

# Summary

## **The Dutch migration monitor Backgrounds and developments of different types of international migration**

In this publication, we provide an overview through the years for the most important types of migration with regard to their volume, their distribution over countries of origin and (to a somewhat more modest extent) over countries of destination and their demographic composition. With the term ‘type of migration’ we mean the (official) reason why particular people have decided to migrate. More specifically, the types concerned here are labour migration, family migration, educational migration and asylum migration. These types of migration will be dealt with in separate chapters. We will also pay attention to post-colonial migration, emigration and illegal migrants in separate chapters. In addition to these thematic chapters, this publication contains a chapter presenting an analysis of the general trends in the total registered migration to and from the Netherlands. In this chapter, we will make no distinction between different types of migration.

In this study, we will zoom in on the period from 2000 onward. As far as the available data permit it, we will return to the end of the Second World War to trace back the developments in the total volume of the different migration types. We will also present a descriptive introduction to the historical background of the different types of migration. In a number of cases, these descriptions will carry us back to a time (long) before the Second World War. In this study, we will furthermore examine the backgrounds of the developments regarding the various migration types. These are, for instance, economic developments, developments in migration policy and other political developments, such as the enlargement of the European Union or violent conflicts which have led to considerable streams of refugees. Based on these backgrounds and other factors, we will also formulate tentative predictions for the future for the different types of international migration as well as for the total immigration and emigration.

It is important for makers of immigration policies to gain an understanding of the background of the developments in migration types which are sensitive for these policies. This also applies to those who seek to evaluate the effectiveness of these policies. This study may serve as a guideline in this respect.

## General trends

### *Brief sketch of immigration to the Netherlands*

According to Paul White, professor of geography at the University of Sheffield, post-war non-communist Europe, the Netherlands included, has been confronted with three overlapping migration waves. The first of these consisted of lower-educated labour migration from Southern Europe, Turkey and the Maghreb that filled up the shortages at the bottom of the labour market, caused by the unprecedented economic growth during the post-war era. This migration wave ended with the recession of 1973, which made labour shortages vanish into thin air and caused West European countries to proclaim restrictive policies regarding labour migration. In the Netherlands, the first migration wave of lower-educated labour migrants ended relatively late. While surrounding countries stopped recruiting foreign workers already in 1973, the official Dutch recruitment came to an almost complete standstill only in 1975. This first migration wave was followed by family migration in the form of both family reunification and family formation. A large part of the labour migrants from Turkey and Morocco began to let their families come over, contrary to labour migrants from Southern Europe, most of who chose to return to their country of origin. From 1976 until the end of 2005, family migration was the type of migration occurring most often among non-Dutch people in the Netherlands. During the Eighties, the Dutch were confronted with what White has called the post-industrial migration wave. According to White, this wave primarily consisted of asylum seekers, higher-educated labour migrants and illegal migrants. In the Netherlands, immigration started to get dominated in particular by asylum seekers and family migrants.

Beside these three migration waves (labour migration of lower-educated people, family migration and post-industrial migration), many West European countries, the Netherlands among them, had to deal with post-colonial migration. The annual number of immigrants during the Fifties and the beginning of the Sixties was incidentally influenced by migration caused directly by decolonization processes in the former Dutch East Indies. From 1974 to 1980, the independence of Surinam left its mark on the volume of immigration.

During the most recent period – beginning in 2004 – the Netherlands were confronted once again with large-scale labour migration. While during the post-war period most labour migrants had come from the south (the Mediterranean countries), the majority nowadays comes from those countries in Central and Eastern Europe that have acceded to the EU on 1 May 2004 or 1 January 2007.

### *Brief sketch of the emigration from the Netherlands*

Because the Netherlands knew a steep increase in its population during the post-war period, one needs to study the emigration per capita (mostly reported as the emigration rate per 1,000) to be able to make a 'fair' temporal comparison. This emigration rate was subject to a downward trend during the first two decades after the Second World War. The rapid economic growth reduced the push to leave the Netherlands considerably. During the Seventies and Eighties, the volume of emigration from the Netherlands did not show much variation, and this also applied to the emigration rates. Already during the Nineties, an increasing trend set in. Emigration steeply increased at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, to reach a temporary peak in 2006. In this most recent period, the composition of the group of emigrants differs considerably from the emigration that took place during the first two decades after the Second World War. Back then, the emigrants belonged almost without exception to the autochthonous Dutch population, while approximately two thirds of the emigrants of the 21<sup>st</sup> century are migrants or their children. Another important difference with the emigration of the Fifties and Sixties is that, nowadays, non-economic motives for migration seem to play a much larger role.

### **The most important findings per type of migration**

#### *Labour migration*

In 2007, the Dutch labour market opened up to people coming from the Central and East European member states that had acceded to the EU in 2004. Because of the large onrush of labour migrants from Central and Eastern Europe, labour migration once again became the most important migration motive for non-Dutch people migrating to the Netherlands. Labour migration increased from approximately 16,000 in 2004 to almost 42,000 in 2008. Following this, there was a slight decrease to nearly 38,000 persons in 2009. This recent drop might be the result of the deteriorated economic situation in the Netherlands. Labour migration constituted the most important motive for immigration for the last time during the first half of the Seventies, when Mediterranean migrant workers came to the Netherlands to fill vacancies at the bottom of the labour market. Beside a difference regarding their countries of origin, there is also a difference regarding the level of education of labour migrants, a larger part of who nowadays have a higher education than labour migrants had during the first three decades after the Second World War.

In recent years, the labour migration of low-educated workers has almost exclusively been a phenomenon occurring between EU member states, consisting to a large extent of workers from new member states in Central and Eastern Europe migrating to the 'old' EU. This situation will probably stay this way in the near and somewhat more distant future. It is to be

expected that the volume of labour migration from Central and Eastern Europe will remain on the same level as the one we are used to today. The share of Polish migrants in the total amount of (labour) migration from the new member states will probably decrease, while the share of Bulgarians, Romanians and Hungarians will increase. It is presumed that in the long run, this labour migration will start to decrease substantially, due to converging levels of prosperity and the fact that the countries east of the former Iron Curtain will also face a sharp rise in the ageing population. This raises the question whether, by that time, the Netherlands will be compelled to admit low- and medium-educated workers from outside the EU.

In order to stimulate the immigration of highly-educated people, in October 2004, the government introduced the so-called regulation for knowledge migrants. The aim of this regulation is to make it more alluring for knowledge migrants to establish themselves in the Netherlands through a quick, easily accessible and clear procedure. From the introduction of the regulation for knowledge migrants until the end of 2009, more than 22,000 first residence permits have been granted for which the stated objective was 'knowledge migrant'. Until the end of 2008, this type of migration showed an annual increase. Yet, similar to the total labour migration, in 2009 there was also a decrease among knowledge migrants. The specific composition of the group of knowledge migrants according to nationality, which shows, for instance, a large and increasing number of Indian migrants, seems to indicate that the regulation has indeed attracted a new target group, coming from non-Western countries.

The quite broadly supported social and political backing for the idea that it will benefit the Netherlands to attract many highly-educated labour migrants will, combined with the still persisting globalization, result in a slight increase in the labour migration of highly-educated people in the short and medium long run. Yet, a really substantial increase is not to be expected. The most important reason for this is that, in all likelihood, in the so-called battle for brains, the Netherlands will be no match for the (Anglo-Saxon) countries positioned in the centre of the economic and financial world system. Furthermore, it is quite possible that the advancing technological developments regarding transport and telecommunication, which now still constitute the driving forces behind the increased labour migration of higher-educated people, will in the medium long run start to moderate the (international) mobility of the highly-educated. This is because technological progress may also result in an increased (cross-border) mobility of knowledge and skills without this being a form of (international) migration.

### *Educational migration*

In recent decades, educational migration has steeply increased: a rising number of students complete either a part or the whole of their study abroad. International programmes like the Erasmus programme have given important impetus to the international mobility of students in Europe.

The international character of Dutch higher education is chiefly shown by the increasing number of foreign students coming to the Netherlands to get their degree or do part of their curriculum here. In recent years, the number of foreign students in Dutch higher education has increased. Compared to the number of foreign students in Dutch higher education during the academic year of 2004/2005 (28,200), this number had increased with almost 60% in the academic year of 2008/2009, to approximately 44,800. The Netherlands mainly accommodates diploma-mobile students from Germany (42%), but also from China, Belgium and Indonesia. In addition, there is a remarkably steep increase in the number of students from Bulgaria. More in general, the diploma migration from the new EU member states accounted for 11% of the total diploma migration in the Netherlands in 2008/2009.

Since 2001/2002, the diploma mobility among Dutch students has been starkly increasing as well: more and more Dutch students choose to take up their study abroad. Favourite countries to do so are the United Kingdom, Belgium, Germany, the United States and Sweden. The number of diploma-mobile Dutch students abroad increased from approximately 11,800 in 2000/2001 to 14,700 in 2006/2007. This growth, however, was equal to the growth of the number of students in Dutch higher education. On balance, the percentage of Dutch students studying abroad has remained relatively stable. Seen from this perspective, it is impossible to conclude that Dutch students are increasingly internationally oriented. The study credit mobility among Dutch academic students has shown a decreasing pattern since 2000/2001: an ever smaller percentage indicates to have left the country in order to do a work placement or a study course abroad. In Higher Vocational Education, this percentage has been reasonably stable since 2000/2001. This perspective does not provide any reason, either, to conclude that Dutch students are increasingly internationally oriented.

It is to be expected that the educational migration from the new EU member states Bulgaria and Romania will grow further once the free movement of persons has been fully implemented. Already, the educational migration from Poland and even from Bulgaria has seen a substantial increase in recent years. A possible enlargement of the EU, for instance with Turkey, may result in a further increase of the educational migration.

Furthermore, it is also to be expected that the increasing offer of academic English-language courses in the Netherlands will be a stimulus for a

further growth of the educational migration of foreign students to the Netherlands. At the same time, the growing offer of English-language academic programmes abroad will make it more interesting for Dutch students to take up a study in another country. New initiatives of the EU to encourage the mobility of students may further reinforce this process.

### *Family migration*

The total annual family migration remained reasonably constant from 1996 to the end of 2003 (with an average of approximately 35,000 persons per year), to drop to a substantially lower level during the years from 2004 to the end of 2006 (with an average of approximately 25,000 persons per year). In all probability, this decrease is related to the policy measures introduced in November 2004, the aim of which was to set limits to family migration. Especially the number of family reunifications of people from Turkey and Morocco, the two countries of origin of the majority of family migrants during the years from 1995 onward, decreased sharply after 2003. The family migration of people originating from Poland, however, the country of origin of most family migrants from 2006 onward, has increased steeply since 2003. The growth of the number of family migrants from Eastern Europe, but also the increased family migration from the countries of origin of many asylum and knowledge migrants, has resulted in a substantial increase in the total number of family migrants coming to the Netherlands after 2007.

The number of migrants who have come to the Netherlands in the context of a family reunification has remained reasonably stable from 2005 until the end of 2009. In 2005, 10,071 migrants arrived in the Netherlands on the basis of a family reunification. In 2009, this number was 11,265. The number of people coming to the Netherlands because of family formation, on the other hand, has decreased considerably. In 2005, 12,834 people arrived in the Netherlands based on family formation. That number had dropped to 8,136 in 2009. The policy measures mentioned above, implemented as of 1 November 2004, probably constitute a cause of this trend. Various factors exercise an influence on the expected developments regarding family migration to the Netherlands. The most important of these are the future labour and asylum migration and Dutch immigration policy.

The developments since the Seventies concerning the 'foreign workers' from Turkey and Morocco show that labour migration can result in family migration. Many family migrants still originate from these two countries. In 2009, for example, approximately 4,000 family migrants arrived in the Netherlands from Turkey or Morocco. It is likely that family reunification will further decrease among these groups, because many of these families have actually been reunited by now. Yet, according to the Central Statistical Office prognosis 2008-2050, in the future 2,000 people will still arrive annually from either of these two countries based on family formation.

Since the enlargement of the EU in 2004 with ten Central and East European member states, followed by the EU enlargement in 2007 with Bulgaria and Romania, a new stream of labour migrants has started to come to the Netherlands. The question is whether the migration pattern of these new labour migrants will show more similarities with that of the Turks and Moroccans, or with that of the Spaniards and Italians who came to the Netherlands in the Sixties and Seventies. We do not know the exact answer to this question. For the time being, it seems that East European labour migrants show more inclination to return to their country of origin (in the long run the most important alternative to family migration) than Turks and Moroccans do.

The developments regarding asylum may have much influence on family reunification and family formation. For this reason, the Dutch government takes this category of family migrants into account while developing this policy. *'It is possible that, in the future, the phenomenon of 'migration marriages' may start to spread increasingly to people coming from (former) asylum countries, who will start to choose partners from their country of origin'* (TK, 2009-2010, 32 175, nr. 1). Of course, the future size of this category of family migrants will strongly depend on the intake of asylum seekers. It is difficult, however, to predict this intake of asylum seekers in the future.

The future developments regarding family formation and –reunification also strongly correspond to Dutch family migration policy. At the end of 2009, the Cabinet announced additional measures regarding family migration. These pertained to assimilation and integration, combating fraud and abuse, the Europe route, and the reinforcement of emancipation. The Cabinet presented these measures emphatically in the context of the development of integration and emancipation. It is to be expected that this package of measures will also have a decreasing effect on the influx. With the implementation of the first European Council directive on the right to family reunification (2003), the competences regarding the admission policy have in large part been transferred to the European Union. New harmonization measures of the European Commission and the jurisprudence of the European Court of Justice may further limit the possibilities open to the Dutch government to make the admission requirements for family migration stricter.

#### *Asylum seekers*

The main reasons for asylum seekers to leave their country of origin are armed conflict and systematic violations of human rights. Poverty and natural disasters may also play a role. While a large part of the world-wide population of refugees seeks refuge in neighbouring countries or stays in their own country, a small part travels on to Europe, North-America or Oceania to seek asylum there. The number of request for asylum in the Netherlands is determined by the total influx of asylum seekers in Europe

and its distribution among the different European countries. The number of first requests for asylum in the Netherlands has decreased very steeply during the first years of the new millennium; while the Netherlands still had to process 38,805 first requests for asylum in 2000, this number had dropped to 6,359 in 2004. After this, the number of first requests for asylum slowly increased – be it with some fluctuations – to 14,905 in 2009. At first sight, it seems complicated to provide an estimate of the future number of requests for asylum in Northwest Europe. For when we look at the period since the mid-Eighties on the basis of Eurostat data, the annual number of asylum seekers in this region has fluctuated considerably. Yet, the high peaks in the total influx of asylum seekers in Northwest Europe were primarily caused by an incidental high influx of asylum seekers from Southeast Europe. Now that the great incidents on the Balkans are a few years behind us, we may cautiously assume that, in the near future, the number of European asylum seekers requesting asylum in Northwest Europe will be small. The annual number of asylum seekers from Africa and Asia proves to be subject to less variation. During the Nineties, for instance, – we do not have more recent figures at our disposal – an average of 176,000 asylum seekers annually came from these continents to Europe. This varied from 133,000 people in 1994 to 211,000 people in 1991. When we consider all of this and presume that the advancing globalization will cause a slow increase in the number of asylum seekers from Africa and Asia, it does not appear very unrealistic to assume that in the period to come, approximately 200,000 asylum seekers annually will run to safety in Northwest Europe.

The exact volume of the asylum seekers' influx in the Netherlands, however, is hard to predict. According to the budget for 2011, the Ministry of Security and Justice expects 17,000 first and subsequent requests for asylum in 2011 and in the following years.

### *Post-colonial migration*

The sizeable migration from Indonesia to the Netherlands has come to an end already half a century ago. During the past decade, the mutual migration between Indonesia and the Netherlands remained at a very low level, with a slight immigration surplus in the Netherlands. Compared to the total Indonesian population, the total emigration from Indonesia, the size of the Dutch population or the total immigration during this period, these numbers are negligible. For Indonesians the same restrictive immigration policy applies as for inhabitants of other, non-Western countries.

Remarkable, too, is the fact that the migration movements between Surinam and the Netherlands also reached a low level during the past decade: no more than approximately 4,000 persons of Surinamese origin immigrated annually. This modest immigration has again halved since 2003, although a small recovery has been observed in recent years (2,700 in 2008). Because the emigration showed an opposite trend, the migration



balance has been negative between 2005 and 2007. In 2008, the last year for which data are available, immigration and emigration balanced each other out.

*Ceteris paribus*, there is no reason to expect the migration from Indonesia or Surinam to start increasing again. Only a renewed opening of the Dutch borders for migrants from these former colonies would bring about a (dramatic) change in this situation. For Surinam, unlike Indonesia, such a new emigration wave would mean a new phase of family reunification and family formation. There is, however, very little chance of such a political change in course.

The Surinamese migration figures contrast sharply with those of the former Netherlands Antilles, which primarily means those of Curaçao. In recent years, Antillean migration to the Netherlands showed strong fluctuations: from 2,667 migrants of Antillean origin in 2005 to 10,550 migrants in 2000. During the first years of the millennium, the immigration dropped considerably, after a substantial rise during the second half of the Nineties (with more than 13,000 immigrants in peak year 2000). At the same time, emigration increased, resulting in a negative migration balance for the first time in years. During these years, there was hopeful talk of a deviation from the trend. Yet, this hope was not fulfilled in the following years. Since 2005, the immigration has again increased a little, while the emigration decreased. Data concerning 2009 indicate a further growth of the immigration and a renewed (slight) increase in the emigration.

For the time being, the migration movements between the Netherlands and the Antilles will in all probability remain intensive. Two factors will be of decisive importance for the future volume of migration. On the one hand, the question is how the economies on either side of the Atlantic will develop. As long as the differences in prosperity remain big, the push factor will stay strong on the Antilles. The second factor, on the other hand, is an issue that will be decided on the receiving end. The continuation of intensive migration movements between the Antilles and the Netherlands presupposes that the unlimited benefits of Dutch citizenship will be maintained. Yet, it is not unthinkable that this will once more be turned into a political issue in the years to come, while it is also uncertain whether the outcome of that political debate will be the same as it has always been so far. In the as yet unlikely scenario that the current free migration movements will be limited by potentially drastic restrictions, it is to be expected that this will first be preceded by a migration wave to evade these restrictions. After this, migration will decrease sharply.

#### *Emigration from the Netherlands*

Beginning in 2000 emigration showed a rapid increase, which ended in 2007. In the record year 2006, the number of emigrants was 132,470, while

it had been only 78,977 in 2000. After 2006, emigration decreased during three consecutive years to the number of 111,897 in 2009.

The emigration of autochthonous Dutch and second-generation migrants started to increase with the turn of the century, to reach a peak of 60,000 emigrants in 2006. In 2007 a slight decrease set in, which rapidly gained momentum in 2008/2009. In just one year's time, the number of emigrants dropped with more than 20%. The increased emigration of autochthonous Dutch at the beginning of this century was related to the increased emigration to Belgium and Germany. A probable cause of this emigration is the difference in the price of houses. The increased emigration in 2005 and 2006, however, took place not only to Belgium and Germany, specifically, but to a wide range of destination countries.

Of the emigrants who left the country between 2000 and the end of 2009, 56% were born outside the Netherlands and had thus, at some point, come to the Netherlands as immigrants. There is a strong connection between this return- and transit migration and the length of stay in the Netherlands. The longer someone stays in the Netherlands, the smaller the chances are that that person will leave again. Of the 955,000 immigrants who were born outside the Netherlands and who came to the Netherlands during the 2000/2009 period, more than a third left again before 2010. Although the pattern is similar for the different groups of migrants, there actually are big differences when we look at the *level* of the departure percentages of immigrants. Of the 62,000 non-Western immigrants entering the country in 2000, for instance, more than a third had left the Netherlands again after ten years. During that year, the inclination to leave again among the 47,000 Western immigrants was much stronger than that among non-Western immigrants: almost 60% had departed again within ten years. In large part, these were labour migrants. The emigration of first-generation migrants started to increase again after 2007, contrary to the emigration of people born in the Netherlands. This increase is probably caused by labour migrants from Central and Eastern Europe who return to their countries of origin.

The emigration prognosis included in this publication is part of the population prognosis drawn up by Statistics Netherlands at the end of 2010. For this prognosis, it is assumed that, in the future, the current emigration chances of individuals of autochthonous Dutch origin are a little smaller than the structural level will be in the future. They thus were temporarily smaller (in 2010), possibly because of the stagnating housing market. The assumption is that the future chances of emigration will fluctuate around the level reached in the 2002/2003 period, which means a number of 34,000 emigrants annually. Second-generation migrants have clearly higher chances of emigrating than autochthonous Dutch have. For second-generation migrants, too, the prognosis expects relatively higher chances of emigration in the future, compared to the chances now. When these assumptions are correct, the number of emigrants who were born in

the Netherlands will increase to between 46,000 and 48,000 persons annually as from 2015.

The assumptions about the emigration of first-generation migrants is based on the expected return percentages and size of five groups originating from countries that are important immigration countries for the Netherlands (Indonesia; Turkey; Morocco; Surinam; and the former Netherlands Antilles) as well as those of the origin groups from six aggregated groups of countries (the EU; the remaining European countries; the Western countries outside Europe; African countries, Asian countries; and Latin-American countries). The future size of the different sub-populations is based on the present size and on the assumptions about future immigration and (to a lesser extent) about natural population growth. The return percentages have been estimated based on observations regarding the immigration cohorts of 1995/2009. The assumption about the emigration of the different origin groups will in the long run, beginning in 2014, result in a total emigration of between 125,000 and 130,000 persons annually.

### *Illegal migrants*

By definition, illegal migrants hardly show up in the official statistics. More than that: because of the pursued 'policy of determent' in the Netherlands, they have become increasingly invisible in terms of administration. Commissioned by the Ministry of Security and Justice, an estimate has been made of the number of illegal migrants in 2009. A total number was worked out of 97,145 illegal migrants (with a 95% confidence interval of 60,667-133,624). Earlier estimates showed that between 150,000 and 200,000 illegal migrants were living in the Netherlands during the period from 1997 to 2003. The estimate made in 2005 stated a number of approximately 129,000 illegal migrants. To these presented totals needs to be added, however, that the population of illegal migrants is anything but stable. People come and go; while some make an effort to get legalized, others are being adventurous or are in transit, while still others return to their country of origin. An important explanation for the decrease in the number of illegal migrants occurring between 2003 and 2009 relates to the eastward enlargement of the European Union. From that moment of accession on, the free movement of persons applied to citizens from the new Eastern member states of the EU, making what had formerly been illegal migration legal for them.

The presence of illegal migrants in the Netherlands is, in all probability, a persistent phenomenon. The reason is that a structural need exists in the Netherlands for workers who are willing to do semi- or unskilled and badly paid work. When the possibilities for legal, low-educated labour migration are limited, a part of this demand will probably be fulfilled by illegal labour migrants. At the supply side, in developing countries, there are more than enough potential emigrants, due to the continuing popula-

tion growth and related (youth) unemployment. In addition to this, it is likely that the Netherlands will be permanently confronted with illegal family migrants and asylum seekers who have exhausted all legal procedures, and who choose (for the time being) an illegal existence.