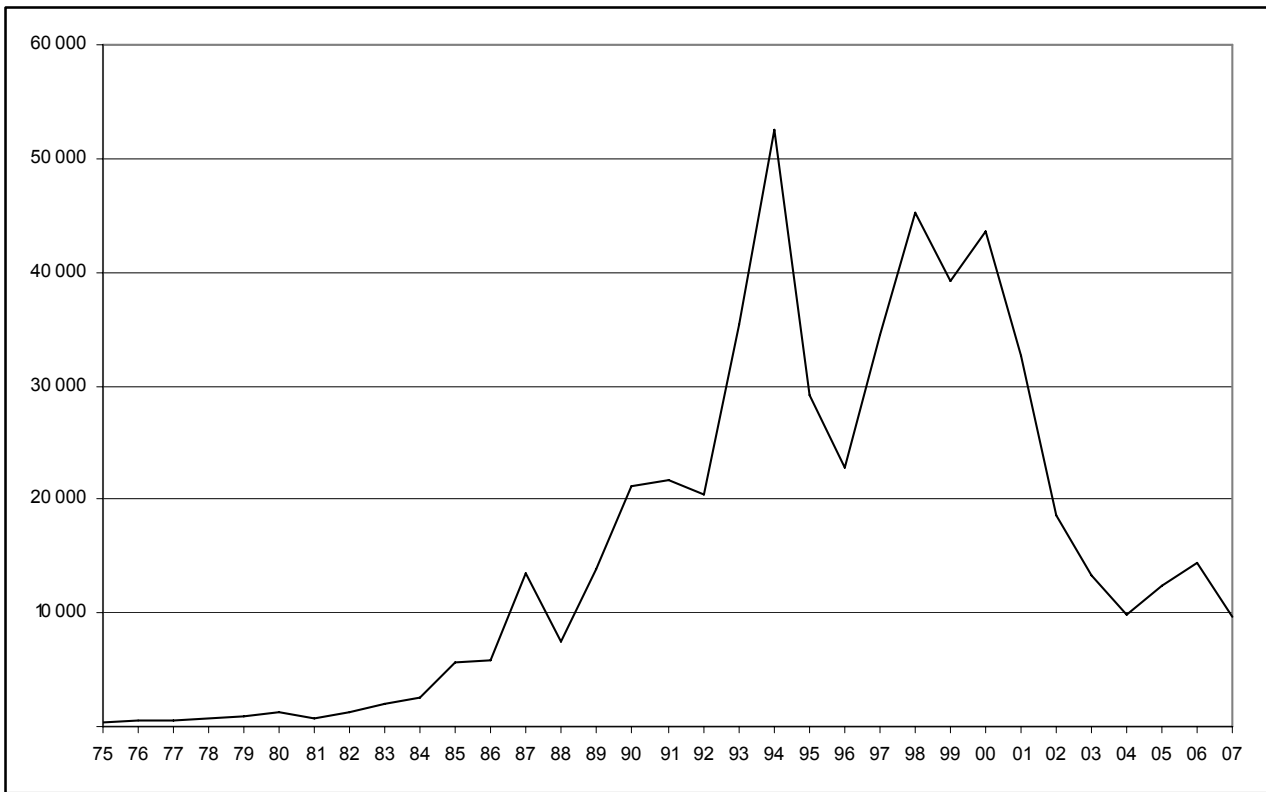
4.2 Asylum requests

Asylum requests 1975-2007

In figure 4.1 we present figures about asylum applications trends over a period of more than 30 years. Until the mid eighties the number of asylum seekers was rather limited. Since the late 1980, early 1990s asylum migration to the Netherlands expands. At its height, in 1994, more than 50,000 individuals apply for asylum in the Netherlands and in the period 1998-2001 each year around 40,000 asylum seekers arrive. In the whole period 1975-2007 more than a half million individuals applied for asylum in the Netherlands.

If we focus on the developments in the past decade, the most striking aspect is the sharp decrease in the number of asylum seekers since 2000. The number of asylum requests decreased from nearly 44,000 in 2000 to less than 10,000 in 2007 (see figure 4.2). The new Dutch Aliens Act, which came into effect in 2000 (see chapter 1), is held responsible for the decrease.

Figure 4.1: Asylum requests by country of nationality, 1975-2007

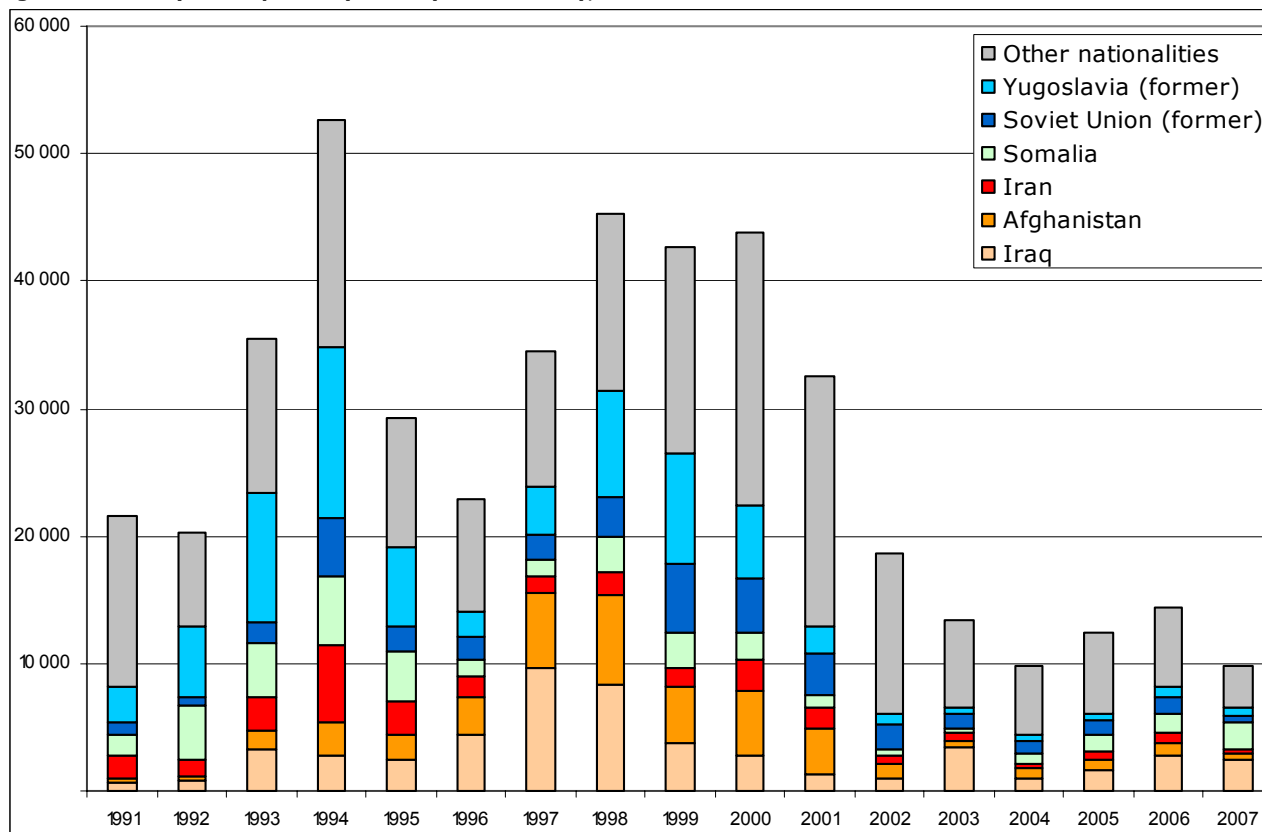


Source: Statistics Netherlands

Asylum requests 1991-2007

Figure 4.2 shows more detailed figures about asylum applications in the period 1991-2007. In this period almost 460,000 individuals applied for asylum in the Netherlands. Relatively large numbers asylum seekers (60 percent) came from only six countries. Most of them came from former Yugoslavia (72 500). Other countries of which huge numbers of individuals applied for asylum in the Netherlands in the period 1991-2007 are Iraq (52 500), Afghanistan (40 500), Iran (28 000), Somalia (37 500), and the (former) Soviet Union (36 500)).

Figure 4.2: Asylum requests by country of nationality, 1991-2007



Source: Ministry of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service

Asylum requests 2007-2008

An asylum seeker may submit more than one request. For example, in the situation that there are new relevant facts, a subsequent request may be submitted. Since 2007 it has become possible to distinguish first applications from follow up applications. As of 1 January 2007, the definition of asylum influx concerns only the first applications. Therefore, an overview on both first and follow up applications is presented in table 4.1. The influx of asylum seekers was at a historically low point in 2007. The number of first requests came to 7000. In total, around 9800 asylum requests were processed in 2007. The influx showed a increase in first three quarters of 2008. In the period January thru September 2008 almost 10 000 first asylum requests were processed. Mainly aliens from Iraq and Somalia showed a rise in number. Research from INS showed that fugitives who formerly stayed in the region of Iraq are now moving on to Europe.

Table 4.1: Asylum requests by country of nationality, 2007-2008

	2007			2008 (january-september)		
	first	follow-up	total	first	follow-up	total
Total	7 430	2 300	9 730	9 770	1 420	11 200
Africa total	3 240	770	4 010	3 630	440	4 090
<i>of whom from</i>						
Somalia	1 900	110	2 010	2 620	90	2 710
Guinea	110	150	260	110	30	140
Sierra Leone	130	90	230	100	90	180
Nigeria	180	30	210	80	10	90
Burundi	130	40	170	60	40	100
Eritrea	150	20	170	140	10	150
Ivory coast	110	10	130	70	10	70
Liberia	40	60	100	20	10	30
Sudan	70	30	100	40	40	80
Other Africa	420	230	630	390	110	540
America total	80	30	110	50	10	70
Asia total	3 230	1 090	4 320	5 400	670	6 090
<i>of whom from</i>						
Iraq	2 050	400	2 450	3 960	240	4 190
Afghanistan	190	330	520	210	240	440
Iran	200	150	360	160	80	240
China	250	30	270	520	30	540
Sri Lanka	100	50	160	160	10	170
Mongolia	100	10	110	60	10	80
Other Asia	340	120	450	330	60	430
Europe total	530	210	740	420	160	580
<i>of whom from</i>						
Turkey	100	40	150	60	30	90
Armenia	120	40	150	150	20	160
Russian Federation	80	30	110	60	40	100
Other Europe	230	100	330	150	70	230
Stateless	50	30	70	30	10	40
Unknown	310	180	490	220	110	330

Source: Statistics Netherlands

Unaccompanied minor asylum seekers

The influx of indicated unaccompanied minor asylum seekers [UMA. Dutch acronym: AMA's] in the Netherlands decreased significantly from 3504 in 1998 to 433 in 2007 (table 4.2). The figure of unaccompanied minor asylum seekers as a percentage of the total influx of asylum seekers was rather high in the 2000-2002 period (about 17 percent). This has changed since 2003. The percentage UMA diminished from 17 percent in 2002 to only 2,8 percent in 2006 but rose significantly in 2007 (4.5%). In 2007, the main countries of origin were Somalia, Iraq and Nigeria.

Table 4.2: Influx of indicated unaccompanied minor asylum seekers in the Netherlands

Country of origin	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Somalia	534	496	410	248	87	75	46	28	58	89
Iraq	*	*	261	117	56	108	27	39	60	55
Nigeria							21	13	56	45
India	*	*	409	248	28	40	57	88	43	37
China	477	793	942	344	177	116	99	59	20	32
Guinee							22	14	11	31
Afghanistan	223	215	303	228	141	41	23	20	15	27
Sierra Leone							16	13	14	13
Ivory Coast							11	5	4	9
unknown	*	*	48	54	31	33	21	18	14	7
others	2 270	3 505	4 332	4 712	2 712	803	251	218	115	88
Total applications UMA	3 504	5 009	6 705	5 951	3 232	1 216	594	515	410	433
Total applications	44 393	37 921	43 895	32 579	18 667	13 402	9 782	12 347	14 465	9 730
Percentage UMA	7.9	13.2	15.3	18.3	17.3	9.1	6.1	4.2	2.8	4.5

Source: Ministry of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service

* = unknown

Asylum requests in Europe

If we compare the Dutch data with data from 12 other European countries with respect to the influx of asylum requests under consideration, Sweden is the only country that experienced an increase in the number of asylum seekers in 2007. Table 4.3 presents the influx in asylum requests under consideration from 2001-2007. In 2006 more than 180,000 asylum applications were submitted in the countries stated, a decline of more than 16 percent since 2005. In 2007 the number asylum applications seems to have dropped again. More than 150,000 asylum applications were submitted in the countries stated, a decline of another 16 percent. The data of 2007 is however without number of applications for December because they aren't available yet.

Table 4.3: Asylum requests in Europe compared

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007*
France	88 287	51 004	61 993	65 614	59 221	39 315	32 132
Germany	90 244	71 127	50 563	35 607	28 914	21 029	17 266
United Kingdom	47 260	103 080	61 051	40 623	30 459	28 321	19 763
Austria	30 135	39 354	32 364	24 676	22 471	13 350	10 667
Sweden	23 499	32 995	31 355	23 161	17 530	24 322	33 358
Belgium**	14 782	18 768	16 940	15 357	15 957	11 587	8 095
the Netherlands***	32 579	18 667	13 402	9 782	12 347	14 465	6 516
Switzerland	20 633	26 125	20 806	14 248	10 061	10 537	9 638
Norway	24 527	17 480	15 613	7 945	5 401	5 320	4 338
Spain	9 219	6 179	5 918	5 553	4 323	5 266	5 636
Finland	1 650	3 443	3 221	3 861	3 574	2 288	1 300
Ireland	10 325	11 634	7 900	4 766	5 049	4 315	2 946
Denmark	12 512	5 947	4 593	3 222	2 260	1 918	2 020
Total	405 652	405 803	325 719	254 415	217 567	182 033	153 675

*2007, number of applications for December aren't available, figures are estimates

** Data do not include accompanied underage asylum seekers

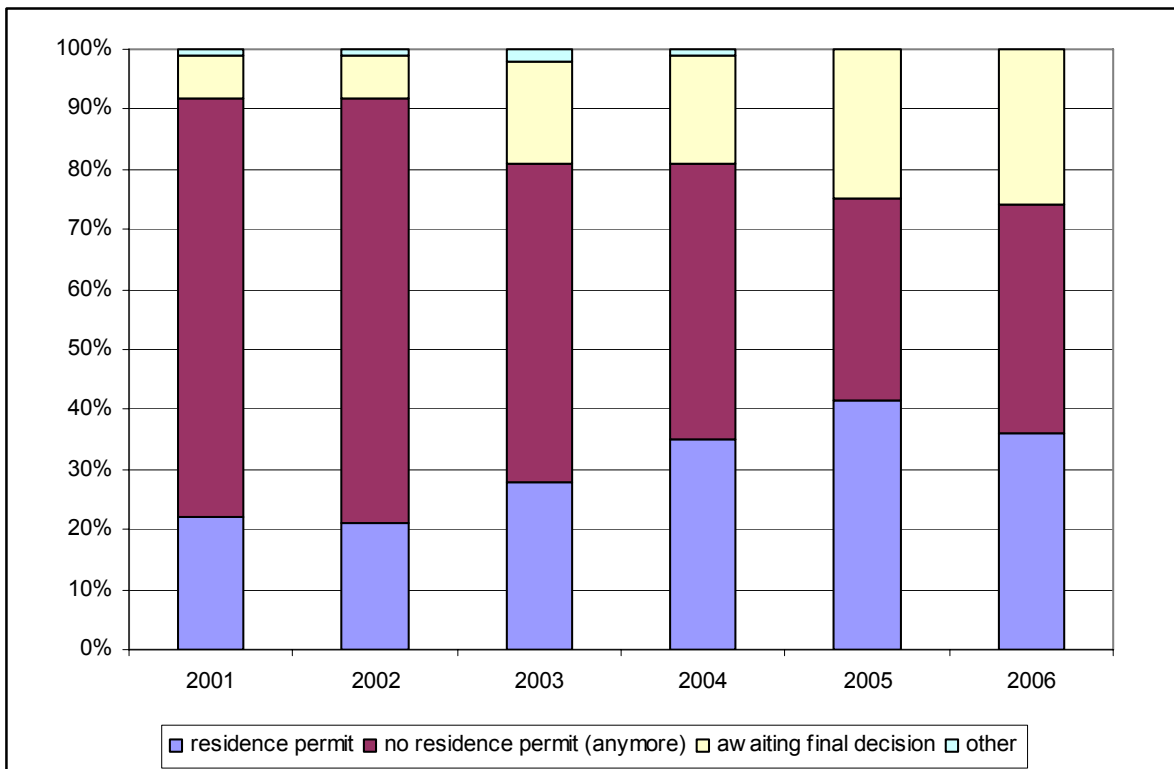
*** Since 2007 data concern only first applications

Source: Ministry of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service

4.3 Granted and rejected asylum requests

The submission of an asylum request is the first step in a process where some of the asylum requests are approved and some are rejected. Regular figures from INS concern the decisions (approvals and rejections) taken during a specific year irrespective of the year in which the asylum request was submitted. Therefore figures about approvals and rejections cannot be compared directly with the figures presented about the asylum requests submitted and thus do not provide any insight into for example the percentage approved. In order to delineate the percentage approved cohort studies are needed. In this paragraph results of a recent cohort study performed by the INS (INS, 2007) are presented.¹⁰ Figure 4.3 shows the approval percentage increased from almost 22 percent for asylum seekers who submitted their request in 2001 to more than 40 percent for asylum seekers who submitted their request in 2005. For those who submitted their request in 2006 the figure is little lower however a substantial part of the asylum seekers in this cohort is still awaiting a final decision. At the end of the second quarter of 2007 around 35 percent was approved.

Figure 4.3: Percentage of asylum requests granted, cohort 2001-2006



Source: Ministry of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service

¹⁰ For additional information about the methods used in this analysis en more detailed results see 'Cohortanalyse Asielproceduers 2001-2006', INS 2007.

If we take a closer look at the asylum seekers who submitted their request in 2006 (see table 4.5) we see that asylum seekers from Somalia (67%) and Sierra Leone (49%) have high approval percentages while asylum seekers from Iran (18%) and Iraq (23%) have relative low approval percentages (INS, 2007).

Table 4.4: Influx of asylum seekers (cohort 2001-2006) by nationality

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Iraq	702	1 054	3 211	740	1 206	2294
Angola	3 016	1 735	402	128	106	40
Afghanistan	2 319	1 007	434	548	485	471
Somalia	657	459	447	680	968	1 211
Sierra Leone	1 595	1 465	275	111	106	111
Iran	781	567	668	425	332	429
Other	12 162	10 989	8942	5 881	5 736	4 343
Total	21 232	17 276	14 379	8 513	8 939	8 899

Source: Ministry of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service

Table 4.5: Percentage of asylum requests with a residence permit (cohort 2001-2006) by nationality

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Iraq	39	56	49	56	54	23
Angola	12	14	11	20	30	38
Afghanistan	29	32	34	45	43	46
Somalia	29	37	50	82	80	67
Sierra Leone	37	20	17	36	39	49
Iran	20	24	20	22	27	18
other	21	17	21	28	34	34
total	22	21	28	35	42	36

Source: Ministry of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service

Return and expulsion of asylum seekers

Already at the start of the asylum procedure, the asylum seeker is notified about the possibility that his request might not be accepted and he will have to return. The procedure in which the alien will be informed about the feasibility of his request on asylum, takes 48 hours (five workdays). After a final decision, the asylum seeker has four weeks to arrange his departure. Rejected asylum seekers themselves are responsible for leaving the country on time. Assistance within voluntary return programmes, by IOM on behalf of the Dutch authorities, is available to all the asylum seekers who meet the criteria. For example, they are not able to pay for the journey themselves.

After this period, the official reception will be ended and the authorities may enforce return by expulsion without further issuance of orders. Since January 2007 a special service, called the Service on Return and Departure (Dutch: Dienst Terugkeer & Vertrek, DT&V) fosters these departures.

Twenty-eight days after the alien has been informed that they must leave the country, a check is performed to establish whether this has actually happened. An 'address check' at the last known address of the alien is carried

out. The alien is considered to be 'administratively removed' if they are not encountered at the address and it is assumed that they have departed. In the majority of cases this implies 'departure with unknown destination'. If the alien is found at the last known address after 28 days and forced return is possible, then the person is taken into custody before being expelled or forced to depart under supervision.

Figure 4.3 showed that a substantial part of the asylum seekers who requested asylum did not receive a residence permit. Therefore there is a constant stream of aliens leaving the Netherlands. Table 4.6 shows more detailed information according to the type of departure. Most of these aliens depart of their own volition. Of the 2001 cohort four percent departed voluntarily. Of another 68 percent are not encountered at the address and it is assumed that they have departed. If the alien is found at the last known address and return is possible the person is forced to leave. Sixteen percent of the asylum seekers who entered the Netherlands in 2001 (the 2001 cohort) returns by means of expulsion or departed under supervision. For 11 percent of the 2001 cohort it is not known if and in which way they left the country. Of the asylum seekers who entered the Netherlands in 2006 the figures are 3% voluntary return, 47% departed with unknown destination, 20 percent forced departure and 30 percent 'unknown'.

Table 4.6: Percentage of asylum requests without a residence permit (cohort 2001-2006) by type of departure

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Departed Voluntarily	4	3	4	6	6	3
Departed with unknown destination	68	69	54	48	41	47
Forced departure	16	18	20	22	22	20
Unknown	11	10	22	24	31	30

Source: Ministry of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service

Table 4.6 shows that by far the greatest numbers of rejected asylum seekers departed with unknown destination. They are considered to have left the country because they weren't at the last known address when this was checked by the authorities. Although this is in accordance with the policy's objectives, the asylum seeker bearing responsibility for his return, it is not clear whether these persons actually leave the country or continue to remain in the Netherlands as illegal immigrants. There are clear indications that a significant proportion will continue to remain in the Netherlands on an illegal basis (Engbersen et al. 2002; Leerkes et al. 2004). Figures about detained illegal aliens in the period 1997-2002 reveal, for example, that substantial numbers of illegal aliens from 'asylum countries' such as Iraq, (former)

Yugoslavia, (former) Soviet Union and Somalia were detained (Leerkes et al. 2004).

The 'General Pardon'

To perform a quick settlement of the old Aliens Act, the Government decided on a special arrangement, by which a residence permit is granted on civil-official grounds. Asylum seekers, who meet five objective requirements, receive a residence permit. For example, the first asylum request must be applied before April 1st, 2001 and there should be no indications of a criminal history or war crimes. This regulation is generally known as the 'General Pardon'. The 'General Pardon' is discussed in more detail in paragraph 1.5. By now the first information about the number of immigrants involved in the general pardon is available. According to recent estimations, around 27,500 individuals will receive a residence permit in the Netherlands as a consequence of the general pardon. At January 28th 2008, almost 25.000 foreign nationals received a written notice that they are eligible for a residence permit on the basis of the regulation; 21,000 persons have already accepted the terms on which a residence permit is given. At the end of 2007, 17,500 procedures were actually ended. On the other hand, 5000 foreign nationals were refused a residence permit. The most important ground for the refusal is that the individuals involved have not lived in the Netherlands continuously (for instance asylum seekers who tried to receive asylum in neighbouring countries after their application was rejected in the Netherlands or families who stayed for some time with relatives in other EU-countries). Some applications for a residence permit were refused because of the suspicion, so not a legal judgement, of war crimes.

Chapter 5 **Foreign nationals and immigrants in the Netherlands**

Main findings

- Non-native residents of the Netherlands are defined in Dutch statistics by their own and their parents country of birth. The term *non-native* refers to people who were born outside the Netherlands with at least one foreign-born parent (first-generation immigrants) or born in the Netherlands with at least one foreign-born parent (second generation).
- On January 1st in 2008, there were 3.22 million non-native residents in the Netherlands, accounting for 19.6% of the Dutch population. About 45% of the non-native residents originate from Western countries (including Central and Eastern Europe), and the other 55% from non-Western countries. The largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands are Indonesians (387 thousand), Germans (380 thousand), Turks (373 thousand), Surinamese (336 thousand) and Moroccans (335 thousand).
- In 1996 there were 2.5 million non-native residents. This means the non-native population in the Netherlands increased by 29% in twelve years time. The number of non-native residents from non-Western countries increased even more rapidly from 1.17 million in 1996 to 1.77 million in 2008, an increase of 51% in 12 years time. On January 1st 2008, non-Western immigrants accounted for 10.8% of the total Dutch population. The percentage of non-Western immigrants in the Netherlands is expected to grow to 11% in 2010 and 16% in 2050.
- On the average, non-Western immigrants are much younger than the native Dutch population. Sixteen percent of the native Dutch population is above the age of 65, which is only true of 4 percent of the residents of non-Western descent. The relatively young non-Western immigrants are a welcome counterweight to the aging Dutch population.
- Non-Western immigrants in the Netherlands are heavily concentrated in the main urban centres. Whereas only thirteen percent of all Dutch residents live in the four main Dutch cities, this

is true for almost forty percent of the non-Western immigrant population. It is expected that in the cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam non-Western immigrant groups will be the majority of the population in the foreseeable future (around 2020).

- At its peak, in 1996, more than 80,000 persons obtained Dutch nationality. In the following years these numbers gradually declined to 26,000 in 2004. From then on the number of persons obtaining Dutch citizenship increases again to 30,600 in 2007.
- A sizeable number of undocumented immigrants live in the Netherlands. The total number of illegal immigrants in the period April 2005 – April 2006 is estimated to be 129,000 (van der Heijden et al., 2006). This is a considerable decrease compared to earlier estimates. However due to the expansion of the number of countries that are Member States of the EU, it is logical that there should be fall in the number of European illegal aliens. In the number of non-European illegal aliens, no statistically significant drop or increase have been noted.
- Most of undocumented immigrants live cities such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Due to stricter regulations, the possibilities for undocumented immigrants to be engaged in formal work have diminished. Although they still often work, they are now more engaged in informal work (including domestic labour). On the other hand we see growth in the criminal activities of undocumented immigrants. Although most of them do not engage in criminal activities, there is a significant trend towards more forms of survival crime.

5.1 Introduction

In chapter 2 we described the immigration flows to and from the Netherlands. Here we address the stock of foreign nationals and immigrants living in the Netherlands. Before providing any specific data, we need to clear up the problem of definitions. How are foreign nationals and immigrants defined and counted in the Dutch statistics? International migration statistics usually provide information on either foreign nationals or on foreign-born residents who - regardless of their nationality - were born outside the country. In the Netherlands, a third, more complicated definition is used for immigrants or the non-Dutch.

We first explain the limitations of both approaches noted above and then explain the Dutch definition of immigrants (“allochthonous”)

The most obvious way to describe immigrants in a country is to say they are residents with a different citizenship (foreign nationals).

However, there are several reasons why this would present an incomplete picture of the immigrant population in the Netherlands. As a former colonial power, the Netherlands has a relatively high number of immigrants from its former colonies. Many people from Suriname or the Netherlands Antilles have Dutch citizenship, so they would not be considered immigrants if we only examine non-Dutch nationals. The same goes for other immigrants that have acquired Dutch citizenship, which is relatively easy and common in the Netherlands. According to the present regulations, children born in the Netherlands of at least one Dutch parent including naturalized immigrants automatically have Dutch citizenship, so this category of second-generation immigrants would not be considered non-Dutch.

Another approach to describe the immigrant population would be to include everyone born outside the country (foreign-born). Although this definition is often used in international statistics, it also has its limitations. On the one hand it includes the foreign-born children of Dutch parents and on the other hand excludes children of immigrants born in the Netherlands (the so-called second generation). However, within the framework of their immigrant integration policies the Dutch authorities want to keep track of this second generation of immigrants. For all these reasons, in Dutch statistics immigrants - in Dutch official publications, immigrants are referred to as *allochtonous* - are defined by their parents’ as well as their own country of birth and therefore include both first and second generation immigrants.

In Dutch statistics, a person is considered as an immigrant or non-native Dutch resident if at least one of their parents is born outside the Netherlands. This means that a child born outside the Netherlands of two Dutch parents is considered native Dutch, but a child born inside (or outside) the Netherlands with one foreign-born parent is not.

The official Dutch statistics draw a distinction between first generation and second generation non-native residents. Someone who’s born abroad with at least one parent who was born abroad is considered to be a first generation non-native. Someone born in the Netherlands who has at least one parent born abroad is defined as a second generation non-native. Lastly, the official Dutch statistics draw a distinction

between non-native residents from Western and from non-Western countries. Someone originating from a country in Europe (excl. Turkey), North America or Oceania or Indonesia or Japan has a Western background. Someone originating from a country in Africa, South America or Asia (excl. Indonesia and Japan) or Turkey has a non-western background (see also Chapter 2). The Dutch immigrant integration policies in general refer to the non-Western immigrant population (including the so-called second generation).

In this chapter we refer to Dutch residents with non-Dutch citizenship as 'foreign nationals'. When we speak of 'immigrants' we not only mean foreign-born residents but also their offspring born in the Netherlands (according to the official Dutch definitions). It will become clear that these different definitions and approaches result in a variety of figures (5.2). We describe the various demographic characteristics of the non-native population in the Netherlands (5.3), and the naturalization figures (5.4).

5.2 Numbers of non-Dutch residents and immigrants in the Netherlands

Table 5.1 shows that it makes a difference which definition is used for the non-Dutch population. On January 1st in 2008, 688 thousand foreign nationals lived in the Netherlands. The number of foreign-born residents (including the foreign-born children of Dutch parents) in 2008 was 1.75 million. Following the official Dutch definitions, the total number of non-Dutch residents (first and second-generation immigrants) in 2008 was 3.22 million. If we only look at foreign nationals, 4.2% of all Dutch residents are non-Dutch. Using the official definitions, almost one in five (19.6%) of all Dutch residents are considered as non-Dutch. Almost half of all non-Dutch residents (according to their ethnic origin) come from Western countries (1.5 million or almost 8.8% of the Dutch population), a little more than half come from non-Western countries (1.77 million or 10.8% of the total Dutch population).

Table 5.1: Non-Dutch / Non-native Population in the Netherlands (January 1st 2008)

	Foreign nationals		Foreign-born		Ethnic origin	
	number	percentage	number	percentage	number	percentage
Total	16 405 399	100.0	16 405 399	100.0	16 405 399	100.0
Dutch	15 717 024	95.8	14 654 366	89.3	13 189 983	80.4
Non-Dutch	688 375	4.2	1 751 033	10.7	3 215 416	19.6
<i>of whom from</i>						
Western countries	325 503	2.0	681 317	4.2	1 449 686	8.8
<i>of whom from</i>						
27 EU Countries	262 964	1.6	385 081	2.3	851 690	5.2
<i>of whom from</i>						
old EU countries (15)	215 077	1.3	309 715	1.9	742 789	4.5
<i>of whom from</i>						
Germany	62 387	0.4	117 047	0.7	379 610	2.3
United Kingdom	40 192	0.2	45 790	0.3	76 090	0.5
Belgium	26 210	0.2	47 890	0.3	112 333	0.7
new EU countries (12)	47 887	0.3	75 366	0.5	108 901	0.7
<i>of whom from</i>						
Poland	26 189	0.2	42 055	0.3	58 853	0.4
Hungary	2 921	0.0	6 308	0.0	13 438	0.1
Czechoslovakia (former)	4 468	0.0	7 598	0.0	12 121	0.1
Romania	4 894	0.0	8 707	0.1	11 392	0.1
Other Europe	23 538	0.1	97 448	0.6	138 819	0.8
<i>of whom from</i>						
Yugoslavia (former) ^a	9 205	0.1	52 718	0.3	77 061	0.5
Soviet Union (former) ^b	9 695	0.1	34 947	0.2	46 253	0.3
Other Western Countries	39 001	0.2	198 788	1.2	459 177	2.8
<i>of whom from</i>						
United States	14 544	0.1	23 256	0.1	31 478	0.2
Canada	3 391	0.0	8 897	0.1	13 376	0.1
Australia	3 097	0.0	9 974	0.1	14 667	0.1
Indonesia	11 422	0.1	146 700	0.9	387 124	2.4
Japan	5 673	0.0	6 070	0.0	7 347	0.0
non-Western countries	276 437	1.7	1 069 716	6.5	1 765 730	10.8
<i>of whom from</i>						
Turkey	93 746	0.6	194 825	1.2	372 714	2.3
Morocco	74 869	0.5	167 180	1.0	335 127	2.0
Somalia	1 112	0.0	13 507	0.1	19 549	0.1
South Africa	2 865	0.0	12 312	0.1	16 073	0.1
Ghana	4 594	0.0	12 110	0.1	19 346	0.1
Cape Verde	1 481	0.0	11 455	0.1	20 364	0.1
Egypt	2 562	0.0	11 289	0.1	19 568	0.1
Ethiopia	1 263	0.0	8 135	0.0	10 659	0.1
Angola	701	0.0	6 545	0.0	9 094	0.1
Sudan	758	0.0	4 657	0.0	6 464	0.0
Congo	946	0.0	4 970	0.0	7 776	0.0
Suriname	7 034	0.0	187 023	1.1	335 799	2.0
Neth. Antilles and Aruba	-	-	86 297	0.5	131 841	0.8
Colombia	2 027	0.0	12 246	0.1	11 031	0.1
Brazil	4 484	0.0	11 896	0.1	14 823	0.1
Dominican Republic	1 196	0.0	7 290	0.0	10 672	0.1
Iraq	3 449	0.0	35 695	0.2	45 459	0.3
Afghanistan	3 550	0.0	30 954	0.2	37 370	0.2
China	16 210	0.1	37 056	0.2	47 108	0.3
Iran	2 821	0.0	24 236	0.1	29 771	0.2
India	6 409	0.0	14 828	0.1	17 357	0.1
Vietnam	2 453	0.0	11 989	0.1	18 562	0.1
Pakistan	3 135	0.0	11 101	0.1	18 478	0.1
Hongkong	-	-	10 261	0.1	18 165	0.1
Sri Lanka	1 400	0.0	9 717	0.1	9 722	0.1
Philippines	3 354	0.0	9 514	0.1	14 517	0.1
Thailand	5 622	0.0	10 988	0.1	14 281	0.1
Syria	582	0.0	6 694	0.0	9 617	0.1
South Korea	1 865	0.0	6 184	0.0	4 530	0.0
unknown/stateless	86 435					

Source: Statistics Netherlands, population register, a. Slovenia not included, b. Baltic states not included

The five largest non-Dutch population categories were from are Indonesians¹¹ (387 thousand), Germans (380 thousand), Turks (373 thousand), Surinamese (336 thousand) and Moroccans (335 thousand). We can conclude that definitions do make a difference in statistics. Using the official Dutch definitions, the number of non-Dutch or non-native residents living in the Netherlands is almost five times as high as if we only look at foreign nationals. The reason for this huge difference is that many immigrants obtained Dutch citizenship or were given Dutch citizenship by birth. An additional factor is 132 thousand people from the Netherlands Antilles have Dutch citizenship but are considered non-Dutch as far as their ethnic decent is concerned. Tables A5.1 and A5.2 (Appendix) show the trends in the number of non-Dutch residents of the Netherlands. As Table A5.1 shows, the number of foreign nationals residing in the Netherlands declined from 725 thousand in 1996 to 688 thousand in 2008. This decrease in the number of foreign nationals in the Netherlands, despite the immigration surpluses in the second half of the 1990s (see Chapter 2), can be explained by the fact that so many immigrants have obtained Dutch citizenship (see par. 5.4). Table A5.2 shows the trends in the number of native and non-native residents in the Netherlands according to the official Dutch definitions of ethnic origin (first and second-generation immigrants) from 1996 to 2008. The number of non-native residents in the Netherlands increased from 2.5 million in 1996 to 3.2 million in 2008 (an increase of 29% in twelve years time). In the same period the native Dutch population was more or less stabile (around 13 million persons in 1996 and 13,2 million in 2008). The increase in the number of non-native residents is mainly due to the growing influx from Central and Eastern European and from non-Western countries. In 1996, 120 thousand non-native residents (first and second-generation immigrants) originated from Central and Eastern Europe. The largest subcategory was immigrants from former Yugoslavia (56 thousand persons or 43% of all Central and Eastern European immigrants). Twelve years later, in 2008, the number of non-Dutch residents originating from Central and Eastern Europe went up to 232 thousand (an increase of 95%). More than three quarters of these Central and Eastern European countries came from only three

¹¹ People born in Indonesia before 1940 when the country was still under Dutch rule are considered as immigrants coming from Western countries.

countries (former Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union, and Poland). The number of non-Dutch residents (first and second-generation immigrants) originating from non-Western countries increased from 1,17 million in 1996 to 1,77 million in 2008 (an increase of more than 50 percent in 12 years time).

Lastly, Table A5.2 also distinguishes between the first and second generation of non-native residents in 2008, i.e. between people born outside the Netherlands with at least one foreign born parent and people born in the Netherlands with at least one foreign born parent. Both categories are about the same size. Generally speaking the percentage of the second generation is larger among immigrant groups from Western countries (58%) than among immigrant groups from non-Western countries (42%). The largest percentages of the second generation are to be found among immigrants from neighbouring countries such as Germany (73%) and Belgium (67%). Remarkable is that the percentage of the second generation among traditional immigrant groups such as the Turks and Moroccans is still relatively low (48% with the Turks, 50% with the Moroccans). This can be explained that many of the Turkish and Moroccan youth that grew up in the Netherlands were actually born in their country of origin and came to the Netherlands during their youth (they are therefore often referred to as the 1,5 generation). Also, there is still a large influx of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands (mainly marital immigrants; see chapter 2 of this report).

Population forecast

We conclude this section with a forecast of the non-native population in the Netherlands. Here again, the non-native population includes first and second-generation immigrants from Western and non-Western countries (Table 5.2). Whereas the total Dutch population is expected to remain rather stable between 2008 and 2050, the non-native population is expected to increase. The number of first and second-generation immigrants coming from Western countries will increase from 1.4 million in 2008 to 2.1 million in 2050 (an increase of 46%), the number of first and second-generation immigrants coming from non-Western countries is expected to increase even more quickly, from 1.8 million in 2008 to 2.7 million in 2050 (an increase of 53% in the coming decades). This means that the percentage of non-Western immigrant groups in the total Dutch population in the Netherlands will

gradually rise from 10.7% in 2008 to 13.4% in 2030 and 16.0% in 2050.

Table 5.2 Population Forecast: Western and Non-Western Non-native Population 1990-2050 (thousands)

	1990	2008	2010	2030	2050
Total population	14 893	16 377	16 433	16 976	16 797
Western	-	1 439	1 459	1 737	2 105
Non-Western	831	1 759	1 807	2 270	2 691
Turkey	203	373	381	439	463
Morocco	164	335	348	426	452
Suriname	224	335	338	367	360
Neth. Antilles and Aruba	69	130	134	195	257
other Non-Western	171	586	606	844	1.160
Non-Western as % of the total population	5.6%	10.7%	11.0%	13.4%	16.0%

*2008= 1 January 2008

Source: CBS

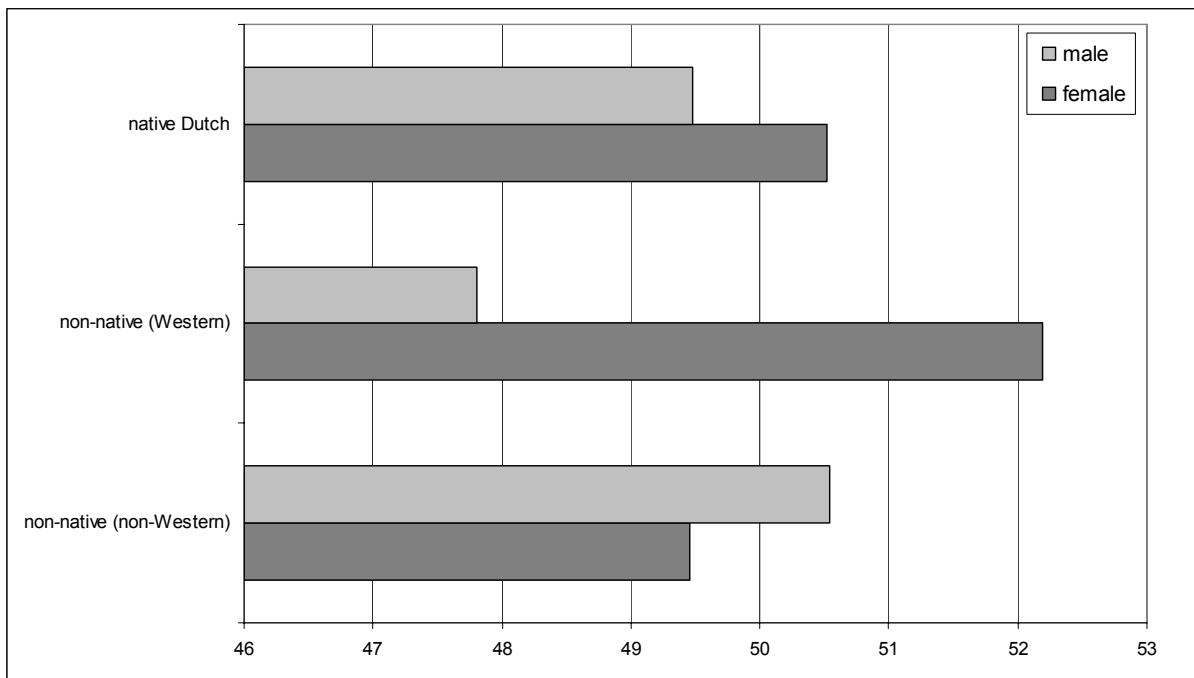
Table 5.2 also shows that the traditional immigrant groups in the Netherlands (Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans) will continue to grow in the future. However, the greatest increase will be among the other non-Western immigrant groups. In 1990, these so-called other non-Western immigrants were only a fifth of the total non-Western immigrant population in the Netherlands. In 2030 the percentage of these other non-Western immigrants in the total non-Western immigrant population living in the Netherlands will have increased to 37%, and in 2050 to 43%. This is a clear indication of the growing diversification of the non-Western immigrant population living in the Netherlands. The time when immigrants came from a limited number of sending countries is increasingly something of the past. Table 5.2 does not distinguish between first and second-generation immigrants. If we do draw this distinction (see Table A5.3 in the Appendix,) it becomes clear that in the coming years specifically the second generation of non-Western immigrant groups is expected to grow. Between 2008 and 2010, the number the second generation of non-Western immigrants will increase from 745 thousand to 789 thousand (an increase of 6%). The number of non-Western first generation immigrants living in the Netherlands will also increase, but far more moderately. The growth of the non-Western immigrant population in the Netherlands is therefore mainly due to the growth of the second generation of immigrant youth that are born in the country.

5.3 Some demographic characteristics of the immigrant population

In this section we discuss some demographic characteristics of the non-native population in the Netherlands. We examine the distribution according to age, sex, and region.

Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show the distribution of the native and non-native Dutch population according to gender and age. Here as well, the non-native population includes the first and second-generation and is split into Western and non-Western immigrants. With respect to gender distribution, there are few if any differences between the population groups. In the native Dutch population as well as among non-Western immigrants, the percentage of men is more or less half (49.5 and 50.5% respectively). This is striking in so far as typical immigrant groups might be expected to have a higher percentage of men than women. Yet this is not the case.

Figure 5.1: Dutch and Non-native Population by gender in % (1-1-2008)

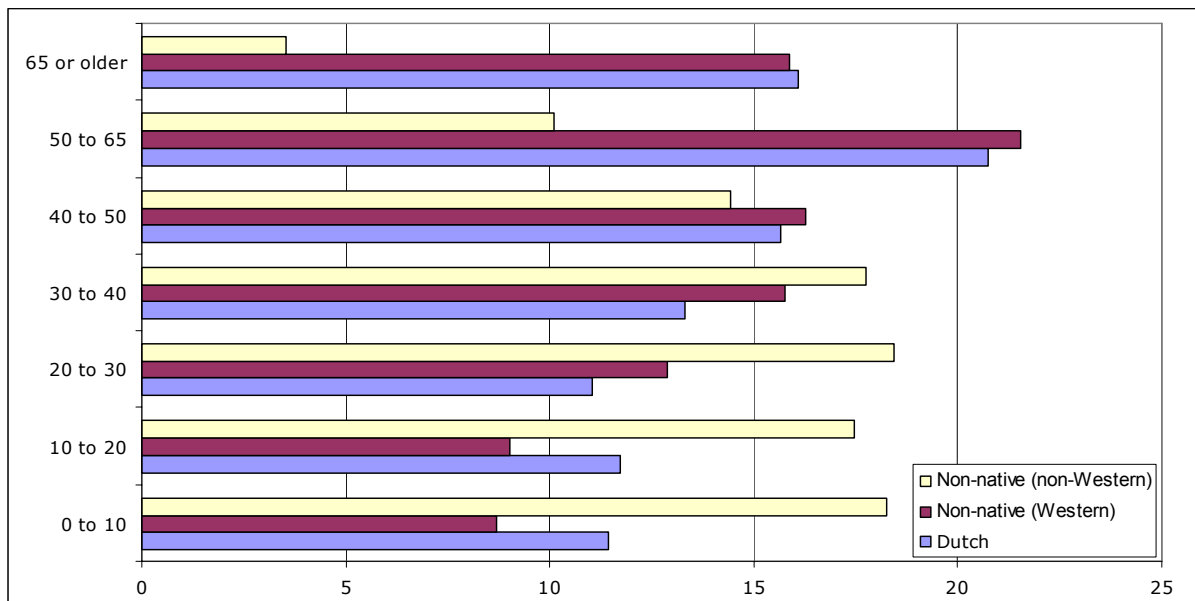


Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline (figures are based on the municipal population registrations)

However, as Figure 5.2 shows, there are large differences in the age structure of various population groups. Non-Western immigrants are predominantly young. About one in three (35.7%) of all Dutch residents with a non-Western background are younger than 20, as are

only about one in four (23.1%) in the native Dutch population. On the other hand, the share of elderly is much higher in the native Dutch population than in non-Western immigrant groups. Whereas 16% of the native Dutch population is above 65, this is true for only 3.5% of all Dutch residents with a non-Western background. The presence of the non-Western immigrant population therefore is a strong counterbalance against the ageing Dutch society.

Figure 5.2: Age Distribution of Native Dutch and Non-native Populations (1-1-2008)



Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline (figures are based on the municipal population registrations)

Another issue is the regional distribution of the immigrant population in the Netherlands (Table 5.3). Despite current public debates, the Netherlands can hardly be called a multicultural society as only one in ten of all Dutch residents have a non-Western immigrant background. But since non-Western immigrants are heavily concentrated in the four largest Dutch cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht), the country does have a number of multicultural cities. In three of the four main Dutch cities the non-Western immigrant population is one third of the total population or more. According to Amsterdam and Rotterdam municipal population forecasts non-Western immigrant population will become a majority of the population in the foreseeable future (around 2020). Of the four main cities in the Netherlands, only in the smallest one, Utrecht, is there a smaller percentage of non-Western immigrants (21%). In other, medium-sized Dutch cities, the percentage of non-Western immigrants is significantly lower.

Table 5.3: Regional Distribution of Non-native Western and Non-Western population 1-1-2008 (thousands)

	Total	Western	Non-Western	of which			
				Turkey	Morocco	Suriname	Neth. Antilles
Netherlands	16 405.4	1 449.7	1 765.7	372.7	335.1	335.8	131.8
Amsterdam	747.1	107.4	258.3	38.9	67.1	68.8	11.4
The Hague	475.7	64.1	155.7	33.8	25.7	45.9	10.9
Rotterdam	583.0	59.3	209.9	45.7	37.5	51.9	19.6
Utrecht	294.7	29.7	61.8	13.0	25.8	7.6	2.4
<i>as % of the total</i>							
Netherlands	100.0	8.8	10.8	2.3	2.0	2.0	0.8
Amsterdam	100.0	14.4	34.6	5.2	9.0	9.2	1.5
The Hague	100.0	13.5	32.7	7.1	5.4	9.7	2.3
Rotterdam	100.0	10.2	36.0	7.8	6.4	8.9	3.4
Utrecht	100.0	10.1	21.0	4.4	8.8	2.6	0.8
<i>% of total population</i>							
in all 4 cities	12.8	18.0	38.8	35.3	46.6	51.9	33.7

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline (figures are based on the municipal population registrations)

The concentration of non-Western immigrants is also clear in the last row of Table 5.3, which shows the percentage of the total population in each of the four main cities. Living in a large city is not particularly popular among the native Dutch; only thirteen percent live in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague or Utrecht. Immigrants from Western countries are slightly more city-oriented than the overall average. Eighteen percent of the immigrants from Western countries live in one of these four large cities. Non-Western immigrants are much more oriented to the main cities. Almost 40% of the non-Western immigrants live in one of the four main cities and this percentage is even higher among Surinamese and Moroccans. About half the Surinamese and Moroccans live in one of the four main cities. Turks and Antilleans appear to be more dispersed in other municipalities.

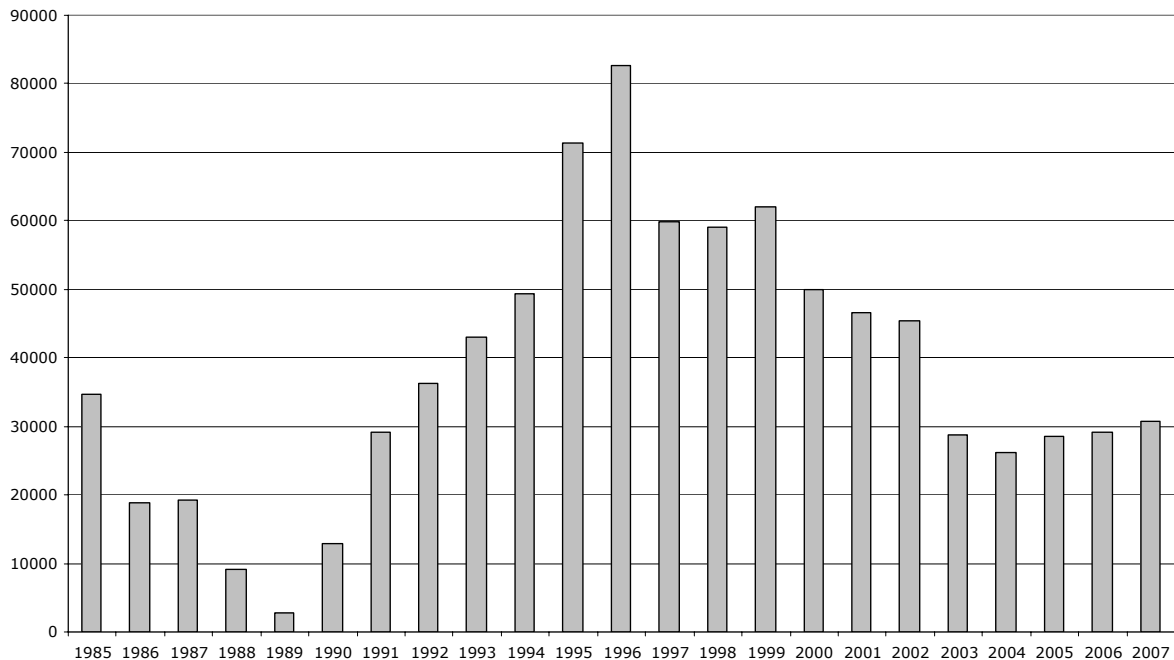
5.4 Acquisition of Dutch citizenship

As can be concluded from table 5.1 the large majority of non-Dutch residents (first and second-generation immigrants) of the Netherlands have Dutch citizenship, in some cases next to having the nationality of the country of origin. All Antillean and most Surinamese first and

second-generation immigrants have Dutch citizenship. Around 75% of the traditional immigrant groups such as Turks and Moroccans have Dutch citizenship. However, it is striking that most members (at least 90%) of the so-called 'new immigrant groups' such as Afghans, Iraqis, Iranians, Somalians and Angolans have Dutch citizenship.

Figure 5.3 shows the number of persons that obtained Dutch citizenship for other reasons than birth in the past two decades (1985-2007). In this period a total of 876,000 foreign nationals obtained Dutch citizenship. The figure shows sharp annual fluctuations. In general, the number of persons obtaining Dutch citizenship increased between the mid 1980s until 1996, and then gradually declined again to a level comparable to that of the mid 1980s. At its peak, in 1996, more than 80,000 persons obtained Dutch nationality. In the following years these numbers gradually declined to 26,000 in 2004. From then on the number of persons obtaining Dutch citizenship increased to 30,600 in 2007.

Figure 5.3: Persons obtaining Dutch citizenship for other reasons than birth (1985-2007)



Source: Statistics Netherlands (figures are based on data of the Ministry of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service)

There are different ways to obtain Dutch citizenship. As described in chapter 1 of this Dutch SOPEMI-report the Dutch regulations concerning naturalization became stricter with the revision of the Act

on Dutch Citizenship (RWN) of 2003. The most common, other than by birth, is naturalization. Other ways to acquire Dutch citizenship are adoption (foreign-born children adopted by Dutch nationals are entitled to Dutch citizenship) or the so-called option procedure. The latter procedure gives foreign nationals that have lived in the Netherlands for a long period of time the possibility to obtain Dutch citizenship without the obligation of taking the so-called naturalization test and of renouncing one's original nationality. Table 5.4 shows the number of persons that obtained Dutch citizenship by year and by type of regulation. The table shows a steep decline in the number of naturalizations in recent years. After the revision of the Act on Dutch Citizenship in 2003 the number of naturalizations halved (from almost 42.000 in 2002 to less than 22.000 in 2007). The increased number of persons that used the option procedure to obtain Dutch citizenship (from 2200 persons in 2002 to 7800 in 2007) somewhat compensated the decline in naturalizations.

Available evaluation research¹² claims that the declining number of naturalizations in the Netherlands since 2002 to a large extent results from the stricter regulations concerning naturalization of the revised Act on Dutch Citizenship, particularly the introduction of the so-called naturalization test. This naturalization test examines both the command of Dutch language and knowledge of Dutch society. When applying for naturalization, foreign nationals not only have to take, but to pass the test. In the first two years after the introduction of the test (2003-2004), around 30% of all candidates failed to pass the test at first instance. More than 40% of all participants had to take at least one resit to pass the test. The declining number of naturalization requests after 2002 appears to be a direct consequence of stricter preconditions to obtain Dutch citizenship (especially the naturalization test) of the revised Act on Dutch Citizenship of 2003.

¹² INDIAC (2004), Evaluation Naturalisation Test. Research about the implementation and effect of the introduction of the Naturalisation Test.

Table 5.4: Persons obtaining Dutch Nationality by year and kind of regulation

Period Year	Total	of which by:		
		Naturalisation	Option	Adoption/ recognition
1985	34 671	15 743	17 877	1 051
1986	18 758	11 798	5 831	1 129
1987	19 258	9 827	8 297	1 134
1988	9 114	731	430	1 374
1989	2 873	27 435	504	791
1990	12 794	11 544	672	578
1991	29 112	27 291	924	897
1992	36 237	33 961	1 489	787
1993	43 069	40 015	2 176	878
1994	49 448	4 659	2 214	644
1995	71 444	67 912	2 538	994
1996	82 687	78 731	2 797	1 159
1997	59 831	55 743	2 760	1 328
1998	59 173	55 679	2 175	1 319
1999	62 093	58 144	2 523	1 426
2000	49 968	45 940	2 292	1 736
2001	46 667	42 742	2 324	1 601
2002	45 321	41 879	2 201	1 241
2003	28 799	24 581	3 300	912
2004	26 173	20 589	4 670	892
2005	28 488	21 300	5 776	1 363
2006	29 089	20 980	7 297	745
2007	30 653	22 206	7 779	583

Source: Statistics Netherlands

Table A5.4 in the Appendix specifies the country of origin of new Dutch citizens. It shows the largest decline in the number of naturalizations among Turks and Moroccans. In 2006 the number of Non-Western immigrants obtaining Dutch citizenship was about 54,000 less than in 1996; two thirds of the difference can be explained by the declining number of Moroccan and Turkish residents of the Netherlands who obtained or applied for Dutch citizenship.

5.5 Undocumented immigrants in the Netherlands

Summary

A sizeable number of undocumented immigrants live in the Netherlands (74 thousand to 184 thousand), most of them in cities such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Due to stricter regulations, the possibilities for undocumented immigrants to be engaged in formal work have diminished. Although they still often work, they are now more engaged in informal work (including domestic labour). On the other hand we are seeing a growth in criminal activity by undocumented immigrants.

Although most do not engage in criminal activities, there is a significant trend towards more forms of survival crime.

The extent of illegality

Illegal immigrants have become an evident part of the Dutch population. The total number of illegal immigrants in the period April 2005 – April 2006 is estimated to be 129,000 (van der Heijden et al., 2006). This estimate shows a considerable decrease of the number of illegal immigrants compared to earlier estimates. In 2004 the total number of illegal immigrants was estimated to be between 125,000 and 230,000 on an annual basis¹³ (Leerkes et al. 2004; Cruyff and Van der Heijden 2004). A closer inspection of the results reveals the reason for this drop is mainly the expansion of the number of countries that are Member States of the EU. The estimate for illegal non-Europeans is 88,116. With a reliability of 95%, it may be stated that the total is somewhere between 62,320 and 113,912 (van der Heijden et al., 2006). In the period 1997-2003 the estimate for this group was somewhere between 60,500 and 168,00. Compared to this estimates the number of non-European illegal aliens, shows no statistically significant drop or increase. So despite the development of restrictive immigration policy, there does not seem to be any decline in the number of non-European illegal immigrants in the Netherlands. For European illegal aliens, the estimate is 40,791; with a 95% reliability interval of between 12,000 and 70,000. As concerns the European illegal aliens, the estimate now carried out shows a considerable drop as compared with the annual estimate of the number of illegals carried out in 2004, for the period 1997-2003. Due to the expansion of the number of countries that are Member States of the EU, it is logical that there should be fall in the number of European illegal aliens (van der Heijden et al., 2006). The estimated number of illegal aliens having completed an asylum procedure within one year before the last time they were stopped (by the police) is approximately 8,500 van der Heijden et al., 2006). These new estimates were based purely on the illegals registered in PSH-V police enforcement records; these estimates were established according to a method identical to

¹³ Estimation based on data of apprehended illegal immigrants in the period 1997-2003 thus before the expansion of the EU with the 10 new countries.

previous estimates of numbers of illegals from the period 1997-2003 (see below).¹⁴

For estimate, the capture-recapture method was used (Cruyff and Van der Heijden 2004), which originates from biology. This technique is used to estimate the number of a certain animal species in a particular area by means of two measurements. On the basis of the number of animals that is found only the first time, the number that is found only the second time, and the number found both times, researchers can estimate the number of animals *not* found both times. The sum of these figures gives an estimate of the total number of animals present in the selected area. If there are heterogeneous populations, the analyses can be performed separately for subgroups. There are also ways to adjust the figures for distorting influences. The capture-recapture technique is a systematic estimation methodology that can also be used in human population research. This may involve either observations by two or more independent bodies or continuously collected data such as investigation data in criminology. Police records satisfy the requirements of this method. Insofar as the data do not meet these requirements, a model should be constructed which obviates the violations of the general assumptions as much as possible (Cruyff and Van der Heijden 2004).

We assume that the number of illegal immigrants in the Netherlands is about 130,000. This is less than one percent of the regular Dutch population and eight percent of the foreign-born population. The Netherlands has more than sixteen million inhabitants. In 2006, 1.7 million of these inhabitants were foreign-born, whereof 1 million born in a non-western country (Snel et al. 2007). An earlier study (Engbersen et al., 2002) revealed that the illegal immigrants found in the Netherlands originate from more than two hundred countries. The largest groups are the Turks, Moroccans, Algerians and Surinamese. Although, over the past ten years, the Netherlands has taken a number of measures to prevent unauthorized residence, there are no empirical indications for a decrease in the number of non-westren illegal

¹⁴ For making an estimate use was made of data on illegal aliens from the PSH-V registration system managed by the Task Organisation for Alien Care (Taakorganisatie Vreemdelingenzorg, TOV) of the Dutch Police. In these estimates is aimed for the greatest possible comparability with the method according to which estimates of numbers of illegal aliens were carried out for the period 1997-2003 (van der Heijden et al., 2006, p1: summary).

immigrants (Engbersen et al. 2002; Leerkes et al. 2004; van der Heijden et al. 2006).

The spatial concentration of illegality

A second observation is that illegal immigrants are unevenly spread across the Netherlands. A recent study revealed that the phenomenon is mainly present in the four large cities in the Netherlands and in a number of border and rural areas (Leerkes et al. 2004). In some places illegal immigrants therefore make up a considerably larger part of the population than the national average of one percent (locally probably increasing up to about six to eight percent). The number of illegal residents in a neighbourhood is determined by the scale at which (1) legal non-western immigrants, (2) economic opportunities; (3) cheap housing opportunities and (4) single people are present in a neighbourhood – as well as by the extent to which these dimensions of the spatial opportunity structure for illegal immigrants are interrelated. Not only do the above-mentioned neighbourhood characteristics enable illegal residence, they also generate the demand for it. Many illegal immigrants satisfy the economic and affective needs of family members, friends, partners and employers. Illegal immigration can therefore not be simply qualified as 'unwanted'. It encompasses all types of migration whereof the illegal manifestations also have legal counterparts, such as chain migration, labour migration, family-forming migration and asylum migration.

Labour market position

Illegal immigrants are working in the formal and informal economy of certain industries: construction, cleaning, agriculture and horticulture, fish processing, hotel and catering, sex, commercial services, domestic services, newspaper distribution, gardening, etc. Their labour market position demonstrates that there is a demand for cheap, illegal workers to do specific types of labour. However, this demand is not unlimited. This is made clear by the fact that we also registered sizeable numbers of 'undocumented unemployed' in two consecutive ethnographic studies. In the period 1992-1993, 170 illegal immigrants were interviewed in the city of Rotterdam. One third of them proved to be unemployed (Burgers and Engbersen 1999). In 2001, 156 illegal immigrants were interviewed. Again, one third proved to be unemployed, and a remarkable shift from the formal to the informal

economy had taken place. Over this ten-year period, there indeed had been some significant shifts in the nature of the work they did. Whereas, in the early 1990s, 30 percent of the illegal immigrants had worked within the formal labour market, almost none of them still did so ten years later (Engbersen et al. 2002).

The shift into the informal labour market is strongly related to the new exclusionary migration policies. As a result of these policies, illegal immigrants became more dependent on the informal economy and on illegal labour subcontractors and fraudulent temporary employment agencies (especially agricultural agencies) (Engbersen et al. 2002). It is also striking that more illegal immigrants are working in catering and the personal service industry. These are sectors in which illegal labour is more difficult to control compared to traditional sectors such as cleaning, construction, manufacturing industry, and agriculture and horticulture. Incidentally, increased participation of illegal immigrants in the personal service industry (domestic care, nursing and care services) is a phenomenon that has existed in southern Europe and North America for many more years.

The importance of social capital

A crucial support system is the support capacity of ethnic communities. This involves what sociologists call social capital. Social capital relates to the illegal immigrants' ability to mobilize resources (money, work, housing, information) from the ethnic and family networks (local and transnational) in which they are embedded. This social capital is essential for the illegal immigrants' incorporation opportunities in Dutch society. The social capital that illegal immigrants can obtain to come to and reside in the Netherlands is, however, limited. Not every compatriot receives aid to come over and stay. Lack of social capital is particularly a problem among asylum seekers from new immigration countries who have exhausted all legal remedies to get a residence permit. They often cannot fall back on established migrant communities (such as the long established and rather large groups of Turkish, Moroccan or Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands). If they do not find a job, they have to fend for themselves. This may be a reason for some to leave the Netherlands; others who do not want to or cannot leave, resort to 'survival crime' or 'subsistence crime'.

Subsistence crime

Police data show a strong increase in crime as a reason for apprehension (Engbersen et al. 2002; Leerkes et al. 2004). Over a period of almost seven years (1997-2003), the apprehension data on illegal immigrants show a marked rise in the categories of minor offences and serious offences. In 1997 nearly 30 percent of the illegal immigrants were apprehended for criminal offences. This number has now risen to about 45 percent (in 2003). This strong increase cannot be explained solely by a general trend in criminal law enforcement, in which, due to societal pressure and probably also due to changes in data recording, the police are generally more active in crime detection and in registering their findings.

This strong rise in crime among illegal immigrants indicates that the restrictive alien's policy is affecting the illegal immigrants' residence strategies. In the recent past (before 1990), illegal immigrants had relatively easy access to the formal labour market and some public services. This has now become much more difficult for them. As a result, illegal immigrants who want to or are forced to stay in the Netherlands develop forms of subsistence crime, as becomes clear from the offences committed. The increase in criminal offences for which they were apprehended mainly includes theft, aggravated theft and the use of false documents. These are crimes that are directly related to the precarious position of illegal immigrants who are excluded from public provisions and the labour market. The aim of these offences is to acquire money (theft) or access to the labour market (false documents).

Appendix for Chapter 5

Table A5.1: Population by Nationality 1996-2008 (January 1st)

	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2007	2008
Total	15 493 889	15 654 192	15 863 950	16 105 285	16 258 032	16 334 210	16 357 992	16 405 399
Dutch Nationals	14 768 468	14 976 115	15 212 418	15 414 892	15 555 847	15 642 853	15 676 060	15 717 024
Non-Dutch nationals	725 421	678 077	651 532	690 393	702 185	691 357	681 932	688 375
<i>from</i>								
Western countries	275 372	271 112	268 345	285 645	294 376	303 413	308 215	325 503
<i>of whom from</i>								
27 EU Countries	201 522	200 751	207 493	222 424	228 698	238 949	244 918	262 964
<i>of whom from</i>								
old EU countries (15)	191 074	190 192	195 886	207 858	211 009	210 463	210 877	215 077
Germany	53 922	53 914	54 272	55 572	56 466	58 503	60 201	62 387
United Kingdom	41 146	39 153	39 466	43 604	43 678	41 508	40 335	40 192
Belgium	24 111	24 443	25 382	26 148	26 223	25 994	25 999	26 210
new EU countries (12)	10 448	10 559	11 607	14 566	17 689	28 486	34 041	47 887
Poland	5 910	5 680	5 645	6 312	7 431	15 202	19 645	26 189
Hungary	1 133	1 272	1 385	1 719	1 886	2 271	2 386	2 921
Czechoslovakia (former)	891	1 210	1 593	2 297	2 508	3 497	3 933	4 468
Romania	1 466	1 144	1 397	2 094	2 735	3 006	3 225	4 894
Other Europe	42 466	38 795	26 494	24 557	25 802	24 971	24 130	23 538
<i>of whom from</i>								
Yugoslavia (former)	33 403	28 306	15 421	11 929	11 351	10 215	9 661	9 205
Soviet Union (former)	4 756	6 063	6 525	7 815	9 593	9 985	9 824	9 695
Other Western Countries	31 384	31 566	34 358	38 664	39 876	39 493	39 167	39 001
<i>of whom from</i>								
United States	12 769	12 980	14 074	15 217	15 075	14 643	14 641	14 544
Canada	2 574	2 702	2 892	3 398	3 456	3 403	3 324	3 391
Australia	2 013	2 031	2 522	3 201	3 383	3 213	3 179	3 097
Indonesia	8 159	7 970	8 717	10 127	11 185	11 479	11 389	11 422
Japan	5 347	5 369	5 507	5 771	5 813	5 801	5 736	5 673
non-Western countries	435 387	368 637	316 819	297 749	296 829	291 401	284 449	276 437
<i>of whom from</i>								
Turkey	154 310	114 696	100 688	100 309	101 845	98 920	96 779	93 746
Morocco	149 841	135 721	119 726	104 262	94 380	86 229	80 518	74 869
Somalia	17 223	13 648	5 296	2 654	1 792	1 313	1 175	1 112
South Africa	1 444	1 769	2 512	3 230	3 321	3 047	2 865	2 865
Ghana	5 150	4 375	3 887	3 756	3 807	4 480	4 632	4 594
Cape Verde	2 111	1 786	1 567	1 352	1 364	1 490	1 466	1 481
Egypt	4 084	3 101	2 771	2 425	2 649	2 804	2 729	2 562
Ethiopia	3 653	1 870	1 280	1 161	1 194	1 230	1 256	1 263
Angola	1 633	1 679	1 184	946	993	834	746	701
Sudan	676	868	1 113	1 114	1 054	955	862	758
Congo	3 213	2 765	1 887	1 437	1 227	1 120	1 011	946
Suriname	15 174	11 760	8 665	8 491	9 406	8 548	7 561	7 034
Neth. Antilles and Aruba	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Colombia	1 569	1 718	1 790	1 668	1 919	2 113	2 063	2 027
Brazil	2 145	2 380	2 597	2 841	3 298	3 912	4 209	4 484
Dominican Republic	1 453	1 312	1 204	1 158	1 141	1 201	1 223	1 196
Iraq	9 694	13 008	10 025	6 919	4 182	3 680	3 628	3 449
Afghanistan	3 913	5 275	4 395	4 259	3 923	3 818	3 810	3 550
China	7 912	7 260	7 473	9 395	13 330	15 007	15 266	16 210
Iran	10 150	7 831	3 892	2 520	2 589	2 664	2 695	2 821
India	2 748	2 803	3 234	3 417	3 592	4 322	5 381	6 409
Vietnam	3 765	2 032	1 546	1 885	2 496	2 698	2 623	2 453
Pakistan	3 724	3 199	2 882	2 737	2 541	2 769	3 042	3 135
Hongkong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sri Lanka	3 186	2 395	1 549	1 591	1 624	1 535	1 474	1 400
Philippines	2 363	2 428	2 351	2 427	2 841	3 147	3 280	3 354
Thailand	1 985	2 162	2 520	3 288	4 366	5 274	5 504	5 622
Syria	2 031	857	543	628	685	705	642	582
South Korea	722	910	1 079	1 280	1 477	1 642	1 775	1 865
unknown/stateless	14 662	38 328	66 368	106 999	110 980	96 543	89 268	86 435

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline (figures are based on the municipal population registrations)

Table A5.2: Population by Ethnic origin 1996-2008 (January 1st)

	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	In 2008 of which	
								First generation	Second generation
Total	15 493 889	15 654 192	15 863 950	16 105 285	16 258 032	16 334 210	16 405 399	1 619 314	1 596 102
Native Dutch	12 995 174	13 033 792	13 088 648	13 140 336	13 169 880	13 186 595	13 189 983	-	-
Of foreign descent	2 498 715	2 620 400	2 775 302	2 964 949	3 088 152	3 147 615	3 215 416	1 619 314	1 596 102
<i>from</i>									
Western countries	1 327 602	1 341 947	1 366 535	1 406 596	1 419 855	1 427 565	1 449 686	602 130	847 556
<i>of whom from</i>									
27 EU Countries	782 877	788 029	798 359	814 742	820 596	829 024	851 690	346 751	504 939
<i>of whom from</i>									
old EU countries (15)	731 930	733 059	739 309	748 930	748 417	743 013	742 789	272 380	470 409
<i>of whom from</i>									
Germany	411 504	405 991	401 119	396 316	389 912	383 841	379 610	102 052	277 558
United Kingdom	65 663	66 781	69 263	74 869	76 457	76 017	76 090	42 525	33 565
Belgium	111 228	111 537	112 604	113 239	113 081	112 315	112 333	36 530	75 803
new EU countries (12)	50 947	54 970	59 050	65 812	72 179	86 011	108 901	74 371	34 530
<i>of whom from</i>									
Poland	25 125	27 315	29 180	32 210	35 542	45 402	58 853	41 533	17 320
Hungary	11 454	11 742	11 917	12 359	12 564	12 860	13 438	6 185	7 253
Czechoslovakia (former)	7 106	7 616	8 274	9 456	9 813	11 033	12 121	7 513	4 608
Romania	4 226	4 722	5 451	6 667	7 895	8 788	11 392	8 503	2 889
Other Europe	80 509	89 713	101 763	122 410	131 418	134 707	138 819	95 221	43 598
<i>of whom from</i>									
Yugoslavia (former)	56 205	60 935	66 921	74 608	76 312	76 282	77 061	52 618	24 443
Soviet Union (former)	12 600	16 259	21 332	33 368	40 130	43 244	46 253	34 870	11 383
Other Western Countries	464 216	464 205	466 413	469 444	467 841	463 834	459 177	160 158	299 019
<i>of whom from</i>									
United States	22 730	24 479	26 808	29 093	30 161	30 726	31 478	19 053	12 425
Canada	9 519	10 370	11 217	12 199	12 660	13 073	13 376	4 611	8 765
Australia	10 355	11 076	12 230	13 493	14 221	14 431	14 667	4 912	9 755
Indonesia	411 622	407 885	405 155	402 663	398 502	393 057	387 124	123 673	263 451
Japan	6 355	6 475	6 674	7 078	7 215	7 347	7 347	5 886	1 461
non-Western countries	1 171 113	1 278 453	1 408 767	1 558 353	1 668 297	1 720 050	1 765 730	1 017 184	748 546
<i>of whom from</i>									
Turkey	271 514	289 777	308 890	330 709	351 648	364 333	372 714	194 556	178 158
Morocco	225 088	241 982	262 221	284 124	306 219	323 239	335 127	167 063	168 064
Somalia	20 060	25 842	28 780	28 979	25 001	19 893	19 549	13 501	6 048
South Africa	9 629	10 737	12 524	14 378	15 164	15 487	16 073	8 034	8 039
Ghana	12 480	13 973	15 609	17 232	18 727	19 537	19 346	11 907	7 439
Cape Verde	16 662	17 478	18 242	19 012	19 666	20 103	20 364	11 450	8 914
Egypt	11 598	12 738	14 398	16 108	17 873	18 995	19 568	11 178	8 390
Ethiopia	7 978	8 460	8 997	9 783	10 236	10 339	10 659	7 081	3 578
Angola	2 594	3 352	4 477	7 962	12 281	10 476	9 094	6 516	2 578
Sudan	943	1 936	3 919	6 935	7 626	6 913	6 464	4 638	1 826
Congo	4 546	5 147	6 115	7 657	8 490	8 124	7 776	4 753	3 023
Suriname	280 615	290 467	302 514	315 177	325 281	331 890	335 799	185 284	150 515
Neth. Antilles and Aruba	86 824	92 105	107 197	124 870	130 722	129 683	131 841	78 968	52 873
Colombia	4 937	6 002	7 025	8 122	9 366	10 335	11 031	7 014	4 017
Brazil	6 589	7 639	8 913	10 237	11 638	13 091	14 823	9 232	5 591
Dominican Republic	5 321	6 174	7 341	8 676	9 546	10 115	10 672	7 199	3 473
Iraq	11 278	22 295	33 449	41 323	42 931	43 757	45 459	35 642	9 817
Afghanistan	4 916	11 551	21 468	31 167	36 043	37 246	37 370	30 939	6 431
China	23 471	26 191	29 759	35 691	41 694	44 713	47 108	32 405	14 703
Iran	16 478	20 685	22 893	26 789	28 438	28 722	29 771	23 999	5 772
India	9 476	10 302	11 516	12 589	13 363	14 682	17 357	11 817	5 540
Vietnam	12 937	13 801	14 717	16 012	17 536	18 271	18 562	11 880	6 682
Pakistan	14 127	15 135	16 149	17 325	17 990	18 184	18 478	10 926	7 552
Hongkong	17 147	17 304	17 510	17 789	17 965	18 132	18 165	9 971	8 194
Sri Lanka	5 636	6 463	7 685	9 053	9 812	9 724	9 722	6 424	3 298
Philippines	7 738	8 868	9 857	11 100	12 401	13 499	14 517	9 120	5 397
Thailand	5 576	6 503	7 701	9 450	11 462	13 112	14 281	10 193	4 088
Syria	3 604	4 324	5 397	7 736	8 803	9 191	9 617	6 663	2 954
South Korea	1 492	1 819	2 245	2 764	3 328	3 889	4 530	2 565	1 965

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline (figures are based on the municipal population registrations)

Table A5.3: Non-native Population Forecasts by Country of Origin in the Netherlands (2007 – 2050)

		2007	2010	2030	2050
		x1000			
Western	1st generation	587	606	803	1043
	2nd generation	845	853	934	1062
	Total	1432	1459	1737	2105
Non-Western	1st generation	1015	1017	1130	1240
	2nd generation	723	789	1139	1451
	Total	1738	1807	2270	2691
Turkey	1st generation	195	195	200	187
	2nd generation	173	186	239	276
	Total	369	381	439	463
Morocco	1st generation	168	168	176	172
	2nd generation	161	180	250	280
	Total	329	348	426	452
Suriname	1st generation	186	184	180	154
	2nd generation	147	155	186	206
	Total	333	338	367	360
Neth. Antilles and Aruba	1st generation	79	79	105	125
	2nd generation	51	55	90	132
	Total	129	134	195	257
Africa	1st generation	119	112	118	145
	2nd generation	72	79	113	147
	Total	192	191	231	291
Asia	1st generation	222	229	284	365
	2nd generation	91	104	199	306
	Total	312	333	483	671
Latin America	1st generation	46	50	67	93
	2nd generation	27	31	63	104
	Total	74	81	130	197
Indonesia	1st generation	126	119	80	56
	2nd generation	264	262	243	176
	Total	390	380	323	232
EU (26)	1st generation	330	354	549	770
	2nd generation	505	508	561	704
	Total	835	862	1109	1474
Other European	1st generation	94	96	128	158
	2nd generation	42	47	79	109
	Total	136	143	207	267
Other non-European	1st generation	36	37	46	59
	2nd generation	35	37	51	72
	Total	71	73	97	132

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline (figures are based on the municipal population registrations)

Table A5.4: Foreign nationals obtaining Dutch Nationality by year and former Nationality 1996-2007

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total	82 687	59 831	59 173	62 093	49 968	46 667	45 321	28 799	26 173	28 488	29 089	30 653
Western countries	9 764	11 257	11 927	13 746	8 569	6 214	5 501	3 956	3 277	4 673	4 402	4 456
<i>of whom from</i>												
27 EU countries	5 744	4 367	3 655	3 489	2 989	3 073	3 128	2 329	1 695	2 285	2 256	2 271
<i>of whom from</i>												
15 EU countries	3 520	2 904	2 419	2 127	1 848	1 884	2 049	1 621	1 122	1 187	1 410	1 493
<i>of whom from</i>												
Germany	776	567	558	580	508	573	608	445	297	349	447	461
United Kingdom	1 174	912	578	453	374	356	394	294	190	221	248	240
Italy	275	328	304	211	239	211	231	206	148	156	195	199
Belgium	287	183	200	189	164	189	223	250	122	118	172	175
France	161	119	182	173	123	123	160	100	87	85	65	74
Spain	155	137	116	108	89	98	93	84	104	84	86	102
new EU countries	2 224	1 463	1 236	1 362	1 141	1 189	1 079	708	573	1 098	846	778
<i>of whom from</i>												
Poland	1 129	827	677	688	587	597	530	318	212	347	238	268
Romania	519	203	179	157	161	162	164	106	109	287	232	211
Czechoslovakia (former)	204	154	148	264	182	198	160	146	112	194	144	112
Bulgaria	148	96	65	68	54	61	81	48	60	121	136	87
Other Europe	2 882	6 006	7 481	9 467	4 871	2 444	1 641	1 008	1 070	1 659	1 557	1 573
<i>of whom from</i>												
Yugoslavia (former) ^a	2 251	5 396	6 651	7 985	3 800	1 638	932	530	576	601	565	554
Soviet Union (former) ^b	568	563	786	1 439	1 045	821	714	471	496	1 107	994	1 011
Other Western Countries	1 138	884	791	790	709	697	732	619	512	729	589	612
<i>of whom from</i>												
Indonesia	436	314	368	514	456	416	380	291	203	293	248	302
United States	489	410	261	161	160	168	225	181	181	267	217	195
Canada	121	109	108	74	51	65	66	54	56	85	60	62
Non-Western countries	72 108	47 891	46 044	43 724	33 999	32 653	30 173	18 219	16 237	19 037	18 224	18 373
<i>of whom from</i>												
Turkey	30 704	21 189	13 484	5 214	4 708	5 513	5 391	3 726	4 026	3 493	3 407	4 073
Morocco	15 598	10 478	11 252	14 217	13 471	12 721	12 033	7 126	5 873	7 086	6 896	6 409
Egypt	1 077	551	393	496	443	528	437	190	97	238	245	304
South-Africa	137	130	95	109	102	105	113	111	127	231	203	178
Ghana	1 208	737	502	432	348	360	357	157	74	199	296	314
Nigeria	268	166	98	153	143	196	214	96	69	139	189	214
Somalia	3 002	2 141	4 918	3 487	1 634	873	378	180	136	133	128	96
Ethiopia	1 425	353	311	320	188	153	96	87	78	111	102	96
Israel	234	142	91	78	67	104	93	62	43	102	95	78
Tunisia	296	202	150	220	148	160	159	69	68	81	92	78
Suriname	4 445	3 019	2 991	3 194	2 008	2 025	1 957	1 242	1 421	2 031	1 636	1 285
Brazil	319	279	227	257	231	290	249	137	131	159	189	173
Colombia	409	354	288	341	382	259	274	112	94	143	151	152
Peru	106	102	49	87	64	52	71	40	32	100	76	77
Dominican Republic	387	207	217	235	200	206	143	91	59	82	78	87
Mexico	23	29	45	54	57	49	60	31	27	82	72	76
Haiti	28	24	18	14	51	55	29	41	63	79	69	28
China	1 394	975	800	977	1 002	1 111	908	722	739	1 291	799	638
Afghanistan	360	217	905	1 847	945	803	1 118	982	801	550	562	662
Iraq	854	798	2 721	3 834	2 403	2 315	2 367	832	489	333	331	501
Pakistan	630	296	287	277	237	255	241	132	83	204	199	199
Philippines	401	279	298	295	300	348	263	159	129	198	209	226
India	407	249	234	235	242	309	250	138	117	187	214	214
Iran	2 299	1 285	1 806	2 560	1 375	754	336	180	122	184	225	221
Thailand	319	253	235	275	277	355	289	171	161	160	171	195
Sri Lanka	592	383	643	670	272	179	182	117	90	95	103	107
Vietnam	1 334	779	575	338	203	197	197	129	89	90	82	124
Taiwan	55	57	25	57	77	42	36	47	72	78	48	73
Stateless	815	683	1 202	4 623	7 400	7 800	9 647	6 624	6 659	4 778	6 463	7 824
Total	82 687	59 831	59 173	62 093	49 968	46 667	45 321	28 799	26 173	28 488	29 089	30 653

a. Slovenia not included, b. Baltic states not included

Source: Statistics Netherlands (figures are based on data of the Ministry of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service)

Table A5.5: Dutch and Non-native Population by Gender and Age in % (2008)

Age	Dutch			Non-native (Western)			Non-native (non-Western)		
	male	female	total	male	female	total	male	female	total
0 to 5	5.7	5.3	5.5	4.7	4.1	4.4	9.2	9.0	9.1
5 to 10	6.2	5.8	6.0	4.7	4.0	4.3	9.3	9.0	9.2
10 to 15	6.0	5.6	5.8	4.6	4.0	4.3	8.7	8.5	8.6
15 to 20	6.1	5.7	5.9	4.9	4.5	4.7	9.0	8.7	8.9
20 to 25	5.7	5.4	5.6	5.9	5.8	5.8	9.0	9.2	9.1
25 to 30	5.6	5.3	5.5	6.9	7.1	7.0	9.0	9.7	9.3
30 to 35	6.0	5.7	5.8	7.1	7.5	7.3	8.3	9.1	8.7
35 to 40	7.7	7.4	7.5	8.5	8.4	8.4	9.0	9.1	9.1
40 to 45	8.1	7.7	7.9	8.6	8.4	8.5	8.3	7.7	8.0
45 to 50	7.9	7.6	7.8	7.8	7.8	7.8	6.6	6.3	6.5
50 to 55	7.4	7.1	7.2	7.4	7.4	7.4	4.4	4.7	4.6
55 to 60	7.1	6.8	7.0	8.0	7.5	7.7	3.2	3.3	3.2
60 to 65	6.6	6.5	6.5	6.8	6.1	6.4	2.4	2.2	2.3
65 or older	13.9	18.2	16.1	14.2	17.4	15.9	3.6	3.5	3.5
Total (N)	6 527 785 (49.4%)	6 662 198 (50.5%)	13 189 983 (100%)	693 249 (47.8%)	756 437 (52.1%)	1 449 686 (100%)	891 039 (50.4%)	874 691 (49.5%)	1 765 730 (100%)

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline (figures are based on the municipal population registrations)

Chapter 6 **Labour market integration of immigrants in the Netherlands**

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the socio-economic position of first and second-generation immigrants in the Netherlands. As we explained earlier, in Dutch official statistics and policy documents, foreign-born residents and their offspring are officially referred to as 'allochtonous'. In this chapter we use the phrase non-Western immigrants, but the reader should bear in mind that – following official definitions of 'allochtonous' residents (described in chapter 5 of this report) - this refers to both first-generation and second-generation immigrants. Furthermore, a distinction is made between migrants coming from Western countries (other European countries, including EU, other European countries and non-European Western countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, but also Japan and Israel) and non-Western countries. In earlier editions of the Dutch SOPEMI-report we confined our description of immigrant labour market integration in the Netherlands to non-Western immigrants. In this edition we extend the analysis to the labour market integration of first- and second-generation immigrants coming from Middle and Eastern European countries (MEE).¹⁵

Other immigrant groups in our analyses are two former guest worker groups (Turks and Moroccans) and the two groups of post-colonial Caribbean immigrants (Surinamese and Antilleans). Since the early 1980's, the Netherlands has had extensive policies in place to improve the labour market position of non-Western immigrants and more specifically the four non-Western immigrant groups just mentioned. As a part of these policies the socio-economic position of these four migrant groups has been monitored extensively during the years. There is also statistical data available about so-called 'other non-Western immigrant groups'. This category concerns, to a large extent, immigrants that came to the Netherlands as asylum seekers. In our analyses we will compare the labour market position of these various immigrant categories with the labour market position of the native Dutch population.

¹⁵ However, the information available for the immigrants from the MEE-countries is limited to figures about labour participation and unemployment. Information about for example education and dependency of social benefits is not available.

The main issue in this chapter is the changing labour market position of immigrant groups in the Netherlands. Since an adequate level of education is considered an important precondition for labour market participation, we first examine the level of education of non-Western immigrants in the Netherlands (6.2). We then describe various aspects of their labour market position such as labour market participation and unemployment (6.3), the extent to which non-Western immigrants depend on social assistance and other social benefits (6.4) and the labour position of non-Western immigrants (6.5). The appendix to this chapter contains some supplementary statistical information.

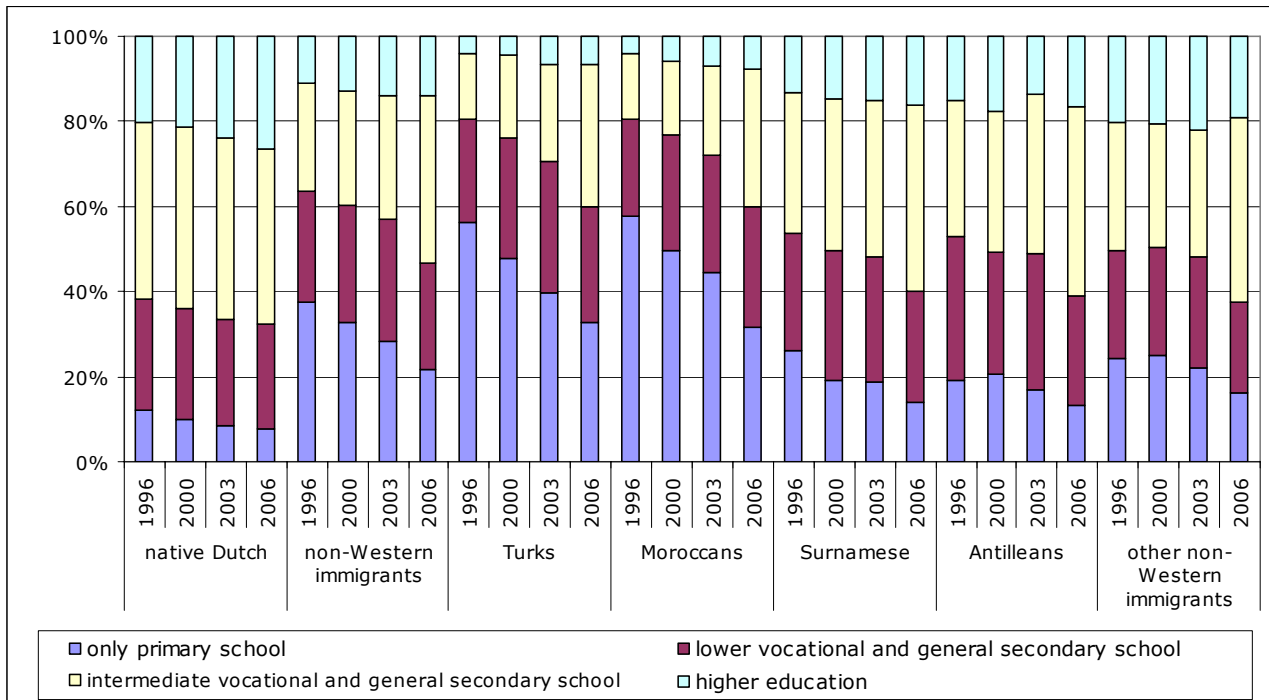
6.2 Level of education of non-Western immigrants

An adequate education is generally considered a precondition for a good labour market position. This is true for both the native Dutch population and for Western and non-Western immigrants living in the country. However, a major problem for many non-Western immigrants is their low level of education (unfortunately we do not have information about educational levels of migrants coming from the MEE-countries). The low educational levels of non-Western immigrants have various backgrounds. Former guest workers were, at that time, selected to do low-skilled work in the Netherlands. They were migrants with little or no educational background. Although their children are generally better educated than their parents, there is still a gap with the (rising!) average education levels in the Netherlands. Other non-Western immigrants may have higher levels of education, but their education is often still insufficient for the current post-industrial labour markets. Educations achieved in Third World countries are often not acknowledged in the Netherlands.

Figure 6.1 shows the levels of education of the native Dutch population and various non-Western immigrant groups in 1996, 1999, 2002, and 2006. The figure makes two things clear. First, the level of education of non-Western immigrant groups – and especially of the Turkish and Moroccan groups – is still significantly lower than that of the native Dutch population. Whereas over 30 percent of all Turkish and Moroccan adults (from 15 to 64 years old) have finished only primary education (and often not even that), this is true for only 8 percent of all native Dutch adults. Secondly, although the levels of education for non-western immigrants are still rather low they increased significantly in the last decade. This is especially true for the Turkish and Moroccan groups. The share of Turkish and Moroccan adults (in the age of 15 to 64 years) with only primary school fell from 56 percent in 1996 to 33 respectively 32 percent in 2006. Meanwhile, the percentage of highly

educated Turkish or Moroccan adults rises slowly (from around 4 percent in 1996 to 7 respectively 8 percent in 2006). However, the native Dutch are improving their educational levels as well. The percentage of highly educated native Dutch adults rose from 20 percent in 1996 to 26 percent in 2006. Both tendencies (rising educational levels of non-Western immigrants but faster rising educational levels of the native Dutch population) imply that the gap between both groups is only widening. Although non-Western immigrants slowly improve their educational qualifications they seem to be unable to catch up with the native Dutch population (see figure 6.1; more specific data in the appendix to this chapter).

Figure 6.1: Education level of native Dutch and non-Dutch population (15-64 year)



Source: Netherlands Statistics, Statline (own computations)

Levels of education vary not only between different immigrant groups, but also by gender and age groups. In general men have higher educational levels than women. This is true for both the native Dutch and for various immigrant populations. On the other hand, the differences in educational achievement between males and females in non-Western immigrant groups are not that large. For Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, in particular, both men and women often have very low levels of education. The same is true for various new immigrant groups, especially Afghans and Somalians. For most immigrant groups the level of education increases for both men and women.

Education levels also vary by age. In general younger people were in school longer and achieved higher educational levels than older groups. This is also true for both the native Dutch and for various immigrant groups. Second-generation immigrants, born and educated in the Netherlands, generally have higher educational levels than first-generation immigrants (foreign-born). Also recently arrived first-generation immigrants, especially marital migrants from Turkey and Morocco, are often not very well educated. That the second-generation immigrant youth attain higher levels of education than their parents does not mean, however, that their situation is unproblematic. The levels of education of young non-Western second-generation immigrants are still significantly low compared to those of young native Dutch persons. There are various reasons for the relatively low educational levels of young non-Western second-generation immigrants. On the one hand, one has to take into account that their parents were mostly low skilled or unskilled. As the educational achievement of children is strongly influenced by their parents' educational achievement, one can hardly expect young non-Western immigrants to do much better than their parents. On the other hand the educational achievement of young non-Western second-generation immigrants is strongly tempered by their high incidence of premature school dropout. Research shows that the incidence of premature school dropout (leaving school without a certificate) among young non-Western immigrants is higher as among native Dutch youth of the same age. This can partly be explained by the fact that non-western migrants are overrepresented in the lower vocational schools, where the drop-out is higher than in the higher educational levels. But also within the lower vocational schools the dropout among young non-Western immigrants is higher as among native Dutch youth of the same age.¹⁶ As a result, many young (often second-generation) non-Western immigrants enter the labour market without any formal qualification and have fewer chances of a successful professional career.

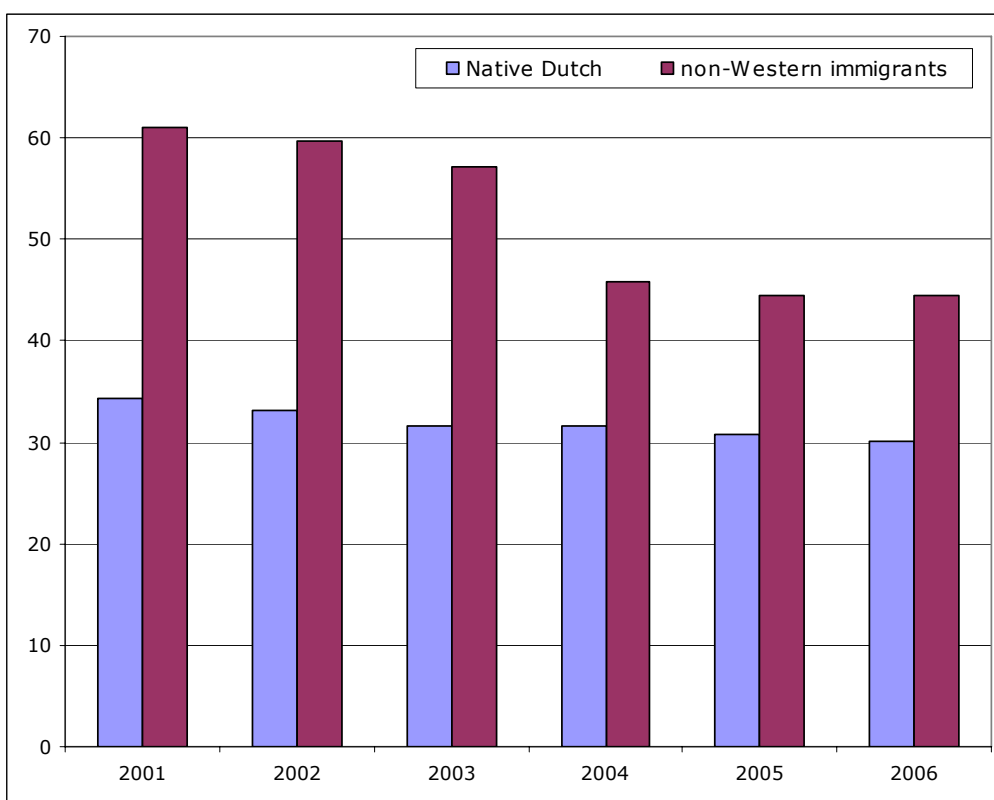
Another way to measure premature school dropout is to look at the proportion of a certain population that has not attained the so-called basic qualifications to enter the labour market.¹⁷ As figure 6.2 shows, 44 percent of the non-Western immigrant population of working age (15-65 years old) (first- and second-generation), does not possess the minimum basic qualifications to enter the labour market. The same is true for 30 percent of

¹⁶ Netherlands Statistics, *Jaarrapport Integratie 2008*, pp. 71.

¹⁷ According to EU-standards, people with only primary school and lower vocational or general education are insufficiently prepared for the current labour market.

the native Dutch adult population. Figure 6.2 also shows that the differences between the native Dutch and non-Western immigrants in this respect has declined over the years. Not having the minimum basic qualifications, of course, does not imply that one cannot enter the labour market. However, available statistics show that people without minimal basic qualifications have higher chances to become unemployed or to become dependent on low skilled, low-paid and often temporary and/or flexible work.

Figure 6.2: Persons without formal start qualification to enter the labour market as % of the total population not at school (15-64 year)



Source: Netherlands Statistics, Statline (own computations)

6.3 Employment and unemployment of immigrants

In the previous Dutch SOPEMI-reports we extensively described the changing labour market position of various non-Western immigrant groups in the Netherlands. We argued that changes in the labour market position of immigrants are partly the result of more general developments in the economic tide in the Netherlands. In this report we will describe the labour market position of Western and non-Western immigrants, and of the native

Dutch population in the period 1996-2007. During this twelve-year period, there were major changes in the Dutch economy. The second half of the 1990's are generally considered a rather favourable episode in the Dutch economic development, years of continuous economic growth, job growth and declining unemployment years. In the international literature this period is referred to as the "Dutch miracle" (cf. Visser and Hemerijck 1997). At the end of that period (in 2001/2002) the unemployment rates in the Netherlands were the lowest in the EU. However, a new economic recession started in 2003, resulting again in rising unemployment figures. The economic crisis was most severe in the years 2004 and 2005 when the official unemployment rate in the Netherlands was above 6 percent. In 2006 and 2007 the economic situation improved again and the job possibilities grew (also because older generations of workers are leaving the labour market). The official unemployment rate fell from 6.5 percent in 2005 to 5.5 percent in 2006 and to 4.5 percent in 2007.

The question in this section is what these general developments in the Dutch economy of the last decade imply for the labour market position (employment and unemployment) of immigrants living in the Netherlands. We will first describe developments in the labour market participation of immigrant groups, then the unemployment figures of immigrants and native Dutch workers, and we will end this section with a statistical analysis that explains the differences in unemployment between non-Western immigrant groups and the native Dutch population.

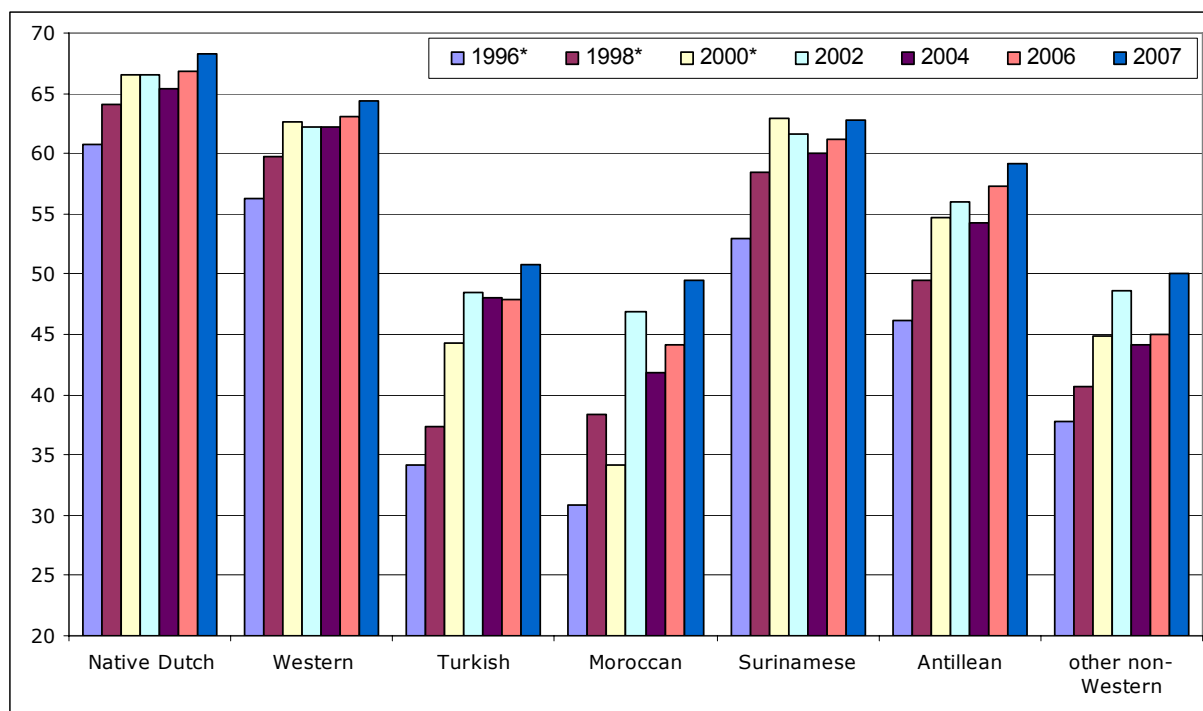
Labour market participation of immigrants in the Netherlands (1996-2007)

The first indicator to describe the changing labour market position of immigrants in the Netherlands is the *net labour participation* (or actual workforce). This figure shows the percentage of the total population of working age (from 15 to 65 years) that is actually employed for at least 12 hours a week. The picture is quite clear. The net labour market participation of both the native Dutch population and all immigrant groups increased significantly in the period from 1996 until 2002. The net labour market participation of the native Dutch group increased from 60.7 percent in 1996 to 67 percent in 2002. The increase in the net labour market participation is even clearer among non-Western immigrants (from 40 percent in 1996 to almost 50 percent in 2002). In that year, at the height of the economic boom, almost half of all non-Western immigrants of working age (male and female) were actually working (12 hours a week or more). However, also in

the late 1990s there were still clear differences between the non-Western immigrant groups. Although the labour participation of all non-Western immigrant groups was on the rise, these figures were consistently higher for postcolonial immigrant groups (Surinamese, Antilleans) than for former guest worker groups (Turks, Moroccans).

The following economic recession (2003-2005) also influenced the labour market participation of the native Dutch and non-Western migrant groups differently. The downswing in the labour market participation in these years was much clearer for non-Western migrant groups than for the native Dutch. Whereas the net labour market participation of the native Dutch fell with 2 percentage points during the years of economic recession (2001-2005), for non-Western immigrants this was not less than 4 percent (in particular because of the sharp decline in labour market participation of the so-called 'other non-Western migrant groups').

However, the years 2006 and 2007 were rather favourable for the economic situation and employment in the Netherlands. The net labour market participation of all non-Western migrant categories increased from 49 percent of the potential workforce in 2005 to 53 percent in 2007. In particular the net labour market participation of the Moroccan group jumped up (from 44 percent in 2006 to 50 percent in 2007, more than ever before). In general one could say, that non-Western migrant groups managed to gain from the favourable economic development in the Netherlands in the years 2006-2007 and are slowly able to catch up with the native Dutch (at least, as long as the favourable economic developments last in the Netherlands).

Figure 6.3: Net labour participation by ethnic decent (1996-2007)

Source: Netherlands Statistics, Statline (own computations)

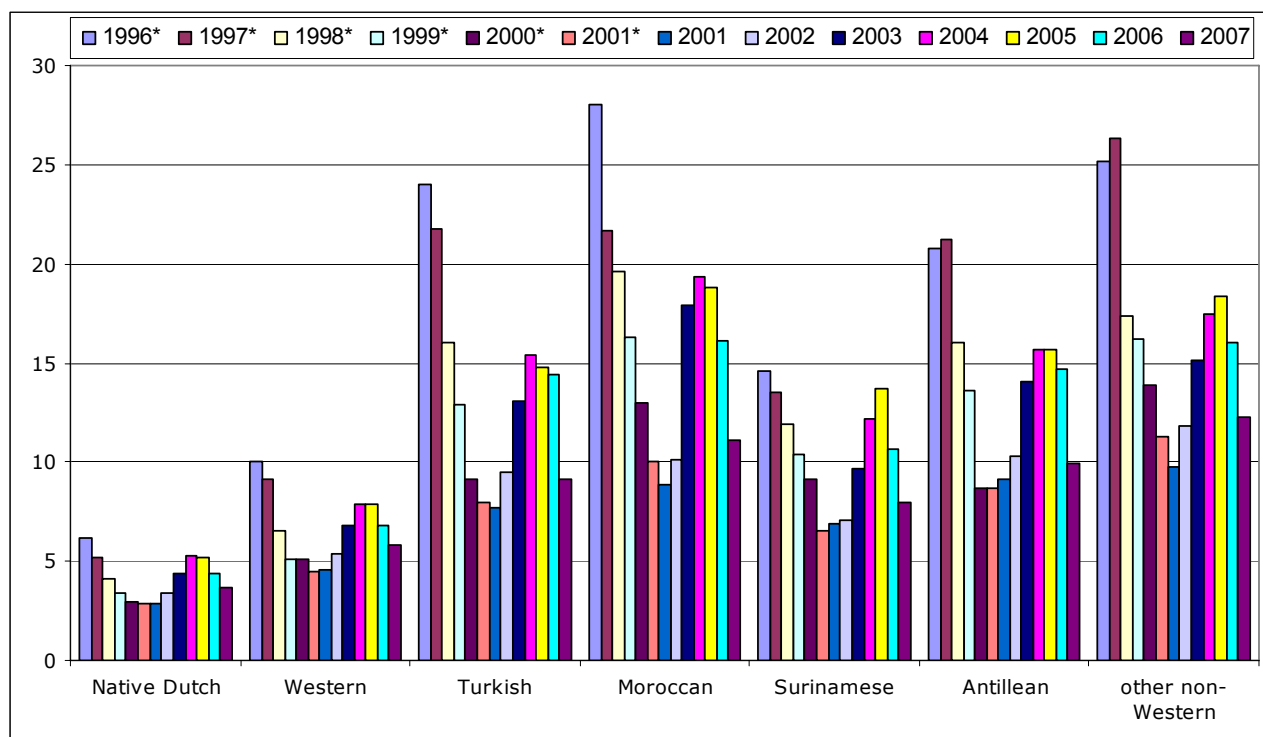
To conclude we can say that the net labour market participation of non-Western immigrants in the Netherlands appears to be strongly related to the general economic development. During the economic boom in the late 1990s (and actually until 2001/2002) more and more non-Western immigrants joined the workforce and the gap in the net labour market participation between non-Western immigrants and the native Dutch population became smaller. The years of the economic recession following the Millennium change (2003-2005) brought a relative regression of the labour market participation of non-Western immigrant groups compared to the native Dutch. However, in the once more favourable economic situation in the years 2006 and 2007, non-Western migrant groups were again able to improve their labour market position and, although slowly, to catch up with the native Dutch. Nevertheless, the net labour market participation of non-Western immigrants (with a notable exception of the Surinamese) is still significantly lower than that of the native Dutch population.

Unemployment of immigrants in the Netherlands (1996-2007)

The second indicator to describe the labour market position of immigrants in the Netherlands is the unemployment rates, that is the number of people officially registered as unemployed by the Dutch employment agencies (Centres for Work and Income), as a percentage of the total active population

(either working at least 12 hours a week or looking for work). This way of counting unemployment implies that non-working adults that gave up looking for a job ('labour market dropouts') are not included in official unemployment statistics.

Figure 6.4 shows the unemployment rates of the native Dutch and various immigrant groups from 1996 to 2007. The figure shows rather dramatic changes in the unemployment rates of non-Western immigrants. We see the same pattern as noticed before. In 1996, there was still a dramatic unemployment among non-Western migrant groups. During the following economic boom of the late 1990s, but especially in 2000 and 2001, the unemployment rate of non-Western immigrants dropped rapidly. The unemployment rate of Turks and Moroccans, for instance, fell from around 25 percent or more in 1996 to less than 10 percent in 2002. These figures inspired us to rather positive conclusion about the improved labour market position of non-Western immigrants in the Netherlands in the Dutch SOPEMI Reports of 2002 and 2003. We concluded that non-Western immigrants indeed benefited from the favourable economy in these years 1990s and were able to improve their labour market position vis-à-vis the native Dutch population. However, as already mentioned in more recent Dutch SOPEMI-reports, the labour market position of non-Western immigrants declined again in the new economic crisis after 2002. In 2005, the unemployment rate for the Turkish group was back at 18 percent and for the Moroccan group at 19 percent. The years 2006 and 2007, however, again brought a relative improvement of the unemployment situation of non-Western migrant groups in the Netherlands and specifically of the Turkish and Moroccan groups. In 2007, the unemployment among non-Western migrants fluctuated around 10 percent (9 percent for the Turkish group, 11 percent for the Moroccan group). The official unemployment among the native Dutch was still significantly lower (4 percent).

Figure 6.4: Unemployment rates by ethnic decent (1996-2007)

Source: Netherlands Statistics, Statline (own computations)
 * old measurement method

Figure 6.4 also shows the huge improvement of the unemployment situation of the various non-Western migrant groups in 2007. Compared to one year earlier (2006), the unemployment among non-Western migrant groups in general fell with 4 percent points (from 14 to 10 percent), for the Turkish group with 5 percent points (from 14 to 9 percent) and also for the Moroccan group with 5 percent points (from 16 to 11 percent).

6.4 Non-Western immigrants and social benefits

Another way to describe the social position of non-Western immigrant groups is by the extent to which they are on social benefits. Looking at social benefit claimants gives a somewhat different picture of the labour market position of immigrants (and the native Dutch population) than the unemployment figures in the previous section. Unemployment figures only refer to individuals out of work but still looking for a job, but do not include individuals that dropped out of the labour market altogether. Figures about social benefits (especially social assistance and incapacity benefits) give a much clearer picture of the extent to which individuals belonging to various population categories have left the labour market. It has been argued, that unemployment was not the

main socio-economic problem of the Netherlands in the late 1990's, but the sizeable labour market dropout. Particularly, the large number of disability benefits is often mentioned as the main problem of Dutch social politics. This section describes the distribution of social benefits (social assistance¹⁸, disability benefits¹⁹, unemployment benefits) over various immigrant groups and the native Dutch population.

Table 6.1: Individuals (between 15-64 years old) receiving social benefits as % of the total population by ethnic decent (2007)

	Social assistance	Incapacity benefit	unemployment benefits	all benefits
Total population	2,9	6,8	1,5	11,2
native Dutch	1,7	6,9	1,4	10,0
Western migrant groups	3,5	6,5	1,9	11,9
Non-Western migrant groups	11,1	5,8	1,8	18,7
<i>of wich</i>				
Turkish	9,1	9,8	2,2	21,1
Moroccans	13,3	7,1	1,9	22,3
Surinamese	7,8	6,9	1,9	16,6
Antilleans/Arubans	10,8	3,8	1,8	16,4
Other non-Western	13,3	2,4	1,4	17,1

Source: Netherlands Statistics/WODC, Jaarrapport Integratie 2008

Table 6.1 shows the proportion of individuals (between 15 and 64 years old) claiming some kind of social benefit in the Netherlands in 2007. The table, again, shows clear differences in the shares of people living from social benefits between the various ethnic categories. Exactly 10 percent of all native Dutch individuals in the working age receive some kind of social benefit. For non-Western immigrants in general, this is almost 19 percent and for the Turkish and Moroccan groups not less then 21 and 22 percent – more than twice as much as for the native Dutch. However, as we reported in the previous Dutch SOPEMI-report, some years ago (in 2004) not less then 28 percent of the total Turkish and Moroccan population in the Netherlands received some kind of social benefits. The decline in the number of social benefit claimants in both migrant groups is probably the result of the improved socio-economic situation in the Netherlands between 2004 and 2007.

The figures in table 6.1 give a somewhat different picture of the labour market position of non-Western migrants in the Netherlands, and their social

¹⁸ National assistance (ABW) and special benefits for the long-term unemployed (IOAW/IOAZ).

¹⁹ They include disability benefits for working people (WAO), entrepreneurs (WAZ) and people who were never able to work due to physical or mental health problems.

position in general, than the unemployment figures given before in this chapter. Whereas from the official unemployment figures one could conclude that somewhat more than one in ten individuals from the non-Western migrant groups is out of work, data about social benefit claimants, that include people that dropped out of the labour market altogether, give a more grim picture about the deficient labour market participation of non-Western migrant groups. Despite the favourable economic development in the Netherlands in the recent years and despite the improved labour market position of non-Western migrant groups, still more than one in five individuals in the working age belonging to one of the non-Western migrant groups live from some kind of social benefit. Especially the number of social assistance claimants among the non-Western migrant groups is relatively high (around five times higher than for the native Dutch!).

6.5 Labour position of non-Western immigrants

Thus far we focused on the question whether or not first and second-generation immigrants in the Netherlands participate in the workforce *or* if they are unemployed and/or depend on social benefits. This section describes the social position of working immigrants in terms of their occupational level, their occupational sector, the kind of employment contracts they have (steady or flexible jobs), and their working hours (part-time versus full-time jobs). As in previous sections we will compare the labour market position of non-Western immigrant groups (first and second-generation) with that of the native Dutch population.

Table 6.2: Native Dutch and Immigrant workers by Occupational sector (2000-2005) (in %)

	Native Dutch	Western immigrants	Turks	Moroccans	Surinamese	Antilleans/ Arubans	Other non-Western
2000							
agriculture	3.5	1.1	4.3	5.3	0.7	0.0	1.5
Industry/construction	21.5	21.1	38.0	26.3	14.8	19.0	23.1
Private services	39.5	41.6	38.0	43.9	43.0	42.9	50.0
Public services	30.2	30.0	13.0	15.8	35.6	31.0	18.7
Other/unknown	5.3	6.2	6.5	8.8	5.9	7.1	6.7
2005							
Agriculture	3.3	1.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8
Industry/construction	21.6	19.6	27.6	23.1	16.5	18.4	17.5
Private services	37.3	39.2	42.9	47.4	43.9	46.9	53.6
Public services	34.2	35.4	22.9	25.6	36.7	34.7	22.9
Other/unknown	3.6	4.8	2.9	3.8	2.9	0.0	4.2

Source: Netherlands Statistics (Labour Surveys)

Table 6.2 shows the occupational sectors native Dutch and non-Western immigrant workers are employed in. Turkish, and to a lesser extent Moroccan, workers tend to be overrepresented in traditional industry and construction jobs (but especially in industrial jobs) and underrepresented in public service jobs. This was especially true in 2000. Moroccans and Antilleans/ Arubans are overrepresented in the private service sector. When looking at the recent developments (2000-2005) we can see that the differences between the groups are reducing. The proportion of Turkish and Moroccan workers in public service jobs, for instance, went up significantly. However, this does not mean that differences in occupational levels decline as well. On the contrary, as table 6.3 makes clear.

Table 6.3: Native Dutch and Immigrant Workers by Occupational Level (2000-2005) (in %)

	Native Dutch	Western immigrants	Turks	Moroccans	Surinamese	Antilleans/ Arubans	Other non-Western
2000							
Elementary occupations	5.9	7.0	20.7	25.9	12.7	9.5	18.7
Lower occupations	23.7	21.8	43.5	36.2	26.9	21.4	26.9
intermediate occupations	39.8	36.0	23.9	27.6	38.1	31.0	29.1
higher/scientific occup.	29.4	33.4	7.6	8.6	22.4	28.6	20.1
occupation unknown	1.2	1.8	3.3	3.4	0.7	9.5	5.2
2005							
Elementary occupations	6.0	7.7	24.3	31.3	14.9	13.7	20.7
Lower occupations	22.7	22.0	35.5	33.8	29.1	25.5	29.9
intermediate occupations	39.3	35.6	28.0	21.3	34.8	37.3	31.7
higher/scientific occup.	31.1	33.7	10.3	12.5	20.6	23.5	16.5
occupation unknown	0.9	1.0	1.9	1.3	1.4	0.0	1.2

Source: Netherlands Statistics (Labour Surveys)

The main differences are between the former guest workers groups (Turks and Moroccans) and the native Dutch working population. The proportion of Turkish and Moroccan people working in elementary and low skilled jobs is at least twice as large as the proportion of native Dutch working in those lower level jobs. This was the case in 2000, but despite the rising educational levels of immigrant workers we observed earlier in this chapter, this has not really changed in 2005. On the contrary, the proportion of Moroccan workers in the lowest skilled occupations has even increased. The occupational level of Surinamese workers is somewhere in between. Workers with a Surinamese background are also overrepresented in lower skilled occupations and underrepresented in highly skilled and scientific occupations, but to a lesser extent than Turkish and Moroccan workers. Also Surinamese labourers were unable to improve their occupational level in the last half decade. Between 2000 and 2005, the proportion of Surinamese workers in elementary and lower level jobs increased, whereas the proportion of Surinamese workers in the highest occupations declined somewhat (from 22.4% to 20.6%).

Further analysis shows that differences in personal qualifications are the main explanation for the still rather low occupational levels of non-Western immigrant workers. When controlling for gender, age, household composition and level of education, non-Western immigrant workers are much less concentrated at the bottom of the labour market. The influence of level of education and other personal qualifications differs somewhat between the various immigrant groups. Particularly for the Surinamese workers, level of education seems to be the main explanation for their occupational level. For other groups such as Moroccans, Antilleans and other non-Western immigrants, level of education does not entirely explain the low level of occupation. This means that the low occupational level of these immigrant groups is partly the result of different factors that are still unknown (such as lower aspiration levels of immigrant workers or labour market discrimination).

Table 6.4: Native Dutch and Immigrant Workers with Steady and Fixed Jobs* (2001-2007) (in %)

	native Dutch	Turks	Moroccans	Surinamese	Antilleans	Other non-Western
<i>2001</i>						
Steady labour relation	76.4	64.5	66.3	75.2	69.2	60.3
Flexible labour relation	11.8	27.3	28.4	20.1	26.9	29.3
Self-employed	11.8	8.3	5.3	4.7	3.8	10.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>2004</i>						
Steady labour relation	76.4	63.9	72.8	75.0	75.9	64.6
Flexible labour relation	10.7	27.8	23.9	20.5	20.4	26.0
Self-employed	12.9	8.3	3.3	4.5	3.7	9.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>2007</i>						
Steady labour relation	74.6	56.3	63.4	71.9	63.1	56.7
Flexible labour relation	12.7	32.5	30.9	21.6	30.8	33.2
Self-employed	12.7	11.3	5.7	6.4	6.2	10.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*flexible jobs are defined here as workers with either temporary labour contracts or unsure number of working hours (including employees of temporary employment agencies)

Source: Netherlands Statistics (Labour Surveys)

Table 6.5: Native Dutch and Immigrant Workers with Full-time and Part-time work (2001-2007) (in %)

	native Dutch	Turks	Moroccans	Surinamese	Antilleans	Other non-Western
<i>2001</i>						
Part-time	34.1	29.5	29.6	34.8	37.8	31.2
Full-time	65.9	70.5	70.4	65.2	62.2	68.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>2004</i>						
Part-time	37.1	29.2	30.5	35.5	38.8	34.7
Full-time	62.9	70.8	69.5	64.5	61.2	65.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>2007</i>						
Part-time	38.8	29.7	32.7	36.4	33.3	35.0
Full-time	61.2	70.3	67.3	63.6	66.7	65.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Netherlands Statistics (Labour Surveys)

Table 6.4 and table 6.5 describe the kind of labour contracts native Dutch and immigrant workers have. First, a distinction is made between steady and flexible labour relations. Steady labour is defined as a fixed labour contract with a fixed number of working hours. A flexible labour relation exists when workers either have a temporary labour contract (including employees of temporary employment agencies) and/or are unsure about the number of working hours. Despite of all talk about flexibility of the labour market, the table makes very clear that 'traditional' steady work is still the prevailing employment contract. This is true for both native Dutch and for immigrant workers, although immigrant workers are somewhat less often employed in steady labour relations than the native Dutch (except for Surinamese workers). Table 6.4 also shows that the proportion of steady labour relations is slowly decreasing, both among native Dutch and immigrant workers. Self-employment is not a real alternative for fixed or temporary jobs for migrant workers. In most immigrant groups (except 'other non-Western immigrants'), the proportion of self-employed persons is significantly lower than among the native Dutch. Table 6.5 describes the 'working hours regimes' of native Dutch and immigrant workers. Immigrant workers in general tend to have full-time jobs somewhat more often than native Dutch workers. This is especially true for Turkish and Moroccan workers. The main reason for this difference is probably the gender composition of the native Dutch and immigrant workforce. Native Dutch women are relatively more often active in the labour market than women with an immigrant background, especially those with a Turkish or Moroccan background. Furthermore, women work significantly more often in part-time jobs than man. More women in the workforce implies, almost by definition, a larger proportion of part-time work.

Appendix for Chapter 6

Supplementary tables

A6.1 Level of education by Ethnic Descent and gender (15-64 year) (1996-2006)

A6.2 Gross Labour Participation by Ethnic Descent and gender 1994-2007 (by absolute numbers and in %)

A6.3 Net Labour Participation by Ethnic Descent and gender 1994-2007 (by absolute numbers and in %)

A6.4 Number of working people by ethnic decent* 1994-2007

A6.5 Unemployment Rate by Ethnic Descent and gender 1994-2006 (by absolute numbers and in %)

A6.6 Youth unemployment by Ethnic Descent and gender 1996-2005

Table A6.1: Educational level of native Dutch and non-Dutch population (15-64 year) (1996, 2000, 2003, 2006).

	year	only primary school	lower vocational and general secondary school	intermediate vocational and general secondary school	higher education
native Dutch	1996	12	26	41	20
	2000	10	26	42	21
	2003	9	25	43	24
	2006	8	25	41	26
non-Western immigrants	1996	37	26	25	11
	2000	33	28	27	13
	2003	28	28	29	14
	2006	22	25	40	14
Turks	1996	55	24	15	4
	2000	48	28	19	4
	2003	40	31	23	7
	2006	33	27	33	7
Moroccans	1996	56	22	15	4
	2000	50	27	17	6
	2003	44	28	21	7
	2006	32	28	32	8
Surnamese	1996	26	27	33	13
	2000	19	31	36	15
	2003	19	29	37	15
	2006	14	26	44	16
Antilleans	1996	19	34	32	15
	2000	21	29	33	18
	2003	17	32	38	14
	2006	13	26	44	17
other non-Western immigrants	1996	24	25	30	20
	2000	25	25	29	21
	2003	22	26	30	22
	2006	16	21	43	19

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline

Table A6.2: Gross Labour Participation by Ethnic Descent and gender (1996-2007)**

	1996*	1997*	1998*	1999*	2000*	2001*	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total population													
Native Dutch	65	66	67	68	69	69	69	69	69	69	69	70	71
Of foreign descent	57	58	59	59	60	60	62	61	62	62	63	63	64
Western	62	64	64	65	66	66	66	66	67	68	68	68	68
non-Western	51	52	53	53	54	55	58	57	58	58	59	58	60
Turkish	45	45	45	46	49	52	54	54	57	57	56	56	56
Moroccan	43	45	48	46	39	47	51	52	53	52	56	53	56
Surinamese	62	60	66	65	69	66	67	66	66	68	68	69	68
Antillean	58	58	59	62	60	59	62	62	63	64	67	67	66
other non-Western	51	53	49	50	52	52	56	55	54	54	55	54	57
Total	64	65	65	66	67	67	67	68	68	68	68	68	69
Male													
Native Dutch	78	79	80	80	80	81	80	80	80	80	79	79	79
Of foreign descent	69	69	70	70	71	70	72	72	72	72	72	71	72
Western	73	74	75	75	77	75	77	77	77	77	76	75	76
non-Western	63	63	64	64	65	65	67	67	68	68	69	68	68
Turkish	59	61	60	61	66	67	69	67	72	70	71	70	68
Moroccan	59	60	63	63	54	60	63	64	67	65	69	68	68
Surinamese	71	65	72	71	77	71	72	73	72	74	74	74	71
Antillean	67	62	70	76	65	67	67	68	69	70	75	72	73
other non-Western	61	64	59	61	63	61	65	64	63	65	65	62	66
Total	77	77	78	78	79	79	79	79	79	78	78	78	78
Female													
Native Dutch	51	53	54	55	56	57	57	57	58	58	58	60	62
Of foreign descent	46	47	47	48	49	51	51	51	52	53	54	54	56
Western	52	53	53	55	56	57	55	55	57	58	60	61	61
non-Western	38	40	41	40	41	44	47	47	47	47	48	48	51
Turkish	29	27	27	30	30	36	37	39	40	43	41	41	43
Moroccan	22	27	29	27	23	30	37	38	37	38	41	36	42
Surinamese	54	56	61	61	62	62	62	61	61	64	63	64	66
Antillean	50	53	48	49	55	51	57	58	57	59	58	63	59
other non-Western	38	40	38	36	39	40	45	45	43	41	44	45	47
Total	50	52	53	54	55	56	56	56	57	57	58	59	61

* Old measurement method

** First and second generation immigrants

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline

Appendix Chapter 6

Table A6.3: Net Labour Participation by Ethnic Descent and gender (1996-2007)**

	1996*	1997*	1998*	1999*	2000*	2001*	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total population													
Native Dutch	61	63	64	66	67	67	67	67	66	65	65	67	68
Of foreign descent	49	50	53	54	55	56	58	57	56	55	55	56	58
Western	56	58	60	62	63	63	63	62	62	62	62	63	64
non-Western	40	41	44	46	48	50	53	52	50	49	49	50	53
Turkish	34	35	37	40	44	48	50	49	49	48	48	48	51
Moroccan	31	35	38	39	34	42	47	47	43	42	45	44	50
Surinamese	53	52	59	59	63	62	62	62	60	60	59	61	63
Antillean	46	45	50	53	55	54	57	56	54	54	56	57	59
other non-Western	38	39	41	42	45	46	51	49	45	44	45	45	50
Total	59	60	62	64	65	65	65	65	64	63	63	65	66
Male													
Native Dutch	75	77	78	79	79	79	79	78	77	76	76	76	77
Of foreign descent	59	60	63	64	66	66	68	67	65	64	64	64	67
Western	67	69	72	72	74	73	74	74	72	72	70	71	72
non-Western	49	49	53	56	59	59	62	61	58	57	59	59	62
Turkish	46	49	51	53	61	61	64	62	64	60	61	62	63
Moroccan	44	45	51	53	47	56	59	58	54	53	57	58	62
Surinamese	62	57	63	63	72	65	67	68	66	64	65	67	65
Antillean	53	50	60	66	60	60	60	61	58	60	64	64	68
other non-Western	46	47	49	53	55	55	59	57	52	53	53	52	59
Total	72	74	75	76	77	77	77	76	75	74	73	74	75
Female													
Native Dutch	46	48	50	52	54	55	54	55	55	54	55	57	59
Of foreign descent	39	40	42	43	44	47	47	47	47	46	47	48	50
Western	45	47	48	51	51	54	51	51	52	53	55	56	57
non-Western	30	32	34	34	36	40	43	42	41	40	40	40	45
Turkish	21	21	22	26	26	33	34	34	33	35	34	33	38
Moroccan	15	23	24	22	19	26	32	34	31	30	33	29	37
Surinamese	45	48	54	54	55	59	57	56	55	56	53	56	61
Antillean	39	41	39	42	50	47	53	52	51	49	48	51	51
other non-Western	28	30	31	28	34	35	41	39	38	34	35	38	41
Total	45	47	49	51	52	53	53	53	53	53	53	55	57

* Old measurement method

** First and second generation immigrants

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline

Table A6.4: Number of working people by Ethnic Descent and gender (1996-2007)**

	1996*	1998*	2000*	2001*	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2007 1996=100
Native Dutch	5318	5617	5843	5892	5866	5859	5823	5735	5716	5848	5970	112
Western immigrant	546	587	625	635	631	633	634	633	632	641	652	119
Non-Western immigrant	318	384	449	494	524	542	544	551	570	585	638	201
Turkish	62	72	90	100	105	106	112	113	116	118	128	206
Moroccan	44	60	57	73	81	85	82	82	91	91	104	236
Surinamese	103	119	134	135	135	138	137	140	139	148	153	149
Antillean	27	31	40	43	45	48	48	49	51	52	54	200
Other non-Western immigrants	81	102	128	143	157	165	165	167	173	176	199	246
Total	6182	6587	6917	7021	7020	7035	7001	6919	6918	7074	7259	117

* Old measurement method

** First and second generation immigrants

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline

Table A6.5: Unemployment Rate by Ethnic Descent and gender (1996-2007)

	1996*	1997*	1998*	1999*	2000*	2001*	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total population													
Native Dutch	6	5	4	3	3	3	3	3	4	5	5	4	4
Of foreign descent	15	14	10	9	8	7	6	8	10	12	12	11	8
Western	10	9	7	5	5	5	5	5	7	8	8	7	6
non-Western	22	21	16	14	11	9	9	10	14	16	16	14	10
Turkish	24	22	16	13	9	8	8	10	13	15	15	14	9
Moroccan	28	22	20	16	13	10	9	10	18	19	19	16	11
Surinamese	15	14	12	10	9	7	7	7	10	12	14	11	8
Antillean	21	21	16	14	9	9	9	10	14	16	16	15	10
other non-Western	25	26	17	16	14	11	10	12	15	18	18	16	12
Total	8	7	5	4	4	4	4	4	5	7	7	6	5
Male													
Native Dutch	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	4	4	4	3	3
Of foreign descent	14	13	10	8	6	6	6	7	10	12	12	10	7
Western	8	8	5	4	3	3	3	5	6	7	7	6	5
non-Western	22	21	16	13	10	9	8	9	14	16	16	13	9
Turkish	23	21	15	12	8	8	7	8	11	14	13	11	8
Moroccan	26	24	20	16	12	8	7	10	18	18	18	14	10
Surinamese	13	13	12	10	7	8	7	6	9	13	12	9	8
Antillean	20	20	14	13	8	10	11	10	17	15	14	11	7
other non-Western	25	27	17	14	14	11	10	11	17	18	18	16	11
Total	6	5	4	3	3	3	3	3	5	6	6	5	4
Female													
Native Dutch	10	8	7	5	5	4	4	5	6	7	7	6	5
Of foreign descent	16	15	12	10	10	7	8	8	10	12	13	12	9
Western	12	11	9	7	8	6	6	6	8	9	9	8	7
non-Western	23	20	16	15	13	9	9	11	13	16	18	16	12
Turkish	27	24	18	14	12	7	10	12	17	18	17	20	11
Moroccan	34	17	19	17	16	15	13	11	17	21	20	19	14
Surinamese	16	14	12	11	11	5	7	8	10	12	15	13	8
Antillean	22	23	18	14	9	8	7	11	11	16	17	19	13
other non-Western	25	25	18	21	15	13	10	13	12	17	19	16	14
Total	11	9	7	6	5	5	5	5	6	8	8	7	6

* Old measurement method

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Statline

Table A6.6: Youth unemployment by Ethnic Descent and gender (1996-2007). Native Dutch versus non-western Immigrants

	1996*	1997*	1998*	1999*	2000*	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total population												
Native Dutch	11	9	7	7	6	6	7	9	12	11	9	8
Western countries	17	15	12	8	9	9	11	11	17	14	12	11
non-Western countries	35	28	23	16	15	15	16	20	24	27	22	15
Male												
Native Dutch	10	8	7	6	5	6	8	9	11	10	8	7
Western countries	21	19	12	.	7	7	12	14	19	14	11	12
non-Western countries	36	31	28	14	13	16	18	22	24	26	19	15
Female												
Native Dutch	12	10	8	8	7	7	7	10	12	12	10	9
Western countries	15	11	12	9	12	12	9	9	15	15	12	11
non-Western countries	34	25	18	18	17	12	12	19	24	28	25	16

* Old measurement method

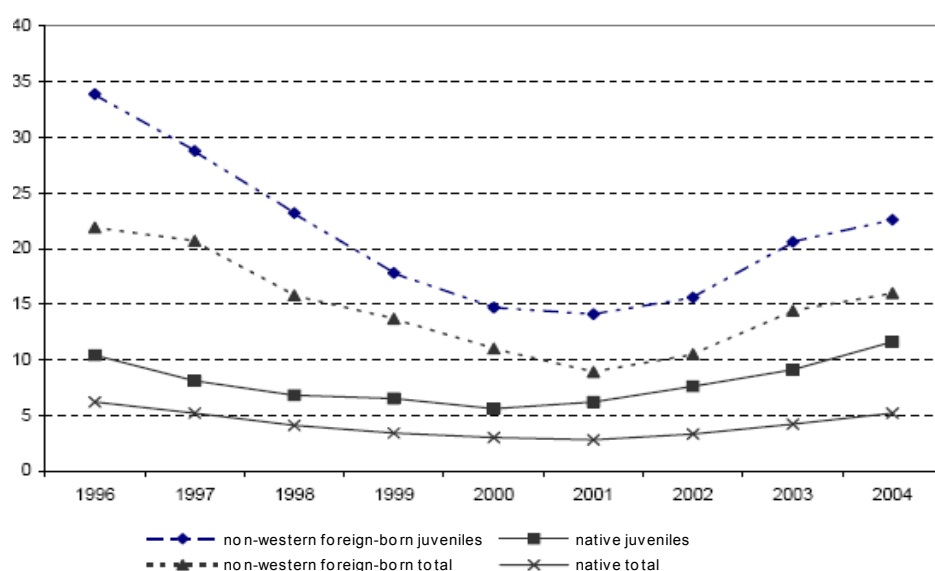
Source: Netherlands Statistics, Statline

Table A6.7: Net Labour Participation and unemployment Rate of native Dutch and new immigrant groups' (2003) (2004/2005 not available)

	net labour participation			unemployment		
	male	female	total	male	female	total
native Dutch	76	56	67	4	6	5
Yugoslavia (former)	58	39	49	20	21	20
Iraq	35	15	28	40	31	39
Afghanistan	38	10	27	34	50	37
Iran	52	32	43	25	25	25
Somalia	40	9	26	34	44	36

Source: SCP, WODC, CBS, Jaarrapport integratie

Figure A6.1: Unemployment rates of native Dutch population and non-Western immigrants (both total population and juveniles) (1996-2004) (2005 not available)



Chapter 7 **Social embeddedness and immigrant entrepreneurs: examining the importance of informal and formal networks in running a business**

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Abstract

The embeddedness of entrepreneurs in social networks is of crucial importance for entrepreneurs in general and for immigrant entrepreneurs in particular. Several studies have shown that the embeddedness in informal social networks, consisting mainly of family members and friends, are of crucial importance for the formation and maintenance of immigrant firms (Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward 1990, 35). These informal social networks are often seen as a compensation for the lack of outside or formal networks as immigrant entrepreneurs are less capable of finding their way in the bureaucratic web in order to get a subsidy, bank loan or assistance with setting up the business than native entrepreneurs. Yet, it is to be questioned whether this applies to second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs. Based on in-depth interviews with 252 first and second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs, this paper examines the importance of social networks - both formal and informal - in running a business, in the course of which a comparison is made between first and second-generation immigrants. The results of this paper show that the second generation has better access to formal organizations and institutions, compared to the first generation.

Keywords: mixed embeddedness, immigrant entrepreneurs, second generation, social networks, the Netherlands

7.1 Introduction

Networks of immigrant entrepreneurs often consist of people from their own ethnic group and seldom include shopkeepers' associations or trade associations. In running their business, immigrant entrepreneurs rely heavily on family and community networks (EIM 2004, 45).

Studies on immigrant entrepreneurship often highlight the importance of 'social' networks. More specific, as the above quotation illustrates, it is often stated that it is the family and co-ethnic community that lie at the heart of the social networks of immigrant businesses (*cf.* Fadahunsi, Smallbone and Supri 2000, 229). By making use of family loans immigrant entrepreneurs are able to set up their business and manage to survive because they can rely on low-paid or unpaid family labour (Kloosterman, Van der Leun and Rath 1998).

However, the fact that immigrant entrepreneurs fall back on these co-ethnic and/or family networks is partially seen as a compensation for the lack of outside or formal networks and other resources (*cf.* Gold 1995; Hagan, MacMillan and Wheaton 1996; Portes 1998, 14). Immigrant entrepreneurs are less capable of finding their way in the bureaucratic web in order to get a subsidy, bank loan or assistance with setting up the business than native entrepreneurs (Wolff and Rath 2000). It is, however, important for entrepreneurs to have access to these institutions and organizations as they provide professional and mutual assistance and may also furnish a common set of largely unwritten rules with respect to business practises (Kloosterman, Van der Leun and Rath 1998).

Yet, the fact that immigrant entrepreneurs seek business advice and support from their own social network instead of the formal business support system is based on experiences of first-generation immigrant entrepreneurs. However, in the Netherlands, a growing number of second-generation immigrants choose to become self-employed (EIM 2004; Van den Tillaart 2007). Little is known about these second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs as much of the international literature has tended to focus on first-generation immigrants in self-employment²⁰.

One might assume, however, that as the second generation is born and/or raised in the receiving society and are often better educated and integrated

²⁰ Exceptions are, among a few others, the work by Andersson (2007), Hout and Rosen (2000), Dunn and Holtz-Eakin (2000), EIM (2004) and Van den Tillaart 2007.

in the receiving society than the first generation, they are more likely to possess the right skills to have access to and acquire scarce resources from formal organizations and networks, such as banks, governmental and business and other non-governmental organizations (see Portes 1987; Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward 1990, 35). Whether this assumption is correct will be examined in this paper.

The paper is based on a longitudinal study among 252 first and second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands (see Rusinovic 2006). In this paper the second generation is defined as those immigrants who were born in the Netherlands, with at least one immigrant parent, or who had arrived before the age of twelve (i.e., before commencing secondary school)²¹.

Before the results are discussed in section 4, the next section will elaborate on the theoretical framework. A brief sketch of the study and research population is given in section 3.

7.2 Immigrant entrepreneurship and mixed embeddedness

Together with the rise of the number of immigrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands, the number of studies on immigrant entrepreneurs increased as well. For a long time, studies on immigrant entrepreneurship - which were mainly conducted by social scientists - tended to focus on the ethno-cultural characteristics of the entrepreneurs (Rath and Kloosterman 2000, 1). According to Rath and Kloosterman (*ibid.*), 'in doing so, they reduced immigrant entrepreneurship to an ethno-cultural phenomenon existing within an economic and institutional vacuum'. Yet, as Kloosterman and Rath (2003, ii) note, the broader politico-institutional context is quintessential when one wants to engage in cross-border comparisons with different opportunity structures. Therefore, in addition to the embeddedness concept Kloosterman, Van der Leun and Rath (1999) introduced the concept of 'mixed

²¹ This is a broader definition than is often used in the Netherlands. It is more common to define second-generation immigrants as having been born in the Netherlands, with at least one immigrant parent, or having arrived in the Netherlands before the age of six. In other countries such as the US, however, immigrants who came to the US by the age of 12 are frequently regarded as second-generation immigrants as well (see for example Portes and Rumbaut 2001:23, Kibria 2002:295). Apart from the fact that the definition is in accordance with relevant international literature, another reason why I decided on this broad definition was that the entrepreneurs considered themselves of the second generation, whilst their parents, who often came as guest workers, are considered to be the first-generation immigrants in the Netherlands. However, most of the second-generation immigrants fall within the strict definition of the second generation: 52 were born in the Netherlands and 26 arrived in the Netherlands before the age of six.

embeddedness'.²² By introducing this concept they argue that immigrant entrepreneurship should be studied within the wider social, economic and politico-institutional context. It is, for example, insufficient to exclusively look for socio-economic or cultural explanations for the rate of participation in entrepreneurship of a particular group of immigrants. This participation rate is influenced by the economic context, as opportunities for immigrants who want to start a business may arise through structural changes in the economy (Kloosterman 2001, 4). For example, processes such as outsourcing by consumers and firms, as well as a shift in the direction of more flexible ways of production, created more openings for small businesses in the Netherlands, as well as in other countries (Kloosterman 2003). Also, national institutions, laws, rules and regulations enable or hamper businesses coming into existence (Kloosterman and Rath 2001). To illustrate, since the 1980s successive Dutch governments have promoted self-employment in general and that of immigrants in particular, in order to reduce high unemployment rates among immigrants in specific, mainly caused by the loss of industrial employment (Kloosterman 2003, 168). To stimulate self-employment a number of rules and regulations with regard to starting and setting up a business were abolished in the Netherlands. This 'deregulation policy' increased the possibilities of entering markets for new businesses considerably (OECD 1992, 2000). Further, between 1995 and 2000, about 80 programs and policies were specially directed at small and medium enterprises and about 100 more general policies were aimed at improving the general business climate in the Netherlands (Tweede Kamer der Staten Generaal 2001, 34; Kloosterman 2003, 174). The 'politico-institutional context' and the wider policy context is therefore a key element in any analysis of immigrant entrepreneurship, incorporated within a mixed embeddedness perspective (Ram 2003, 102).

The underlying principle of the mixed embeddedness concept is that in order to be able to understand the growth and dynamics of self-employment, actors or entrepreneurs should be studied using a multilevel approach which encompasses the crucial interplay between the actor (micro), networks and markets (meso), and the politico-institutional (macro) context (Kloosterman, Van der Leun and Rath 1999).

The main focus of this paper is on the *meso level*. The meso-level includes the broader socio-economic contexts in which the entrepreneurs are

²² The mixed embeddedness approach is explored and used for the (inter) national research project Immigrant Self-Employment, Mixed Embeddedness and the Multicultural City, of which this dissertation project is part.

embedded. It concerns the markets and social networks in which the entrepreneurs operate. The paper uses a broadly based definition of networks that focuses on the exploitation of both formal and informal relationships for acquiring scarce resources (*cf.* Fadahunsi, Smallbone and Supri 2000, 228). In this paper, *formal social networks* are defined as business relations with formal institutions such as banks or governmental organizations (*cf.* Granovetter 1995; Fadahunsi, Smallbone and Supri 2000). *Informal social networks* on the contrary are defined as business relations with friends, family members and/or informal institutions (*ibid.*).

As stated in the previous section, the assumption is that second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs have better access to and are better capable of acquiring scarce resources from formal social networks, compared to the first generation. To test this assumption, the paper considers the role of formal and informal social networks in raising financial capital, recruiting labour, as well as accessing business support (*cf.* Fadahunsi, Smallbone and Supri 2000, 228). More specifically, I will examine whether immigrant entrepreneurs obtain these scarce resources via formal and/or informal social networks, and if and how this differs between first and second-generation immigrants. In answering these questions, the sector in which the entrepreneurs are active will be included. In the past decade immigrants set up businesses in other than traditional sectors (EIM 2004, 19). More often immigrant entrepreneurs start a businesses in the producer or business-to business sector, instead of a business in the retail or hotel and catering industry (Van den Tillaart 2007). As the type of economic activities clearly differs between these sectors, one might assume that differences in business sector lead to different support needs for entrepreneurs (Rath 2002, 12; Ram and Smallbone 2003, 153). Therefore, in examining the formal and informal networks, the sector in which the entrepreneurs are active is included in the analysis as well.

Exploration of the macro context, such as the impact of the welfare state regime on immigrant entrepreneurship, is left out, as this paper only focuses on immigrant entrepreneurs in The Netherlands and, hence, more or less in one institutional setting. However, embeddedness in the Dutch politico-institutional context may also refer to membership in organizations such as associations of shop-owners and business associations, or the access immigrant entrepreneurs have to banks and governmental or non-governmental organizations stimulating entrepreneurship (*cf.* Kloosterman, Van der Leun and Rath 1999, 259). As stated by Ram and Smallbone (2003, 152) direct support measures, such as financial support and those providing

soft support, such as information, advice and training are just part of a range of government policies that can impact on small businesses. Therefore, in this paper the extent to which entrepreneurs have access to and acquire scarce resources from formal organizations and networks, such as banks, governmental and business and other non-governmental organizations will be analyzed. By examining these formal networks, it is possible to examine the politico-institutional context in which the entrepreneurs are embedded from a meso-perspective.

7.3 Study object and research population

Since the late 1980s the number of immigrant entrepreneurs has sharply risen in the Netherlands. In less than 15 years - between 1989 and 2002 - the number of non-Western immigrant entrepreneurs has more than tripled (EIM 2004). Between 1999 and 2002, the total number of entrepreneurs in the Netherlands increased from 925,800 to 967,500 (see Table 1). Within this period, the highest increase was among non-Western immigrants, compared to native and Western entrepreneurs. The number of non-Western entrepreneurs increased from 34,000 in 1999 to 44,700 in 2002, which is an increase of 3.1%. Among Western immigrants the number of entrepreneurs increased from 72,600 to 77,300 (0.6%) and among native Dutch the number of entrepreneurs increased with 0.3%.

Table 7.1 Development of numbers of entrepreneurs in the Netherlands, 1999-2002

Year	Native entrepreneurs	Non-Western immigrant entrepreneurs	Western immigrant entrepreneurs	Total
1999	819, 200	34, 000	72, 600	925, 800
2000	835, 100	36, 700	74, 800	946, 600
2001	853, 400	41, 700	77, 800	972, 900
2002	845, 600	44, 700	77, 300	967, 500

Source: EIM (2004, 14)

Among non-Western immigrant entrepreneurs, there is an increasing group of second-generation immigrants. In 2002, out of the 44,700 immigrant entrepreneurs, more than 5,000 were born in the Netherlands but one of their parents stems from a non-Western country (EIM 2004). This number would increase by at least 3,000, if those immigrants who were not born in the Netherlands but arrived before the age of six would be defined as the second generation as well. Moreover, according to Van den Tillaart (2007, 79) there were about 17,000 non-Western second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands in 2006.

However, among both first and second generation non-Western immigrants the 'self-employment rate', which means the number of entrepreneurs as percentage of the labour force, lags behind both Western immigrants as well as native Dutch (EIM 2004, 15). Among the native Dutch 9.2% of the labour force population chooses to become an entrepreneur, whereas among non-Western immigrants this percentage is 4.1%. Nevertheless, between 1999 and 2003 the self-employment rate increased more rapidly among non-Western immigrants than among native Dutch and Western immigrants (see EIM 2004, 15). Also, the self-employment rate among second-generation immigrants falls behind first generation and native Dutch entrepreneurs. Yet, it is to be expected that the share of entrepreneurs among second-generation immigrants will increase in the coming years as the number of second-generation immigrants who reach the age that becoming an entrepreneur is a realistic option, is quickly increasing (Van den Tillaart 2001, 26).

In absolute numbers the largest groups of immigrant entrepreneurs, among both the first as well as the second generation, originate from Turkey and Surinam (see EIM 2004; Van den Tillaart 2007). Although the hotel and catering industry is still most popular among the first generation, the percentage has declined considerably. In 1989, more than 40% of the immigrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands chose a business in the catering industry. In 2005, about one-fifth of the first generation is active in the hotel and catering industry (see Table 2).

As can be read from Table 2 the second generation is predominantly represented in the business-to-business or producer services sector²³; in 2005 one-third of the second generation start a business in this sector. As a result, the sectoral distribution of the second generation has become more similar to the native Dutch entrepreneurs than the first generation (Van den Tillaart 2007).

²³ Businesses in the business or producer services provide non-tangible goods to other businesses. According to Esping-Andersen (1999:105) this sector includes 'finance, insurance, real estate and business-related professional services, such as accounting, consulting, marketing, engineering, or design, most of which employ a high quotient of technical, professional and managerial jobs'.

Table 7.2 Sectoral distribution among first and second-generation immigrant as well as Dutch entrepreneurs, 1995-2005 (in percentages)

Sector	First generation		Second generation		Native Dutch	
	1995	2005	1995	2005	1995	2005
Agriculture / forestry	1	2	1	1	4	4
Industry	4	3	4	2	6	5
Building industry	1	6	5	8	10	13
Trade and reparation business	3	4	3	4	4	4
Wholesale	21	14	17	10	14	11
Retail trade	19	18	17	15	19	15
Hotel and catering industry	29	21	10	8	6	5
Transportation, communication	2	4	2	6	4	3
Producer services	12	18	28	29	23	29
Personal services	7	10	14	16	10	11
Total	100=	100=	100=	100=	100=	100=
	22, 610	40, 415	1, 270	9, 240	421, 000	555, 000

Source: Based on Van den Tillaart (2007, 10)

However, little is known about these second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs, other than what is contained in these quantitative data. Therefore, the study on which this paper is based tries to fill this gap in the literature by focusing on both first and second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs (see Rusinovic 2006).

Research population

The data of this study is based on empirical data collected for the *Mixed Embeddedness project* (Kloosterman, Van der Leun and Rath 1999). In the period 2001-2003, in total 252 entrepreneurs were interviewed for the first time, among them 115 second and 137 first-generation immigrants. As a sample selection was not possible or useful, different strategies were used to trace the entrepreneurs. The fieldwork started in 2000 with interviewing 53 key-informants. These key-informants, who are employed by organizations that render support to (immigrant) entrepreneurs, introduced us to entrepreneurs (n=56).

Another strategy to find entrepreneurs was the 'snowball method'. More than 60 respondents were contacted through this strategy. Furthermore, 12 respondents were approached by attending meetings. These meetings varied from meetings especially aimed at immigrant entrepreneurs, to entrepreneurs in general or second-generation immigrants. The meetings were mainly organised to give would be entrepreneurs practical information on being self-employed. Other strategies were surveying streets with high concentrations of immigrant entrepreneurs and calling in on their shops (n=42). Also, 40 respondents were selected at random from a directory or 'yellow pages'. A few of these entrepreneurs (n=12) were selected from the 'Turkish yellow pages'. Turkish entrepreneurs from different European countries, such as the Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, are included in this

directory. In addition, some entrepreneurs were found through the Internet (n=8), mainly through a Moroccan, Surinamese or Turkish web page on which the entrepreneurs promote their business.

The research population is limited to entrepreneurs who migrated from non-Western countries. The largest group of entrepreneurs have a Turkish or Surinamese background, which corresponds to national figures on immigrant entrepreneurship among the first and second generation (see EIM 2004; Van den Tillaart 2007). The entrepreneurs are active in the four largest cities in the Netherlands: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. These cities were selected as the research location before the fieldwork started, as both immigrants as well as their businesses are highly concentrated in these cities and the rise of immigrant entrepreneurship has been most prominent there.

Also, four sectors were selected in which the entrepreneurs had to be active: the hairdressing, hotel and catering industry, wholesale food business, and business-to-business (or producer services) sector (see Table 3). These four sectors are popular among first and/or second-generation immigrants (Van den Tillaart 2001). Furthermore, they represent not only traditional sectors in which immigrant entrepreneurs are active, such as the hotel and catering industry, but also take into account the shift among immigrants to other sectors, such as producer services.

Table 7.3 Generation, by sector (n=252)

	First generation		Second generation		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
B2B, including:	38	28	57	50	95	38
- Computer/Internet activities	7	5	13	11	20	8
- Consultancies	9	6	8	7	17	7
- Employment offices	8	6	5	4	13	5
- Administration/accountancy	7	5	5	4	12	5
- Marketing/advertising	2	2	4	4	6	2
- Organising events	1	1	4	4	5	2
- Insurance companies	-	-	4	4	4	2
- Other activities	4	3	14	12	18	7
Hairdressing	34	25	21	18	55	22
Catering	32	23	22	19	54	21
Wholesale food	32	23	10	9	42	17
Other	1	1	5	4	6	2
Total	137	100	115	100	252	100

Moreover, between 2003 and 2005 85 entrepreneurs were interviewed at least a second time. Fifteen of these entrepreneurs were interviewed a third time or more. Finally, I conducted a telephone survey in the months of June and July, 2005, with nearly all respondents in order to have a complete update of the entrepreneurs and their businesses.

7.4 Acquiring scarce resources

In this section, the role of formal and informal social networks in raising financial capital, recruiting labour, as well as accessing business support will be examined. As stated in section 2, in examining the networks, the business sector is included in the analysis as well, as differences in sector might lead to different support needs (Rath 2002, 12; Ram and Smallbone 2003, 153).

Financial capital

In general, access to finance is one of the most challenging problems for both native as well as immigrant entrepreneurs (Barrett *et al.* 2002, 24; Ram and Smallbone 2003, 154). Yet several research projects have suggested that immigrant entrepreneurs face additional barriers (*ibid.*). This may explain why immigrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands appeal less often to financial institutions such as banks, compared to native Dutch. Instead, immigrant entrepreneurs depend more often on informal family loans (Wolff and Rath 2000).

Based on the existing literature it remains uncertain however whether the above applies to second-generation immigrants as well, or whether the second generation is better capable to make an appeal to financial institutions, compared to the first generation. To answer this question, a distinction was made between formal and informal way(s) of financing the start of the business. The classification 'formal financing' was used for entrepreneurs who received their financial capital via banks or other financial/governmental institutions, whereas informal financing is defined as a loan from family, friends and/or acquaintances. In Table 4 the results of this analysis are given.

Table 7.4 Generation by financing (n=239)

	First generation		Second generation		Total	
	n	%	N	%	n	%
Formal financing	16	13	27	24	43	18
Informal financing	63	50	44	40	107	45
Mix of formal and informal financing	12	9	6	5	18	8
Exclusively private means	36	28	35	31	71	30
Total	127	100	112	100	239	100

p < 0.05 (private means not included), (Phi & Cramer's V = 0.21)

As Table 2 shows, informal financing is most popular among both first and second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs. Yet, the importance of receiving financial capital through formal networks has increased considerably among the second generation. Almost one-third of the second generation formally financed the start, sometimes in combination with informal financing.

A case in point is Hammadi. Hammadi was born in Morocco, but migrated to the Netherlands at the age of eight, through family-reunification. After he finished his study in business administration Hammadi worked for an international company as a business developer. At the same time, he developed his own business plan. Hammadi wanted to open a business specializing in giving integration courses for immigrants. To finance the start of his business he wrote a business plan and successfully requested for a loan by a bank.

However, not every entrepreneur received a loan directly for his or her business, or business plan. Eighteen entrepreneurs were issued a private loan or an extra mortgage on their house. Gülten, for example, took over a hairdressing salon in Amsterdam twelve years ago, with her sister. During the interview Gülten told how she and her sister financed the start of their business:

At first we could not get a loan from the bank because we had to show that the business made profit and that was not the case.

So we asked for a private loan because our husbands have a permanent job. With this money we financed the start.

A part from the entrepreneurs who managed to get a loan from the bank or other financial institutions, 39 entrepreneurs - 28 first generation and 11 second-generation immigrants - applied for a loan but their request was rejected. According to these respondents, one of the main reason for the refusal by financial institutions was the choice of business sector. This outcome is confirmed by Ram and Smallbone (2003, 153), who note that the difficulties immigrant entrepreneurs experience with external financing is partly related to differences in sectoral orientation. If the sector in which the entrepreneurs are active is included, it appears that among both first and second-generation immigrants formal ways of financing the start are least popular in the wholesale business. Only 20% of the entrepreneurs in the wholesale industry formally financed the start, whereas among both first and second-generation entrepreneurs in the other business sectors this percentage has increased to over 40%. To illustrate, the following respondent tried to get a subsidy from the government via the 'BBZ-regeling'²⁴ to set up a business in the wholesale food industry. Their main business activity is the import of fruit juices from Egypt. As they both lived on social welfare, they

²⁴ 'BBZ-regeling' stands for 'Besluit Bijstandsverlening Zelfstandigen', which can be translated as Act for Benefit Grants for Self-Employment'

hoped to get a subsidy (the 'BBZ-regeling') from the government for the start of their business:

I: How did you finance the start of the business?

R: Well, we had to borrow money from family members as we did not get a grant [the 'BBZ-regeling'] from social welfare. With the family capital we were able to import a container of fruit juices, which we tried to sell to other entrepreneurs.

I: Do you know why you did not receive the grant from social welfare?

R: In their opinion, the business plan looked good but the wholesale industry has a very low margin of profit. So they were afraid that we would not make it with that profit margin.

Entrepreneurs who are not able to formally finance the start have to turn to informal ways of financing the start of their business. However, some entrepreneurs immediately asked for a loan from a family member as they were sure their request would be rejected. Most of the entrepreneurs who used informal networks to finance the start mentioned the advantages of informal financing, such as no or low interest rates, or a flexible repayment schedule (see also De Jong 1988). A few entrepreneurs mentioned cultural or religious considerations. Especially some Muslim entrepreneurs indicated that they are not allowed to receive a loan from the bank according to Islam (*cf.* Taner 2002). The following quotation comes from the interview with Rachid, a Turkish entrepreneur who runs an administration office in Rotterdam. About his motivation for not asking for a loan from banks he explained:

I did not go to a bank because of my faith. I am not allowed to borrow money from a bank. It has to do with the payment of interest. Therefore, I will never ask for a loan from the bank. I started my business with private means and a loan from friends, instead.

The above makes it clear that informal way(s) of financing the start are still most popular among both first and second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs. The second generation differs on this aspect from native Dutch entrepreneurs who – after private means – most often appeal to banks for a loan (Wolff and Rath 2000). Yet, there is a significant difference between the first and second generation with regard to financing the start of

the business. As the results show, formal way(s) of financing the start have increased in importance among second-generation immigrants, in comparison to the first generation. This outcome seems to indicate that second-generation immigrants have better access to and are better capable to successfully present proposals to banks compared to the first generation (*cf.* Bruderl, Preisendorf and Ziegler 1992, cited in Barrett et al. 2002: 26). Yet, the sector in which the entrepreneurs are active is important to include as well; both first- and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs in the wholesale food industry rarely succeed in receiving financial capital through formal organizations.

Access to business support services

Social networks are not only of importance for financing the start of the business but are an important information source as well (Light, Bhachu and Karageorgis 1993, 38). As stated in the first section, immigrant entrepreneurs rely on mainstream business support agencies or other professional organizations less often than native entrepreneurs do; they are rarely organised in any formal entrepreneurial networks (EIM 2004, 66; Ministerie van Economische zaken 2005). Instead, immigrant entrepreneurs often rely on self-help and informal resources of assistance, such as the business owner's own social network (Ram and Smallbone 2003, 155; Fadahunsi, Smallbone and Supri 2000, 235). Yet, as stated by Kloosterman, Van der Leun and Rath (1998) entrance to agencies, institutions or networks of this sort is important for entrepreneurs in the Netherlands, with its corporatist legacy.

In this section, the access to business support services will be examined and whether there is a difference between the first and second generation. To examine the access to business support services, the entrepreneurs were asked whether they received assistance from governmental or non-governmental organizations in setting up their business. In the Netherlands there are all kinds of organizations that assist aspiring entrepreneurs with the start of their business. These organizations vary from the Chamber of Commerce to consultancy agencies. Some of these organizations are exclusively aimed at immigrant entrepreneurs, others at entrepreneurs in general. Second, the entrepreneurs were asked if they are a member of professional business organizations, such as entrepreneurial, employers, trading or shopkeepers' associations.

Table 7.5 Access to business support services (n=244)

	First generation		Second generation		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	60	45	66	59	126	51
No	72	55	46	41	118	49
Total	132	100	112	100	244	100

($p < 0.05$) (Phi & Cramer's V = 0.13)

As can be seen from Table 5 there is a significant difference between the first and second-generation immigrants. Almost 60% of the second generation has access to business support services, whereas among the first generation this is less than 50%.

As stated before, one can assume that the importance of business support services depends on the sector in which the entrepreneur is active. If we include the sector in which the entrepreneurs are active, it appears that business support services are most popular among entrepreneurs in the producer services and least popular among entrepreneurs in the hairdressing sector. In the hairdressing sector only 38% of the entrepreneurs asked for support and/or are a member of a professional business association.

However, within these sectors the differences between the first and second generation continue to exist. To illustrate, within the producer services 61% of the first generation has access to business support services, whereas among the second generation this percentage has increased to 72%.

As can be read from Table 5, more than half of the entrepreneurs have access to business support services. However, some entrepreneurs, complained about the help they received from, or how they were treated by the organizations. Entrepreneurs who were negative about the assistance they got gave two main reasons. First, some respondents had the feeling that they were not taken seriously by the organization (*cf.* Fadahunsi, Smallbone and Supri 2000, 237). A case in point is Dianthus. At the age of five, Dianthus migrated with his family from Cape Verde to the Netherlands. In 1998, he decided to start a travel agency. His travel agency specialises in flights to Cape Verde. In addition to his travel agency Dianthus wanted to take over a hairdressing salon for his wife, who is a hairdresser by profession. He told us about his experiences with the information desk of the Chamber of Commerce:

The person I spoke to at this information desk was very discouraging. It was like, "you should not start a hairdressing salon". So I left there as fast as I could. After that conversation I had the feeling that it was useless to ask for help. It really seemed as if they wanted to discourage me from starting a

business in this sector, but that was something I really wanted to do. So I did not ask for any support elsewhere. I just started the business.

Another reason mentioned by the entrepreneurs to be negative about the support, was that the assistance and information from the organizations did not meet the standards and wishes of the entrepreneurs well enough. Martin, for example, was born and raised in Rotterdam. His parents migrated from Surinam at the beginning of the 1970s. In 2002, together with his wife, Martin started a business which specialises in organising events. Before Martin opened his business he asked for assistance from a consultancy agency. He had to pay 1,500 euro for the business advice he received. However, according to Martin, the advice was of no use. In the opinion of Martin these organizations 'are aimed at low-skilled first-generation immigrants and not at people who finished their higher vocational education' (see also Ram 1997).

About half of the respondents did not ask for assistance from any organization at all. Several entrepreneurs - and these are mainly second-generation immigrants - have heard about their existence and the help they can receive from these organizations, but make a conscious decision to stay away from business support programs. These entrepreneurs are of the opinion that they do not need access to these formal networks, as they managed to start their business without any outside assistance and are capable of gathering relevant information themselves (*cf.* Fadahunsi, Smallbone and Supri 2000 2000, 235). For some it is almost a matter of honour. A woman who runs a consultancy firm in Utrecht says:

I try to stay away from it. It does not appeal to me. I have chosen to be an entrepreneur to avoid patronising and I do not fancy spending my time at the counter.

A main reason given by first-generation immigrant entrepreneurs for not asking for help from business support services or being a member of a business network, is that they feel excluded from 'mainstream' organizations because of a language barrier (*ibid.*). A key-informant explains:

Immigrants do not feel themselves at home at shopkeepers' associations because during a meeting they cannot, for example, pose a question, as they do not speak the language well enough.

If they do not understand what the discussion is about or they cannot discuss their problems, there is no need for these entrepreneurs to become a member.

The above quotation stresses the 'flip-side' of embeddedness, namely the fact that networks can be exclusive as well, as certain factors such as a language barrier can exclude immigrants. According to Esping-Andersen (1990, 61) one of the unifying principles of a corporatist country such as the Netherlands is exclusive or monopolised membership of organizations. To overcome these kinds of barriers, there are several membership-based business organizations established in the Netherlands to represent the interest of particular ethnic groups (*cf.* Ram and Smallbone 2003, 152). Often these organizations are founded by second-generation immigrants as they notice that first-generation immigrants are excluded from certain mainstream networks, due to language or other barriers. Amina, for example, was born and raised in Utrecht. Together with her husband, she runs a real estate agency. As she noticed that Moroccan entrepreneurs were hardly organized, she decided to start a Moroccan entrepreneurial association, together with other Moroccan entrepreneurs. They managed to set up one of the first Moroccan entrepreneurial associations in the Netherlands.

These kinds of immigrant networks or associations are important, as these networks provide immigrants with a source of professional contacts and networks (Saxenian 1999, 31-32). Also these immigrant business associations can be a useful stepping stone for immigrants to become a member of a mainstream association.

Recruiting Personnel

It is often stated that immigrant entrepreneurs rely heavily upon family, kin, and co-ethnics for cheap labour (Kloosterman, Van der Leun and Rath 1998; Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward 1990, 141). In this section the way(s) in which the entrepreneurs recruit their personnel are examined. A distinction is made between formal and informal ways. Formal ways to find personnel include employment agencies, advertisements, Internet, schools and/or other authorities. An informal way to find personnel is through the entrepreneurs' own network (see also Zorlu 1998, 145).

Table 7.6 Recruitment of paid personnel versus generation (n=139)

	First generation		Second generation		Total	
Formal strategy	13	16%	14	24%	27	19%
Informal strategy	52	65%	32	54%	84	60%
Mix of formal and informal strategies	15	19%	13	22%	28	21%
Total	80	100	59	100	139	100%

(Not significant)

As can be seen from Table 6, both first and second-generation immigrants prefer to recruit personnel through their own network. Often this is a matter of trust. Kin Ping and Soesja, for example, are a Chinese couple who were both born and raised in the Netherlands. After they finished their studies at university they decided that they both preferred to take over the family business, a wholesale food and retail outlet in Amsterdam. They always recruit their personnel via informal networks, as they have a clear preference for working with family members, and if necessary with friends and/or acquaintances:

I: Why do you work with family members?

R: It is just more convenient to work with family members as you can rely on them. For example, you can trust them behind the cash desk. Therefore, we prefer to have family members behind the cash desk.

Another example is Osman. Osman runs a computer business in Rotterdam. He recruits his personnel through friends or acquaintances. The main advantage of this informal way of recruiting personnel is, according to Osman, that 'there is a relationship based on mutual trust'. Further, hiring co-ethnics, friends and family members not only has the advantage of greater trust, but also reduces the chance that workers will quit (see Flap, Kumcu and Bulder 2000, 154).

Yet, although hiring family, friends or co-ethnics has several advantages, it has some constraints as well (see Waldinger 1986, 34-37, 160-164; Flap, Kumcu and Bulder 2000, 154). It is for example much more difficult for an entrepreneur to treat a family member or friend in an impersonal manner. Also, they cannot be pressed as hard as other employees (*ibid.*). Abdeliah, who was 21 years old when he migrated, due to family reunification, from Morocco to the Netherlands explains:

I: You do not work with family members at all?

R: No, that was a well-thought through decision.

I: Why was that?

R: The moment you have family members in your business the relationship between the employee and the employer gets disturbed.

If the sector is included in the analysis, it appears that recruiting personnel via informal social networks is most popular among both first and second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs in the wholesale and catering industry. Over two-thirds of the entrepreneurs in these sectors find their personnel through informal networks, whereas less than 50% of the entrepreneurs in the business-to-business sector informally recruited their personnel. This can be explained by the qualifications requested for the job. In general, personnel in the business-to-business sector is higher educated as the jobs are often more specialized. The following quotation comes from an interview with a Surinamese entrepreneur who owns an accountancy office in Amsterdam:

I: How do you find your personnel?

R: Like a "real Dutchman", through advertisements.

I: Why?

R: As an accountancy office you cannot work with family members or temporary personnel or something like that. You need qualified workers'.

In sum, more than the first generation, second-generation immigrants hire personnel through formal networks. However, both first and second-generation immigrants prefer to recruit their personnel through their own informal social networks.

7.5 Embeddedness in (in)formal social networks

In the previous sections the extent to which entrepreneurs use formal or informal networks to acquire financial capital, information and/or personnel are examined. In this final empirical section, an overview is provided in which the preceding outcomes are included (see Table 7). The category 'informal network' consists of entrepreneurs who acquired the scarce resources of financial capital, business information and/or labour via informal networks. This is in contrast to the entrepreneurs who acquired these resources via their embeddedness in 'formal networks', and who are included in the second category. The last category, 'mixed network', consists of entrepreneurs who

acquired some of the scarce resources via their embeddedness in formal, and other resources via their embeddedness in informal networks.

Table 7.7 Generation by formal/informal networks²⁵ (n=209)

	First generation		Second generation		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Informal network	50	43	24	26	74	35
Formal network	9	8	15	16	26	13
Mixed network	57	49	52	58	109	53
Total	116	100	91	100	209	100

(p<0.05) (Phi & Cramer's V =0.16)

The results demonstrate that the first generation is significantly more often embedded in informal social networks than the second generation. More than 40% of the first generation exclusively uses informal networks to acquire scarce resources. Among the second generation this is less than 30%. Furthermore, Table 7 shows that almost three-quarters of the second generation are (partially) embedded in formal networks, whereas among the first generation this is less than 60%.

Yet, most first and second-generation entrepreneurs have a 'mixed network', which means that they are embedded in both formal as well as informal networks. This corresponds to the observation of Misztal (2000, 118) and Putnam (2000) that formal and informal social networks are not mutually exclusive options but complement each other. The largest group of entrepreneurs, who have a 'mixed network', are comprised of entrepreneurs who received relevant information via enterprise-assistance agencies and/or are a member of entrepreneurial networks, but acquired their personnel or financed their business start through their embeddedness in informal networks (n=42). This can be explained by the fact that these resources require considerable trust (see also Flap, Kumcu and Bulder 2000; Greve and Salaff 2003).

This outcome indicates that although the embeddedness in formal networks has increased among the second generation, this does not mean that the importance of embeddedness in informal networks has disappeared with succeeding generations. To conclude, in Table 7.8 the sector is included in the analysis.

²⁵ The table only includes entrepreneurs for whom data was available on how they acquired at least two of the three scarce resources.

Table 7.8 (In)formal networks versus generation and sector (n=203)

	Informal network	Formal network	Mixed network	Total
First generation				
B2b	7 (25%)	4 (14%)	17 (61%)	28 (100%)
Hairdressing	12 (40%)	4 (13%)	15 (48%)	31 (100%)
Catering	16 (57%)	1 (4%)	11 (40%)	28 (100%)
Wholesale	14 (50%)	-	14 (50%)	29 (100%)
Total	49 (43%)	9 (8%)	57 (49%)	115 (100%)
Second generation				
B2b	4 (14%)	7 (19%)	25 (68%)	37 (100%)
Hairdressing	7 (33%)	5 (24%)	9 (43%)	21 (100%)
Catering	8 (36%)	1 (5%)	13 (60%)	22 (100%)
Wholesale	4 (50%)	1 (13%)	3 (38%)	8 (100%)
Total	24 (27%)	14 (16%)	50 (57%)	88 (100%)

As can be read from the above table, 50% of the entrepreneurs who are active in the wholesale food industry are embedded in informal networks, whereas over 60% of the entrepreneurs in the producer services are embedded in mixed networks. The outcomes indicate that including the sector is important as the type of networks entrepreneurs depend on differ between the sectors. However, within each of these different sectors, among the second generation the importance of informal networks has diminished and formal networks increased, in comparison to the first generation. To conclude, the results of this paper show that second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs have better access to and are better capable of acquiring scarce resources from formal organizations compared to the first generation.

7.6 Conclusions

Based on the existing literature it seems as though informal networks – consisting of family members, friends and informal institutions – are of crucial importance in the formation and maintenance of immigrant businesses. The fact that immigrant entrepreneurs fall back on their informal social networks is partially seen as a compensation for the lack of outside or formal networks and other resources.

Yet, in The Netherlands there are an increasing number of second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs. Nonetheless, (inter)national literature on immigrant entrepreneurship has tended to focus on first-generation immigrants in self-employment. Therefore, little is known about how second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs run their businesses and the informal and/or formal networks in which they are embedded.

This paper shows that among second-generation immigrants, the importance of formal networks in acquiring scarce resources has increased, in comparison to the first generation. In general, the data presented in this

paper points to the fact that the second generation has better access to formal organizations and institutions compared to the first generation. Furthermore, the results indicate that the request for support differs between the sectors. Immigrant entrepreneurs who are active in the wholesale food industry have different support needs, compared to entrepreneurs in the business-to-business sector. Yet, also when the sector is included in the analysis the differences between the first and second generation continues to exist. It is important to have enterprise support initiatives that are aware of these differences in generations and sectors as these differences request a differentiated approach from policy makers.

Also, with regard to business support services, language is often an additional barrier for first-generation immigrant entrepreneurs to ask for support. As a result, several membership-based business organizations are founded by second-generation immigrants, aimed at particular ethnic groups. The challenge for mainstream business support agencies is to 'join forces' with these immigrant associations. This way, immigrant business associations can be a useful stepping stone for ethnic communities that seem to be alienated from mainstream business associations.

To conclude, the more traditional view of immigrant entrepreneurs, namely those who start a business without enough knowledge of the market and running a business; have limited access to formal networks and organizations; and are mainly active in the retail or hotel and catering industry is outdated by the second generation. The second generation set up businesses in new sectors, such as the producer services and as the results of this paper show they are not exclusively dependent on their informal or family networks in running their business. Instead, second generation immigrant entrepreneurs turn to different networks depending on what they need (cf. Flap *et al.* 2000: 155). As their networks are less fixed, these entrepreneurs are not 'trapped in their own network' but profit from the advantages of the embeddedness in both informal as well as formal networks. And with success, as second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs have become as successful in running a business as native Dutch entrepreneurs (ITS 2007). Therefore, for both policy makers as well as researchers a differentiated approach to understanding immigrant businesses is needed.

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