The demographic characteristics of immigrant populations in the Netherlands

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1. Introduction

The Dutch population with an immigrant background is substantial and has grown in number over the past decade. According to the new definition used by Statistics Netherlands since 1999, roughly 17 per cent of the total population appear as non-native in the population statistics. These include persons who themselves are foreign born, or those for whom at least one parent has been born in another country. This definition reflects the history of migration over the past decades, in that not only are first-generation immigrants included, but also their descendants born in the Netherlands. The growing numerical strength of the latter, the so-called "second-generation" migrants, means that they are of increasing political and policy-related significance. In addition, several statistical sources also register nationality. However, as a consequence of the large number of naturalisations since the early 1990s, non-natives who acquire Dutch nationality is used less and less to characterise the non-native population of the country.

Immediately after World War Two many Dutch citizens emigrated to traditional immigration countries like Canada and Australia, but since the beginning of the 1970s the Netherlands has had a positive migration surplus. The period of de-colonisation was followed, at first, by immigration from the present Indonesia, and then from Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles. In the 1960s, the immigration of foreign workers started on a large scale, to be followed by inflows related to family reunification and family formation in the 1970s and 1980s. By the end of the 1980s, asylum migration had started to increase and now comprises an important share of total immigration. Among other things, the growing impact of asylum migration has greatly increased the range of countries of origin from which the non-native population is drawn compared to the 1970s and 1980s.

While the focus of this report is on the period 1990-2000, the historical background and policy developments set out in section 2 are sketched over a longer time scale, starting after the Second World War. Questions of data and definitional matters are covered in section 3 for recent years. Statistics Netherlands is the main information source used in the preparation of the report, with data coming from registers and also, for example, from surveys of the immigrant populations. Migration trends and developments in the stocks of native and non-native populations are discussed in Section 4 and is closely linked to section 2, but the focus is primarily on the past decade. The distribution of the different populations in terms of age and sex, and also geographically, is treated in section 5, while fertility trends are discussed in section 7. Section 8 deals with differences in household composition between the native and

non-native populations and is followed in section 9 by a rather limited treatment of the mortality of non-natives due to the paucity of data. The concluding remarks are set out in section 10 and constitute the final part of the report.

2. Background¹

2.1. Introduction

The migration history of the Netherlands since World War Two reflects the influence of both political and economic processes on the development of the population of foreign descent and falls into various stages. For several decades now, the country has had a positive migration surplus, with the large scale immigration of foreign workers starting in the 1960s, followed by family reunification and family formation during the 1970s and 1980s. By the end of the 1980s, asylum migration had started to increase and nowadays comprises an important share of total immigration (Tesser *et al.*, 1999). This section briefly describes the various stages of the process and looks in more detail at certain events that have had an impact on migration flows. Developments in the field of policy are also summarised.

2.2. Migration developments

The Second World War was followed by a period of reconstruction in the Netherlands. At the end of the conflict, labour supply still exceeded demand and large numbers of Dutch nationals emigrated to traditional immigration destinations like the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Penninx et al., 1993; WRR, 1993). From 1946 to 1972 almost half a million Dutch citizens emigrated to these countries (Doomernik et al., 1997). Although emigration remained significant until the 1960s, from the late 1950s onwards immigration began to increase, rising from an annual average of 58,000 at the beginning of the 1960s, to an average of 91,000 during the second half of the 1980s and to more than 100,000 in the 1990s (Vermeulen and Böcker, 1992; WRR, 1993). The increase was caused primarily by the immigration of foreign (non-Dutch) nationals, which more than tripled, from an average of 23,000 per year between 1960 and 1964 to an average of 81,000 in the years 1995 to 2000 (Statistics Netherlands, 2001). In 1973 cumulative net migration became positive for the first time in the 20th century and has remained in positive territory ever since. Taking the period 1900 to 2000 as a whole, net migration has added around one million immigrants to the population of the country (Van Wissen and De Beer, 2000).

¹ This chapter is partly based on Penninx et al., 1993 and Esveldt et al., 2000.

In general three developments have contributed to the growing numbers of immigrants - firstly, de-colonisation, secondly, labour recruitment followed by family reunification and thirdly, asylum migration.

Immediately after the Second World War immigration from Indonesia started to increase as a result of the de-colonisation process, with the number of arrivals from this source being put at around 300,000 between 1946 and 1962 (Penninx et al., 1993). The de-colonisation of the Dutch West Indies began several decades later. In 1954, all the residents of Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles were granted Dutch citizenship and the right to live and work in the Netherlands. The first mass influx from Suriname occurred just before independence in 1975 when 55,000 immigrants who had been born there arrived in the Netherlands (Penninx et al., 1993, see figure 2.1). A second wave occurred in 1980 prior to the end of the five-year transition period on settlement and residence. Since 1980, the Surinamese have needed a visa to enter the Netherlands (Muus, 1992; Penninx et al., 1993). Immigration from the Netherlands Antilles, on the other hand, started in the 1950s, with many Antilleans coming to the Netherlands for study and work related reasons. Compared with other groups of immigrants, return migration among Antilleans is relatively high, probably because the Antilles and Aruba are still part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and returning to the Netherlands is therefore relatively easy (Penninx et al., 1993). At the beginning of 1999, there were around 297,000 people of Surinamese origin (including first and second generation) and around 99,000 persons from the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba living in the Netherlands (Statistics Netherlands, 1999).



Figure 2.1 - International migration (nationals and non-nationals; x1,000)

The second development affecting immigration was labour recruitment. As early as the 1950s, the growing Dutch economy had led to labour shortages in several, mainly industrial, sectors. Italian workers were initially recruited for

Source: Statistics Netherlands, various years.

these jobs but, by the end of the 1950s, the labour shortage had become more acute and temporary guest workers were perceived as a solution to the shortage. To regulate the recruitment procedure, bilateral agreements were made between the Dutch government and a number of Mediterranean countries, including Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Morocco, Yugoslavia and Tunisia. Many foreign workers also found work with the help of family or friends already living in the Netherlands, without resorting to official recruitment channels. This often resulted in the establishment of migration chains between sending communities and specific regions or cities in the Netherlands (Böcker, 1995).

At that time, the immigrants themselves as well as the Dutch government expected that they would only be in the Netherlands on a temporary basis but, contrary to any initial intention, many stayed in the Netherlands permanently. Return migration by Turks and Moroccans was limited, despite government programmes to stimulate the process and only the Italians and Spanish returned home in relatively large numbers, often shortly after immigration. Such variance in the rate of return migration among different immigrant groups was partly due to the economic situation in the country of origin, which could make return an attractive or unattractive option.

Immigration continued to increase during the early 1970s, most notably of Turks and Moroccans. But the 1973 oil crisis marked a turning point, and labour recruitment was brought to a halt and immigration stagnated for a short period after this because of the resulting economic recession. The period of labour migration was, however, followed by family reunification and more recently marriage migration which, apart from asylum, are now the only options for acquiring residence in the Netherlands. Migration for the purpose of marriage arises from the fact that many offspring of former labour migrants still prefer a partner from their country of origin (Esveldt et al., 1995). As for the most recent trends, the amount of immigration generated by family re-unification declined between 1987 and 1996 whereas that for family formation increased (Doomernik et al., 1997). In addition, labour migration has increased during the second half of the 1990s because of strong economic growth and the resulting attractive labour market situation. It is especially EU nationals, who are free to move and work in any member state, that are being attracted to the Netherlands (Alders, 2000).

Data from the population registers show that the upward trend in the inflow of foreigners was reversed in 1993 and 1994, when a fall by about 20 per cent occurred. Thereafter, immigration stagnated in 1995, but has subsequently increased by about 15 per cent since 1996. Except for the years 1994 and 1995, the annual inflow of non-Dutch persons has been around 79,000 during the 1990s, with a peak of slightly more than 91,000 in 2000. A number of factors are believed to have contributed to these

trends. Hence, the introduction of a waiting period for family reunification in 1993 is thought to partially account for the fall in immigration in 1994 and also the increase in 1996 since the first immigrants who had fulfilled the three-year waiting requirement were able to come to the Netherlands in 1996. The improved conditions in the labour market are likely to have been an additional incentive to migrate for reasons of family reunification or marriage in recent years (SOPEMI, 1997). In addition, the immigration of asylum seekers has increased enormously in the past ten years, with the war in ex-Yugoslavia, for instance, contributing greatly to the inflow of refugees during the 1990s.

2.3. Asylum migration

The number of asylum seekers in Europe in general and also in the Netherlands grew dramatically in the 1980s and even more so during the 1990s (Entzinger, 1994). Yet, relatively few asylum seekers are granted refugee status under the Geneva Convention, with more receiving temporary protection or not being returned to their country of origin for humanitarian reasons. The majority, however, are required to leave the country in which they sought asylum, although the numbers that comply is often not known. In section 3, the administration of the asylum procedure is outlined, together with the consequences for data-related issues.

Figure 2.2 summarises the absolute number of asylum requests made in the Netherlands for the years 1986 to 2000. The figure also shows the number of requests granted in any particular year, although it should be noted that these do not necessarily relate to the year in which the request was made. According to data from the Ministry of Justice, the number of asylum requests filed in the Netherlands peaked in 1994 at 50,000 with the sharp decline thereafter probably being the result of changes in the Aliens Act of 1994 (Doomernik *et al.*, 1997). However, in 1997 and 1998 the number of asylum requests again rose but has since consolidated at the 1998 level.

Currently, a high proportion of asylum seekers originate from Afghanistan, former Yugoslavia, Iraq and Iran, which differs markedly from the situation in earlier years. In 1987, for example, the largest groups of refugees came from Ghana, India and Turkey.

In addition to asylum migration, undocumented or illegal migration has received an increasing amount of attention in the 1990s. Estimates of the number of illegal migrants are, however, difficult to make, with existing figures often referring to totally different forms of illegality, such as illegal entrance, illegal stay or illegal work. Focusing on illegal stay, it is generally believed that there are around 100,000 individuals currently living illegally in the Netherlands, mainly in the large cities (Groenendijk and Böcker, 1995).



Figure 2.2 - Asylum applications (x1000)

The migration history of the Netherlands, in terms of registered non-native residents by country of birth, is presented in table 2.1. The de-colonisation period is still visible in the relatively large number of non-natives with Indonesian and Surinamese roots. The labour recruitment period, on the other hand, is represented by the substantial Turkish and Moroccan non-native populations, the last mentioned growing substantially between 1995 and 1999 due to family reunification and family formation. The importance of asylum migration is exemplified by the growth in the numbers of persons from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Somalia and former Yugoslavia in the second half of the 1990s. In addition, the countries that neighbour the Netherlands in particular, but also other EU member states, contribute significantly to the non-native population of the country, comprising almost as many as the combined total of Turks, Moroccans and Surinamese.

	1 January 1995	1 January 2000
Natives	12 976	13 089
Non-natives	2 448	2 775
of which:		
Afghanistan	3	21
Antilles and Aruba	86	107
EU countries	733	739
Ghana	12	16
Indonesia	413	405

Tableau 2.1 - Natives and selected non-natives by country of birth (x 1,000)

Source: Statistics Netherlands, 1999c and 2000.

	1 January 1995	1 January 2000
Iran	14	23
Iraq	8	33
Morocco	219	262
Somalia	17	29
Suriname	276	303
Turkey	264	309
Former Yugoslavia	49	67

Source: Statistics Netherlands, Maandstatistiek van de bevolking, March 2001.

Note: The presented figures are defined by the country of birth of the given individuals and of their parents. Before 1995 this criterion was rarely used by Statistics Netherlands. For more information on data definitions and statistics readers are referred to section 3.

2.4. Policy developments

The admission policy of the Netherlands applies only to foreigners and no restrictions are placed on the immigration of Dutch citizens. The perception of immigration and, as a consequence of this, the country's admission policy is in the process of continuous change. The beginning of the 1980s marked, for instance, a period of economic crisis and deterioration in the socio-economic position of resident foreigners, with sharp rises in unemployment being recorded, especially in those industrial sectors employing many foreigners. As a result, policy was modified to a more restrictive stance, emphasising prevention of immigration and support for return migration.

Nowadays, Dutch admission policy is based on restricted immigration and residence permits are, in principle, only issued in accordance with international treaties, or on humanitarian grounds, or if the Dutch interest is served. International treaties include the EU treaty with regard to free movement of people, the Schengen Agreement and, especially with respect to asylum and refugees, the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1951 Geneva Convention. In all other cases, residence permits are issued for short-term admission only (e.g. study).

After the revision of the Aliens Act of 1994, a new Aliens Act (Aliens Act 2000) came into force on 1 April 2001. The main amendments in the 2000 Act relate to the procedure for asking asylum (e.g. simplification of the appeals process) and the status of successful applicants. Every asylum seeker granted permission to stay receives the same temporary residence permit, which has to be renewed annually for the first three years. They are allowed to undertake paid work and are eligible for a residence permit of unlimited duration after three years. A decision on an asylum application has to be taken within six months of submission. If the asylum application is rejected, an appeal can

be lodged to the District Court and a higher appeal to the Council of State. In the latter case the asylum-seeker must leave the Netherlands to await the decision. In line with the simplification of status, the rights and benefits of asylum seekers have been streamlined largely in accordance with international obligations. The new act seeks to speed up and simplify the process of decision-making, as well as harmonising rights and obligations.

The changing economic situation and the shift away from labour migration during the 1980s led to the formulation of the so-called 'minorities policy'. Ethnic minorities are defined as such by the Dutch government and include those migrant groups who find themselves in a deprived position². Turks, Moroccans, Southern Europeans, Surinamese, Antilleans, Moluccans and refugees have been categorised as minorities under its terms. The policy implicitly recognised that many immigrants wished to remain in the Netherlands and aimed to encourage their participation in Dutch society while at the same time preserving immigrant culture. The children of immigrants could, for example, receive government-funded education in their own language. Subsequently, and especially since the early 1990s, the governmental emphasis has shifted to a more integration-focused approach and the participation of all groups in society has come to the fore. This development should be seen against the background of changing welfare state arrangements in the Netherlands. Dutch language training as well as a reception policy for new arriving immigrants is increasingly seen as an essential element in providing immigrants with the opportunity to fully participate and integrate into Dutch society at the social and economic level (Entzinger, 1994).

Since the implementation of the government's minority policy and the 1985 Dutch Nationality Act (*Rijkswet op het Nederlanderschap*), naturalisation has become more important as a way to acquiring Dutch nationality (the other ways are by right and by option). Naturalisation is bound by several rules. In general, a person has to be at least 18 years of age, have a minimum of 5 years of legal residence in the country, have an adequate knowledge of the Dutch language and exhibit a satisfactory degree of integration into Dutch society (Van den Bedem, 1993). In addition, the minor children of foreign nationals who have acquired Dutch nationality can immediately become part of the naturalisation procedure (*mede naturalisatie*) - in 2000 one third of naturalisations came about through this procedure.

Those wishing to become Dutch nationals have to renounce their former nationality, although there are several exceptions to this rule (Smeets *et al.*, 1999), for instance, for migrants originating from countries, like Morocco, where it is forbidden by law to renounce one's nationality. Between 1992 and 1996 this

² The minority policy is not limited to migrant groups only but incorporates gypsies, caravanners and former labour migrants as well.

requirement was not adhered to, because proposals to change the law on this point were under preparation at that time, the implications being that it would become possible to acquire dual nationality. In anticipation of this change in the law, many Turks made use of what they assumed would be this new possibility. The Dutch Parliament, however, did not pass the proposed change, and in October 1997 the possibility of dual nationality was again restricted, i.e. foreign nationals wishing to acquire Dutch nationality still (or again) have to renounce their former nationality. Section 4 of this report discusses the naturalisation figures in more detail.

3. Sources of data, definitions and concepts³

3.1. Definitions

Concepts such as foreigner, immigrant, ethnic minority are often confused with each other, although they may well refer to different groups of people as determined by factors like country of origin or reason for migration. The members of ethnic minority groups, for instance, are not always immigrants; nor are they necessarily aliens. In order to be aware of the precise categories one is dealing with when describing certain aspects of population size and composition, it is essential to be appreciative of the different definitions. The term non-native, as used here to indicate persons who have had at least one parent born abroad, represents the most recent definition by Statistics Netherlands.

Up to the middle of 1999, Statistics Netherlands had utilised both a narrow and broad definition of non-native, using country of birth as the most important criterion. According to the narrow definition, persons who had been born abroad, or for whom both parents had been born abroad were classed as non-natives. The broad definition, on the other hand, included these categories as well as those with only one parent born abroad. Since 1999, however, the narrow and broad definitions have been combined and a non-native is now defined as a person with one or both parents born abroad. Non-natives of the first generation are persons born abroad with one or both parents also born abroad, whereas the term second-generation non-native refers to those born in the Netherlands but with one or both parents born abroad. This new definition therefore also covers, for the first time, persons born in the Netherlands with one parent born abroad (table 3.1). Persons falling in the first four categories in table 3.1 have all been born outside the Netherlands. In the case of category 4, however, persons born abroad with both parents born in the Netherlands, perhaps during a holiday or period of temporary emigration, it was considered inappropriate to label such cases as non-natives as had been the case with the broad definition used up to 1999.

³ This chapter is partly based on Esveldt *et al.*, 2000.

uc										
Narrow definiti	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	1+2+3	2	1+2+3+7
1999 definition	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	1+2+3	5+6+7	1+2+3+5+6+7
Non-natives broad definition	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	1+2+3+4	5+6+7	1+2+3+4+5+6+7
Country of birth father	Outside NL	Netherlands	Outside NL	Netherlands	Outside NL	Netherlands	Outside NL	Total 1 st generation	Total 2 nd generation	Total non-natives
Country of birth mother	Netherlands	Outside NL	Outside NL	Netherlands	Netherlands	Outside NL	Outside NL			
Country of birth	1 Outside NL	2 Outside NL	3 Outside NL	4 Outside NL	5 Netherlands	6 Netherlands	7 Netherlands			

Table 3.1- Three definitions of non-native used by Statistics Netherlands

Source: Keij, 2000.

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Furthermore a new class of non-native was introduced in 1999 by distinguishing between non-natives from western and non-western countries. Western countries comprise the countries of Europe (excluding Turkey) plus North America, Oceania, Japan and Indonesia (including the former Dutch East Indies). Non-western countries include Turkey and the whole of Africa, Latin America and Asia (excluding Japan and Indonesia).

The reason for this distinction is socio-economic and cultural and is not strictly geographical. The category western non-native is broadly similar to the native population in terms of socio-economic and cultural features (Keij, 2000), whereas the non-western non-native population clearly differs in these regards and also in demographic terms with a younger age structure and higher fertility. Non-natives from Indonesia constitute a special case because many of them are Dutch people, who have been born outside the Netherlands to Dutch parents living in the former Dutch East Indies and Indonesia in the first half of the 20th century.

First generation non-natives are categorised by country of birth. Second generation non-natives, on the other hand, are categorised by mothers' country of birth unless the mother was born in the Netherlands, in which case the fathers' country of birth is used (Statistics Netherlands, 1999b). Children with parents born in the Netherlands but whose grandparents were non-natives (third generation) are no longer identified as non-native in the population register (Statistics Netherlands, 1999c).

Using nationality or citizenship as a criterion to identify migrants or migrant groups has lost some of its meaning now that increasing numbers of migrants acquire Dutch nationality, partly as a result of their prolonged residence in the Netherlands. Therefore, using nationality to define migrant groups means non-natives disappear from the statistics about the non-native population once they are naturalised (see also section 4). Moreover, the way in which nationality is acquired at birth determines whether children born to foreign parents acquire the citizenship of their country of birth (*ius soli*) or whether they acquire the nationality of their parents (*ius sanguinis*), and can therefore influence whether someone is counted as a non-national or not. The Dutch nationality legislation actually combines both with the emphasis being on the ius sanguinis principle. A child with a Dutch father or mother receives Dutch nationality irrespective of where the child has been born. In addition, children born in the Netherlands to parents living in the Netherlands and with a grandmother also living in the Netherlands at the moment of birth also acquire Dutch nationality.

Many people born in the Netherlands Antilles, Aruba and, in the past, Suriname have Dutch nationality and cannot be distinguished from other Dutch nationals on the basis of nationality. Because changes of nationality influence the size and structure of the population by nationality, statistics are now increasingly making use of combinations of criteria, such as country of birth and parental country of birth. A comparison between country of birth and nationality provides one method of gaining some insight into the extent of naturalisations among migrant groups. That said, almost everyone with non-Dutch nationality has been born abroad or has parents who have been born abroad (Statistics Netherlands, 1996). The same is obviously not true the other way round.

The impact of the different definitions and distinctions adopted for statistical purposes on the apparent size the non-native population in 1999 is illustrated in table 3.2. Of the population residing in the country in that year, 8.6 per cent belonged to an ethnic minority, as defined in section 2. The previous narrow definition, on the other hand, gives a non-native population of almost 1.9 million persons, or 12 per cent of the population (Tesser *et al.*, 1999), while according to the new 1999 definition around 17 per cent or 2.7 million persons are classed as non-natives, roughly evenly distributed between those of 'western' and 'non-western' origin.

	Non-natives defined according to:						
	broad definition	1999 definition	narrow definition	nationality			
Non-western non-natives	1 388	1 346	1 218				
of which							
Turkey	300	300	289	102			
Morocco	253	252	243	128			
Suriname	299	297	262	10			
Antilles	106	99	78				
Western non-natives (incl. Indonesia)	1 435	1 353	666				
Total number of non-natives	2 823	2 699	1 890	662			
Percentage of total population	17.9	17.1	11.9	4.2			

Table 3.2 - Definitional impact on the apparent size of the non-native population in1999 (x 1,000)

Source: Statistics Netherlands, 1999b; Prins and Verhoef, 2000a; Keij, 2000.

3.2 Data sources

The last Netherlands census was undertaken in 1971, and the population registers of the municipalities now form the basis for counts of the total population of the country. Coinciding with an adjustment of the definitions used, Dutch migration statistics have been collated via an electronic data gathering system operated as part of the municipal population registers since October 1994 (*Gemeentelijke Basis Administratie, GBA*). Before then, Dutch nationals intending to stay more than 30 days and non-natives intending to

stay at least 180 days in the country had to report and were entered in the population register (Schoorl *et al.*, 1996). But since October 1994, only those intending to stay in the Netherlands for 120 days during the next 6 months (not necessarily a continuous period) have to report (Statistics Netherlands, 1999a). As part of these changes, the registers record as emigrants persons intending to leave the country for a period of at least 240 days in the following twelve months (Statistics Netherlands, 1999a; Prins, 1995).

The population register contains data about the size and composition of the (legally) resident population and changes to these data as a result of births and deaths, immigration and emigration. It also contains information on marriages, divorces and changes in nationality. Since the introduction of the GBA it has been possible to distinguish persons by their country of birth together with that of their parents as well as by nationality. It is, however, not possible in all cases to apply these 'new' definitions to the old data. Statistics Netherlands in its monthly bulletin Population Statistics (Maandstatistiek van de Bevolking) publishes statistical information based on the GBA data.

The immigration data from the registers tend to be more reliable than that relating to emigration. This may be a result of the fact that people leaving the country derive no benefit from registering and therefore leave without notice, whereas immigrants need to register, for example, in order to receive a residence permit. Data from the registration systems are revised regularly (administrative corrections) to correct for inconsistencies, such as double counting and unregistered emigration (Schoorl *et al.*, 1996). In recent years, these have increased substantially and there were almost 20,000 net removals in 1999. The greater part of these administrative corrections are added to the number of emigrants since they relate to the processing of the departure of persons who failed to notify their intention to the local authorities (Statistics Netherlands, 1995). At the moment, around a quarter of estimated emigration consists of corrections. In addition, it is clear that figures on illegal residents cannot, by definition, be found in the administrative data sources.

The Immigration and Naturalisation Service (INS) of the Ministry of Justice (Tesser *et al.*, 1996) registers asylum applications separately, including the number of asylum requests, the number of requests granted and the number granted refugee status (a few hundred a year based on a quota system). Asylum seekers are only entered in the population register once they are given a status or, in the case of those residing in a reception centre, six months after a request has been made. Asylum seekers living with, for example, family or friends should be registered at the municipality directly after arrival. As a consequence of this system, the number of asylum seekers is not always reflected in the actual number of registered immigrants. In addition, a granted asylum request can relate to an application for asylum requests, the percentage granted and the percentage dealt with need to be interpreted with caution. As the asylum procedure may

take several years, the number of requests granted in a particular year does not necessarily refer to the actual requests made in that year. In 1994, for example, 13,000 asylum seekers from former Yugoslavia were registered, whereas only 8,000 immigrants from the region were actually recorded.

Non-natives with residence permits are registered by the alien police in the city of residence. Basic information on every non-native is gathered through the alien administration system (Vreemdelingen Administratie Systeem or 'VAS') and is available by alien police unit, although other sources have to be consulted about matters like economic activity and level of education. These include periodic large-scale representative surveys carried out by Statistics Netherlands, such as the Housing Demand Survey and the Labour Force Survey, although even these tend to be deficient as far as information about non-natives is concerned. The results of such surveys are therefore primarily indicative in respect of the position of migrant groups. A survey specifically covering immigrants is the 'Social Position and Use of Services of Foreigners Survey' (SPVA) carried out by the Institute for Socio-economic Research (ISEO) of the Erasmus University (Rotterdam). Immigrant groups included in the SPVA are Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans/Arubans. The last SPVA surveys dates from 1998 and use is made of the information collected in section 8.

A disadvantage of the simultaneous use of different sources is that the definitions applied to non-natives are not always uniform, with nationality sometimes being used as a criterion and sometimes country of birth. The majority of the data used in this report are from Statistics Netherlands, and the definitions used in each instance are always made clear.

4. Migration patterns and stocks of migrants

4.1. Introduction

In the past decade, while immigration has fluctuated, it has grown especially strongly since 1995 and its composition has changed. Whereas in 1990 more than 25 per cent of all immigrants came from Turkey, Morocco and Suriname, this had fallen to 11 per cent by 2000 and implies that immigration from other countries, mainly asylum related, has increased substantially (De Valk *et al.*, 2001). Several factors have impacted on the size and growth rate of the immigrant population of the country, including patterns of immigration and emigration, as well as the demographic characteristics and behaviour of the migrants. The importance of these factors differs by time period and group. Hence, the absolute growth of longer resident groups, like the Turks and Moroccans, is nowadays mainly a function of an increasing second generation, whereas for more recent arrivals this is still mainly attributable to the influx of new immigrants. The effect of immigration is therefore related to such factors as the initial size and sustainability of the immigration is therefore related to such factors as the initial size and sustainability of the immigration is therefore related to such factors as the initial size and Sprangers, 1992).

Country of birth	Total	First generation	Second g	eneration	% non- natives
			two parents born abroad	one parent born abroad	
Total	2 775	1 431	518	826	100
Non-western countries	1 409	886	386	136	50.8
of which:					
Turkey	309	178	118	13	11.1
Netherlands Antilles/Aruba	107	69	16	22	3.9
Suriname	303	183	82	37	10.9
Afghanistan	21	20	2	0	0.8
China	30	20	8	2	1.1
Iraq	33	30	3	0	1.2
Iran	23	20	2	1	0,.8
Pakistan	16	10	5	0	0.6
Vietnam	15	10	4	0	0.5
Egypt	14	9	2	4	0.5
Ghana	16	11	4	1	0.6
Cape Verde	18	11	6	2	0.6
Morocco	262	153	100	10	9.4
Somalia	29	21	7	0	1.0
South Afica	13	7	0	5	0.5
Western countries	1 367	545	132	690	49.3
of which:					
Belgium	113	35	6	72	4.1
Germany	401	107	22	272	14.5
France	30	15	1	13	1.1
Italy	34	16	2	15	1.2
Poland	29	16	2	11	1.0
Spain	30	17	4	9	1.1
United Kingdom	69	41	3	25	2.5
Former Yugoslavia	67	50	9	7	2,4
Former Soviet Union	23	16	1	5	0.8
United States	27	17	0	9	1.0
Indonesia	405	141	71	193	14.6

Table 4.1 - Non-natives by country of birth, 1 January 2000 (x 1,000)

Source: Statistics Netherlands (September 2000).

The section begins by presenting a picture of the current stock of non-natives using the latest 1999 definition (see section 3). The components of change are the subject matter of section 4.2, in which, firstly, the changes in the total resident population occurring in 1998 are outlined, and secondly an overview given of flow data for the last two to three decades. The final part of the section deals with the effect of half a century of migration on population size and structure via the Le Bras exercise.

The absolute numbers and relative distribution of the non-native population as of 1 January 2000 are presented in table 4.1 by country of birth, distinguishing also between those of first and second generation origin. Slightly more than 50% consist of first generation immigrants, and around half are of 'western' background with Germany and Indonesia being the leading countries of origin. According to the figures, sixty per cent of the 'western' non-natives have been born in the Netherlands.

A quarter of the persons with German roots had been born in Germany, and two-thirds had one parent who had been born in Germany. Of persons with an Indonesian background, 65 per cent belong to the second generation. Those of Indonesian origin are somewhat exceptional, however, in that although many have one parent who was born in Indonesia, these are often the children of Dutch parents living in Indonesia because of the colonial link. The majority of these came to the Netherlands between 1945 and 1962.

By comparison, almost two thirds of non-natives with a 'non-western' background are more likely to be first generation immigrants (63 per cent). The older established Surinamese, Turkish and Moroccan populations now consist of about forty per cent of second generation origin, with recent asylum immigrants belonging predominantly to the first generation, e.g. upwards of eighty per cent of Iraqis, Iranians and Somalis in the country are immigrants of the first generation.

4.2. Components of change in immigrant populations

Changes in the non-native population are presented in two ways. Firstly, changes in the total resident population (native and non-native) in 1998 are discussed, highlighting the importance of migration in the overall growth of the population of the Netherlands and using country of birth for the definition of non-native. Secondly, flow data are presented for the period 1980-1998, based on nationality where the focus is on non-natives and the separate contributions of immigration, emigration, return migration and naturalisations are identified.

4.2.1. Changes in 1998: stock data based on country of birth

Table 4.2 presents the main components of change in the native and non-native population by country of birth for the period January 1 to December 31, 1998.

	Population on 1/1	Births	Death	Immigration	Emigration	Correction	Population on 31/12	Total growth
Total population	15 654.2	199.4	137.5	122.4	60.4	-17.9	15 760.2	106.0
Natives	13 033.8	158.1	123.9	22.1	26.3	-2.8	13 061.0	27.2
Non-natives	2 620.4	41.3	13.6	100.3	34.2	-15.1	2 699.1	78.7
of which:								
Western non-natives	1 341.9	11.4	11.0	39.3	20.9	-7.5	1 353.2	11.3
of which:								
Belgium	111.5	1.1	1.3	2.4	1.4	-0.3	112.0	0.5
Germany	406.0	2.1	5.3	5.8	4.1	-1.0	403.5	-2.5
United Kingdom	66.8	1.0	0.2	4.6	2.7	-1.7	67.8	1.0
other EU	148.7	2.1	0.6	8.4	4.3	-1.9	152.4	3.7
Indonesia	407.9	1.2	2.9	2.9	1.8	-0.3	407.0	-0.9
Non-western non-natives	1 278.5	30.0	2.6	61.0	13.3	-7.5	1 346.0	67.5
of which:								
Iraq	22.3	0.7	0.0	7.4	0.1	-0.3	30.0	7.7
Iran	20.7	0.3	0.0	1.2	0.2	-0.2	21.8	1.1
Morocco	242.0	6.7	0.3	5.8	1.0	-0.7	252.5	10.5
Netherlands Antilles	92.1	1.8	0.2	8.0	2.2	-0.4	99.1	7.0
Somalia	25.8	1.2	0.0	1.4	0.4	-0.6	27.4	1.6
Suriname	290.5	4.6	1.0	5.0	1.5	-0.6	297.0	6.5
Turkey	289.8	7.1	0.5	6.0	1.7	-1.1	299.6	9.8
Source: Prins and Verhoef,	2000b.							

Table 4.2 - Changes in the native and non-native population by country of birth, 1998 (x 1,000)

The demographic characteristics of immigrant populations in the Netherlands

Births

Variations in the number of births by country of origin are clearly a reflection of the factors mentioned in the introduction to this section. Those populations with German and Indonesian roots recorded relatively few births and also declined in number during 1998. By contrast, the number of births was highest among Turks and Moroccans, not only because they are large groups in absolute terms but also because of the growing second generation who themselves have children. These are also the only groups where the number of births exceeded the number of new immigrants.

Deaths

Due to their relatively recent arrival and young age structure, for non-natives as a whole, ageing and mortality are still relatively insignificant, and at present exert little effect on population size. Significant levels of mortality were recorded only by the Indonesian and German populations, thereby contributing to their minor decline in 1998.

Immigration and emigration

There were around 100,000 non-native and 22,000 native immigrants in 1998 compared with around 60,000 emigrations in the same year, giving a positive net inflow, including administrative corrections, of about 43,000 persons. When the other components of change are added (births, deaths, etc), it is apparent that the Dutch population as a whole increased by 106,000 persons in 1998. The non-western non-native population accounted for the largest share of this growth, mainly because of the arrival of 61,000 new immigrants.

4.2.2. Components of change in recent decades using flow data based on nationality

In the remainder of the section data on non-natives are based on nationality. The reason for the shift from country of birth to nationality is due to the fact that data on country of birth have only been systematically available since 1995 (see note in table 2.1.).

Immigration

For many decades, the number of non-native immigrants has been consistently larger than the number of emigrants (figure 4.1). The number of foreign immigrants rose from 37,000 to 87,000 between 1984 and 1993 and, although declining in 1994 and 1995 for the reasons set out in section 2, the upward trend was resumed in 1996 with an influx of over 90,000 being recorded in 2000. The recent rise is mainly due to the growing number of asylum seekers but the growth of the Dutch economy over the last few years

has also attracted an increasing number of labour migrants. Statistics Netherlands has calculated that about 20 per cent of the present annual inflow is made up of labour related migration (de Jong, 2001).



Figure 4.1 - Immigration and emigration of non-natives (by citizenship, x 1,000)

The geographical composition of the total inflow changed significantly during the last decade. Immigrants from Turkey, Morocco and Suriname have formed a decreasing proportion of the inflow, partly due to the restrictive policy measures for family reunification and formation, but also because of the growing influx of other groups. The share of people coming from Asia, for example, has grown from 9 per cent in 1990 to 16 per cent in 1999, while Central and Eastern European migrants who accounted for 4 per cent of the total in 1990 made up 8 per cent in 1999 (Alders, 2000). Many of the immigrants from Asia and Central and Eastern Europe are asylum seekers. For instance, former Yugoslavia contributed an inflow of around 12,000 in 1994, three-quarters of whom were asylum seekers. The second half of the 1990s has, however, seen a drop in the number of asylum seekers from Central and Eastern Europe, as labour migration and family formation have become more important among these groups. Many Polish women, for example, come to the Netherlands to marry a Dutch partner (De Valk *et al.*, 2001).

Emigration (including return migration)

Since the beginning of the 1970s, emigration has been more stable than immigration, including the last decade. Emigrants born in the Netherlands, almost all of whom have been Dutch citizens, have formed almost half the total outflow in each year between 1990 and 1999. As to the extent of return migration, this differs strongly by immigrant group although, in general, the percentages are low. We do, however, know that about half of non-Dutch emigrants were born in other 'western' countries. 'Western' immigrants also

Source: Statistics Netherlands.

display a greater inclination to emigrate or return than their 'non-western' counterparts (see also table 4.2), which is attributable, in part, to the fact that EU citizens are free to move to other EU countries. The second half of the 1990s did, however, see a sharp decline in return migration by all migrant groups, which Alders has put down to the favourable economic conditions in the Netherlands against the unfavourable conditions found in some countries of origin (Alders 2000, p.6).

Up to early 1995, there had been a progressive trend towards return migration among Arubans and Antilleans (Tjemmes, 1996), which appears to have been directly linked to the increased flow of these two groups to the Netherlands during the late 1980s. But, in addition to this, the favourable development of the tourist sector at home was an important 'pull' factor for return. In the case of the Surinamese, return migration has generally been declining in recent decades, apparently as a result of the economic recession and political instability in Suriname itself. Otherwise, return migration has always been modest among Turks and Moroccans, but dropped even further during the second half of the 1990s. As for the future, the fact that there is a downward trend in immigration among the groups mentioned suggests that the number of return migrants will decrease still further in the medium term (Alders, 2000).

4.3. Naturalisation

The composition of immigrant populations defined by nationality can change due to the effects of naturalisation. Up to 1990, the number of non-natives acquiring Dutch nationality was never above 20,000 per annum, except in 1985 (Prins, 1998). After 1990 however, the number increased significantly from almost 13,000 persons to around 83,000 in 1996 (see figure 4.2). The strong increase in naturalisation between 1990 and 1996 is partly explained by the proposed changes in the naturalisation rules and their implementation. Dual nationality was permitted throughout this period as already mentioned in Section 2.4 (Esveldt et al., 1995; Tas, 1996; Statistics Netherlands, 1997a). Some 80 per cent of naturalised persons, mainly Turks, Iranians and Moroccans, retained their original nationality between 1995 and 1997, but following the introduction of restrictions on dual nationality after 1997, the total number of naturalisations declined. In terms of nationality, the bulk of naturalisations up to 1996 consisted of Moroccans, Turks and Surinamese and, while the number of Turkish and Moroccan naturalisations has continued to rise, it is still relatively low compared to the population size of these groups. Since 1998, the naturalisation of non-natives has stabilised at the 1997 level, but its composition has changed as other nationalities, mainly from asylum countries, have come to dominate (Muus, 1999).



Figure 4.2 - Persons residing in the Netherlands acquiring Dutch nationality by former country of nationality (x 1,000)

The net growth of the non-native population by nationality is summarised in figure 4.3. Hence, the net growth of non-natives shows a continuous upward trend between 1985 and 1991, but has since tended to fall away, particularly between 1994 and 1996. This has been mainly due to the high rate of naturalisation, which has outpaced the combined effect of natural growth, net migration and administrative corrections over the period in question. One should note, however, that the net growth of the non-native population has resumed since 1997.

Figure 4.3 - Components of change in the non-native population (x 1,000)

4.4. The impact of migration on the total population

In order to assess the impact of migration on the size and composition of the Dutch population, a simulation exercise was executed on the assumption of zero migration, following the method described by Le Bras in 1991, and taking 1950 as the initial year. Fertility and mortality rates were calculated from observed births and deaths by single years of age and sex for the period 1950-1998. The results of the exercise are presented in figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4 - Total population, observed and simulated (millions)

In 1950, the population of the Netherlands numbered 10.027 million persons and had grown to a total of 15.760 million persons by 1999. On the other hand, if we assume zero migration over the period, the population at 14.936 million persons in 1999, would have been 824,000 persons or 5.2 per cent smaller than the observed. In more detail, the observed population is the slightly smaller of the two up to 1976 - the maximum difference being recorded in 1962 when the simulated population was 142,000 larger than the observed. This pattern clearly reflects the fact that observed net migration was negative in the years 1951 to 1957 and again in 1959 and 1960. After 1962, the difference between the simulated and observed population first becomes smaller, turns negative in 1976 and has stayed that way ever since.

Since net immigration is higher in the final quarter of the simulation period, the size difference between the observed and simulated populations also widens. For the period 1950 to 1998 as a whole, negative net migration totals 190,000, whereas the aggregate of positive net migration amounts to 1.2 million, giving an overall net gain of just over 1 million persons. This differs from the figure of 824,000 mentioned above, because the simulated net immigration is only notional and did not contribute to the natural growth of the population. The opposite, of course, holds true for net emigration.

Figure 4.5 compares the age and sex distributions with and without migration in 1999. In the absence of migration, the Dutch population would have been slightly older - not so much because of a larger number of elderly people, but more because of fewer people under the age of 52. When the difference between the observed and simulated populations in 1999 is broken down into those younger and older than 65, the younger component is seen to account for 790,000 of the overall disparity, with the population aged 65 and

over adding another 34,000 to it. The implications for the ageing process are as follows. Between 1950 and 1999 the percentage aged 65 and over increased substantially, rising from 7.7 per cent to 13.5 per cent in 1999, i.e. an increase of 5.8 percentage points (see table 4.3). This compares with 14.0 per cent in 1999 under the assumption of zero migration. Similarly the old age dependency ratio or grey pressure (the ratio of those aged 65 and over to the number aged 20 to 64) was 14.0 per cent in 1950 in the observed population increasing to 21.8 per cent in 1999, compared with 22.6 per cent in 1999 according to the simulation, i.e. a difference of only 0.8 of a percentage point. Indeed, the difference only becomes positive after 1992. We would conclude, therefore, that over the 50 year period, 1950 to 1999, migration only slowed down the ageing process by about 0.5 of a percentage point.

Figure 4.5 - Age and sex distribution with and without migration in 1999

Table 4.3 - Dependency ratios: observed and simulated

	1950 observed	1975 observed	1975 observed	1999 observed	1999 simulated
Population size (x 1,000)	10 027	13 599	13 622	15 760	14 936
Age distribution (%)					
0-19	37.3	34.2	34.6	24.4	23.9
20-64	55.0	55.1	55.1	62.1	62.1
65+	7.7	10.7	10.2	13.5	14.0
Dependency ratios (%)					
grey pressure	14.0	19.5	18.5	21.8	22.6

Source: Observed values from Statistics Netherlands, the no migration values from NIDI simulations based on observed values from Statistics Netherlands.

5. Population structure by age and sex

5.1. Introduction

In general, immigration is selective by gender and age. During the 1960s and 1970s, when the Netherlands imported so-called 'guest workers', the age and sex distribution of the immigrant population was very skewed towards males and the younger age groups. In 1976, the Moroccan and Turkish immigrant populations were still in the majority male and concentrated in the age range 25 to 44 (Penninx *et al.*, 1993). Thereafter, due to family reunification, the age and sex distributions of these populations have become more balanced. Nowadays, most migrants are still under 30 years of age when they arrive, with the mean age on arrival being 26 to 27 years between 1900 and 1998. Over the past decade the gender balance at arrival has been fairly even, with women now arriving independently or together with their spouses (e.g. asylum seekers), and not years later as tends to be the case with family reunification (De Valk *et al.*, 2001).

In this section, we briefly describe the age and sex distribution of the Dutch population as a point of reference. The presentation of the non-native population focuses on the larger groups and on recent developments. The spatial distribution of the population is described in the final part of the section

The distribution of the total resident population by age and sex is presented in figure 5.1 for the years 1990 and 2000. The 30 to 39 age group constituted the modal age range in 2000, with one in six persons belonging this age group. It derives from the large birth cohorts of the 1960s when fertility was still high and smaller age groups follow due to fertility decline after 1970. The older population has grown in absolute and relative numbers over the past decades and will continue to do so over the medium term (Prins and Verhoef, 2000b).

Figure 5.1 - Total population in the Netherlands by age and sex

Source: Statistics Netherlands for 1990 and 2000.

The age structure of western non-natives resembles that of the total and native populations respectively. The modal age range is 30 and 55 years, and younger and older age groups are smaller in size (Prins and Verhoef, 2000b).

5.2. Selected non-native populations by age and sex in the 1990s

The age and sex distributions of five non-native populations are discussed below. The data for the three 'older' populations of Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese origin - defined on the basis of country of birth - relate to 1990 and 1999. For the two populations of more recent origin - Iranians and Somalis, the only meaningful figures available are for the end of the 1990s.

In 1990, the Turkish and Moroccan population pyramids tended to be uneven in the 20-54 age range, although the share of male and female adults was relatively balanced (figures 5.2 and 5.3). The main difference compared to the mid-1970s is the broader base to the pyramids, which is a reflection of family reunification and the relatively high fertility of the two groups. In the case of the Surinamese (figure 5.4) and Antilleans, their age and sex distribution remained relatively stable between 1976 and 1990 but with some skewing towards the productive age groups (Penninx *et al.*, 1993, p. 27), reflecting the fact that their fertility had been low for some time and that their TFR was already below 2.0 in 1990 (see section 6).

Figure 5.2 - The population of Turkish origin by age and sex (based on country of birth)

Source: Statistics Netherlands.

By 1999, the pyramids of each of these populations had changed slightly. The proportions under the age of 15 had declined, while in the case of the Turkish and Moroccan populations, the proportion over 55 had expanded somewhat. This pattern reflects the trend towards lower fertility and later age at marriage, as well as the general process of ageing in the non-native population of the first generation (see sections 4, 6 and 7).

Figure 5.3 - The population of Moroccan origin by age and sex (based on country of birth)

Figure 5.4 - The population of Surinamese origin by age and sex (based on country of birth)

Source: Statistics Netherlands.

The Iranian and Somali distributions by age and sex are depicted in figures 5.5 and 5.6. Most of these immigrants have come to the Netherlands as asylum seekers since the beginning of the 1990s. The 25 to 45 age group of both males and females is strongly represented, while the child population is more prominent among Somalis.

Figure 5.5 - The population of Iranian origin by age and sex (based on country of birth), 1999

Source: Statistics Netherlands, 1999.

Source: Statistics Netherlands, 1999.

5.3. Spatial distribution of the non-native population in the Netherlands

The 16 million inhabitants of the Netherlands live in twelve provinces. Some are densely populated like Noord and Zuid Holland in the West, and Utrecht in the centre of the country, while others, like Friesland, Groningen and Drenthe in the north, Flevoland in the Centre, and Zeeland in the Southwest, are relatively sparsely inhabited,. The distribution of the population for the twelve provinces is given in table 5.1 and figure 5.7 as on 1 January 2000.

Figure 5.7 - Distribution of the native and non-native populations by provinces (absolute numbers), 1 January 2000

The three largest cities of the country (Amsterdam with 730,000 inhabitants, Rotterdam with 593,000, and The Hague with 441,000) are located in Noord and Zuid Holland. These provinces are also the country's economic heartland and contain the harbours of Rotterdam (and Amsterdam), all central government institutions, multinational companies etc. (data: Prins and Verhoef, 2000b, p. 81).

Table 5.1 and figure 5.7 show that the non-native population is strongly represented in this part of the country, with almost 60 per cent of 'non-western' non-natives and 40 per cent of 'western' non-natives residing here against 35 per cent of the native population.

Drowings	Nativos	Non-natives				
Province	nauves	non-western	Western	Total		
Groningen	3.8	1.8	2.6	2.2		
Friesland	4.4	1.3	2.0	1.7		
Drenthe	3.3	0.9	1.9	1.4		
Overijssel	7.2	4.5	5.5	5.0		
Gelderland	12.8	7.1	10.5	8.8		
Utrecht	7.0	7.4	6.6	7.0		
Noord-Holland	14.6	25.1	18.6	21.9		
Zuid-Holland	20.0	34.3	22.0	28.3		
Zeeland	2.4	1.0	2.7	1.9		
N-Brabant	15.5	10.4	13.1	11.7		
Limburg	7.0	3.5	12.5	8.0		
Flevoland	1.9	2.7	1.8	2.3		
Netherlands	100	100	100	100		

Table 5.1 - Rel	ative distributio	n of the native and	l non-native	populations
by	provinces, 1 Jan	uary 2000		

Source: Statistics Netherlands.

As is illustrated in table 5.2, a large part of the non-western non-native population is to be found in the three largest cities. The largest groups in Amsterdam are the Surinamese (71,000), followed by the Moroccans (53,000) and the Turks (33,000).

Tableau 5.2 - Immigrants in the four largest cities of the Netherlands
(selected groups), 1 January 1999 (in percent)

	Amsterdam	Rotterdam	The Hague	Utrecht	Total 4 cities
Natives	5	4	3	2	13
Non-natives of which	•	•	•	•	•
Turkey	11	13	8	4	36
Suriname	24	17	14	2	57
Morocco	21	12	8	8	48
Netherlands Antilles/Aruba	11	14	7	2	34
Former Yugoslavia	8	14	2	2	26
Iraq	7	3	4	2	15
Iran	9	5	4	2	18
Somalia	4	6	6	2	20
Afghanistan	7	3	3	2	14
Ghana	55	5	12	1	74

Source: Martens and Weijers, 2000.

The Surinamese are also the dominant group in Rotterdam and The Hague (49 and 41,000 respectively), followed by the Turks (with 39 and 25,000) and the Moroccans (with 29 and 19,000), whereas in Utrecht, the fourth city of the country, the Moroccans are the largest group (20,000). Thirty per cent of Amsterdam's population is of non-western non-native background, with the corresponding figures for Rotterdam and The Hague being 29 and 27 per cent respectively. Utrecht, with 19 per cent non-western non-natives, is of a different order to the other three in that its total population is substantially smaller.

The older non-native groups - the Turks, Moroccans and Surinamese - are much more urbanised than the native population, especially the Surinamese and also the Ghanaians. By contrast, more recent immigrants from countries like Iran, Iraq and Somalia and former Yugoslavia are neither as concentrated in the west of the country, nor are they found to the same extent in the four big cities. This is largely due to the fact that most, as asylum seekers, have been assigned specific accommodation that is widely scattered around the country. Once permission to stay is granted or full-fledged refugee status obtained, they are free to move to the place of their choice. This is demonstrated by De Valk *et al.* who used indices of relative concentration for 1990 and 2000 at the provincial level in order to sketch internal moves in the country.

The indices show that the Afghan, Iraqi and Somali populations were over-represented in the Northern provinces in 1990, probably related to their being in the special asylum accommodation, whereas by 2000 they were more concentrated in the western part of the country (De Valk *et al.*, 2001, p. 78). A comparative study by Statistics Netherlands on the migration behaviour of natives and non-natives also confirms this finding for other new immigrant groups, with the majority of internal moves leading to greater spatial concentration (Van Huis and Nicolaas, 2000).

In summary, the sex and age distributions of the various populations with an immigrant background reflect the different stages or nature of the migration process for each group. The geographical spread of these populations tends to be uneven, with the largest cities in the most densely populated parts of the country having the greatest share of non-western non-natives.

6. Fertility patterns

6.1. Introduction

Information about the fertility of the major non-native groups in the Netherlands is generally quite extensive, but is more limited for recent arrivals. Very often research focuses on the adaptation of the fertility behaviour of migrants and the question of how far the shift is towards that of the population as a whole. It is for this reason that the discussion in this section is set in the context of the fertility of the native population. However, notwithstanding its richness, the information on fertility in the population registers of Statistics Netherlands also suffers certain limitations. Up to 1985, children born in the Netherlands received the nationality of the father, but since January 1985, if at least one parent is Dutch, children have automatically received Dutch nationality. The effect of this is to produce a clear break in the pattern of foreign births (Penninx et al., 1993). Moreover, since fertility is calculated either on the basis of the country of birth of the mother or of her nationality, the impact of naturalisation on fertility patterns must be allowed for when nationality is used. Additionally, due to changes in the administration of population statistics, it is only from 1995 on that fertility rates can be compared for the first and second generations (see section 3). NIDI has recently carried out research on the demographic profiles of the older and more recent non-native groups in Dutch society, primarily using the register data of Statistics Netherlands (De Valk et al., 2001). One of the aims of this project was to gain more insight into the fertility of the 19 migrant groups under study, and any differences that might have emerged between first and second-generation migrants over the previous ten years (ibid.). This and the next section draws extensively on the results of this study.

Data on socio-economic factors relating to fertility are not available from the registers and the survey information that focuses on the position of migrants in society hardly ever includes data on the fertility of specific migrant groups. The same applies to household structure and size in relation to fertility. The family and fertility survey (*Onderzoek Gezinsvorming*) that is carried out among women of reproductive age in the Netherlands every three to four years suffers from the disadvantage of being too small to include a sufficient sample of non-native women. In addition, the interviews are only conducted in the Dutch language (Penninx *et al.*, 1993). Because of the very limited information available on socio-economic factors, these are not separately explored in this section.

6.2. Overall trends in fertility

Before the 1960s, fertility in the Netherlands was relatively high, with a total fertility rate (TFR) of about three children per woman being typical. But with increasing wealth, education and labour force participation of women, the age at first birth subsequently increased and the TFR had dropped to about 1.6 children by 1975. The TFR has since remained at about that level, with a slight increase occurring in the 1990s. In similar fashion, the TFR of non-native women has also declined in recent decades for most countries of origin, although from a higher level, and it too has increased modestly during the late 1990s. The recent increases are partly related to the fact that native and non-native women had previously postponed childbearing, and may also be related to the economic boom of the last few years.

In 1999, 200,000 live births were registered, of which eighty per cent were to a native mother. Ten years earlier the total number of live births had been two thousand fewer. The absolute numbers of births for a selection of non-native groups for 1990 and 1999 are given in figure 6.1, where it can be seen that the more established groups contribute most of the births to non-native women. It should be noted that the data for 1990 are by country of birth of mother, whereas those for 1999 are by country of birth of mother, if she is foreign born, or, in the case of second generation women born in the Netherlands, by the country of birth of parents (mother or father).

Source: De Valk et al. 2001 and Statistics Netherlands.

The number of children born to women belonging to the second generation is still relatively small. For instance, a total of almost 700 children have been born to women who were themselves born in the Netherlands, but whose parents were born in Turkey, and slightly over 200 children to second generation Moroccan women (Sprangers, 1999).

Around 2,000 children were born of teenage mothers in 1999, but accounted for less than one per cent of total births. Over half these teenage mothers were aged 19 at the time their children were born; six out of ten were born in the Netherlands; and almost one in ten was born in Turkey against one in fifteen in Morocco. Only a few per cent of teenage mothers were born in the Antilles/Aruba or Suriname. The number of teenage births decreased substantially between 1990 and 1996; for example, the birth rate of 18 year old Turkish women dropped from 150 per 1000 in 1990 to 40 per 1000 in 1996 (Sprangers, 1999).

6.3. Trends in total fertility rates

The absolute number of births is obviously determined by the age and sex distribution of a population and period age-specific fertility rates, which relate the number of births to the number of women of reproductive age (15-49), standardise for these differential effects. Thus, the total fertility rate, i.e. the average number of children that women would have if the age specific fertility rates of a given year applied throughout the whole reproductive age span, ranged from a low of 1.1 for Iranian women to a high of 4.4 for Somali women in 1999 (De Valk *et al.*, 2001).

It is important to bear in mind that the majority of non-native women migrated to the Netherlands after 1970 and the time-frame is still too short to give a clear understanding of their generation or cohort fertility. The first preliminary studies on this topic have, however, recently been published and will be referred to in this section. A major complication for the cohort analysis of non-natives is that children born before migration are not taken into account in the TFR calculations, which makes fertility developments among secondgeneration women particularly interesting.

Table 6.1 and figure 6.2 provide an overview of the total fertility rates of the Dutch population and of selected non-native groups over the last decade. The average number of children born to Moroccan women is highest among non-native groups throughout the period under observation, whereas the average number born to Surinamese and Antillean women is more comparable with that of the native Dutch. Moreover, the rates of the various groups clearly converged during the 1990s.

Country of birth	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Netherlands	1.55	1.55	1.53	1.51	1.50
Belgium	1.48	1.41	1.18	1.27	1.33
Germany	1.27	1.28	1.07	1.17	1.13
Netherlands Antilles/Aruba	1.74	1.69	1.70	1.69	1.71
Suriname	1.86	1.79	1.66	1.61	1.56
Morocco	4.90	4.43	4.29	3.84	3.66
Turkey	3.15	3.06	2.85	2.71	2.71
Indonesia	1.66	1.64	1.58	1.70	1.65

Table 6.1 - Total fertility rates of natives and non-natives by country of birth

The demographic characteristics of immigrant populations

Country of birth	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Netherlands	1.47	1.46	1.49	1.56	1.59
Belgium	1.61	1.49	1.53	1.57	1.60
Germany	1.33	1.36	1.43	1.39	1.40
Netherlands Antilles/Aruba	1.67	1.57	1.64	1.80	1.84
Suriname	1.46	1.51	1.60	1.58	1.71
Morocco	3.37	3.37	3.35	3.35	3.29
Turkey	2.46	2.53	2.63	2.61	2.50
Indonesia	1.60	1.75	1.64	1.85	1.72

Source: Prins and Verhoef, 2000b.

Figure 6.2 - Total fertility rates of natives and non-natives by country of birth of mother

Source: Van Wissen and De Beer, 2000; De Valk et al., 2001.

The decline in the TFRs of Moroccan and Turkish women living in the Netherlands is quite visible from figure 6.2, and is confirmed by results from the first cohort analyses. Whereas Moroccan women born around 1945 gave birth to a total of about six children, the corresponding figure for women born in the 1960s will turn out to be closer to three children by the end of their reproductive life. The decline in age-specific fertility rates is strongest in the youngest and the oldest age-groups. For women with a Turkish background the changes are slightly different in that childbearing starts even earlier and the decline has been more modest (see also below). For Surinamese and Antillean women there was little change during the 1990s. In line with the

general delay in childbearing, both groups have tended to postpone child bearing and general convergence towards the Dutch pattern is apparent, with their TFRs being only slightly above that of the native Dutch.

It should be noted that fertility has also declined in Morocco and Turkey over the past decade. Hence, whereas TFRs of 4.5 and 3.0 respectively were recorded in Morocco and Turkey in 1990, these had declined to 3.3 in Morocco by 1997 and to 2.5 in Turkey by 1996 (based on DHS data). In Suriname, a TFR of 2.6 was recorded in 1997 (De Valk *et al.*, 2001). In other words, fertility levels of these populations in the Netherlands are lower than in the countries of origin. Moreover, studies indicate that the more advanced a women's education and the longer the period of her residence in the Netherlands, the lower is her number of ever born children likely to be. Among the Surinamese and Antilleans, there also exist correlations with religion and the labour force participation of women, and, among the Surinamese only, with region of origin. Factors like region of origin, Dutch language knowledge and ties with the home country are less important for Turks and Moroccans (Penninx *et al.*, 1993).

6.4. Age of women at birth of first child

The age at which native Dutch women have their first child has increased sharply over recent decades, from an average of around 24 in 1970 to almost 30 years today. The average ages of women at the birth of their first child are presented in *table 6.2* by mothers' country of birth for the year 1990, and by (parental) country of birth of mother for 1995 and 1999 and show, following the Dutch pattern, a consistent rise in the case of women from Turkey, Morocco and Suriname, and to a lesser extent also for those from Iran and Iraq. For the more recent groups of immigrants from Afghanistan and Somalia the pattern is less uniform partly due to the small size of these groups in 1990 and the relative large increase recorded in their numbers over the past decade, both of which hamper reliable comparisons.

The postponing of first births is also visible in second generation Turks and Moroccans, who have lower age specific fertility rates between the ages of 15 and 24 than the first generation (De Valk, *et al.*, 2001). De Valk has also calculated first birth probabilities by age group for the same populations for 1999 (figure 6.3), which clearly picks out the higher probabilities for Turkish and Moroccan women in particular.

Finally, it is worth noting that in the case of Turkish and Moroccan women, migration and childbearing are closely linked. Hence, as many as a quarter of all Turkish and a fifth of all Moroccan women arriving in the Netherlands give birth within one year. For women in the 20 to 30 age group, the link is even stronger, with 40 per cent bearing a child in the year following arrival. For the Surinamese and Antilleans/Arubans, by contrast, no relationship can be observed between migration and childbearing (De Valk *et al.*, 2001).

Country of birth	1990	1995	1999
Netherlands	27.9	28.9	29.5
Turkey	21.8	23.5	24.2
Somalia	25.0	25.4	24.9
Morocco	23.6	24.6	25.5
Antilles and Aruba	26.4	26.7	25.9
Afghanistan	22.3	27.8	25.9
Iraq	26.5	26.9	27.1
Suriname	25.9	26.7	28.0
Iran	28.4	29.8	29.9
Indonesia	31.7	31.6	29.9

Table 6.2 - Mean age at first birth by (parental) country of birth of mother

Source: De Valk et al., 2001.

Figure 6.3 - First birth probabilities by age group and (parental) country of birth of mother, 1999 (%)

Source: De Valk et al., 2001.

7. Marriage patterns

7.1. Introduction: data availability and limitations

Marriage and migration have become intimately linked for several nonnative groups, partly due to the fact that marriage is one of the few legal options left for migrants aiming at long-term admission to the Netherlands. According to Harmsen, more than half the foreign born married population settling in the country during the last ten years, married either within two years before or two years after arrival in the Netherlands (1999). The demographic characteristics of immigrant populations in the Netherlands

The sources of data for the study of nuptiality patterns are the municipal data registers of Statistics Netherlands, into which marriage register data are entered once a year. There are two marriage registers, the one containing information on marriages, and the other information on married men and women. Unlike the statistics about marriages, which do not distinguish between first and later marriages, the statistics about the married persons do. Neither register is linked to the basic municipal registers (GBA), which is unfortunate because information on duration of residence is only available from the GBA data. Another important limitation arises from the fact that data in the marriage register are based on a person's country of birth, with the consequence that a union between a second-generation non-native and a foreign born native of the country of the spouse's parents is registered as a mixed marriage (de Valk *et al.*, 2001).

There are also other limitations with regard to marriages involving the non-native population. Up to 1994, all marriages contracted in the Netherlands were registered, but since then only marriages where at least one of the partners is registered in the GBA at the time of marriage are entered in the marriage statistics. Moreover, only the person on the register is included in the marriage statistics and not a partner living abroad at the time of marriage. Since between 5 and 10 per cent of marriages involving Dutch residents are contracted abroad, a percentage that tended to rise during the 1990s, the effect is for the official statistics to understate the number of marriages contracted, especially those involving non-natives.

A short description of the married population with at least one partner born outside the Netherlands is given in section 7.2, followed by a discussion of choice of partner and family formation with the focus on the last decade (section 7.3).The treatment of marriage concludes with a brief description of the age pattern at first marriage in section 7.4 and the dissolution of marriage in 7.5.

7.2. Marital status of the non-native population

Approximately one in eight marriages - numbering 453,000 married couples – contained at least one partner born outside the Netherlands in 1999 (Harmsen, 1999). Table 7.1 provides an overview of the married population of mixed descent and demonstrates that in the majority of cases both partners had been born abroad. However, the degree to which marriages are homogenous, i.e. partners are from the same (parental) country of birth, varies substantially among the different non-native populations.

Almost nine out of ten married persons born in Turkey and Morocco have partners born in the same country, which is in line with survey results undertaken during the early 1990's (Esveldt *et al.*, 1995; Esveldt and Schoorl, 1998). In the Surinamese community more than half the married persons were born

in Suriname, whereas Antillean and Aruban marriages are much more likely to be mixed. What the three groups do share in common, however, is the fact that 12 to 15 per cent of married partners do not live together, exemplifying what has been called the 'Caribbean' marriage pattern, where it is common for women not to cohabit with the fathers of their children (Esveldt *et al.*, 2000; Sprangers, 1999). A similar pattern to that of the Antillean group is discernible in the Indonesian population: only a fifth of these marriages contain persons born in Indonesia – the former Netherlands-Indies – with the majority (70 per cent) involving a spouse born in the Netherlands. This is obviously due to the fact that two-thirds of this population has been born in the Netherlands (see Section 2).

Country of birth	Number of couples (x 1,000)	Partners foreign-born in same country (%)	Foreign-born male female born in the Netherlands (%)	Foreign-born female male born in the Netherlands (%)	Partners foreign-born in different countries (%)
Total	453 000	42	24	29	5
of which:					
14 EU Countries	111 500	13	35	47	5
Turkey	64 300	88	8	3	1
Morocco	44 500	88	8	2	2
Neth. Antilles	11 700	21	33	37	9
Suriname	33 700	60	15	20	5
Indonesia	78 200	21	39	37	3
Iran	3 200	75	13	6	6
Iraq	4 200	86	5	2	10
Somalia	1 500	93	0	0	0
Egypt	3 000	30	47	3	17

Table 7.1 - Married couples by partners' country of birth, 1 January 1999

Source: Harmsen (1999).

Almost nine out of ten married persons born in Turkey and Morocco have partners born in the same country, which is in line with survey results undertaken during the early 1990's (Esveldt *et al.*, 1995; Esveldt and Schoorl, 1998). In the Surinamese community more than half the married persons were born in Suriname, whereas Antillean and Aruban marriages are much more likely to be mixed. What the three groups do share in common, however, is the fact that 12 to 15 per cent of married partners do not live together, exemplifying what has been called the 'Caribbean' marriage pattern, where it is common for women not to cohabit with the fathers of their children (Esveldt *et al.*, 2000; Sprangers, 1999). A similar pattern to that of the Antillean group is discernible in the Indonesian population: only a fifth of these marriages contain persons born in Indonesia - the former Netherlands-Indies - with the majority (70 per cent) involving a spouse born in the Netherlands. This is obviously due to the fact that two-thirds of this population has been born in the Netherlands (see Section 2).

Of marriages involving at least one partner from another EU member state, in only 13 percent of cases have both partners been born in the same country, i.e. for most of these marriages one partner is from the Netherlands (82 per cent). Couples originating from refugee countries like Iraq, Iran, and Somalia over the past ten years are rather homogenous, although the proportion of married persons not living together is high. For instance, in almost half the marriages involving Somalis, the partners do not live together (Harmsen, 1999), and is an illustration of the way in which asylum migration splits families geographically, if only temporarily. De Valk has found that a very high percentage of women born in Poland (82 per cent) and the former Soviet Union (55 per cent) were married to a native Dutch partners in 1999, and is indicative the 'importation of brides' from these countries (*ibid.* p. 95).

7.3. Partner choice and family formation

Since existing marriages are made up of long established and more recently contracted unions, recent developments are not easily discernible from aggregate data. It is for this reason that we now focus on recent developments in nuptiality, combining data on marriages contracted in a given year with information about the stocks of married males and females by country of birth in the same year.

The absolute number of marriages fluctuates from year to year, e.g. in 1998 about 87,000 marriages were contracted. Table 7.2 shows that only in a minority of cases do members of non-native populations marry partners that are Dutch. Indonesians are the obvious exception in so far as the majority of males born in Indonesia marry a Dutch woman, while the majority of women born in Poland and the Soviet Union have a Dutch husband. Otherwise, about a third of the men born in Egypt and Turkey marry women born in the Netherlands, but the percentage of women born in these countries marrying a native man is much smaller. Harmsen suggests that the wish to acquire a residence permit is behind many of the marriages of Egyptian men to native women (1999). It may also be noted that marriages with the native Dutch women in 1998 (De Valk *et al.*, 2001).

Hooghiemstra has undertaken an in-depth study of (mixed) marriages contracted in 1999 using a unique data set called *Structuurtelling* 1999 that utilises a combination of data from the municipal population registers that are usually only available in separate registers. This data set contains all registered persons, along with their marital status, age, date of migration, country of birth, country of birth of both parents and number of children living at the same address in the Netherlands (Hooghiemstra, 2000a). As far as the effect of duration of stay and age at arrival on marriage behaviour is concerned, it was shown that persons born in the Netherlands, or migrating to the Netherlands before their sixth birthday, are more likely to be married to a person born in the Netherlands. For Turks and Moroccans, however, the differences were generally marginal, with the only substantial differences being apparent in the youngest age groups.

Table 7.2 - Marriages contracted between foreign born and native born partners, 1998 (%)

Foreign born male wit	h native born female	Foreign born female with native born male		
Male country of birth	%	Female country of birth	%	
Morocco	20.5	Morocco	10.2	
Suriname	24.4	Turkey	19.9	
Iran	28.6	Iran	22.7	
Turkey	32.6	Suriname	29.6	
Egypt	35.3	Antilles and Aruba	46.1	
Former Soviet Union	36.4	Indonesia	72.3	
Antilles and Aruba	46.7	Former Soviet Union	74.0	
Indonesia	64.0	Poland	87.2	

Source: De Valk et al., 2001.

7.4. Age at first marriage

Men and women born in Turkey and Morocco marry relatively young - of the 15 to 20 age group 32 per cent of Turkish and 16 per cent of Moroccan women are married, while among those five years older the respective percentages have risen to 80 and 68 per cent. The average age at marriage of Moroccan women living in the Netherlands was 23.5 years during the period 1995 to 1999, while the corresponding figure for Moroccan men was 28.3 years. At the other extreme of the distribution, women born in the Antilles and Aruba had a mean age at marriage of 30.4 years (De Valk *et al.*, 2001).

In general men are older at first marriage than women and, although there are specific variations between countries and cultures as well as over time, 'the younger the bride the larger the age difference' seems to hold in all geographical contexts and through time (Hooghiemstra, 2000b, and De Valk *et al.* 2001). In the Netherlands, husbands are on average 2.5 years older than their wives. But in the case of Moroccans, Turks and more recent arrivals for which Islamic values are central, the aggregate mean age difference between partners is four years, with that for the Turks being somewhat lower (2.6 years) and that for the Moroccans, at 5 years, somewhat higher.

7.5. Divorce

One in every ten native marriages ends in divorce within eight years. Mixed marriages are even less stable, with four out of ten marriages between native Dutch females with a foreign born husbands ending within eight years. Marriages involving native males and foreign born wives are more likely to last, however, and 75 per cent are still together at the end of the first eight years. In other words, marital dissolution is highest amongst couples where the woman is native born and the man a foreigner, with almost half leading in divorce within the first ten year period (Harmsen, 1999).

In order to gain more insight into marital dissolution, De Valk has calculated gross divorce rates for non-native groups by relating the absolute number of divorces to the population of married men/women at the beginning of the year⁴. In table 7.3 the results of these calculations for a selection of non-native groups are presented for 1995, in which homogenous marriages are distinguished from mixed marriages. These suggest that while homogenous marriages are generally more stable than mixed ones, this is not the case for all groups.

Female country of birth			Male country of birth		
	same	Netherlands		same	Netherlands
Male country of birth			female country of birth		
Turkey	1	13	Turkey	1	5
Antilles and Aruba	5	2	Antilles and Aruba	5	2
Suriname	6	3	Suriname	6	4
Indonesia	1	1	Indonesia	1	1
Morocco	2	14	Morocco	2	10
Iran	5	6	Iran	5	0
Pakistan	1	9	Ghana	11	21
Ghana	11	21			
Egypt	2	13			

Table 7.3 - Divorce probabilities by country of birth of partners, 1995 (%)

Source: De Valk et al., 2001.

8. Household structure

Of the 6.8 million households in the Netherlands in 1998, almost a third were one-person households. Between 1990 and 1998, their total number increased by 700,000 with about 400,000 additional single person households being added to the registers (Prins and Verhoef, 2000b). Living alone has not only become popular

⁴ Unfortunately there are no mid-year population data for the denominator.

among young people; it is also the result of an ageing population characterised by an increasing number of older people in single-person households. The non-western non-native population, on the other hand, has a young age structure and therefore more often lives in larger households with children.

The definition of the nuclear family and the position of individuals in (or outside) the family are the basis for the household composition data collected by Statistics Netherlands. The nuclear family is defined as a living arrangement in which the relationships between its members are determined either by marriage, or descent in the first line. This means that married couples with or without children, non-married couples with one or more living-in children, and single parent families all belong to the category 'nuclear family' (NF). All other persons are considered to be part of the residual group 'living outside a NF' for the purposes of household data. As a result, non-married couples without children and people living alone, are both registered as 'living outside a NF'. Also people living in institutions like centres for asylum-seekers fall into this category. Persons are presented in figure 8.1 in the way in which they are classified in the statistics. Almost half the persons who are natives are spouses living in a family. For Indonesians and Turks this is also the largest category, but for the Surinamese and Antilleans and Arubans, on the other hand, it is the least common living arrangement. For these last mentioned three groups, the single parent family is the most common arrangement. The low percentage of Turks and Moroccans that do not form part of a nuclear family' and the high proportions of children are partly due to the young age-structures of these populations, but also reflect the young average age at marriage.

Figure 8.1 - Households by (parental) country of birth and position in household, 1999

Source: De Valk et al., 2001 and Statistics Netherlands.

Information on the size of non-native households is available from SPVA data for 1998 and is presented in table 8.1 for the four main non-native populations. About 40 per cent of Moroccan and 30 per cent of Turkish households consist of at least five persons, compared with only about five per cent of native households. Tesser *et al.* also found that almost 75 percent of Turkish and two-thirds of Moroccan households had children, but only a third of native households fell into this category (Tesser *et al.*, 1999).

	Turks	Moroccans	Surinamese	Antilleans	Native
1 person	7	16	26	35	37
2 persons	14	17	24	25	32
3 persons	21	15	21	18	12
4 persons	28	17	17	13	14
5 persons	17	14	9	6	4
>6 persons	13	22	3	3	1
Average size	3.7	3.8	2.6	2.4	2.2

Table 8.1 - Household composition of selected migrant groups, 1998 (%)

Source: Tesser et al. (1999).

9. Mortality

Although forming about nine per cent of the Dutch population, non-western non-natives only accounted for around two per cent of the deaths (2,660) in 1998 (see table 4.2). But setting aside the low number of occurrences and their very different age structure, the analysis of mortality in the non-western non-native population is severely hampered by the fact that Statistics Netherlands does not publish data on deaths by age, sex or cause for any non-native population group.

Utilising countrywide data from the registers of Statistics Netherlands, a research group at the Department of Public Health at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam is working on a project called 'Patterns and trends of mortality among immigrant groups in the Netherlands', which is the first study to be undertaken on this subject in the country in the last fifteen years. SN was busy during 2001 preparing a data-set on deaths by age, sex, country of birth, and cause of death for each major established non-native group (Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, and Antilleans and Arubans), which, since it will only

be analysed during 2002, cannot unfortunately be included in the present study. The data set covers the period 1995 to 2000 and, as well as country of birth, also includes information on nationality, duration of stay and marital status. The study began with the objective of covering the period 1986 to 2000, but an examination of the data for the years 1986 to 1994 made it clear that too much detail was missing to make this possible. In addition, the administrative changes of 1995 (see section 3) had such far-reaching consequences for data availability that the choice was made to focus on the later five year period only, one of the most important factors being the existence of information on duration of stay. Explanatory models have been developed, which will be tested by the researchers.

10. Conclusions

Some 130,000 people were registered as immigrants in the year 2000. A comparison with the corresponding figure 50 years ago, when around 50,000 a year were registered, exemplifies the difference in magnitude of the phenomenon today. Immigration has grown sharply but unevenly in recent decades and, while the trend in emigration has been more stable, there has been growth here as well. In 2000, for instance, 80,000 left the country to give a net inflow of 50,000 persons, which means that 40 per cent of total population growth in that year was due to migration.

The immigration of the 1990s differs from earlier periods in that its causes are now mainly international. In particular, asylum migration has grown rapidly, rising from some 5,000 requests in 1985, through around 13,000 requests in 1989 to 52,000 requests in 1994. The main countries of origin of those seeking asylum have been the former Yugoslavia, followed by Somalia and Iran. As a consequence, the size and composition of the migration flow into the country has changed significantly. Immigrants from Turkey, Morocco and Suriname now form a decreasing component of the influx, while the share from Asia and Central and Eastern Europe has grown substantially.

Over the 20th century as a whole, net migration has generated a gain of around one million people but it is only since 1973 that the cumulative total has been positive. It is for this reason that the Le Bras exercise produced rather insignificant results. Without migration, the Dutch population would have been slightly older than today- by around half a percentage point - while there would have been around 88,000 fewer elderly persons in the population.

On 1 January 2000, there were almost 2.8 million non-natives in the country against 13.1 million natives, making the non-native component 17 per cent of the total population. Since persons with at least one parent born abroad are, by definition, non-natives, that means that one in every six of the registered population of the country has an immigrant background. Half the non-native

population is labeled as western by origin, and resembles the native population in a demographic, socio-economic and cultural sense. This is partly due to the fact that around half the western non-native population is made up of second generation non-natives born in the Netherlands, many of whom are products of mixed marriages. By contrast, the very diverse non-western population has a much younger age structure, is two thirds made up of first generation non-natives and has intermingled with the Dutch population to a much lesser extent.

Demographic characteristics and trends differ strongly as between western and non-western non-natives. Not only is their spatial distribution dissimilar, with a higher concentrations of non-western non-natives in the four largest cities, but their fertility, although decreasing, is also higher. In addition, there are marked differences in the non-western non-native population by country of birth. Hence, migration and marriage are intimately linked for Turks and Moroccans, but not for other groups of non-western non-natives. As a consequence, there are marked differences in household and family composition between non-western non-native groups, with many more nuclear families with children among Turks and Moroccans, for instance, than in the native population.

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