8 THE NETHERLANDS

Consensus and Contention in a Migration State

Willem Maas

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INTRODUCTION: THE NETHERLANDS AS A MIGRATION STATE

The Netherlands has always been a migration state.[1] Immigrants played crucial roles in the formation of the Dutch state and the subsequent Golden Age in the seventeenth century, when many were drawn to the country for its relative religious toleration. At least 150,000 people, primarily Calvinists and other Protestants—merchants, artists, and others—fled Flanders and Brabant during the war of independence from Spain (1568–1609) and settled in the northern Netherlands, where they constituted 10 percent of the new country's population (Maas 2013). The migrants settled chiefly in the cities, and the new Dutch Republic overtook northern Italy as Europe's most urbanized region.[2] Migrants from present-day Belgium and northern France were joined by Sephardic Jews from Portugal and Spain as well as Germans, Scandinavians, Scots, Ashkenazi Jews from central and eastern Europe, Huguenots from France, and others. They helped transform the Netherlands from a mostly rural and agricultural backwater into an urbanized society, a world center of economic, industrial, intellectual, financial, artistic, and scientific activity (*Algemene Geschiedenis Der Nederlanden* 1977).

Immigration continued more slowly in the eighteenth century (see Table 8.1) and then gradually decreased in the nineteenth century, increasing again in the twentieth century (Lucassen and Penninx 1997). Only recently has the proportion of immigrants in Dutch society approached the peak reached during the Golden Age: by 2010, foreign-born individuals accounted for just over 11 percent of the total resident population of the Netherlands (see Table 8.2). Immigrants and the children of immigrants accounted for one in five people in the Netherlands—just over 20 percent of the population—in 2010 (see Table 8.3).

At the same time, the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries were characterized by the emigration of large numbers of Dutch citizens. Over half a million persons born in the Netherlands—over 5 percent of the country's population—emigrated between 1946 and 1969, not counting the many who emigrated and subsequently returned (Elich 1983, 1987), encouraged by government emigration subsidies. Emigration of the Dutch-born population slowed slightly in the 1970s and 1980s, but then once again increased, driven by free

TABLE 8.1
Average annual migration to and from the Netherlands, 1796–2010

	Immigration	Emigration	Net	Immigration	Emigration	Net
	(IN THOUSANDS)			(PER 1,000 POPULATION)		
2000–2010	118.6	107.8	10.8	7.3	6.6	0.7
1975–1999	98.4	69.4	28.9	6.7	4.7	2.0
1950–1974	63.9	59.8	4.1	5.4	5.1	0.3
1925–1949	41.3	45.7	−4.5	4.8	5.3	−0.5
1900–1924	35.6	34.1	1.5	5.7	5.5	0.2
1865–1899	12.5	15.8	−3.3	2.9	3.7	−0.8
1796–1864	1.6	3.0	−1.4	0.6	1.1	−0.5

SOURCE: Data adapted from Nicolaas and Sprangers (2007), except for years 2000–2010, which were calculated from Statistics Netherlands figures.

TABLE 8.2
Foreign-born residents of the Netherlands by country of birth (in thousands)

Year	Germany	Indonesia	Suriname	Turkey	Morocco	Other countries	Total	Percentage of total population
2011	122.3	137.8	186.2	197.4	167.7	1,060.0	1,868.7	11.2
2010	120.5	140.6	186.8	196.7	167.4	1,020.5	1,832.5	11.1
2008	117.0	146.7	187.0	194.8	167.2	938.3	1,751.0	10.7
2007	116.4	149.6	187.8	195.4	168.0	915.2	1,732.4	10.6
2006	116.9	152.8	189.2	196.0	168.6	911.3	1,734.7	10.6
2005	117.7	155.9	190.1	195.9	168.5	907.9	1,736.1	10.6
2004	119.0	158.8	189.7	194.6	166.6	903.0	1,731.8	10.7
2003	120.6	161.4	189.0	190.5	163.4	889.2	1,714.2	10.6
2002	122.1	163.9	188.0	186.2	159.8	854.7	1,674.6	10.4
2001	123.1	165.8	186.5	181.9	155.8	802.3	1,615.4	10.1
2000	124.2	168.0	185.0	178.0	152.7	748.4	1,556.3	9.8
1999	125.5	170.3	184.2	175.5	149.6	708.8	1,513.9	9.6
1998	126.8	172.1	182.2	172.7	145.8	669.5	1,469.0	9.4
1997	128.0	174.8	181.6	169.3	142.7	637.3	1,433.6	9.2
1996	130.1	177.7	181.0	167.5	140.7	610.1	1,407.1	9.1
1971	128.9	204.4	29.0	28.2	20.9	194.9	606.3	4.6
1960	129.2	203.2	12.9	—	—	103.3	448.6	3.9
1947	135.5	79.9	—	—	—	76.6	292.0	3.0
1930	—	32.6	—	—	—	245.1	277.7	3.5

SOURCE: Calculated from Statistics Netherlands figures and Nicolaas and Sprangers (2007) for the years before 1996.

NOTE: "Indonesia" figures for 1930 and 1947 include Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles. After the five most important countries of birth, the next most important in 2011 were Netherlands Antilles/Aruba (89,429), Poland (66,634), former Yugoslavia (52,659), Belgium (49,957), United Kingdom (47,232), former Soviet Union (45,567), China (44,711), and Iraq (40,991).

movement within the European Union (EU), which allows individuals to more easily relocate to other EU countries. Belgium and Germany are particularly popular with the Dutch because of lower taxes and house prices, and there is also significant retirement migration to Southern Europe (Maas 2009). Between 1995 and 2009, there was net emigration of some 313,400 Dutch-born individuals (see Table 8.4), roughly the same number (averaging 20,000 annually) as during the postwar emigration boom. The postwar emigration of Dutch-born individuals was proportionately more significant, as the Dutch population has increased from approximately 10 million in 1950 to almost 17 million today. However,

TABLE 8.3
Number and background of allochtonen *in the Netherlands, 2010 (in thousands)*

Country	Total	First generation	SECOND GENERATION Total	One parent	Two parents	Percentage of all *allochtonen*	Percentage of total population
Turkey	384.0	196.4	187.6	34.0	153.6	11.4	2.32
Indonesia	382.4	119.0	263.4	193.5	69.9	11.4	2.31
Germany	378.9	105.7	273.2	253.0	20.2	11.3	2.29
Morocco	349.0	167.3	181.7	25.5	156.2	10.4	2.11
Suriname	342.3	185.1	157.2	55.8	101.4	10.2	2.07
Antilles/Aruba	138.4	81.2	57.2	31.8	25.4	4.1	0.84
Belgium	113.0	37.6	75.4	69.7	5.8	3.4	0.68
Former Yugoslavia	79.1	52.7	26.4	10.8	15.5	2.4	0.48
United Kingdom	78.7	43.7	35.0	31.0	4.0	2.3	0.47
Poland	77.2	57.5	19.7	15.1	4.6	2.3	0.47
Former Soviet Union	55.9	41.8	14.1	8.5	5.6	1.7	0.34
China	53.3	37.2	16.2	2.8	13.3	1.6	0.32
Italy	39.4	19.3	20.1	17.5	2.6	1.2	0.24
Afghanistan	38.7	31.1	7.6	.3	7.3	1.2	0.23
France	37.2	19.3	17.8	15.6	2.2	1.1	0.22
Others	812.2	504.9	307.2	188.1	119.2	24.2	4.90
Total	3,359.6	1,699.8	1,659.9	952.9	707.0	100.0	20.27

SOURCE: Statistics Netherlands.

TABLE 8.4
Emigration of persons born in the Netherlands by destination, 1995–2009 (in thousands)

Destination	Emigration	Return	Net emigration	Net emigration percentage of subtotal
Belgium	102.5	50.3	52.2	23.6
Germany	80.8	44.8	36.0	16.3
Other Europe	82.8	48.3	34.6	15.6
United Kingdom	45.5	22.0	23.5	10.6
France	30.8	15.0	15.7	7.1
Spain	30.8	18.2	12.6	5.7
United States	37.4	25.9	11.6	5.2
Canada	13.1	5.2	7.9	3.6
Antilles/Aruba	35.4	27.7	7.7	3.5
Australia	17.0	9.3	7.7	3.5
Other	94.1	82.5	11.6	5.3
Subtotal	570.4	349.2	221.2	100.0
Unknown	92.2	0	92.2	
Total	662.6	349.2	313.4	

SOURCE: Calculated from Statistics Netherlands figures.

because of the significant increase in emigration (whether returning to countries of origin or moving elsewhere), there is now more emigration than ever before: 0.66 percent of the population, approximately one out of every 150 residents, emigrates every year.[3]

Immigration is even more significant than emigration, however, with annual inflows equivalent to 0.73 percent of the population. Immigration, particularly by those from non-

Western societies, has aroused a mixture of responses, and by the end of the twentieth century the Netherlands could be described—along with many other Western European states—as a reluctant immigration country (Entzinger 2004). The political situation in the Netherlands in the first decade of the twenty-first century has been challenging to immigration advocates, although policies and their implementation have not become as restrictionist as in some other European states.

Contrary to what some believe, Dutch public opinion is not more hostile to immigrants than public opinion in other European states, and the political salience of immigration in the Netherlands is *below* the EU average. The Dutch tradition of consensus building, a tradition in which all viewpoints are carefully considered and middle-of-the-road policies and bureaucratic inertia reign—reinforced by the extremely proportional electoral system—have allowed anti-immigrant parties not only to enter parliament but also to join the cabinet. Since the late 1990s, the essentially nondiscussion of immigration that had been the norm in the Netherlands was shattered by populist parties, most famously those led by Pim Fortuyn and Geert Wilders.

Tension between consensus building and contention currently characterizes Dutch migration politics and undermines a key assumption of the gap hypothesis. As discussed elsewhere in this book, this hypothesis holds that the gap between the goals of national immigration policy and actual policy outcomes is increasing. But this assumes that the goals of national immigration policy can be defined and are relatively fixed. The Netherlands currently provides a context in which this does not hold; aside from easy caricatures (e.g., uneducated and unemployable foreigners who have criminal backgrounds and no family ties, who cannot integrate, and who do not contribute to society should not be allowed to immigrate; highly educated and highly skilled foreign workers who already speak Dutch or will learn quickly and will immediately contribute to society should be welcomed), there is disagreement about almost every other aspect of migration politics and policies.

THE MIGRATION TRADITION

Whether caused by geography, political culture, economic links, or other factors, migration has been a central concern in the Netherlands since its foundation as a state. Like other colonial states, the Netherlands exported people abroad during the colonial period. But it also imported what today would be termed highly skilled immigrants. In the seventeenth-century Golden Age, the Netherlands was an economic and cultural magnet, with cities such as Amsterdam drawing the best and brightest. This changed during the eighteenth century, and during the nineteenth century the Netherlands was again a country of emigration.

In the first quarter of the twentieth century (1900–1924), the Netherlands became a net immigration country, drawing roughly the same proportion of immigrants as in the third quarter (1950–1974). Only from the late 1920s to the early 1960s was the Netherlands a net emigration country—until it briefly became an emigration country once again during a period of five years from 2003 to 2007—a situation unique in Western Europe until the economic crisis—as Ireland also once again became an emigration country.

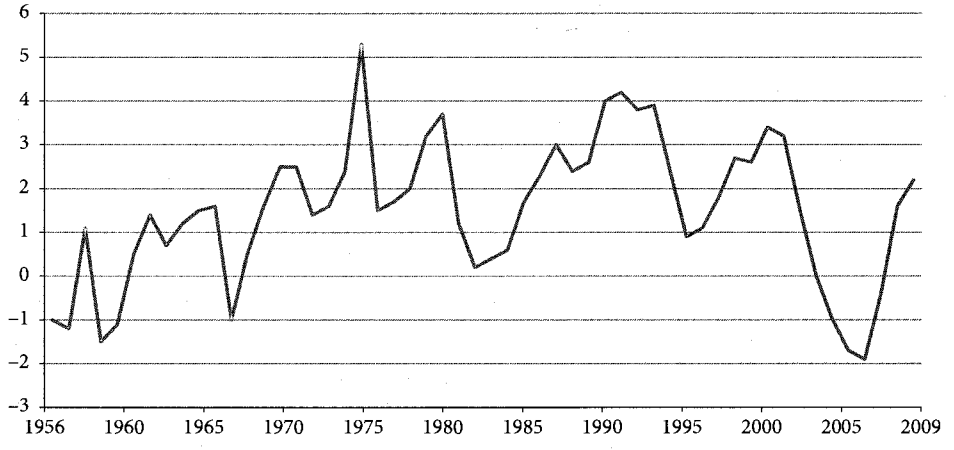

Figure 8.1 Net immigration to the Netherlands, per 1,000 population, 1956–2009.
Source: Statistics Netherlands.

Figure 8.1 shows net migration to the Netherlands between 1956 and 2009. Despite substantial postcolonial and labor immigration, the Netherlands was essentially an emigration country from the 1930s until the 1960s. The peak net immigration years included the 1970s (labor migration and the independence of Suriname), the late 1980s and early 1990s (asylum and family reunification), and the period around 2000.

POSTWAR EMIGRATION

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, the Dutch government started exploring the possibility of encouraging emigration. To build a welfare state, the government promoted industrialization and export industries and reduced reliance on farming. As a result, agricultural workers—who also had a very high birth rate—were considered surplus. In his New Year's address on January 1, 1950, Prime Minister Willem Drees famously announced that "part of our people should venture, as in previous centuries, to seek their future in larger realms than our own country."[4]

To encourage emigration, the government offered information and courses, facilitated transportation, signed international agreements such as the Netherlands Australia Migration Agreement (1951), and offered financial subsidies to those willing to leave. Farmers' associations, women's groups, and Protestant and Catholic emigrants' organizations assisted emigrants in their journey, and the government established a Netherlands Emigration Service.[5] From 1950 to 1959, roughly 350,000 Dutch emigrants settled in Canada (127,900), Australia (106,100), the United States (59,900), South Africa (29,100), New Zealand (19,900), and elsewhere. The peak year was 1952, when 52,000 Dutch emigrants left (Nicolaas and Sprangers 2007).

The war had devastated the country's infrastructure, and there were worries about the Cold War and insufficient work and food as well as a prevailing pessimism. A novelist captured the bleak mood: "The Netherlands is overpopulated. Every child that is born sets back

civilization and makes us poorer. In ten years we will be bankrupt" (Hermans 1951; my translation). Severe storms on February 1, 1953, destroyed dykes and flooded large parts of Zeeland, South Holland, and North Brabant, leaving roughly 1,800 dead and causing the evacuation of approximately 72,000. The tragedy galvanized government spending on infrastructure and laid the groundwork for the so-called Deltaplan, intended to prevent future disasters. The rise of social programs introduced by the Social Democratic Drees government stabilized the situation. The standard of living started to rise and industrialization increased; the 1959 discovery of natural gas in Groningen added to the economic resurgence. Emigration slowed, and by the 1960s there were efforts to recruit workers, first from southern Europe (especially Italy, Spain, and Portugal) and then elsewhere (see the section on Labor Migration below).

POSTCOLONIAL IMMIGRATION

The Netherlands witnessed postcolonial immigration from three sources: Indonesia, Suriname, and the Netherlands Antilles.

Indonesia

The largest postwar immigration to the Netherlands was the movement of approximately 400,000 people from the former Dutch East Indies following the independence of Indonesia and its subsequent annexation of Netherlands New Guinea in 1945–1968. Many of these immigrants were among the roughly 300,000 people who had moved to Indonesia from the Netherlands between 1900 and 1940 (and thus were simply returning emigrants), but others were born in what became Indonesia (Beets, van Imhoff, and Huisman 2003). Indonesia-born immigrants quickly became the largest group of foreign-born residents.

Of particular note within the Indonesian-born population are the Moluccans, who are mostly Christian, Dutch-speaking, and part of the Dutch colonial elite.[6] In 1950, Moluccan soldiers who had served with the Royal Netherlands Indies Army declared an independent Republic of the South Moluccas (Republik Maluku Selatan, or RMS). Within six months, most RMS forces were defeated by the troops of the new Republic of Indonesia. The RMS leadership retreated to the Netherlands, where they established a government-in-exile, accompanied by some 12,500 soldiers and their families.

Initially housed in camps, many Moluccans never adopted Dutch citizenship, expecting that they would be able to return eventually to an independent South Moluccan state. By 2010, the Moluccan community numbered approximately 50,000 (Radio Netherlands Worldwide 2010).

The total number of Indonesia-born immigrants also remains significant: in 2010, over 140,000 people born in Indonesia resided in the Netherlands, although this population is aging fast. The second generation is much larger: by one estimate, in 2001 there were over 280,000 second-generation Indonesians (a person with at least one parent born in Indonesia) living in the Netherlands (Beets, van Imhoff, and Huisman 2003: 65). Subsequent estimates put that number at around 263,000 in 2010. Thus, the total number of first- and second-generation Indonesians is 382,400 (Table 8.3). Statistics Netherlands does not

maintain statistics on individuals with foreign heritage beyond the second generation. It is clear, however, that many second-generation Indonesian immigrants now have children, grandchildren, and possibly great-grandchildren.[7]

Suriname

The other significant spurt of postcolonial migration occurred around the time of Suriname's independence in 1975. One of the Dutch government's motivations for granting independence (neighboring French Guiana was never granted independence and remains an overseas department of France) had been to reduce Surinamese immigration to the Netherlands (van Amersfoort 1999: 143). This plan backfired, however, as many Surinamese immigrated in anticipation of independence, fearing that it would have negative consequences and wanting to make use of their Dutch citizenship rather than lose it. Soon after independence, roughly one-third of Suriname's population had immigrated, rivaling the Indonesians as the largest group of foreign-born residents.

Suriname's population is ethnically diverse. The four largest groups are the Hindustani or East Indians (descendants of nineteenth-century contract workers from northern India), the Creoles (of mixed African and European, mostly Dutch, heritage), the Javanese (descendants of contract workers from the former Dutch East Indies), and the Maroons (descendants of West African slaves who escaped to the interior). Some estimates place the proportions at 37 percent Hindustani, 31 percent Creole, 15 percent Javanese, 10 percent Maroon, 2 percent Amerindian, 2 percent Chinese, 1 percent white, and 2 percent other.[8] Suriname's Chinese community has been growing, particularly since the 1990s (Tjon Sie Fat 2009).

The size of the Surinamese community resident in the Netherlands has also continued to grow, although more slowly after 1980, when visa restrictions were introduced. In 2010, there were approximately 187,000 Suriname-born residents in the Netherlands (Table 8.2) along with roughly 157,000 second-generation Surinamese (Table 8.3), for a total of over 340,000, compared with a total population in Suriname of around 490,000.

Netherlands Antilles

Dutch settlers colonized various islands in the Caribbean in the seventeenth century, trading and running slave plantations. After the 1814 Anglo-Dutch Treaty, the Dutch retained control of two sets of islands: Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao (off the Venezuelan coast) and Sint Eustatius, Saba, and Sint Maarten (in the Leeward Islands). Following postwar decolonization, the Netherlands Antilles became one of three constituent units of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (along with Suriname and the Netherlands). Aruba separated from the rest of the Netherlands Antilles in 1986, and Curaçao and Sint Maarten followed in 2010, when Bonaire, Sint Eustatius, and Saba became Dutch municipalities. The islands have a combined population of just over 300,000 (approximately 142,000 on Curaçao, 106,000 on Aruba, 37,500 on Sint Maarten, 13,400 on Bonaire, 2,900 on Sint Eustatius, and 1,700 on Saba).[9]

Antilleans hold Dutch citizenship, and their migration to the Netherlands is unrestricted; however, several islands limit migration from the Netherlands through residence permits

and quotas. Migration from the Antilles to the Netherlands was for a long time chiefly temporary, as local youth sought opportunities for work or study in the Netherlands before returning. In the late 1990s, however, the economic situation in the Caribbean deteriorated, and many Antilleans immigrated; there was net migration of over 28,000 between 1997 and 2002, before the flow reversed. By 2010, an estimated 81,200 first-generation Antilleans resided in the Netherlands, alongside another 57,200 second-generation migrants (Table 8.3).

The increase in Antilleans and the fact that some Antillean youth became involved in criminal activities prompted the Dutch government in 2006, under immigration minister Rita Verdonk, to propose regulations allowing for repatriation of Antillean youth between the ages of 16 and 24 who were unemployed and whose employment prospects were few. Later proposals specified that only individuals who were convicted of a crime or who threatened national security could be repatriated. There were public discussions advocating restricting the migration rights of *all* Antilleans (Emmer 2007), but these ran into the problem that Dutch citizenship is supposedly unitary, with equal status and no distinctions between any of the Kingdom's constituent units. By 2010, the disjuncture between Antilles being able to limit migration from the Netherlands without the reverse had resulted in a draft law on free movement within the Kingdom.[10]

LABOR MIGRATION

In common with other Western European states such as Germany, the Netherlands in the 1960s signed several labor recruitment agreements with foreign countries intended to bring in immigrants who would work for some period of time and then return to their home countries. Such agreements were signed with Italy (1960), Spain (1961), Portugal (1963), Turkey (1964), Greece (1966), Morocco (1969), Tunisia (1970), and Yugoslavia (1970). Free movement within the European Community (EC) (Maas 2007) soon made obsolete the agreement with Italy and later those with Greece (which joined the EC in 1981) and Spain and Portugal (1986). The labor migration that resulted from these various agreements was at first mostly circulatory: the primarily young, male workers worked and indeed returned. Then the 1973 oil crisis significantly altered this pattern. Following the Egyptian and Syrian attack on Israel in October 1973 (the Yom Kippur War), the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) first raised the price of oil and then set a total embargo on oil exports to the United States and the Netherlands, later extending it to other Western European states and Japan. The resulting crisis, coupled with a stock market crash and high inflation, resulted in recession across Europe and rising unemployment. Rather than returning home, however, many of the workers who had migrated to the Netherlands decided to stay.

During this time, the Netherlands had relatively liberal family reunification and formation policies that allowed labor migrants to bring in their families. For example, a comparison of the growth of Turkish populations in the Netherlands and Germany since the informal end of the guest worker system in 1974 shows that the Turkish population grew much faster in the Netherlands, mostly because of Germany's more restrictive family reunification and formation policies and its relative success during the 1980s at enticing unemployed Turkish workers to leave (Muus 2004: 269).

By 2010, as shown in Table 8.2, more residents of the Netherlands were born in Turkey (196,700) than in Suriname (186,800), followed closely by those born in Morocco (167,400) and ahead of those born in Indonesia (140,600). In other words, labor migration—primarily from Turkey and Morocco—coupled with liberal family reunification and formation policies, resulted in the population of labor migrants outnumbering that of postcolonial migrants. Of course this is partly a generational phenomenon: most immigrants from Indonesia arrived in the 1950s, while most labor migrants arrived thirty or more years later.

One way of examining the relative size of immigrant groups is to look at the statistics on immigrant backgrounds and those of their children. These statistics employ the Dutch concept of *allochtoon*, taken from the Greek roots *allos* (other) and *chthon* (land or earth), which is the opposite of the concept of *autochtoon* (in English autochthonous). Statistics Netherlands defines an *allochtoon* as someone born abroad with at least one parent who was born abroad (first-generation *allochtoon*) or someone born in the Netherlands who has at least one parent born abroad (second-generation *allochtoon*).[11]

Table 8.3 shows the top fifteen source countries for resident *allochtonen*. By 2010, one out of every five residents (20.3 percent) was *allochtoon*, roughly half first-generation and half second-generation, for a total of some 3.4 million people. More than half of this population originated in five countries of origin: Turkey, Indonesia, Germany, Morocco, and Suriname.

RECENT MIGRATION PATTERNS

Examining annual immigration and emigration statistics by the citizenship of migrants (Dutch or non-Dutch) shows stable immigration of Dutch citizens (return migration and immigration of those who acquired citizenship abroad, such as by marriage or birth to a Dutch citizen) from the 1970s to the 1990s and growing immigration of Dutch citizens since then. Emigration of Dutch citizens has grown, particularly after 2000. For non-Dutch citizens, the immigration trend is considerably more varied (with many ups and downs), while the emigration trend is stable and growing, particularly after 2002; in 2009, more than 57,000 non-Dutch citizens emigrated—the highest number ever.

Figure 8.2 shows net immigration not by citizenship status but by country of birth for the period 1972–2009. Suriname and the Antilles, which were the most important source of immigrants throughout the 1970s (postcolonial immigration) were joined by Turkey and then Morocco (labor immigration). Noteworthy is the ever growing importance of immigration from EU member states, particularly since the 2004 enlargement (most notably Poland) (Pool 2011).

Figure 8.3 shows annual net immigration by country of birth for the top eight source countries between 1995 and 2010 (ranked by total net immigration over the period, shown beside the country name). The next most important source countries are Suriname (18,161 net immigrants), the former Yugoslavia (17,511), Iran (13,697), Belgium (9,941), and the United States (8,126). Again, the most striking addition here is that of Poland, with growing numbers of Polish-born individuals settling permanently. Germany, the second EU country after Poland, appears ninth, while Belgium is thirteenth. Clearly, the numbers for net immigration mask the growing circular migration within the EU.

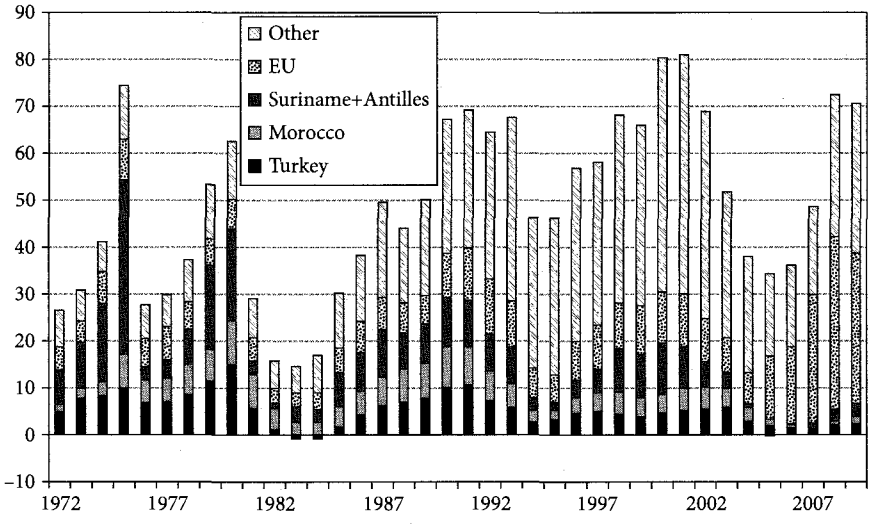

Figure 8.2 Net immigration to the Netherlands (in thousands) by country of birth, 1972–2009. *Source:* Statistics Netherlands.

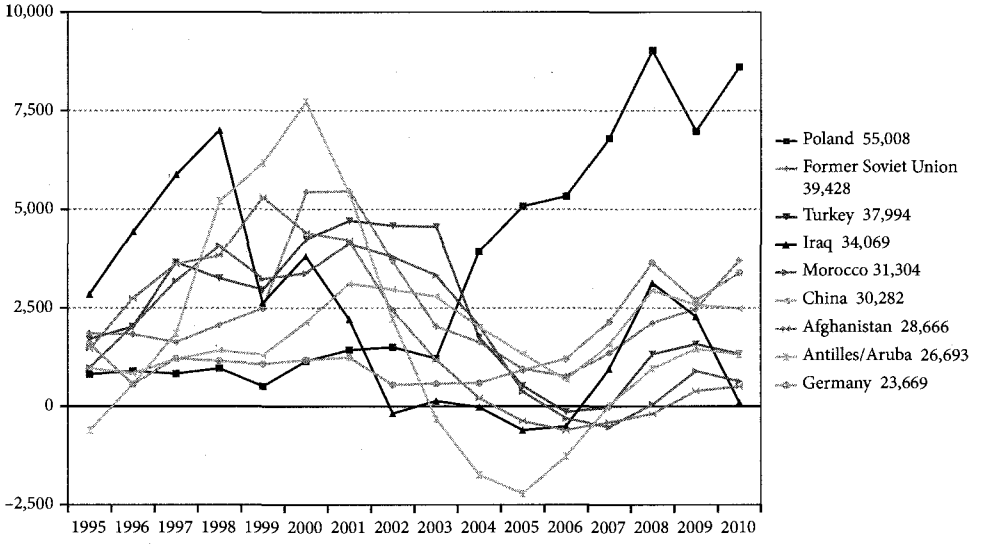

Figure 8.3 Net immigration to the Netherlands by country of birth—top countries, 1995–2010. *Source:* Statistics Netherlands.

Immigration by individuals born outside the Netherlands dipped in the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century (especially 2002–2006) at the same time that emigration of those born in the Netherlands increased. Table 8.4 lists the most important destination countries of these Dutch-born emigrants. Evident is the significant "churn" in migration within the EU, caused by thousands of Dutch-born individuals both emigrating to and returning from other EU member states. The top five destinations of net emigration (emigrants minus immigrants) are all European, which contrasts with postwar emigration

overseas. Indeed, net emigration to European destinations now accounts for almost four-fifths of all emigration.

CITIZENSHIP

In the wide range of citizenship and naturalization policies in Europe, the Netherlands has long been situated at one end. For example, a 1998 study of foreigners' rights in France, Germany, and the Netherlands found that the Netherlands provided foreigners the most rights because they could vote in local elections and their cultural rights were guaranteed under the minorities policy (Guiraudon 1998; 274). In addition, the Netherlands had the highest naturalization rate among European states.

Table 8.5 shows the percentage of residents who were born abroad and the percentage who had foreign nationality for nine European states in 1998, 2003, and 2007. The ratio is inexact because birth abroad does not necessarily mean foreign citizenship—for example, a child born abroad of citizen parents usually acquires citizenship through *jus sanguinis*, or acquisition by descent. However, the relative ratios are illustrative of the difference in naturalization rates.

In the Netherlands, the 1990s witnessed a debate over whether granting citizenship should be seen as a means of encouraging integration or rather as the statement of its successful conclusion. Political parties on the Left tended to promote the former view; those on the right, the latter, arguing that naturalization should be seen as the "crowning moment" at which a completely integrated person finally achieves complete legal equality. Those on the right also argued that granting citizenship too easily would cast doubt on the recipient's loyalty, while others argued that naturalization inherently provided a source of loyalty (Groenendijk 2005: 194).

Between 1992 and 1997, the view of the Leftist parties held sway: "Nationality is an expression of connection, not of indivisible loyalty. Because that connection can be of many

TABLE 8.5
Percentage of residents who are foreign born and who have foreign nationality

	1998			2003			2007		
Country	Foreign born	Foreign nationality	Ratio (%)	Foreign born	Foreign nationality	Ratio (%)	Foreign born	Foreign nationality	Ratio (%)
Netherlands	9.6	4.2	44	10.7	4.3	40	10.7	4.2	39
Sweden	11.0	5.6	51	12.0	5.3	44	13.4	5.7	43
United Kingdom	7.4	3.8	51	8.9	4.7	53	10.2	6.5	64
Germany	12.2	8.9	73	12.9	8.9	69	—	—	—
France	7.3	5.6	77	8.1	5.6	69	—	—	—
Belgium	10.0	8.7	87	11.4	8.3	73	13.0	9.1	70
Denmark	5.4	4.8	89	6.3	5.0	79	6.9	5.5	80
Switzerland	21.4	19.0	89	23.1	20.0	87	24.9	20.8	84
Spain	3.2	1.9	59	8.8	7.2	82	13.4	11.6	87

SOURCE: Calculated from OECD figures.

NOTE: Figures for France are for 1999 and 2005; for Germany, 1998 and 2005.

kinds, it is possible for an individual to have connections to more than one country. Nationality should therefore no longer be seen as an exclusive link with a single country; dual nationality is not a phenomenon that should automatically be opposed" (Driouichi 2007: 123; my translation). The complete toleration of dual nationality that resulted from this kind of argument resulted in large-scale naturalizations peaking at over 80,000 acquiring Dutch nationality in 1996 (see Figure 8.4).

Nevertheless, the openness toward dual nationality waned, and policies once again became more restrictionist (Penninx 2005). By 2007, the far Right politician Geert Wilders was proposing that dual citizens could not be cabinet ministers, a jab at two new cabinet members, one Turkish-Dutch and the other Moroccan-Dutch. His proposal was defeated, but the government did propose making it harder for those who naturalize at the age of 18 to retain their original nationality, and new laws make it easier to strip individuals of their Dutch citizenship.

Despite the perceived "restrictive turn in Dutch citizenship policy" (Van Oers 2008: 40), demographic data paint a more nuanced picture. As shown in Figure 8.5, the proportion of the Dutch population with a nationality other than Dutch has been growing, while the proportion of the population with only Dutch nationality has declined.

The most striking phenomenon is the growth of dual and multiple citizenship in the Netherlands. The number of resident individuals holding both Dutch and one other nationality increased from 402,088 (2.6 percent of the total population) in 1995 to 1,155,206 (7.0 percent of the total population) in 2010—a striking increase for such a short period of time. At the same time, both the number and proportion of residents of the Netherlands who do not hold Dutch nationality have been declining, from 749,061 (4.9 percent) in 1995 to 677,795 (4.1 percent) in 2007. The number is growing again, but has yet to reach previous levels. The story here is one of stability.

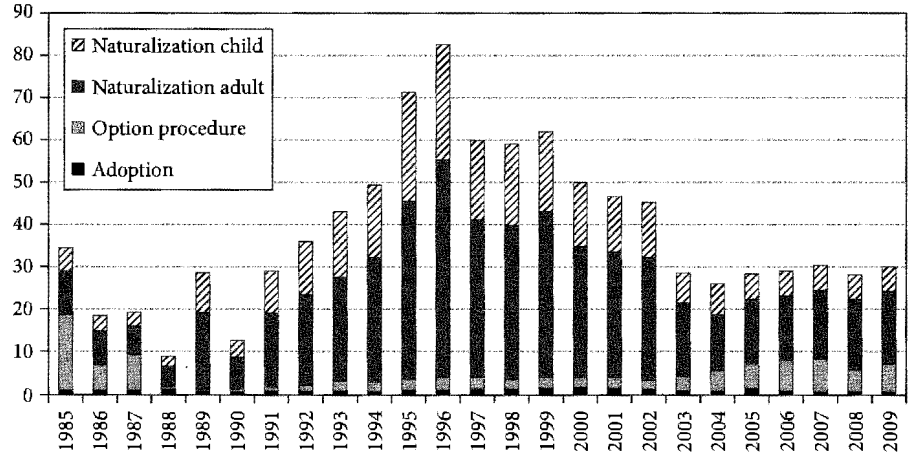

Figure 8.4 Acquisition of Dutch nationality (in thousands) by procedure, 1985–2009. *Source:* Statistics Netherlands. *Note:* Numbers for adoption include naturalization by recognition of paternity and by validation of marriage.

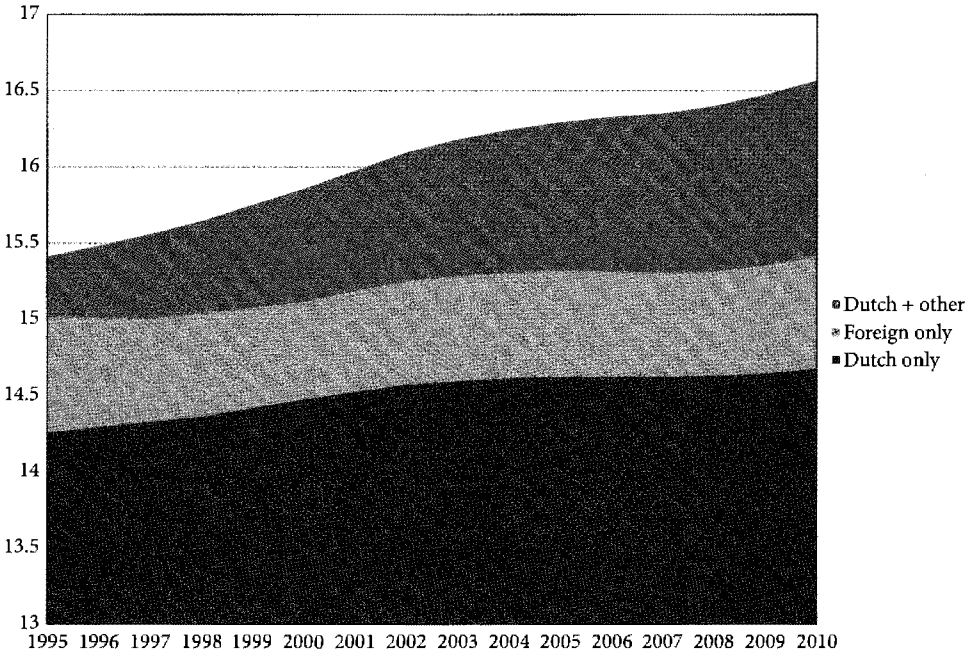

Figure 8.5 Residents of the Netherlands (in thousands) by nationality, 1995–2010.
Source: Statistics Netherlands.

Since all Dutch citizens can vote, the tripling of the number of citizens who hold another nationality—from around 400,000 (2.6 percent) in 1995 to almost 1.2 million (7.0 percent) today—can be expected to have electoral consequences. This is particularly true because of the proportional electoral system, in which 0.67 percent of the vote suffices to gain a seat in the lower chamber of Parliament. (Thus, for example, an animal rights party holds two of 150 seats). If there were a political party for dual citizenship and only those residents who hold more than one nationality voted for it, the party would win 11 seats (of 150) in parliament—not counting potential votes by Dutch citizens resident abroad, many of whom also hold dual citizenship.

Table 8.6 shows the twelve largest nationalities of residents of the Netherlands who do not hold Dutch nationality. The most striking change is the decline in the number of citizens of Morocco and Turkey, from over 250,000 (approximately 37 percent of all foreigners) in 1998 to under 170,000 (under 25 percent) ten years later. This change is presumably largely due to the naturalization of Turkish and Moroccan individuals, who thus no longer appear in these statistics. The contrast with the numbers of citizens of EU member states is stark: with some fluctuations, the numbers (and hence the proportions) of citizens of Germany, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Italy, Spain, France, Portugal, and so forth, are stable or increasing gradually. (Noteworthy here is the rise in the number of citizens of Poland living in the Netherlands.) These statistics include only legally resident individuals, and anecdotal evidence suggests that 26,200 is a significant undercount (see Pool 2011).

TABLE 8.6
Nationality of foreigners living in the Netherlands (in thousands) and percentage of total foreign population for twelve largest nationalities

1998			2003			2008		
Nationality	Number	Percentage	Nationality	Number	Percentage	Nationality	Number	Percentage
Moroccan	135.7	20.0	Turkish	100.3	14.3	Turkish	93.7	13.6
Turkish	114.7	16.9	Moroccan	97.8	14.0	Moroccan	74.9	10.9
German	53.9	8.0	German	56.1	8.0	German	62.4	9.1
British	39.2	5.8	British	44.1	6.3	British	40.2	5.8
Belgian	24.4	3.6	Belgian	26.3	3.8	Belgian	26.2	3.8
Italian	17.4	2.6	Italian	18.7	2.7	Polish	26.2	3.8
Spanish	16.6	2.5	Spanish	17.5	2.5	Italian	19.0	2.8
Bosnian	14.6	2.2	American	15.4	2.2	Spanish	16.5	2.4
Somali	13.6	2.0	French	14.5	2.1	Chinese	16.2	2.4
Iraqi	13.0	1.9	Portuguese	11.3	1.6	French	15.1	2.2
American	13.0	1.9	Chinese	11.2	1.6	American	14.5	2.1
Surinamese	11.8	1.7	Indonesian	10.8	1.5	Portuguese	12.9	1.9

SOURCE: Calculated and compiled from Statistics Netherlands data.

NOTE: Individuals who hold two or more foreign nationalities are attributed to one based on a hierarchy: other EU state, other European state, other non-European state.

TABLE 8.7
Dutch citizens living in the Netherlands with dual nationality by country of second nationality, 2010 (in thousands)

Country	Number	Percentage
Turkey	284.8	24.6
Morocco	273.2	23.6
Germany	54.2	4.7
United Kingdom	44.3	3.8
Belgium	31.8	2.8
Italy	22.1	1.9
Poland	17.8	1.5
France	17.6	1.5
Spain	13.1	1.1
Other EU	42.0	3.6
Iran	17.3	1.5
Bosnia	16.7	1.4
Suriname	16.1	1.4
Egypt	14.1	1.2
United States	13.9	1.2
Vietnam	12.6	1.1
Other	190.0	16.4
Unknown	73.9	6.4
Total	1,155.4	100.0

SOURCE: Statistics Netherlands.

That the declining number of Dutch residents who are citizens of Turkey or Morocco but not citizens of the Netherlands is due to naturalization is evident from the data in Table 8.7, which disaggregates Dutch citizens in the Netherlands who hold dual citizenship with the country of their second nationality. Roughly half of all citizens of the Netherlands residing there who hold dual nationality—over 550,000 people—are Turkish or Moroccan citizens. Those who, besides Dutch nationality, hold an EU nationality account for roughly another quarter of all dual citizens.

IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION AND DUTCH NORMS AND VALUES

Immigrant integration in the Netherlands is coupled with the question of ethnic minorities. Dutch minorities policy became formalized with a parliamentary report drafted in 1981 and finalized in 1983, when it had become clear that both postcolonial migrants and labor migrants were going to remain in the Netherlands rather than return to their countries of origin. The report recognized that the Netherlands had become a "de facto immigration country" (Netherlands 1981, 1983). Since then, there have been a multitude of policies intended to promote the integration of ethnic minorities and immigrants. For example, in 1998 the Wet Samen (Wet Stimulering arbeidsdeelname minderheden), went into force. This was a law to stimulate the labor participation of minorities, which defines minorities as individuals who were born in, or who had at least one parent born in, Turkey, Morocco, Suriname, the Netherlands Antilles, Aruba, the former Yugoslavia, or any country in Africa, South or Central America, or Asia, except for Japan or Indonesia (which are considered Western countries for the purposes of Dutch minorities policy).[12]

Unlike citizenship, immigration is an area of policy where the will of the national government and the desires of municipalities and other decentralized authorities responsible for executing national policy do not always coincide. Consider the case of asylum. In the decade between 1992 and 2001, the Netherlands was the third largest recipient of asylum applications in Europe, behind Germany and the United Kingdom. Per capita, this made the country (along with Switzerland and Sweden) one of the most popular destinations in the 1990s in the world, at 2.27 applications per thousand inhabitants. (By comparison, the rate for the United States was 0.45; for Canada, 0.94.) By the end of the decade, however, asylum policy had become decidedly less welcoming (Van Selm 2000).

At least part of this change in attitude can be attributed to a former sociology professor who styled himself as the leading Dutch advocate of the "clash of civilizations" thesis, Pim Fortuyn. In his book *Against the Islamicization of Our Culture*, first published in 1997, Fortuyn warned that Muslims living in the Netherlands were a threat to traditional Dutch values: "Because of their advanced individualization, Dutch people are not aware of their own cultural identity and the rights they have gained: the separation of church and state, the position of women and of homosexuals. Their indifference makes the Dutch an easy and vulnerable prey" (Fortuyn 2002; my translation).

At first dismissed, then vilified, Fortuyn could no longer be ignored after his party won the March 2002 Rotterdam municipal elections. Nine days before the May 2002 national elections, he was assassinated by an ethnically Dutch environmental activist. The 2002 elections were among the most volatile in European history, leading commentators to argue that "after many years of stability and predictability, it is more important than ever to understand the nature of the increasing volatility of the Dutch electorate and the sudden changes in the Dutch political landscape" (van Holsteyn and Irwin 2003). Fortuyn's party won by a landslide, going from zero to 26 seats in the 150-seat lower house of parliament, becoming the second-largest party represented. The Lijst Pim Fortuyn (LPF) formed a governing coalition with the Christian Democrat CDA and the conservative VVD.

Without Fortuyn, however, the LPF imploded. An LPF deputy minister resigned within hours of being sworn in after it emerged that she had lied about her involvement in the Surinamese militia.[13] After further tensions within the party, the entire cabinet resigned within three months and new elections were called. The LPF dropped to eight seats in the January 2003 elections before disappearing.

Fortuyn's harsh line on immigration was later taken up by others, including Geert Wilders, a former protégé of conservative politician (later European Commissioner) Frits Bolkestein.[14] As VVD leader, Bolkestein had published a book in 1997 on Muslims in the Netherlands that advocated for cultural assimilation.[15] Wilders was a municipal councilor for the VVD in 1997 and then VVD member of parliament from 1998 until 2004, when he left the VVD and formed his own party, which won nine seats in the 2006 elections and twenty-four in the 2010 elections, becoming the third-largest party in the Netherlands.

After the 2010 elections, it looked unlikely that a government could be formed without the support of Wilders's party. The government formed after the 2010 elections was a coalition of the VVD (thirty-one seats) and CDA (twenty-one seats) which, because it lacked a majority of 75 or more seats, required the parliamentary support of Wilders's party. This arrangement, whereby the government depends on Wilders's support but does not include ministers from his party, was criticized for giving Wilders influence but no responsibility.[16]

The success of anti-immigration politicians has had its effects on policy. One observer noted that "the supposedly difference-friendly, multicultural Netherlands is currently urging migrants to accept 'Dutch norms and values' in the context of a policy of civic integration that is only an inch (but still an inch!) away from the cultural assimilation that had once been attributed to the French" (Joppke 2007: 2). Yet it would be a mistake to portray the change as a seismic shift. There were earlier examples of restrictionist policies and current examples of more open ones. For example, in mid-2007 the government granted amnesty to approximately 28,000 individuals who had been living in the Netherlands without authorization, and many mayors and town councils asked organizations working with illegal migrants to forward only those applicants who fulfill the requirements for a residence permit. Thus, the continued presence of "illegal" residents was tolerated.

One example of more stringent immigration policy is the new citizenship exam coupled with the requirement that applicants for a residence permit pass an integration test. The test is required of all applicants with the exception of citizens of Australia, Canada, Japan, Monaco, New Zealand, South Korea, Switzerland, the United States, and Vatican City. The United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination warned the Netherlands that this is discriminatory.

Comparative public opinion data do not show that respondents in the Netherlands are more hostile to immigrants than are other Europeans. Indeed, they are significantly more likely than respondents from Germany, France, or the United Kingdom to claim that immigrants make the country a better place to live.

Similarly, the political salience of immigration is not extraordinarily high in the Netherlands, as demonstrated by comparative public opinion surveys that ask respondents to select the most important issues facing their country. Based on these surveys, it can be seen

that immigration is much more politically salient in the United Kingdom, Spain, Denmark, Italy, and other countries not covered in this book; it is less salient in the Netherlands than the EU average.

CONCLUSION

The case of the Netherlands offers a possible corrective to the gap hypothesis. As discussed in this book, this hypothesis holds that the gap between the goals of national immigration policy and actual policy outcomes is increasing, thereby provoking greater public hostility toward immigrants in general and putting pressure on political parties and government officials to adopt more restrictions. For the gap hypothesis to operate it must first be clear what the goals of national immigration policy are. Such clarity is lacking in the case of the Netherlands, where both public opinion and the government's approach appear to be polarized and volatile.

The former governing coalition—which became a government only with the support of Geert Wilders's Freedom Party—was unstable. Several elements of the coalition agreement contravened EU treaties and legislation. Changing these treaties, laws, and policies would require agreement from some or all other EU member states and, in some cases, the European Parliament, and so it was infeasible. At the same time, declining relative net immigration from traditional source countries and their replacement with new source countries such as Poland and the former Soviet Union, coupled with the increasing emigration of Dutch-born citizens, particularly within the EU, changes the picture of both the immigrant and the emigrant.

NOTES

An earlier version of this chapter was presented at a workshop organized by the Tower Center at Southern Methodist University and the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas. Some of the analysis also draws on Maas (2010). I am grateful to participants in the workshop and to the editors, particularly Pia Orrenius, for helpful comments.

1. The concept of the migration state is drawn from James Hollifield (2004), who uses it to mean a situation in which regulation of international migration is as important as providing for the security of the state and the economic well-being of its citizenry.

2. Amsterdam's population ballooned from 13,500 in 1514 to 104,900 in 1622 and to 200,000 in 1675; Leiden's grew from 14,300 in 1514 to 44,800 in 1622 and to 65,000 in 1675. In 1622, immigrants constituted 33 percent of the population of Amsterdam and Dordrecht, 38 percent of Gouda's, 40 percent of Rotterdam's, 51 percent of Haarlem's, 63 percent of Middelburg's, and 67 percent of Leiden's.

3. These numbers come from the residence statistics maintained by Dutch municipalities in the Gemeentelijke Basisadministratie persoonsgegevens (GBA), or municipal registry, known prior to 1994 as the bevolkingsregister. Every person residing in the Netherlands must register with a municipality and, once registered, is issued a citizen service number (burgerservicenummer, or BSN), which is necessary to access government and many private services. Those born in the Netherlands are registered at birth; those

taking up residence must register within five days of arrival; and those changing residence within the country must report their change. The GBA includes data on the following:

- Name, birthdate and place, and gender; parents' names with birthdates and places; current and former marriage(s) or registered partnership(s) with dates and places; divorce or separation with date and place; current and former spouse(s) or registered partner(s) with gender, birthdate, and place; children with birthdate and place; and death with date and place.
- Ward or legal guardianship status with details.
- Nationality or nationalities or a notation that nationality cannot be determined.
- For noncitizens, details of residence right.
- Date of registration in municipality with full address; date of residence application and name of former country of residence; for emigrants, address in country of destination.
- Administration numbers of applicant, parents, current and former spouse(s) or registered partner(s); children.
- BSN and date.
- BSN of parents, current and former spouse(s) or registered partner(s), and children.
- Name use and changes.

The use of and access to GBA data is subject to law and monitored by the data protection authority College Bescherming Persoonsgegevens (CBP).

4. "Een deel van ons volk moet het aandurven zoals in vroeger eeuwen zijn toekomst te zoeken in grotere gebieden dan eigen land."

5. http://www.nationaalarchief.nl/emigranten/nl/achtergrondinfo_2.1.asp.

6. Portugal controlled some of the islands in the fifteenth century, when Islam had only recently been introduced. Portuguese missionaries quickly set about to Christianize the population. When Spain took control, they were replaced by Spanish missionaries, including Francis Xavier, who later cofounded the Jesuits.

7. The child of an Indonesian immigrant (thus a second-generation immigrant) born in the Netherlands in 1946 could have had children in 1967 (at the age of 21), grandchildren in 1988, and great-grandchildren in 2009.

8. *CIA World Factbook*, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ns.html.

9. Latest figures from Statistics Aruba (http://www.cbs.aw) and Statistics Netherlands Antilles (http://www.cbs.an/).

10. Rijkswet Personenverkeer.

11. It is sometimes remarked that most members of the royal family—including the current king and most people in the line of succession—are second-generation *allochtonen* (the king's father and grandfather were born in Germany; the queen, in Argentina).

12. Moluccans were included in the minority category, but others who were born or whose parent was born in Indonesia were not. http://www.eerstekamer.nl/wetsvoorstel/25369_wet_stimulering.

13. Philomena Bijlhout was elected LPF member of parliament in the May 2002 elections, then resigned to become deputy minister of emancipation and family affairs in the

cabinet sworn in on June 22, 2002. She resigned the same day when a TV station aired photos of her in the uniform of Surinamese military leader Dési Bouterse's militia. The photos were taken in 1983, after the December 1982 murders (in which fifteen prominent opponents of Bouterse's military regime, mostly journalists and lawyers, were shot dead); Bijlhout had earlier claimed she left the militia in 1981. She was replaced by LPF member Khee Liang Phoa.

14. Interestingly, both Bolkestein's and Wilders's mothers were of Indo (mixed European and indigenous Indonesian) ancestry, as was the mother of Eddie and Alex van Halen (of the band Van Halen), who emigrated from the Netherlands to California with their parents in 1962, as part of the postwar emigration discussed earlier.

15. The VVD grew from 31 seats in the 1994 elections to 38 seats in the May 1998 elections, but Bolkestein stepped down as party leader to become the European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services from 1999 to 2004. He lamented in 2010 that Wilders had become "completely radicalized."

16. Bolkestein, interviewed in *De Volkskrant*: "'Rutte is goud, Wilders is strovuur,'" March 5, 2011.

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