

# **Italian Migration and Integration in the Netherlands**



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## PREFACE

European transformation from a geographical entity into specific regional cooperation has changed migration policies. Once, Europe had only a little concern about people movements around its area. There were no significant restrictions on migration. However, the impact of WW II became the statute for a restricted Europe; the result of European economic expansion followed by labour shortages. This condition led to labour imports from cheap labour countries and resulted in a large share of settled migrants in the total population.

Italy became one of the labour suppliers for Western Europe. However, Italian fusion to the European Union changed the shape of its economy. Italy received the *trickle down effect* from the European economic integration which influenced the pattern of Italian migration and to a lesser extent the integration process of Italians abroad. In this study, actually a continuation of the previous migration research in the Netherlands, Italy is regarded as the object of study for several reasons such as: Italian migration history, Italian economic development and the stigmatization of Italy across Europe.

This research team consists of Bondan Widyatmoko, Kurnia Novianti and Gusnelly. In conducting the research, we received a great deal of support from Dr Taufik Abdullah and Dr Roger Toll who gave us initial information and helpful comment. During our research in the Netherlands, we were also fortunate to interview researchers who are expert in migration and integration issues. Therefore we wish to express our gratitude to Dr Flip Lindo, Dr

Floris Vermeulen and Dr Anja van Heelsum from the **Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES)** in Amsterdam and Drs Dimitris Grammatikas, a staff member of the employment and education division of the **National Consultative Committee of the Dutch Government for the people of the Mediterranean countries** (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cape Verde, Croatia, Greece, Italy, Macedonia, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain and Yugoslavia/**LIZE**) in Utrecht.

This research was presented in a seminar at PSDR before being published as a final report. Nevertheless, we do realize that there are still limitations and weaknesses in our report, therefore we would appreciate any criticisms and suggestions to improve the quality of our research in the near future. Any errors or omissions, of course, remain the responsibility of the authors.

Finally, we really hope that this report will be an important support for the Indonesian government as a comparable study and satisfy the interest of academics, students and all those who have similar concerns in this subject of study.

Yekti Maunati,  
Director,  
Research Center for Regional Resources (PSDR):  
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Jakarta, December 2007

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

*Bondan Widayatmoko and Kurnia Novianti*

### 1.1. BACKGROUND

There were two significant moments which changed the trend, characteristic and pattern of migration in the Netherlands. First, was the European regionalism which signaled the formation of the European Union. Second, the oil crisis of 1973 which was followed by the end of the labour immigrant recruitment. European regionalism on the one hand, eliminated the migration obstacles, as there was a freedom principle in the people movement. On the other hand, the widening market, as the impact of regionalism, had a trickle down effect on economic growth which also became a pull factor for labour migration. As can be seen, during the 1980s, several southern European countries such as Greece (1981), Portugal and Spain (1986) were accepted as members of the European Community (EC). Previously, those countries were at a lower economic level than the other members. However, following the economic miracle of Italy, these southern European countries became a magnet for potential immigrants mostly in the 1990s (*World Economic and Social Survey 2004:19*). Meanwhile, the oil crises became an image for the end of European migration and the beginning of the immigrant settlement process. Nevertheless, the flow of immigration still continued in family reunifications and family formations and also through the mechanism of asylum seekers and refugees which put a burden on the social security

system with their low level of integration attainments in the labour market (Zimmerman and Constant 2005).

In the case of the Netherlands, it changed status as an immigration country in spite of the large immigrant flow entering this country (Ammersfoort in Bocker et al. 1998:119). This was the result of unavoidable migration flow such as of refugees, displaced persons and immigrants who came from the ex-colonies. Furthermore, this flow was followed by the massive labour worker migrations as the result of the 1950s industrial renovation. As an effect, there was a large demand for workers especially in low skilled job. Industrial sectors, textiles, coal mining and shipbuilding for instance, actually found it hard to find enough labour for their business operations. At first, many labour immigrants spontaneously came from southern European countries such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, and to a lesser extent Greece, in response to the fast economic recovery of their northern neighbours. However, the labour movement scheme changed immediately. It gained an 'economic trickle down effect' from European Union membership and many immigrants from Italy and Spain decided to return to their countries. Afterwards, countries such as Turkey, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and the ex-Yugoslav states became the next option from which to get cheap labour. Actually, most of these labour immigrants arrived through a recruitment agreement (Kelo and Bernd 2004:31). Immigrants from these countries would then become problem immigrants with regard to their process of integration.

In the Netherlands migration story, there are certain interesting points to underline. Firstly, The labour migration changed from a business cycle mechanism to a structural social

problem. Initially, the labour migration was designed to be only temporary to satisfy the large demand in the flourishing industrial sectors as the result of economic renovation in Western European countries. However, when the renovation came to an end and the door for labour migration closed, large migration flows still continued and structurally changed the composition of the society. On the other hand, the common market mechanism building through the formation of the European Community, tends to foster not only goods and capital circulation but also people movement which is always associated with labour movement among the members<sup>1</sup>. This means that national immigration policies are dismantled to harmonize with the European level. However, the concept of a common market seems not to meet the reality. Some of the European Union members still apply restrictive regimes on their immigration policies. This restriction on labour migration seems to negate the definition of a European common market<sup>2</sup>. It is understandable that distress from social conflicts, burden on the social security scheme and a threat to their sovereignty through the presence of immigrants has influenced the decision of some Western European countries such as the Netherlands, to limit their territory for labour migration. These facts show that the members actually live in fear despite the prosperity of the European Union. Paul

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<sup>1</sup> It was committed by the EC-six (Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxemburg) to a far reaching exercise in economic integration which envisages free movements of goods, services, capital and labour aided by common policies in agriculture, transport, regional development, economic cohesion, education, environment and other domains (Mattli, 1999 :83)

<sup>2</sup> The European Union tends to limit the number of labour immigrants outside the member area. The possibility for a European Union worker immigrant recruitment outside the European Union territory is when a certain type of worker is not available or well-supplied by other members.

Kapteyn calls this phenomenon ‘the European Dilemma’<sup>3</sup> (Brochman and Hamar 1999:17). This raises our curiosity about how really the labour movements among the countries in the European area are going? What are the motives among the people to migrate? And if internal migration among the members persists, do they have a problem in being recognised or even integrating in their new environments?

Approaching these questions, the case of the Italian immigrants in the Netherlands has particularly gained attention with regard to their process of immigration, recognition and also their path within the role of the Netherlands in the European country league. (1) The old case of Italian immigrants and their problems in Europe; and (2) The Italian presence in the EU in connection with people movements

## **1.2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

This study aims to explore and analyse the immigration policy adopted by the Netherlands government to control their borders from the immigrants in the EU. Particularly in order to give a better understanding of Italian migration and to a lesser extent, their integration in the Netherlands society, it is hoped that this study will contribute to the global discussion on the development of European immigration

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<sup>3</sup> Fear of their weak national position leads these countries to join forces, yet it is the same fear that holds them back.

### 1.3. SCOPE OF STUDY AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

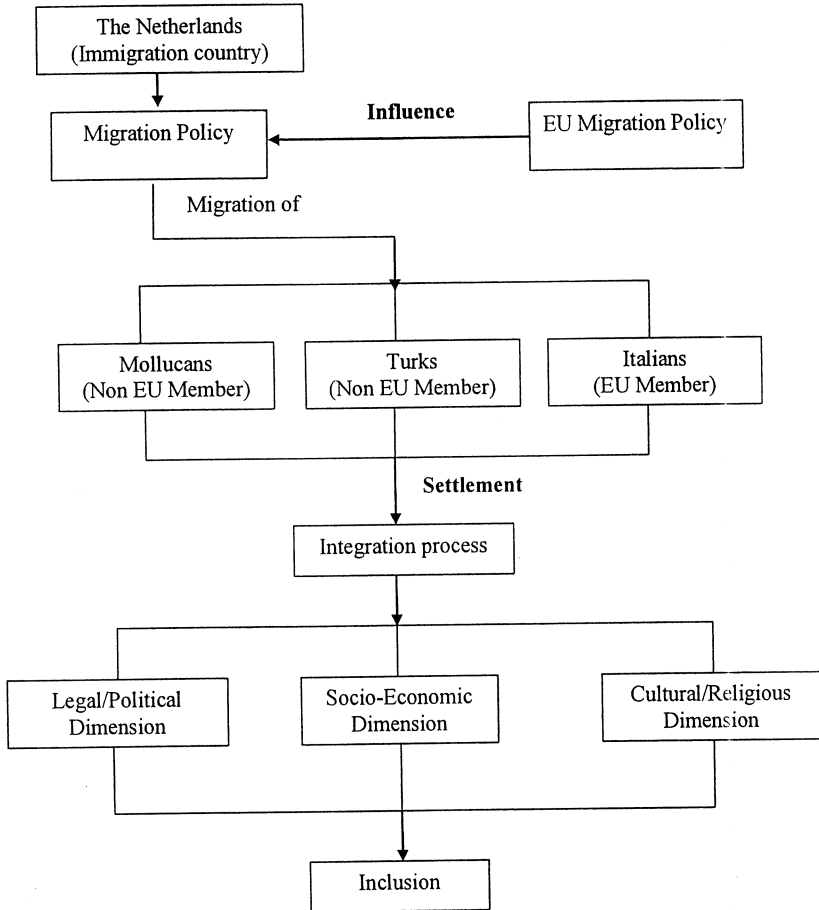
In order to have a better picture of the process of migration and integration this study focuses on the period since WWII to the present (1950s-2000s). Further consideration of this period aims to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the development of a migration and integration policy regarding the changing economic conditions especially after the oil crises in the 1970s and the success of the Netherlands in reducing unemployment in the mid 1990s.

This research uses the descriptive analysis method with a look at economics and legal matters as well as social and cultural aspects. The economics approach is used to analyse the economic aspects of migration motives and migrant participation in the Netherlands social life. While, the legal approach is useful to observe the migration and integration policy development from the different perspectives of time and economic conditions. Moreover, the historical and anthropological perspectives are also used to analyze the migration and integration processes of Italian immigrants. This study of the migration of Italians not only looks at motives but also the process of Italian adaptation and their ways of integrating into the Dutch society.

Collective information and data, both quantitative and qualitative, were used to observe the different motives for different ethnic group migration to the Netherlands. Secondly, this research is aimed at complementing and continuing the previous research (2005). The following illustration shows the plan for the three-year research of migration and integration in the Netherlands.

**Figure 1.**

**Three Year Research Plan of Migration and Integration in the Netherlands**





Through this scheme the study looks at the different motives and characteristics of Mollucan immigrants concluded to be Westerners by the Dutch, Turkish immigrants, from a non-Western country and Southern Europeans as the representatives of Westerners. In this research, we chose Italians as the Western representatives. There are several reasons behind this option. Italians have had a unique experience both in terms of migration and integration. The character of migration changed following Italian economic improvement and their membership in the European Union. Italy, previously known as a labour sending country, suddenly became a magnet for immigrants to lay down their futures. This was the case in their integration process. Italians who were also known as European Chinese or coolies due to their regular jobs in the unskilled sector and were regarded as problem immigrants, changed status to become successful immigrants. Therefore, tracing the Italian migration process through their motives and characteristics as well as their time of arrival will be useful tools to explain their process of integration. These processes cannot be separated from the European Union development which directly influenced the Dutch immigration policy controls which of course, also influenced levels of integration.

#### **1.4. REPORT ORGANIZATION**

##### **Chapter I      Introduction**

The first chapter gives the study background, objectives, scope of the study and also research methodology. It is hoped that this part will provide a clear description of the process of migration and integration in the Netherlands.

Chapter II      The Regulation of Migration in the European Union  
In this chapter, Gusnelly narrates the story of the European Union migration policy. She asks about the proper implementation of the supranational migration policy in the national policies of EU members.

Chapter III     Immigrant Minorities in the Netherlands  
The third chapter is an exploration in depth of the effect of regionalism on the immigrants. In this chapter Amin Mudzakir discusses the dynamic issue of minorities always with reference to the existence of immigrants in the Netherlands. He argues that the heated debate on the immigrant presence in the Dutch society was not due to the recognition process of the immigrants. It is also influenced by the emerging 'rejection' of the immigrants, followed by the European Union policy of closing borders to third nation countries.

Chapter IV      Italian Immigration to the Netherlands: Past and Present  
This chapter gives a historical statistical description of the Italian immigration to the Netherlands. Interestingly, Italian cases of migration are not simply explained by the push and pull factor theory between two countries. It also considers Italy as a member of the European Union. Therefore, economic differences are no longer the main driving force for Italians to migrate. They rather pay

attention to the public service differences among the European Union members.

Chapter V Italian Immigrants in the Netherlands: From Adaptation to Integration

Following on the fourth chapter, this chapter explores the Italian adaptation processes in Dutch society. Kurnia Novianti gives a clear explanation of the hard process of Italian adaptation at first settlement, overcome through high rates of intermarriage and the trickle down effect of the Italian membership in the European Union.

Chapter VI Conclusion

This chapter is the summary of the previous chapters. It concludes that migration regulations and their issue at the European level affected national regulations and immigrant acceptance within the society. However, it seems true for the third nation country immigrants. In the case of Italians, the hard process of adaptation was easily overcome by the national economic improvement followed by the high educational level of its citizens and the blurring of cultural boundaries.

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## CHAPTER II

# THE REGULATION OF MIGRATION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

*Gusnelly*

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Migration in Europe has effects not only in terms of political life but also in terms of the emergence of important phenomena in policy changes and demographic structure. Migration helps some European countries regarding the number of their citizens that are decreasing in the 21st century, ultimately leading to a condition where the remaining people are perhaps only the elderly ones. In the 25 countries of the European Union for example, according to the *Eurostat* baseline population projection, the proportion of the elderly, aged 65 and over, will increase by around 35% in twenty years and by even 80% in fifty years. The population ageing is a direct consequence of, first, a period with very high and then very low, number of births. The age structure of the population of the European Union is due to the large number of births in the period 1946-1965. These people will gradually reach retirement age in the period 2005-2030 and consequently leave the labour force. Due to the fertility decline younger cohorts are much smaller. The large size differences between the older and younger groups will change the future age structure of the European Union potential labour force to a large extent (Ekamper, 1997: 12).

Sometimes the flow of people into Europe has been gradual, a barely contested process with intermarriage making a scientific

nonsense of the idea of racial purity and bouts of emigration from Europe to the Americas and Australasia balancing out the numbers coming in. At other times, immigration has been more highprofile. Migration, like European integration and especially eastern enlargement, has capacity to both undermine and reinforce people's notions of where they come from, who they are and where they are going ( Bale, 2005: 227).

For several decades now, governments have been trying to regulate migration. Different attempts have been made to control migration flows. The migration is a dynamic event by definition: the size, composition and direction of migration flows can change very rapidly. The constant changes to the patterns of migration often make regulation of migration movements difficult, if not impossible. Regulation of migration has been high on the political agenda in the United States and Europe due to several factors: the expansion of the migration flow, the problems of unemployment and the limited capacity of the labour market, increasing nationalism and an expression of *xenophobia* (Bocker, 1998: 7).

It is clear that these movements or migrations have changed the demographic composition of Western European nation states. The composition of the population has been classified into two sorts of migrant citizens: First, The citizens of the European Union who settle in another Member State; and Second, Citizens from non-Member States who want to enter a state that is a member of the European Union, the so-called 'third-country nationals' (TCNs). The entry into a Member State of the European Union by a third-country national depends to a large extent on national immigration law, the migration within the territory of the European Union by EU citizens is regulated by EU legislation and is only to a very

small degree controlled by national states.<sup>4</sup> The national states' control of the process of European integration has caused a number of countries to dissolve internal border controls with neighbouring states as a part of the Schengen Agreement in 1995. Therefore, the country borders in Europe are becoming thinner so that it will be more difficult to take control of the traffic of people and goods.

Weiner, as quoted by Tirtosudarmo (2007) says that migration occurring in recent decades often ignores political elements; in fact, international migration frequently deals with political interests. Even, when the decision to migrate is made by an individual for economic reasons, political will is still overwhelming in the process of citizenship. For example, whether the individuals or groups willing to migrate are permitted to leave their country and the recipient or host country is willing to accept or reject them. The decision of the recipient country tends to be based on political considerations rather than economic ones. Although each country has military forces to be used to defend the country from another country's attack, they have no power to stop migrants from coming in, especially the illegal ones, since illegal migrants are difficult to control. Such conditions can truly threaten the sovereignty of the recipient country.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Veldman, Willemien 2004, 'Migration in the European Union: A Changing Face of European Societies?' in a review of Geddes, A 2000, *Immigration and European Integration*, Manchester/New York. In the analysis of the writing of Geddes, Veldman emphasizes that migration in Europe had an important role in the emergence of the issue of multiculturalism in Europe, including in the Netherlands. Besides that, there were policies of the European Union applied in the member countries.

<sup>5</sup> Next, Tirtosudarmo suggests that all matters related to international migration need to be well understood. Tirtosudarmo 2007, 'Dimensi Politik Migrasi Internasional: Indonesia dan Negara Tetangganya', in Tirtosudarmo 2007, *'Mencari Indonesia: Demografi-Politik Pasca-Soeharto'* LIPI Press and Yayasan Obor, Jakarta: 229-230.

Based on the above, this paper tries to describe the problems regarding migration in Europe. When did it become a phenomenon in European society for the first time? How does the host government handle this problem through its policies? Analysis of migration history will give more information on the changed demographic composition of Western European nation states. Through a brief analysis of migration history it is hoped to give a better understanding of the changes in European citizen composition because of migration. The information obtained will be used to analyze various emerged sociological matters assumed to support new policies in the political life in Europe. What are the migration policies within the territory of the European Union? and, Is all migration legislation working in the European Community including the Netherlands? Can all new policies be applied in all European Union countries, including the Netherlands? Is it true that those policies can help to control the traffic of people and goods coming into Europe as a process of integration? This paper tries to answer those questions to predict how far the power of policy in the European Union can control migration in Europe.

## **2.2 EUROPEAN SOCIETY AND MIGRATION AT A GLANCE**

Migration has been an important part of the transition process in Europe, with economic motivation currently driving migration flows in Europe. At just over 680 million, Europe's population today is at a historic high (Ostergren. Robert C, 2004: 67). But it is also a population whose growth by natural increase has come to almost a complete standstill. This is due to the fact that fertility nearly everywhere in Europe has fallen to the point where it is at or below replacement level. Fertility rates have fallen so low in recent



years that barring great immigration into Europe there would be great problems. Most of Europe's migrants and ethnic minorities have lived in Europe for some time.

History of European citizenship that has a correlation with migration plays a very crucial role in the development of European countries. France and Germany are two countries that attract many migrants. In fact, the history of migrants that entered those two countries began in the fourth century by the Hun tribe from China entering Ukraine. In the next development, there was a battle between the Hun tribe and the original tribe in Germany: *Ostrogohg*. In the battle, the Hun tribe was successful in pushing out the *Ostrogohg* and *Visigoth* tribes to Rome. Meanwhile, the Hun tribe kept moving toward Germany and eastern France right to the area of *Troyes* but they did not enter Paris. If there was the Hun tribe in France, the Nordic tribe was known to be in Germany and is assumed to be the ancestor of the Aryan race.

The Nordic people are the result of the marriage between Indo-European people coming in to war in northern Europe. The marriage between these Asian people and the Alpine tribe living in northern Europe gave birth to the Aryan race. This theory of marriage marks the emergence of the blonde haired, blue eyed and wide headed Aryan race.<sup>6</sup> History then notes that Hitler, through Nazism, stated the Aryan race a noble race and the ancestor of Europeans. The Holocaust is an event that happened in the 1940s and has certainly become history.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*: 257

<sup>7</sup> The Holocaust was also called by the Nazis 'a final solution of the Jewish case' and caused the killing of around 6 million Jews. Millions of people also became the victims of Nazi brutality and included about 500.000 Bosnians, 1.2 million Russians, 6 million Poles and communities such as homosexuals, prisoners of Soviet Union troops, Freemasons, Christians in Eastern Europe and Protestant and Roman Catholic priests, Ariyani, Dwi Ekasari, (translator) 2002, *Holocaust: Fakta atau Fiksi*, Med Press, Yogyakarta: 9.

People kept migrating to Europe, due, among other things, to the contact between Europeans and the people of Rome. Celtic people are one race that comes from the mix between Europe and Rome that had initially resided in central Europe and then moved to northern Italy, Hungary, Transylvania, Macedonia and the British Isles. The mix of those ethnic groups formed new ethnic groups with new and different names. They were the so-called European diaspora and eventually established nations.

Migration not only created dispersions of people and new races but also contributed to the changes that led to the shift of the European community from being a traditional society to a modern one. According to the ideas of Max Weber, the Renaissance and the Reformation emerged as movements that took root in the ambition to lay and enliven the foundations of European civilization on the Graeco-Roman culture. Those two movements were intended to revive the European religious and art heydays and thus eliminate dogmatism and formalities from the people's daily lives. Through these movements, the basic foundations of the systems of capitalism and modern entrepreneurship were also laid within European society (Luhulima, 1992: 23-24).

The growth of modern industry in England, due to the economic system of Laissez-faire that began with the French Revolution through to World War I, introduced a disposition towards imperialism within European nations, especially in England. As a result, England colonized several countries in Asia and Africa. These invasions brought about an impact on England, specifically in the scurry of immigrants from ex-colonized countries that were brought into England because of a lack of labour needed to boost the economy.

At the same time that modern capitalism started, it also began to give effect and provide a source of hope, to societies in developing countries, especially due to the wider chance and opportunity of entering Europe and becoming a contract worker in the field of 3D jobs (dirty, dangerous and difficult). Demand within the labour market also gave new impetus to immigration from abroad. Although Irish, Jewish and Black communities existed in Britain long before the Industrial Revolution, the surge of opportunity radically altered the scale and scope of international immigration. New waves of Dutch, Chinese, Irish and Black immigrants helped to transform the English socio-economic climate (Giddens, Anthony, 2006: 501-502).

England was not the only European country with a history of migrant workers. The long history of recruiting foreign workers that began pre-World War II and lasted through to the early 1980s, had unintentionally produced a variety and mix of ethnic groups in European countries such as Germany, France, the Netherlands and Italy; a country which used to send its people as migrant workers to neighbouring countries, began to also be a receiving country of migrant workers. In other words, it is these migrant workers that generated ethnic minority groups in Europe and the reason why governments introduced the concept of multiculturalism in order to integrate differences and minimize negative impact on the country. For example, England established its own multiculturalism department as a bridge between ethnic groups and the government and even other ethnic groups. The purpose of this department is to make ethnic groups feel that they are part of England, or vice versa, they need to be made 'England-ers'; a strategy also used by Germany and France.

Migration did not only occur in the early history of Europe but continued and developed in the modern era. Although in several Western European countries there has been a rise in limiting and even rejecting migrant workers, governments in these countries will not be able to wholly prevent migrant workers from entering their countries because, in fact, migrant workers are still in high demand. Furthermore, in their development, patterns of migration have been adjusted according to the guiding principles of international migration that were sanctioned based on international conventions.

According to Tirtosudarmo, the pattern of international migration in Europe during the colonial period from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century through to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, otherwise known as the coolie trade, was non-permanent (circular) in nature and was dominated by male workers. Then in the 1960s era, the pattern altered to become a voluntary movement. In the 1970s, it then evolved into forced migration, which impelled people to seek safe refuge in other countries in Europe, including the Netherlands (Tirtosudarmo, 2007: 251-253). Another pattern that changed was the type of migration from a group migration into an individual migration. Individual migration can also be classified into various types, such as: family reunification and migration due to marriage. Not only legal migration but also illegal migration started to emerge. However, in principle, whatever pattern and type of migration occurs, economic and political reasoning continue to be the main factors for a person to migrate from his/her home country to a foreign country.

During the last decade, after the formation of the European Union, there have been three factors that increased the migration

flow to Europe: First was the amalgamation of country borders because of the global merging of political and economic systems that gave birth to union both individually and collectively in conducting economic activities in various countries across Europe; Secondly, the reality of poverty may well continue to intensify the dependence of developing countries on developed countries and force migration or mobility that is exempt from clear and reliable protection and insurance; Third, regional economic instability has created an upsurge of unemployment leading to uncertainty and social problems in the society (Haris and Nyoman Andika, 2002: 2-3).

There are numerous problems that are interrelated with the problems of migration and within that process, the role of the governments as policy makers cannot be easily ignored. The government of the sending country has a dominant role in applying a policy to workers and migration which easily enables citizens to move from one country to another while the receiving country contains a magnet that forces and attracts people to enter that country to try to improve his/her economic and welfare circumstances. However, political problems from the sending countries are an external factor of the migration history record in Europe with migration the only possible escape from this situation. In addition, the government of a sending country can influence the extent of emigration explicitly by policy measures. Within international political relations, sending countries can use the migration issue to achieve other goals. In exchange for attempts to limit emigration, for instance, they may be able to extort increasing or continuing aid or better trade conditions from receiving countries (Hamilton; 1997; 32). Receiving countries may try to influence international migration by resorting to policies like international

aid or the promotion of international trade and investment in sending countries (Muus and Van Dam; 1998; 5-10). Furthermore, the extent of violence in sending countries has an impact on the entry requirements in receiving countries with regard to asylum migration. If the political situation in a particular sending country deteriorates, potential receiving countries will relax the entry restrictions for immigrants from that particular country.

European society is not separable from migration and the history of their ethnic development was still happening until recently. All European countries have become de facto immigration countries, even if official discourse in Germany rejects this reality. This has long been the case in France, since the 1960s for Germany and Great Britain and more recently in the case of Spain and Italy. A priori relationship of a historical and political kind between the countries of departure and the countries of arrival have determined patterns of destination and settlement inside different member states of the Union for the various populations from the southern or eastern Mediterranean, Africa or the Indian subcontinent. Each country is trying to advance the specificity of its own position, drawn from the founding principles of the nation state, in order to emphasize its distinctive attitude towards immigration and the presence of an immigrant population (Kastoryano, Riva; 1997; 3-4).

The total migrants and their descendants in the Member States determine the impact of migration on societies. Data on the total number of non-nationals and foreign-born is available for many of the EU- 25 Member States. Luxemburg has the highest proportion of foreign residents within its borders but this is an unusual case. Belgium, Germany and Austria have sizeable nonnational populations, around 9 % of their totals. Next come

Greece, France and Sweden with percentages ranging between 7 and 5 %. In 9 EU Member States the foreign born constituted over 10% of the population. The proportion of residents born abroad is highest in Sweden, France, Slovenia and the Netherlands, at more than 10 % of the total population. In comparison with the northern countries, the four Mediterranean ‘old’ Member States have quite low levels of legal immigrants. However, the combined presence of legal, illegal, semi legal and seasonal migrants in these four southern countries is fairly large - perhaps even exceeding 10% of the total labour force. In southern Europe, 80-90% of immigrants are known to have entered without work permits and their presence was subsequently legalised.<sup>8</sup>

## **2.3 REGULATION OF MIGRATION IN EUROPE**

### **2.3.1 REGULATION OF MIGRATION BEFORE WORLD WAR I (1900-1930s)**

In much of the literature concerning studies related to problems of migration in Europe, it is concluded that the largest era of migration that had the greatest influence on policy and also on the demographic structure and the economy of European countries is migration that occurred in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and after World War II. The recruitment of these migrants is most possibly due to the changes of policy on recruiting foreign workers in several European countries such as Germany and France. Migration to

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<sup>8</sup> Statistical Data above is quoted from a report of the European Commission Employment and Social Affairs DG of 2005 by Fermin, Alfons, Study on Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion, Final Report Focus Consultancy Ltd, Faculty of Social Sciences, Erasmus University Rotterdam in collaboration with the European Commission: 13-14

France in the early 1920s increased rapidly after millions of young Frenchman died in World War I. Migrants were recruited to work in the industrial sector and they mostly came from Spain and North Africa.

Although the era of the 1920s had a significant influence in the history of European demography, during the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, migrants had already made an impact to the changes in arrangements of workers in Europe, especially in Germany and England. During the period between 1870 and 1914, foreign workers working in Europe were predominantly from China, Japan and Italy. Contract labourers from Asia were known as 'swarthy Europeans'. In several European countries such as France and Germany, a stock of Chinese workers was always available. The government, through its Labour Agency (*sche Arbeiter Zentrale*), provided a supply of approximately 36,000 Chinese workers, most of whom worked in the mining industry. They were very reliable and could be counted on by local workers to be allies especially when protesting for a wage increase. However, because of the urgent demand for support in the war in 1916, the government involved the military in the recruitment process. The purpose was that these migrant workers would be trained for military purposes and therefore would become useful when war occurred. These types of recruitment not only occurred in several countries such as Italy, Portugal and China but also in European colonised countries. Should these colonised countries not have a sufficient stock of workers, ordinary citizens would be recruited and given military training so that they could be made useful in war (Bocker, 1998; 55-56).

The labour movement gradual accepted the necessity for foreign workers from 1900 onwards and cooperated with Ministries



to restrict and control migration. The most interesting common traits are the compromises between the government and the labour movement to give preferential treatment to indigenous workers and later on, the direct cooperation of socialist parties and unions in devising and carrying out such government policies (Bocker, 1998; 54-55).

Within the association of mining workers in France, for example, workers from Italy joined as members in associations established by local workers and together demanded an increase in their very low wages. The relationship between French and Italian workers can also be seen in the Longwy area (Alsace Lorraine), although they both did different types of work, while the French worked in the steel factories, the Italians worked in the mining industry. Cooperation between local workers and migrant workers not only occurred in France but also in England and Germany. Mining workers from Italy and Prussia were able to work well together but the Prussians and the Poles could not be united into one organization. Workers from Ireland were already considered as English, while in Germany, Italians were already considered as part of the German community. Similarly, workers from Poland were also considered part of the Prussian community. In 1889, the association of Polish workers engraved a significant event in the history of the mining worker movement in Germany. In 1907, several worker associations joined forces with the *Social Democratic Party* (SPD) and submitted a petition to the government requesting an equal wage for local and migrant workers. By demanding an increase in wages, the SPD together with the workers' association opposed the idea of militarizing workers for war purposes and needs. In 1914, the governments of several European countries became occupied in trying to resolve issues of war and

revolution. As a result, issues on migration policy were no longer important on the agenda. Nonetheless, the SPD continued its struggle by trying to enter several of the countries' economically strategic departments in the government. Through the Wilhelmine Reich in 1918, the SPD succeeded in gaining seats in the government and commenced to stage protests, demonstrations and rallies.

Two great packages of reform were constructed. The first occurred during 1918 when the SPD government, unions and employers formed an *entente cordiale* to shore up the authority and legitimacy of the bourgeois order against the ongoing challenges from below. The second came in response to the mass uprising that defeated the attempted putsch by the *Frei Korps* in the 1920s and which developed into a serious challenge to law and order. In 1918, the agreement conceded the eight-hour day, plus guarantees that demobilized soldiers could return to their former jobs (Dale, 1990; 121-122).

According to Dale (1990), the agreement reached by the SPD with the government still in force until 1920, approved three basic principles regarding the working systems especially those aiming to be against wage discrimination between migrants and nonmigrants:

1. Foreigners would be hired if local workers were not available (local citizens);
2. Foreigners and local people (German workers) would have the same wages and rights for the same kinds of jobs;
3. Admission of foreigners would be monitored by commissions made up equally of representatives of management and unions.

The next twist in the history of foreign labour in Europe, especially Germany, occurred with the momentous defeat of organized labour and the Weimar Republic, by Nazism. The politics of Nazism in power may be summarized as a series of attempts to hurdle over the consequences of economic crisis and to suppress class conflict through racism, conquest and state forced industrialization. The political formula of Nazi imperialism included the strategies of reforming Europe in a racially based *New Order*, under German hegemony and colonial land grabbing in the East. The expansive empire, however, depended upon economic growth, which further exacerbated the labour shortage that had already arisen in the mid 1930s (Dale, 1990; 124). The impact of the Nazi Empire on Britain was the large wave of migration to Britain following the Nazi persecution of early 1930 which sent a generation of European Jews fleeing westwards to safety. Surveys estimate that 60.000 Jews settled in the UK between 1933 and 1939. At the same time, some 80.000 refugees arrived from central Europe and a further 70.000 came during the war itself. Europe faced an unprecedented refugee problem because millions of people had become refugees and several hundred thousand of these settled in Britain (Giddens, 2006; 502-503).

The great Depression and agrarian protectionism in Europe had a big impact on European agriculture in the 1930s. Most European dairy products and vegetables could not be exported to Germany due to protectionism and bilateral clearing agreements. Also the United Kingdom prioritized products from its commonwealth's countries.<sup>9</sup> The economic crisis in the 1920s and

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<sup>9</sup> Crises and Migration: A Case Study of Mollucans in the Netherlands, PSDR-LIPI, Jakarta: 33

especially in the 1930s left states no choice but to restrict labour migration and overall to change attitudes.

### **2.3.2. REGULATION OF MIGRATION AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

The migration trends from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to the 1940s were quite the same; dependant on the growth and conditions of the economy in the country. When the economic growth was positive and it was easy to get a job migration would happen. For example, an increase of staple food and dairy product exports to Germany and England in the early 1920s had positive impact on farmers who produced cheese, chickens and pigs (Kotarumalos 2005; 23-24).

After the Second World War, waves of immigration were experienced first by nations that were victorious and had colonies in Africa and the Caribbean. Europeans called these periods the *Gastarbeiter Periods*. Big migration flows from countries other than European countries after the Second World War can be linked to the different colonial pasts of certain European countries and explain the presence of relatively large groups of, for example, people from Surinam and Indonesia in the Netherlands, North Africans in France and people from India in Great Britain. In the 1950s and 1960s many people from the West Indies, Spain, Portugal and Italy came to the UK and Germany while Moroccans, Algerians, and Tunisians came to France (Bale, 2005; 227). Between the late 1950s and mid 1970s also most Western European states saw the immigration of 'guest workers' who came to fill vacancies at the bottom end of the labour market. The demand for unskilled labour was greater than the offer and therefore by

attracting labourers from other countries, governments tried to fill this gap. The greatest impact of this movement might not be mainly the attraction of these labourers because initially, governments who led this policy assumed that the foreign labourers would stay temporarily.<sup>10</sup> Most of the Member States developed measures and policies to support and improve the integration of immigrants. A great variety of national integration policies are being developed with regard to integration objectives, scope, target groups and actors.<sup>11</sup>

The important points of migration policy were supported by international legislation such as international treaties and the European Convention on Human Rights which play an important role in this. Economic recovery was successful due to most European governments implementing new policies. They changed from a *laissez-faire* policy to more government invested policies after the Second World War. For example, the British government adopted the *Beveridge Report*, a heavy investment in developing welfare services. A comprehensive scheme of modernization was prepared by Jean Monnet, the Commissioner for the Plan for the Reconstruction of Key Industries, in 1946, in France. Financial resources had to be provided by the French government to establish a new transport system, modernize the machinery of the basic

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<sup>10</sup> Veldman, Willemien 2004, 'Migration in the European Union: A Changing Face of European Societies?' review of Immigration and European integration, Manchester/New York, 2000.

<sup>11</sup> This information was obtained from Communication on an Open Method (CEC) of Co-ordination for the Community Immigration Policy in a final report of European Commission Employment and Social Affairs DG. 2005, Fermin, Alfons, Study on Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion, Final Report Focus Consultancy Ltd, Faculty of Social Sciences, Erasmus University Rotterdam in collaboration with the European Commission: 15

industries, construct more houses and improve farming facilities. The significant factor for economic recovery post war, was international funding from such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund and Marshall Aid (European Recovery Program).<sup>12</sup>

Economic recovery<sup>13</sup> was part of government responsibility. For Foucault, government means the 'conduct of conduct'; activities intended to organize or influence the conduct of a person or people. Government works at the level of the individual as well as at the level of society and just as importantly, is carried out by a whole range of actors including itself. At least, the governmentality is to do with the relations between the government of others and the government of a state (Rumford, Chris ; 2002; 71-72).

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<sup>12</sup> Several regulations made from the 1950s to the 1960s were influenced by America, through the Marshall Plan. America's intervention after the World Wars I and II was supposed to avoid a single absolute power in Europe. In 1973, pioneered by France, they made the 'Treaty of the European Community' in Copenhagen to make the identity of the European community better established internationally. Luhulima 1992, *Eropa Sebagai Kekuatan Dunia*, Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta: 165; Kotarumalos 2005, *Crises and Migration: A Case Study of Mollucans in the Netherlands*, PSDR-LIPI, Jakarta: 36

<sup>13</sup> In addition, economic recovery by the European Commission has attracted more migrants to come, especially from the ex colonized countries. Decolonization is one factor to cause a decrease of European influence in the international world. The increase of dependence on America's economy triggered off the domination of America over Europe (Western) that caused the decline of European civilization. From 1910 to the 1940s, Europe was broken and eventually this caused internal problems in the economic, political, social and cultural fields. In the economic field, for example, some European countries sent migrants back to their original countries due to the instability of their economy. Huntington, 1996, *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of the World Order*: 123-125

The huge financial funding made the economic conditions in Western European countries propitious. The productivity rose significantly within two years after the launching of the Marshall Plan on 5 June 1947. The Marshall Plan had two aims: Stopping the Communist invasion in Western Europe; and Stabilizing both the European and international economies (Luhulima, 1992; 222). The impact of the Plan is on the idea of a European Union, i.e., in the 1950s there emerged some other institutions: the OEEC, the West European Union, the Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Society and the Euratom.<sup>14</sup> The Marshall Plan contributed a lot to the recovery of the European countries' economies and inspired further economic cooperation among the European countries such as the Pact of Brussels (1948), the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (1948), the Uniscan (1950), the Nordic Council (1953), the European Coal and Steel Community/ECSC (1952), the European Free Trade Association (1958) and the Treaty of Rome (1957).<sup>15</sup>

The creation of an authority to oversee coal and steel production was the first step towards building an economic and political union of the countries in Europe. Initiated by France and the Federal Republic of Germany, the treaty of Paris in 1951, was set up with the Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the Treaty of Rome in 1957. Almost at the same time, an attempt was made to launch a European Defence Community. Subsequently, two other treaties were signed which led to the establishment of the European

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<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*: 116

<sup>15</sup> The Treaty of Rome, in building the ECSC structure, also set up the European Commission and the Court of Justice (EC), Bale, Tim 2005, *European Politics: A Comparative Introduction*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York: 46-47 and Kotarumalos 2005, *Crises and Migration: A Case Study of Mollucans in the Netherlands*, PSDR-LIPI, Jakarta: 36

Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the European Economic Community (EEC).<sup>16</sup> In 1962, the EEC decided to regulate farm prices as well as define agricultural priorities across the Community through a Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). In 1967, the EEC, the ECSC, and the Euratom were merged into the European Community, under a Commission and a Council of Ministers (Atienza, Maria Ela; 1999; 158).

While the Single European Act laid down a specific framework, the idea for a common market originated from the Treaty of Rome in 1957. As envisioned, the common market had three aims and would be characterized by:

1. The abolition of internal tariffs among Member States;
2. The adoption of a common external tariff;
3. The free movement of goods, services, labour and capital within the Member States.<sup>17</sup>

The impact of several policies made in the 1950s to 1960s created economic institutions, research and new education in an effort to reduce problems in the production process caused by the

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<sup>16</sup> Gonzales, Rowena.R, 1999, 'Parallel Importation and the Free Movement of Goods in the European Union: Lesson for Philippine Trade? 'in Aquirre (ed.), 1999, *European Studies: Essays by Filipino Scholars*, SIPAT Publications, Dilliman: 449.

<sup>17</sup> Two aspects of the Treaty of Rome hold particular significance for the achievement of a common market: the establishment of a system which will ensure healthy competition among enterprises and the elimination of obstructions to the free movement of goods between states within the European Union. Gonzales, Rowena.R. 1999, 'Parallel Importation and the Free Movement of Goods in the European Union: Lessons for Phillipine Trade? 'Aquirre (ed.), 1999, *European Studies: Essays by Filipino Scholars*, SIPAT Publications, Dilliman: 449



shortage of workers. The problems were caused by a switch from technology and job opportunities to technology innovation using education as the main generator. Migrants that had flooded Europe could not fulfil the need for workers especially in the lower skilled jobs. Unskilled migrant workers occupied the lower position left by the local workers who were prepared to be professionals. In the late 1960s, local citizens of European countries demanded to be wholly involved in the implementation of industrial technology and policy formulation. Decision- making had to pay attention to the environment and the increased number of people.<sup>18</sup>

Immigration policy in Britain marked the start of a gradual rolling back of the notion that inhabitants of the British Empire had the right to immigrate to Britain and claim citizenship. The labour market played some role in the new restrictions of the immigration policy and the growing chorus of calls for immigration control were echoed in a famous phrase from Enoch Powell, a Conservative front-bench Minister at the time. In 1962, Powell envisaged an extraordinary growth in the non-white population in Britain. A Gallup poll showed that 75% of the population were broadly sympathetic to Powell. Anti-racist campaigners and writers have argued that the British immigration policy is racist and discriminatory against non-whites. Early in 1962 with the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, a series of measures was passed which restricted entry and settlement rights for non- whites.

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<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*: 209-210

### 2.3.2.1. REGULATION OF MIGRATION BEFORE THE OIL CRISIS OF 1973

European immigration policies since the beginning of the 1970s have been based on the assumption that control was possible. During the 1960s until the early 1970s different European countries made conscious migrant recruitment efforts in the period of industrial expansion. Labour was in demand and the foreigners became a structural component of the labour supply, with immigrants taking over specific categories of low paying, low skill jobs in manufacturing, construction and the service sector.<sup>19</sup>

The recession in the early 1970s following the oil crisis caused all the Western European countries to put a stop to immigration to control the influx and implemented measures to promote the social integration of the immigrant populations. The need for 'guest workers' drastically declined and many already present were made redundant. However, these migrants did not return home, or at any rate not in the expected numbers, as economic opportunities at home were even worse. Instead, many brought over their family members to join them. Although not all countries of settlement immediately acknowledged that this process implied that they had become, if only for the time being, countries of immigration, most of them today have developed policies that aim at promoting the integration of these labour migrants, their spouses and children.

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<sup>19</sup> Brochmann, Grete 1993, 'Control in Immigration Policies: a Closed Europe in the Making', in King, Russel (ed.), 1993, *The New Geography of European Migration*, Belhaven Press, London and New York: 108

After this the receiving countries intended to let in only specific people with specific qualifications to fill defined needs in the labour market.<sup>20</sup> In the middle of the 1970s, work demands and offers were made by the *demand-driven system*. With this system, only those who came from the European Economic Area (EEA) could get a job in the Netherlands for a limited time and workers from outside of the EEA were not accepted (Roodenburg, Rob Euwals and Harry Terrele 2004; 378). The policy to adapt to circumstances was not a success because a number of unforeseen consequences appeared. Migrants, as a group, influenced the recipient countries in ways that were not planned and which now in turn constitute the basis for policy making within the European Community. In other words, the lessons learnt from the period after the immigration stop in most European countries are that the total number of immigrants has increased substantially. The composition of the group has changed in favour of family members of the original migrants, asylum-seekers and indistinctly illegal groups. The heavy emphasis on immigration control since the 1970s, in combination with the subsequent increase in the number of asylum seekers as well as illegal immigrants, has made it difficult to avoid a rising hostility towards immigrants in society.<sup>21</sup>

After the door was closed to labour migrants in the early 1970s, the only legal entry was through the asylum path when the Western European countries established the European Council in

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<sup>20</sup> The limitation on migrants who came in did not end in the 1970s but continued until 1994 when the European Commission agreed on the Council Resolution of 20 June 1994 on limitation of admissions of third-country nationals to the territory of the member states for employment.

<sup>21</sup> Brochmann, Grete 1993, 'Control in Immigration Policies: a Closed Europe in the Making', in King, Russel (ed.), 1993, *The New Geography of European Migration*, Belhaven Press, London and New York: 108-115.

1974 and held the first direct elections to the European Parliament in 1979. In the same year, the European Monetary System (EMS) was instituted. The system adopted an *Exchange Rate Mechanism* (ERM) and the European Currency Unit (ECU). These led to further developments and the European governments set up the Milan Summit of 1985 to pave the way for the Single European Act (SEA). The SEA extensively amended the *Treaty of Rome* especially in two ways to introduce the principle of qualified majority voting in quite a number of areas which had previously provided for unanimity (Atienza, 1999; 158-159).

In the field of economic cooperation after the recovery and application of a more strict migration policy, the European Commission began to plan to cooperate with OPEC countries considering the oil crisis that had just occurred at that time. The increase of the oil price and production would be solved by integration for the sake of the formation of a Monetary and Economic Union in Europe. This became a key point for European countries in arranging monetary and overseas cooperative policies. Those countries also started to cooperate with ASEAN countries, meaning that this opened up opportunities for workers from ASEAN countries to work in European countries. Especially in the 1970s, the cooperation emphasized the importance of the admittance of the willingness to move freely across political and ideological borders.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> In efforts for European integration, America also had an interest with Western European countries to make policies especially to countervail the Soviet Union. America's intervention was important to avoid a single absolute power in Europe, as was done by Germany in 1917. 'Intervention Matters done by America' in *ibid*: 165-169

### 2.3.2.2 MIGRATION REGULATIONS AFTER THE OIL CRISIS

Migration has never been a rare phenomenon in Europe in the last centuries but except for the second part of the twentieth century it never had considerable impact on society. Immigration issues were raised high on the political agenda as the Single European Market (SEM). The Single Market's most important event in this respect was the dismantling of the 'Iron Curtain' in 1989. With the establishment of the Single Market in 1993, however, this was no longer solely a national consideration. The promotion of the mobility of labour, being one of the pillars of the EC philosophy, may have had the side effect of preconditioned control of third country nationals were fundamentally changed. The open internal frontiers in the Common Market may imply that anyone entering a member country from outside the Community will have free access to all other member states.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, the European Union can now be said not only to be an economic entity but also a home for more than 375 million people coming from various countries. Europe is also home to millions of people who came, or whose ancestors came from other places. There are approximately 18 million non-nationals (IOM 2000a), representing 5% of the population. In most countries of Western Europe, legal migration either levelled off or declined by the mid 1990s. In 1990, net migration into the EU was just over one million but by 1998 it had fallen to below 400 000 (Laczko, Frank, 2001; 8-15). For several decades, governments have been trying to regulate migration; to control the number of migrants.

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<sup>23</sup> Brochmann, Grete 1993, 'Control in Immigration Policies: a Closed Europe in the Making', in King, Russel (ed.), 1993, *The New Geography of European Migration*, Belhaven Press, London and New York: 100-101.

There are some migrant policies redesigned by the government of the European Union such as Resolution 557 (1973) regarding employees' rights in Europe. The European Union Commission was also responsible for the migrants who entered the area of the European Union adapted from several regulations such as the European Convention on Establishment (1955), the Code of European Social Security (revised) in 1990 and the European Social Charter (1961), the European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers (1977) and the European Convention on Social Security in 1972 (Gusnelly, 2005; 65-72). The regulation adaptation was needed considering that the European Union needed some stages before it was finally formed.

Three organizations constituted the European Community on 1 November 1993, when the Treaty on the European Union (signed in Maastricht in 1992) came into force, the European Community generally became known as 'EU'. Embedded in the concept of a European Union was the unification of the diverse market of the Member States into a common market serving 370 million Europeans. The legal framework laid down to achieve this end was the Single European Act in 1987. The treaty had three main objectives: First, Establish a single market; Second, Obtain closer cooperation in policy in the fields of science, research and technology; and Third, Provide the legal framework for a coordinated foreign policy.

Besides several regulations on a Single Market, there are some important regulations that needed to be renewed and revised regarding migration matters such as a policy to prevent the emergence of xenophobia and discrimination by local citizens against migrants. In June 1997, the European Monitoring Centre

on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) was established by a Council Regulation to collect data on discrimination in the EU. Its task was to provide the European Union and its Member States with objective, reliable and comparable information and data on racism, xenophobia, Islamophobia and anti-Semitism at the European level, in order to help the EU and its Member States to establish measures or formulate courses of action against racism and xenophobia. The EUMC observed that only six Member States maintained a comprehensive system that adequately revealed the extent and nature of racist violence in their societies. The EUMC concluded that it appeared that racist violence was somewhat decreasing. However, because of the under recording of incidents, it was difficult to judge the situation accurately.<sup>24</sup>

An anti discrimination and equality policy is the one field in which the European Commission has had a major influence on recent policy developments. An important step was taken by the Framework Directives of 2000 related to combating discrimination on grounds of racial or ethnic origin in employment and beyond (the Racial Equality Directive and the Employment Equality Directive). The Member States were required to bring their national laws into line with these Directives by 19 July 2003 and 2 December 2003 respectively (and the new member states by the date of their accession). The new and reinforced National Action Plans on Employment encourage Member States to promote the integration of and combat discrimination against people who are at a disadvantage in the labour market, including immigrants and ethnic minorities. A review of the National Action Plans 2004 reveals

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<sup>24</sup> Fermin, Alfons 2005, Study on Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion, Final Report Focus Consultancy Ltd, Faculty of Social Sciences, Erasmus University Rotterdam in collaboration with the European Commission: 9-20

that, although a majority of Member States pays attention to the issue, remarkably few have set specific targets for immigrants and ethnic minorities in terms of employment rates (Fermin, Alfons, 2005;32-33).

To formulate policies dealing with migration, some easy systems such as a quota system should be given to the migrants to minimize the waves of illegal immigrants to the country members. Besides the thinning of country borders, stricter regulations for the entrance of migrants and goods must be made so that the controls are applied well. Thus, cooperation between the home and the host countries should guarantee individual freedoms to get a job wherever the migrants migrate. For the sake of coordination and integration between migrants and the European Union society, since 1986 the European Parliament has given subsidies to immigrant associations to help them coordinate their actions, to extract them from both their home and host country politics. Responsibility for integration issues fall largely under the power of regional authorities. However, the new Immigration Act in Germany also aims at a more coherent policy, by transferring some competencies to the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees.

Some of the Member States, such as Denmark and the Netherlands have created new Ministries for alien and integration affairs. In many other countries, special bodies or departments within Ministries – often those of Home or Social Affairs – have been created, to coordinate and take the lead in developing policies. The policies are in many cases developed in collaboration with other stakeholders, such as social partners, NGOs and immigrant communities. Policies are in general mostly implemented at local and regional levels. Sometimes, in the absence of a national



integration policy, authorities of municipalities and regions with large proportions of immigrants take the lead in developing integration policies at local and regional levels. Local policies in cities and municipalities can play an important role in the settlement and integration processes of immigrants. Local authorities everywhere have to find solutions for similar kinds of problems to do with housing, education, unemployment and health of immigrants, as well as segregation and xenophobia (Penninx et al 2004). NGOs form another group that is active in promoting the integration of immigrants in all Member States. NGOs play a major role in providing integration measures (Fermin, Alfons, 2005;32-33). Differences and similarities in policies are in part related to a particular phase of immigration and the main types of immigrants present in the country. The UK has developed a coordinated integration policy at the national level; while Germany, since the new Immigration Act came into force, is also developing a more coherent overall policy at the federal level. Other 'old' European migration countries have taken mainly a mainstreaming approach (notably France; to a certain degree, also Luxembourg) or only some dispersed measures (Austria). Recent immigration countries - mainly southern Member States and Ireland - are in the process of developing national integration policies. In these countries some *ad hoc* integration initiatives have been undertaken while they make their first attempts to develop a policy on integration. Some countries have developed either no integration measures at all or only some specific ones aimed at certain categories of immigrants, such as Germany.

Germany has several targeted integration policies. Efforts are made to facilitate the integration of recognised refugees and *Aussiedler*. Both categories have access to language courses and a

range of privileges. These categories of immigrants are free to decide whether they want or need to study German or need other training opportunities. In principle, they may rely on Social Security benefits for the rest of their lives without seeking to participate in German society to any considerable extent. The procedures envisaged are broadly as follows: Social Security benefits are only meant to support people until they either take up regular study (for those who have no profession yet) for which grants are available or come under supervision of the Employment Exchange. Before this happens, the immigrant has to bring proof of past employment in his/her country of origin. When they do they are granted unemployment benefits (which are substantially higher than Social Security payments) and are offered a language course. When they, subsequently, are not yet deemed fit for the German labour market they may be schooled further in their old profession or be taken into a retraining program. This entire process of professional adaptation may take up to three years, provided the immigrant does not lose time along the way. If he/she does not manage to find a job afterwards him/herself, the immigrant perhaps may join a temporary work scheme (*Arbeitsbeschaffungsmassnahme*, ABM), initiated and funded by the Ministry of Labour (ILO, 2004)

### **2.3.3. FORTRESS EUROPE**

The European policy on the free movement of people has caused an important distinction between two sorts of migrants: Citizens of the European Union who settle in another Member State and people from non Member States who want to enter a state that is a member of the European Union, the so-called 'third-country nationals' (TCN's). Whereas the entering of a Member State of the

European Union by a third-country national depends to a large extent on national immigration law, the migration within the territory of the European Union by EU citizens is regulated by EU legislation and is only to a very small degree controlled by national states. The free movement only applies to Member State nationals and traditionally, TCN's are officially excluded from these rights and are still subject to national immigration policy.<sup>25</sup>

Free movement created a controversy concerning immigration to all corners of European countries that are committed to ideas of revolution relating to freedom, equality and brotherhood. Right wing politicians possess full interest in migrant workers and minority groups, while left wing workers fought against these ideas. For example, in France, the National Front Party is committed to migrant groups; however, they were not able to accumulate enough seats to become a majority holder in the country's parliament. The policy of the French government tends to discriminate against migrant workers and his/her family (Agung Prihantoro, 2004; 251). However, the French government is still considered as one among few who is still committed to policies of assimilation, wherein the place of origin, culture, and language of migrant groups must be eliminated. This type of description is considered positive because it can prevent the expansion of differences between ethnic groups which may create conflict in the long run.

The European Community is aware that its future will never be released from the issues of migration and that, in fact, will create further new issues. Economic, social and political forces may well

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<sup>25</sup> Veldman, Willmien 2000, 'Migration in the European Union: A Changing Face of European Societies?' in Geddes, A 2000, *Immigration and European Integration*, Manchester/New York; 6

minimize differences as well as maximize differences between groups. One of the efforts to deal with this matter was by establishing a union among the European countries. Previously, there had been various other efforts to establish unification, such as the MEE, Benelux etc. Currently, the most promising and successful endeavour to bring about change and become a strong force among the European community is the European Union. All differences due to diverging ethnic groups amongst the European Community are anticipating assimilation.

The ambition to establish a unified community among European countries has been realized through the signing of the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997. The content of this Treaty includes the rights of the citizens of European countries holding membership in the European Union to travel and work wherever they wish within countries of the European Union.<sup>26</sup> This policy on free migration will be enacted after the termination of the transition period. Initially, the unification of European countries was only signed by 15 countries, but in its development, more countries signed up to join. A new force emerged without the intervention of other countries such as occurred in previous unifications.

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<sup>26</sup> There were some reasons to have a single currency. First, One currency is an absolute requirement in an economy so that it can make the trade and economic relationships among countries in one region easier. Second, One currency is believed to be able to compete with the US currency that is very influential in the world's economy. European countries believe that unity in diversity is not a form of monopoly. Third, one currency can unite countries with various political backgrounds so that disintegration can be avoided in one region. Kompas 19 June 2004.

The EU Member States are moving towards tightening controls over the entry and stay of foreigners. In the new Member States, recent developments in immigration policy are largely the consequence of accession requirements and of the demand to harmonize the immigration laws and policies to the EU requirements. The southern countries are also developing more restrictive immigration policies because of pressures from the EU, including the requirements of the Schengen Agreement (Baldwin-Edwards; 2004; 4-8). European states have realised that they cannot manage irregular flows on their own, but are dependent on cooperation with neighbouring countries. Collaborative efforts in this area are all the more important given the rights of free movement for nationals within the EEA; and the abolition of internal border controls between Schengen countries. However, migration control as an effort to combat irregular border crossing requires a common approach, specifically cooperation with police, border guards and a judicial system strengthening border control.

In political life, the government gives freedom to migrants to participate in politics. Political participation is the active dimension of citizenship. It refers to 'the various ways in which individuals take part in the management of the collective affairs of a given political community'. This variety can be accounted for by at least three factors: (1) The variety of citizenship (nationality) laws and policies in the EU Member States; (2) The fact that EU countries are at different stages of the migratory process; and (3) The fact that immigrants and their descendants are not a homogeneous group in terms of political attitudes and behaviours. In the 1992 Council of Europe Convention on the participation of foreigners in public life at local level and the granting of voting rights in municipal elections to Union citizens has stimulated the

public and parliamentary debate on this issue in several Member States, such as, for example, Belgium and Italy.<sup>27</sup>

The objectives of integration policies are often phrased in quite similar terms: insertion, active participation in society and the labour market in particular. The policies are defined as a two way process, supported by principles of equal opportunities, non-discrimination and recognition of diversity. The target groups of the specific integration policies or measures vary from all longterm immigrants from all ethnic minority groups to one or a few specific groups. The scope of the integration policies differs considerably. There is a trend in those countries with a more established tradition of immigration to focus on the reception and integration of newcomers, in order to prevent the development of disadvantages and to mainstream the integration measures for the 'older' immigrant groups within general policies.

The important point for the 'Fortress Europe' is that the EU should make a new migration policy approach and new migration management strategy. Underlying such a strategy is the conviction that a comprehensive approach should satisfy certain basic criteria. First, Policy makers and their social partners should be well informed, using information that is as accurate and up-to-date as possible; Second, Migration policy making should be open and transparent, for all interests; Third, The rules, regulations and procedures formulated by policy makers and their agents should be as clear and unambiguous as possible; Fourth, Any strategy should be manageable in terms of the resources available, including

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<sup>27</sup> Fermin, Alfons. 2005, Study on Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion, Final Report Focus Consultancy Ltd, Faculty of Social Sciences, Erasmus University Rotterdam in collaboration with the European Commission: 23-24

those of finance, information and time; Finally, and most importantly, a policy must have clear aims and objectives, ideally pursued in a consistent manner. With these things in mind a management strategy was designed by the Reflection Group to apply on the pan European scale and based on four principles: orderliness, protection, integration and cooperation (Salt, 2001; 5-6).

### 2.3.4. CONCLUSION

Before the First World War, few political and legislative barriers hindered the international movement of people. It was possible to travel throughout Europe and overseas without a passport. Now, the open international frontiers in the labour and common market may imply that anyone entering a member country from outside the community will have free access to all other member states. However, protection of national borders and labour markets is not a new issue in many European countries. Border control against citizens of other countries has been a central aspect of the sovereignty of European nation states. European immigration policies have been based on the assumption that control is possible. Restriction procedures will help to prevent the variation in immigration policies from some member countries but a harmonization of these measures will be necessary, although harmonizing immigration policies in Europe has proved to be a more difficult undertaking than might have been expected.

Harmonisation of policies on asylum, immigration and integration has been seen as a means of standard setting. The idea is that establishing common standards, norms and approaches should improve the effectiveness of national policies in areas such as asylum, integration or labour migration. It should enable

individual EU countries to better meet shared goals, such as refugee protection or economic growth. These various goals have motivated efforts at cooperation and harmonisation in different areas of policy. Particularly important has been cooperation in the areas of immigration control and asylum.<sup>28</sup>

Should the integration of European countries materialize, the person who had the most influential role and the biggest ambition for this idea was Stalin. Stalin's idea for integration in the past was most likely due to his appreciation of the importance of European identity and its fear of Communism. However, during the past decade, the urgent need for European integration emerged due to the fear of uprisings from ethnic background migrants against the economic hold of Europe, especially from Turkey. Another issue that developed is the re-emerging of Islamic grandeur in Europe. In the post 11 September era, there are issues of polarization and as a consequence, Muslim migrants received discriminative treatment in several European countries. Foreign migrant workers to Europe are thus limited to work seekers from other European countries. As a result country boundaries between European countries have become blurred.

The solution for the European governments to control the wave of migrant workers is by formulating stricter policies. Boundaries between countries of the European Union must be made more clear and protected by special and professional military guards. Members of the European Union must adjust their policies to the

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<sup>28</sup> Boswell, Christina 2005, 'Migration in Europe', a paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration, Hamburg Institute of International Economics, Germany: 11.



regulations of the European Union, even though oftentimes, they may have different concepts. Aside from this, new policies on the economy and migration must be introduced because the structure of workers and internal political issues within the European Union itself are full of conflict. Measures to create harmony are also a burdening problem similar to that of political and economic issues. In order to avoid annihilation, a strong and dominant military defence is required within the governments of the European Union. Discussions and negotiations between country members of the European Union must be conducted in order to put in place an effective control mechanism.

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# CHAPTER III

## IMMIGRANT MINORITIES IN THE NETHERLANDS

*Amin Mudzakkir*

### 3.1. INTRODUCTION

Migration has attracted scholars to try to understand it from different perspectives. Various academic works explore different aspects of migration such as the 'push and pull' theories on the motives of immigrants or on how the host country regards them. In the case of European migration following World War II, some scholars argue that the problem of migration originated with the economic inequality between the advanced and the less developed countries; where migrants from less developed countries in southern Europe and the European peripheries occupied an inferior place in the labour market and weaker legal and political positions (Schmitter 1984).

As a consequence, the immigrants became minority groups within the host society. In responding to this issue, the governments released various policies. In this, it must be noted that the Netherlands initially had introduced multicultural policies to promote tolerance of and respect for cultural differences (Vermeulen and Penninx 2000). However, there was a shift from multicultural policies to what might be perceived as a coercive and assimilationist policy and public discourse (Vasta 2007). This chapter will discuss that argument in terms of the dynamics of the migration policy in the Netherlands.

### 3.2. THE DYNAMICS OF IMMIGRATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands is a destination country for immigrants. In the early period after World War II, the first wave of immigrants came from former colonies, namely, Indonesia, Suriname and the Antilles to the Netherlands and its neighbouring European countries. Some immigrants had arrived in the Netherlands in the pre-war period. Immigrants from southern Europe, who settled in the Netherlands over several decades, later occupied different social positions in the Netherlands. Immigrants from Turkey and Morocco generally came in the 1960s as 'guest workers'. Recently the Netherlands has become the destination country for large numbers of refugees and asylum seekers. Some of these asylum seekers came from the former Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia, but the majority comes from outside Europe.

Under the pressure of globalization, national borders seem to be declining. The new inventions of transportation and communication have dismantled many traditional barriers among nations and states. Nowadays, people, goods, ideas, and images have become interconnected everywhere. People can move and find their way all over the world, driven out of their countries of origin by suppression or in search of a better life (Breettell and Hollifield 2000)

The Netherlands has an attraction for immigrants. With its economic development, the Netherlands has attracted people from differences backgrounds. In 2004, around 1.6 million non-Western migrants lived in the Netherlands who had arrived in several phases. To some extent, their reasons for arrival, can be put down to the demand-supply thesis, however, this is not enough as each of three

conditions namely, decolonization, economics and politics, were push factors of three immigrant waves into the Netherlands. The first wave was the decolonized immigrants who mostly were Mollucans and Dutch-Indonesians followed by the Surinamese and the Antilleans. The second wave of immigrants entered the Netherlands as 'guest workers', mainly from Turkey, Morocco and Italy. In this phase, occurred what is called 'family reunifications', that is, immigrants living in the Netherlands brought their families from their countries of origin. At the same time, there was an economic crisis caused by high oil prices in 1973, which was a turning point in terms of the migration policy in the Netherlands. Since then, migration problems have become more complex and more linked to wider issues.

Recently, the Netherlands has become a destination country for asylum seekers and refugees. The reason for the third wave of immigration is mainly political, such as war or conflict in their country of origin. The political immigrants or asylum seekers have been arriving in the Netherlands since the mid 1980s. They came from both non-EU and EU countries. Asylum seeker and refugee issues emerged at the time of the Europeanization agenda in terms of the European Union (EU). The EU migrants clearly have more possibilities to move within the EU states than others. The European approach towards the immigration and asylum issues eventually came to be primarily directed towards reducing the number of asylum-seekers and 'illegal migrants' and does not differ greatly within the member states such as the Netherlands (WWR 2001).

**Table 1.****Immigration flows in the Netherlands by type of migration, 1999\***

<i>Type of Migration</i>	<i>Absolute</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Total	119,000	100%
Of Which:		
Dutch citizens	32,000	27%
EU citizens	18,000	15%
Labour migrants	20,816	18%
Antilleans	9000	8%
Family reunification/formation	20,492	17%
Refugees/status-holders	13,490	11%

\* The Table has been compiled from various sources and does not therefore add up to 100%.

1 This category may, however, also include family reunification/formation migrants.

Source: WWR 2001.

**Table 2.**

**Size and growth of non-Western population groups, 1990-2020  
(In absolute figures x 1,000 and in percentages)**

	1990	2003	2020 (estimates)	Forecast percentage increase 2003-2020
Turkey	203	341	452	+33
Marocco	164	295	432	+46
Suriname	224	321	375	+17
Netherlands Antilles/Aruba	69	129	189	+47
Other non-Western countries	171	538	978	+82
Total non-Western migrants	831	1623	2425	+49
Of Whom 1 <sup>st</sup> generation	562	1004	1303	+30
Of whom 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	269	619	1122	+81
% of total population	8,3	9,7	14,1	

Source: CBS 2003a and 2003b



**Table 3.****Number of members of ethnic minorities, 1971-1997 (x 1000)**

	1971 <sup>a</sup>	1975	1980	1985	1990 <sup>b</sup>	1997
Turks	30	63	120	156	206	280
Moroccans	22	33	72	111	168	233
Southern-Europeans <sup>c</sup>	62	76	72	65	105	143
Surinamese	38	69	146	181	237	287
Antilleans	18	19	36	47	81	95
Moluccans <sup>d</sup>	26	29	35	35	35	(38)
Third World and Eastern Europe <sup>e</sup>	10	18	33	53	64	435
Ethnic minorities <sup>f</sup>	206	307	514	648	896	1,473
Percentage of population	1.6	2.3	3.7	4.5	6.0	9.4
Non-Dutch <sup>g</sup>	252	316	473 <sup>h</sup>	559	642	680 <sup>i</sup>
Percentage of population	1.9	2.3	3.4	3.9	4.3	4.3 <sup>i</sup>

Source: SCP 1998, in Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000

Key:

<sup>a</sup> By nationality, except for Surinamese and Antilleans (by country of birth): 1997, 1975, 1980, and 1985;

<sup>b</sup> By country of birth of person or at least one of his/her parents: 1990 and 1997;

<sup>c</sup> including (former) Yugoslavs;

<sup>d</sup> estimates;

<sup>e</sup> In so far as not included in the categories above;

<sup>f</sup> Sum of preceding categories;

<sup>g</sup> On the basis of nationality;

<sup>h</sup> According to the Jaarwerk Statistics on foreigners, however, the Statistisch Zakboek reported 521 for that year;

<sup>i</sup> These figures are taken from Muus 1998: 67

In a Western society like the Netherlands, constructed opinions on foreigners from non-Western countries, in terms of colonizer-colonized relations as in the past, still persist. In more traditional terms, there are categories which refer to the relations between immigrants and the native population: acculturation, accommodation, adaptation, adjustment, assimilation, amalgamation, absorption, fusion and integration, which also serve as the terms used. The above-mentioned concepts entail different behaviour on the part of the host and migrant cultures. Adaptation and adjustment have been often used in a one-sided way, indicating a need for particular behaviour of the migrants in order to be accepted in the host society. The term 'assimilation' is often used to describe the degree to which a migrant has become part of his/her new culture and has absorbed its norms and behaviour patterns as his/her own (Bagley 1971).

The relations between immigrants and the natives, in fact, are more complicated than a categorization. In this regard, Heeren (Bagley 1971) has identified the following factors which can influence what he calls the 'fusion' process: (1) The number and rate of entry of immigrants; (2) The immigration system and type of immigrants; (3) The composition of immigrants in terms of wealth, economic skills, and ethnic categories; (4) The territorial distribution of the immigrants; (5) The interaction between the cultures of migrants and hosts. The dimensions of those aspects of migration, however, are differently related to the disequilibrium between outlook and behaviour of the host culture and the migrant individual or group. According to Eisentadt (Bagley 1971), this can take several forms:

1. The migrant culture is generally apathetic to the chief values and symbols of the new society and not disposed to maintain any communication with the bearers and transmitters of those

- values and there is a consequent 'enclosure' within the most private spheres of social life;
2. The migrant culture adopts a rebellious attitude to the host society and does not accept the primary claims to loyalty. As a result, there is inter group tension;
  3. The migrant culture has a 'verbal identification' with the new culture without acceptance of the institutional premises of such identification; the individual migrant indulges in a certain ritualistic over emphasis on certain collective symbols and behaviour patterns;
  4. The migrant groups accept the formal premises of the host culture and behave accordingly. But despite the formal emphasis on equality and universalism, various discriminatory practices are employed against the immigrants, which seem permanently to stand in the way of their realizing their aspirations. This is especially conducive to disorganization in the second and third generation of immigrants.

To some extent, Eisentadt's perspective about the migrants reflects the Dutch society opinion towards them. It is interestingly related to the immigrants who came from non-Western countries. In much statistical data, there are different categories between Western and non-Western immigrants. The differences may mean nothing, but by being put in a discourse, they clearly represent the government paradigm on migration. On the other hand, there is a commonly known issue among the Dutch on 'pillarization' or 'verzuiling'. The distinct feature of social institutions reflects the division of many areas of life on religious lines. The nation is divided into blocs, or 'pillars', on ideological lines. The pillars are Catholic, Dutch Reformed, Calvinist and Secular. The secular bloc has two wings: conservative and socialist.

For immigrants, the Dutch social system has both advantages and disadvantages. The Dutch are careful to accord clearly defined rights to groups with 'marked' ideological differences. But, at the same time, the Dutch will be more cautious with an immigrant not because he/she is an immigrant per se, but because he/she is a member of a strange bloc. This means that if the immigrant is a Catholic or a Protestant, as is the case with many of the Indonesians and Surinamese, he/she will be absorbed into an existing bloc system. Recently there was an interesting change in this. The increase in Muslim migrants has become an impetus to construct a new pillar: Islam (Shadid 1991). This 'pillar' is an ongoing debate among the Dutch, where attention to Muslim issues is increasing in line with other globalization issues such as radicalism and most recently, terrorism.

At the European level, according to the WWR report (2001), there are at least three approaches to asylum seekers and refugees: First, In 1995, the European Council of Ministers adopted a common position on the definition of refugee status. The definition excluded a large group: according to the Community standpoint, those fleeing civil war, general armed conflict and persecution by non state agents, such as militia fall outside the refugee category. Second, The 'safe countries of origin' principle According to this principle, an application for asylum status is declared unfounded, if, according to the country processing the application, the country in question is regarded as safe. By 'safe' is meant that civil, political and human rights are sufficiently enshrined in that country; The third guiding principle is that of the 'third country of reception' or 'safe third country principle'. Having been established to counter 'asylum shopping', this principle refers to the situation in which an asylum-seeker has entered the country via another (non EU)

country that may be designated as safe. Since this other country is safe, the asylum seeker should have sought asylum there and the recipient country is authorized to send the asylum seeker back to that country.

At the same time, Europe faced racism and discrimination issues in dealing with immigrant developments. In that, the EU has played an important role when it released the EU's Racial Equality Directive (RED) in 2000. This directive relates to many of the issues on migration problems among European countries. In Article 13 of RED, the European Council is allowed to 'take appropriate action' on antidiscrimination measures related to race, gender, religion, age, disability and sexual orientation (Givens 2007). However, Bill (ibid. 2007) notes that national level preferences play an important role in the development of antidiscrimination policy at the EU level.

**Table 4.**

**Numbers of asylum applications and principal countries of origin, 1980-1999**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Asylum Applications</i>	<i>Principal countries of origin</i>
1980	976	1 Turkey 2 Ethiopia 3 Chile 4 Iran/Pakistan
1981	832	1 Ethiopia 2 Pakistan 3 Iraq 4 Turkey
1982	842	1 Pakistan 2 Turkey 3 Iraq 4 Ethiopia
1983	1,400	1 Suriname 2 Turkey 3 Pakistan 4 Sri Lanka
1984	2,304	1 Sri Lanka 2 Turkey 3 Iran 4 Suriname
1985	4,522	1 Sri Lanka 2 Turkey 3 Iran 4 Suriname
1986	3,650	1 Turkey 2 India 3 Afghanistan 4 Iran
1987	13,460	1 Ghana 2 India 3 Turkey 4 Zaire
1988	7,486	1 Ghana 2 Ethiopia 3 Iran 4 India
1988	13,898	1 Somalia 2 Lebanon 3 Poland 4 Ethiopia
1990	21,208	1 Sri Lanka 2 Romania 3 Iran 4 Somalia
1991	21,615	1 Yugoslavia 2 Sri Lanka 3 Iran 4 Somalia
Former	20,346	1 Former Yugoslavia 2 Somalia 3 Iran 4 Sri Lanka
1992	35,399	1 Former Yugoslavia 2 Somalia 3 Iraq 4 Iran
1994	52,576	1 Former Yugoslavia 2 Iran 3 Somalia 4 former Soviet Union
1995	29,258	1 Former Yugoslavia 2 Somalia 3 Iran 4 Iraq
1996	22,587	1 Iraq 2 Afghanistan 3 Former Yugoslavia 4 Former Soviet Union
1997	34,443	1 Iraq 2 Afghanistan 3 Former Yugoslavia 4 Former Soviet Union
1998	45,217	1 Former Yugoslavia 2 Iraq 3 Afghanistan 4 Former Soviet Union
1999	42,729	1 Former Yugoslavia 2 Afghanistan 3 Iraq 4 Somalia

Source: WWR 2001

### 3.3. MINORITY POLICY

The issue of minority firstly refers to a group which is numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a state. However, this definition cannot be accepted universally. There are a number of concepts to define minority. Francesco Capotorti, a UN Special Reporter suggested the term ‘ minority’ as:

a group, numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a state, in a non-dominant position, whose members-being nationals of the state-possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if

only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions or language. (Study on the Rights of Persons belonging to Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/384/Add.1-7(1977)) ([www.minority-rights.org](http://www.minority-rights.org))

Furthermore, Jules Deschenes proposes a definition of minority as:

a group of citizens of a state, constituting a numerical minority and in non-dominant position in that state, endowed with ethnic, religious and linguistic characteristics which differ from those of the majority of the population, having a sense of solidarity with one another, motivated, if only implicitly, by a collective will to survive and whose aim is to achieve equality with the majority in fact and in law. (Proposal Concerning a Definition of the term 'minority' UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/31 (1985)) ([www.minority-rights.org](http://www.minority-rights.org))

In 1993, the Council of Europe also declared a minority as:

a group of persons in a state who: (a) reside on the territory of that state and are citizens thereof; (b) maintain longstanding, firm and lasting ties with that state; (c) display distinctive ethnic, cultural, religions or linguistic characteristics; (d) are sufficiently representative, although smaller in number than the rest of the population of that state or of a region of the state; (e) are motivated by a concern to preserve together that which constitutes their common identity, including their culture, their tradition, their religion or their language. ([www.minority-rights.org/docs/mn\\_defs.htm](http://www.minority-rights.org/docs/mn_defs.htm))

In the Netherlands, the term 'minority' was officially used in 1983 as a response to the Ethnic Minority Report and Government Reply Memorandum in 1979. The aim of the policy

was to emancipate the ethnic minorities and to elevate the 'ethnicized' groups to equal social status with the indigenous groups in Dutch society (Dirk Jacobs and Andrea Rea 2006). The term was used to replace the former terms for immigrants such as 'guest workers'. This change shows a turning point in respect to the state categorization of immigrants from an economic category to a cultural one.

The policy on minorities has a number of elements. The first element is related to the creation of a multicultural society, namely, emphasizing communal rather than individual, in terms of human rights. The second entails the improvement of the situation of foreigners in the legal domain, amongst other measures by facilitating the procedure to obtain Dutch citizenship. The third element of the 'minorities policy' entails the improvement of the socio economic position of ethnic minorities, which should become equivalent to the position of that segment of the majority group with a comparable level of education (Jacobs and Rea 2006)

Despite the number of nations that have minority group issues, the Netherlands has several specific conditions regarding the term 'minority'. Based on the Advisory Commission of Research on Cultural Minorities in 1979 (Campfens 1979), those conditions are:

1. The majority of its members are in a low social position (by objective measures);
2. When they cannot participate in regular political decision making process, because of limited group size and/or lack of judicial status (as in the case with most Mediterranean migrant workers and their families);



3. The host society considers them a separate group, where membership in the group has become the dominant characteristic of its members as with the Suriname Dutch and the Moluccans);
4. When several generations are involved;
5. The presence of a separate culture, or clear cultural characteristics that differentiate them from the majority population.

The Advisory Commission of Research on Cultural Minorities Report also suggests the use of 'ethnic minority' rather than 'cultural minority' when referring to minority (in the above definition) whose culture—in terms of customs, norms, values, and language—is of foreign origin. For the Netherlands, this means that groups like the Indonesian-Dutch, Jews and some others, would not fully meet the criteria of this definition, nor would the more established Canadian ethno cultural groups like the Ukrainians, Poles or Germans be included. In addition, minority rights are related to people belonging in a community to practice their own culture. Politically, it applies to a policy which recognizes the use of cultural and religious identity in public spaces. Implicit in this sense is a clear rejection of the 'assimilationist' view and 'melting pot' ideas, which were popular in the United States. These views suggest advocating a fusion into one culture (Campfens 1979)

The term 'minority' has some implications in human rights discourse. Under the heading of 'International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights', the idea of minority rights was adopted on 27 November 1978 by the General Conference of UNESCO in Paris. One of these ideas was stated specifically in Article 9.3:

Population groups of foreign origin, particularly migrant workers and their families who contribute to the development of the host country, should benefit from appropriate measures designed to afford them security and respect for their dignity and cultural values; be facilitated in their adaptation to their host environment, and in their professional advancement with a view to their subsequent reintegration in their country of origin (if so desired) and their contribution to its development; and steps should be taken to make it possible for their children to be taught their mother tongue.

In Western countries such as the Netherlands, the term 'minority' generally refers to immigrants. This issue was raised in the 1970s when the number of immigrants decreased on the one hand and domestic sentiments within the Dutch society about immigrants rose on the other. The emergence of minority issues within the sphere of migration, was responded to by the government, with a Memorandum in 1981 (Vermeulen and Penninx 2000). Generally the Memorandum consists of two aspects. First, The government will give a licence to immigrants to stay in the Netherlands and provide circumstances towards their larger participation within the Dutch society; Second, The government will also give help to immigrants if they choose to return to their home country.

However, immigrants have rarely returned to their home countries, except for a small number of immigrants from southern Europe. This can be understood if we turn our attention to the economic conditions of the countries of origin. If economic conditions improved, as in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece, the chance for immigrants to return to their countries of origin was greater. This was in contrast with the Turks and Moroccans who

invited their families to the Netherlands. The role of the so-called 'family reunification' was crucial, because of the politics of Netherlands citizenship which permitted a double citizenship status.

The target of the Memorandum of 1981 was clearly to decrease the distance between minorities and majorities. However, the problem of minorities is not only about legal policy but also about the power relations that become a political arena on minorities-majorities relations. Whoever is called 'indigenous' or 'native' Dutchman/woman has more access to the political and economic resources than immigrants. The lack of economic capacity and the cultural background of immigrants are the problems in this sense. The research on political participation of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands reveals that ethnic minorities have very limited political influence (Rath 1983). Interest groups such as trade unions, ethnic pressure groups and advisory committees also still rarely function adequately.

The issue of minorities initially emerged in the 1970s in dealing with economic crises. The labour market and the access to economic resources were limited. On the other side, the number of immigrants decreased, especially of the Turks and Moroccans. Although their families were invited to the Netherlands, there was the policy which restricted immigrants, because of the assumptions on their temporary residence. The openness of the Netherlands was shown previously by the phenomena of 'guest workers' in the 1960s. In this phase, immigrants from Italy came to fill the labour shortages. Until this, there was no serious issue about migration.

Related to the changes in the economic sector, the formation of immigrant identity in terms of culture has changed. Previously, immigrants were only regarded to be in the economic category,

while changes after the 1980s showed the recognition of immigrants in the cultural sense. They were recognized as social actors with unique cultural habits. The recognition was represented by terms in policies about immigrants. 'Guest workers' were then called 'ethnic minorities', 'cultural minorities' or 'ethnic groups' and later as '*allochthonous*' (Sunier and van Kuijeren 2000: 148).

The *allochtones* term has two definitions. First, The term refers to the place of birth of the parents. Second, A generic category of *allochthones* has been created, lumping together foreigners and a large number of the nationals who have a foreign background. Based on the WWR Report on *Allochtonenbeleid* (1989), *allochthones* were defined as:

*Allochthones* are, generally speaking, all persons who come from elsewhere and have durably settled in the Netherlands, including their descendants until the third generation; in as far as the latter want to consider themselves as *allochthones*. Minorities are *allochthonous* groups which find themselves in a disfavoured position: it has to be assessed periodically which groups have to be considered to be minorities (Jacobs and Rea 2006)

Since 1999, the CBS has defined *allochthones* as 'every person living in the Netherlands of which at least one of the parents was born abroad.' This definition still exists. Jacobs and Rea (2006) argue that the definition is not 'imprecise', because it also can refer to children of Dutch expatriates. However, the pressure towards multicultural ideas was reflected in the statistical distinction which the CBS itself introduced in 1999 when distinguishing Western *allochthones* and non Western *allochthones*. This distinction is mainly used for statistical purposes in the field of education, although it has not been limited to that policy domain. This division of categories reflects the paradigms of the state policy on minorities.

**Table 5.**

**Foreign population and the *allochthonous* population in the Netherlands, 2001-2004 (1st of January)**

	2001	2002	2003	2004
Total population	15 987 075	16 105 285	16 192 572	16 258 032
Foreign population	667 802	690 393	699 954	702 185
% of foreigners	4,2	4,3	4,3	4,3
<i>Allochthonous</i> pop	2 870 224	2 964 949	3 038 758	3 088 152
% of <i>allochthones</i>	18,0	18,4	18,8	19,0
<i>Allochthones</i> born outside of the Netherlands	1 488 960	1 547 079	1 585 927	1 602 730
<i>Allochthones</i> born in the Netherlands with two parents born abroad	542 871	566 165	588 451	608 369
<i>Allochthones</i> born in the Netherlands with one parent born abroad	838 393	851 705	864 380	877 053

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, Jacobs and Rea 2006

**Table 6.**

**'Western' and 'non-Western *allochthones*' of the first and second generations in the Netherlands, 2001-2004 according to the CBS**

	Number of Western <i>Allochthones</i>	% in total population	Number of non-Western <i>Allochthones</i>	% in total Population
2001	1 387 036	8,7	1 483 188	9,3
2002	1 406 596	8,7	1 558 353	9,7
2003	1 416 156	8,8	1 622 602	10,0
2004	1 419 855	8,8	1 668 297	10,2

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, Jacobs and Rea, 2006

However, by the late 1980s and early 1990s, the policy makers thought that the ethnic minorities' policy had not been achieved. Officially, since the mid 1990s the Netherlands has moved away from multiculturalism. Language tuition and the mainstreaming of services were introduced with a definite ideological shift from support for group needs and identity to promoting individual identity. The government released a new 'integration policy' in 1994 based on the idea of 'mainstreaming'. It was realized to improve the inclusion of immigrants in mainstream services in order to move away from the ethno specific provision popularly associated with a policy of multiculturalism. The new policy outlined integration as 'a process leading to the full and equal participation of individuals and groups in society for which mutual respect for identity is seen as a necessary condition' (Vasta 2007: 717). The new policy gives more emphasis to Dutch language courses, social orientation and vocational training. It has many sanctions, for example, newcomers might be deprived of their welfare benefits if they fail to take the classes. By April 2004, the Cabinet agreed to a new integration system that '... will only have been met as soon as people have successfully passed their integration examination... The newcomers and the settled immigrants will be in charge of their own integration [...] if a newcomer has failed to integrate after five years an administrative fine will be imposed [...] '(Vasta 2007: 718).

### 3.4. CONCLUSION

In the early phase, minority rights did not attract attention in the Netherlands migration policy. Nowadays, the issue of minority rights is on the political agenda of many states, since it

incorporates a variety of ethnic, religious and other diversities. The problem has become exacerbated in recent decades because of the increased influx of immigrants into the economically developed Western states and the movements of refugees. Liberal theorists have provided the framework for minority rights (Kymlicka 2003). They argue that social pluralism should find its expression in civil society, while equal citizenship and uniformity of laws and neutral procedures should prevail in the public sphere. However, liberal theories on minority rights have been challenged. Will Kymlicka (2003) argues that it is needed to recognize identity in terms of minority rights. Kymlicka's argument challenges the classic liberal idea that the recognition of human rights is a protection for individual rights of expression for the development of individuals as well as the enrichment of social life. The protection of the state is not enough only at the individual level but must be applicable at the community level.

At the same time, when the 9/11 tragedy occurred, in domestic politics, Fim Portuyn influenced public opinion on how the Dutch should face the foreigner. Since Autumn 2001, he mobilized voters for a movement that wanted to 'go Dutch at all levels', which intended to end the ideology of multiculturalism, that did not hesitate to underline that integration should be (almost) equal to assimilation and that supported most restrictive immigration policies. Nowadays, ideas of multiculturalism in terms of the migration policy of the Netherlands is opposed and at a turning point position.

Integration has been the object of political debate in the Netherlands since 2001 in combination with apparently a full paradigm shift in politics and public opinion. The country, which

had the image of an open and tolerant society towards immigrant groups and minorities, appeared to have changed within one year into a country where 'all' were against multiculturalism; more restrictive on immigration issues and requiring almost full assimilation of its immigrant groups and minorities. The shifting of integration issues was triggered off by the emergence of rightist figures such as the late Pim Fortuyn in the Dutch political arena. Now, the multiculturalism idea is still being contested.



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## CHAPTER IV

# ITALIAN IMMIGRATION TO THE NETHERLANDS: PAST AND PRESENT

*Bondan Widyatmoko*

### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

International migration has become part of the Italian development process with Italy having had experience both in internal and external migration. It is said that during the period 1861- 1976 over 26 million people emigrated, half of them to European countries and the rest to North and South America (Del Boca and Venturini 2003:4). The difficult economic situation and to a lesser extent, demographic pressure, in Italy push them to emigrate. It is also said that disparities in development in northern and southern Italy also caused large internal migration. Between 1955 and 1970 about 20 million Italians were involved in internal migration (Petrillo 1974: 233). However, from the 1970s onwards the Italian emigration rate began to decrease and for the first time, in the 1990s Italy become an immigration country. The halt of emigration to the importing countries such as Germany, France, Belgium and to a lesser extent, the Netherlands, with their restrictive measures was the main reason for this. At that time, some southern European countries became the next destination for immigrants. In addition, it was also the pull of the economic condition improvement in Italy during the aftermath of WW II.

The whole long process of emigration obviously formed strong immigrant networks through their ethnic business or other, organizations. This ethnic relationship not only preserves migration continuity but also has become an important catalyst for their recognition process in integration. Moreover, the Italian status as a group member of the European Union definitely influences the migration components such as motives and characteristics. Migrations are no longer seen as the relationship of push and pull factors between two countries that have social and economic differences. Nevertheless, it deals with the motives behind citizens of high-income countries decisions to migrate.

This chapter will explore Italian emigration to the Netherlands, especially since after World War II (WW II) until the present. Geographically, the Netherlands is a relatively small country compared with other Western European countries such as Germany, France and even the UK. However, the Netherlands is internationally oriented; represented in the labour market and showing a greater composition of foreign workers than in the above mentioned Western countries. These foreign workers were concentrated on the chemicals sector, R & D, manufacturing, IT and Finance. (Bauer and Kunze 2004: 18). This section will also review the development of Italian emigration as *gastarbeiter* after WW II and the recent flow mechanism in the integrated European market.

## 4.2. ITALIAN MIGRATION: A HISTORIC OVERVIEW

Emigration is not an unusual word for the Italians since it has been an Italian population phenomenon for over a century. Their emigration history shows interesting cases both in internal and

international migration. The regional disparity between the southern agricultural region and the northern industrialized area was related to the reasons for both internal and international migration. It was also supported by the presence of the Italian elite in the regulation of emigration. They argued that emigration would create a fall in the unemployment rate and also bring in a continuous flow of hard currency (Petrillo 1974: 232). Both of these factors are believed to have been the main pull factors for the Italians to emigrate.

As well, the better life conditions promised by the industrial expansion in most of northern Europe attracted many Italians. During the period of 1861 to 1985 over 26 million people emigrated, with an average of 3.4 million emigrants per decade between 1875-1928 and 2 million between 1929-1975 (approximately one Italian out of four emigrated) (Del Boca and Venturini 2003:2). After the end of World War II, there was a relatively increased number in Italian emigration. However, the oil crisis which hit most Western European countries and the Italian economic revival, seem to have become the main reasons for the decreasing intention to emigrate. Table 7 below shows, that during the period 1946-1975 more than 7 million Italians emigrated. This number sharply decreased to 861 thousand people during the ten-year period: 1976-1985.

**Table 7.**  
**Italian Emigration and Migration Rate (per 1,000)**

Period	Emigration	Migration Rate
1876-1885	1,315	4.56
1886-1895	2,391	7.76
1896-1905	4,322	13.06
1906-1914	5,854	20.60
1876-1914	13,882	11.01
1915-1918	363	2.44
1919-1928	3,007	7.70
1929-1940	1,114	2.20
1941-1945	4,121	0.32
1946-1955	423	5.24
1956-1965	3,166	6.28
1966-1975	1,714	3.20
1946-1975	7,351	4.86
1976-1985	861	1.53
Total	26,595	

Source: Del Boca and Venturini: 2

There was interesting distribution, in terms of source and emigrant destination of the Italian emigration story. Before the 1880s many Italian emigrants came from the industrialised northern Italy. However, this was only evident until WWI, when emigrants from central and southern Italy who faced difficulties in their agricultural crises and high poverty levels replaced them. These statements are relevant to the experience of Italian immigrants in France. Early on, between the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and 1914, Italian immigrants in France were mainly merchants and farmers; others were craftsmen, artists, seasonal workers and musicians. However, *contadini* (farm workers) turned out to be proletarians in 1870 (Lucassen et al 2006:47). During the interwar period Italian immigrants from the centre and northwest were dominant. Actually, these emigrants were mostly destined for the United States, Latin America and Australia as their dreamland. Between 1958 and 1963, net emigration of Italians to northern Europe totalled 545,000 people; of whom 73.5% came from the south, with Germany and the Switzerland the favoured destination countries. By 1963 these two countries alone accounted for 86% of Italians to northern Europe (Ginsborg 1990:220).

The data from Germany and Switzerland shows that the Italian migrants were predominantly men. They worked in the most dangerous and unhealthy jobs such as the construction of roads, tunnels and railways and in mines and stone quarries. Therefore, they were dubbed the 'Chinese of Europe' (Lucassen 2005:74).

### **4.3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITALIAN IMMIGRATION IN THE NETHERLANDS**

#### **4.3.1 OPEN MIGRATION PERIOD (BEFORE 1973)**

Italian migration to the Netherlands in this period, was predominantly a matter of industrial enterprise and spontaneous migration. This means that: First, The immigrants came in response to the demands in the industrial labour market; Secondly, There was no significant restriction on the foreigners coming to the Netherlands. However, there were other factors motivating them to emigrate such as the unfavourable economic conditions at home and the policy pushes for emigration through the *European Steel and Coal Community* (ECSC) scheme or other bilateral labour contracts.

This migration pattern really followed the economic migration described by Hicks (1932) who sees migration flows as motivated primarily by differences in expected wages or skill prices (van Dalen and Henkens 2007:37). After recovering from WWII, Italy was still a poor and backward nation. Some 44% of the working population was employed in agriculture and this sector contributed only 23% to the GDP. In the Census of 1951 the categories of agriculture, hunting and fishing accounted for 42.2% of the working population and this figure rose to 56.9% in the south (Ginsborg 1990:210). Much of the industry was also backward and small scale (Dickinson in King 1987:42). Italy was also characterized by its spatial dualistic society. The North-Centre and North-West Italy (Piedmont, Turin, Milan and Genoa) had relatively better economic development compared with the Mezzogiorno area (Southern Abuzzo and Lazio, Molise, Basilicata, Apulia, Campania, Calabria, Sicily and Sardinia) (Dunford 2001:4).



If we look closer at the economic factors in both areas, the northern part of Italy is mostly an industrial area. Meanwhile, the southern area relied much on agriculture as its economic engine. Furthermore, the problems were exacerbated by an increasing number of people and the unemployment rate. It is stated by King (1987) that the rapid population growth in the south was in turn a major determinant of high unemployment and of overcrowded living conditions in the region (King 1987:57).

**Table 8.**  
**Italian Unemployment, 1954-1971**

Year	Males		Females	
	Number unemployed (000)	Percentage of labour force unemployed	Number unemployed (000)	Percentage of labour force unemployed
1954	1168	8.0	501	7.9
1955	1051	7.0	440	6.7
1956	1318	8.7	549	8.6
1957	1075	7.0	460	6.8
1958	935	6.1	405	5.8
1959	826	5.4	402	4.5
1960	601	4.0	229	3.6
1961	488	3.4	220	3.5
1962	410	2.8	201	3.3
1963	348	2.4	156	2.6
1964	376	2.6	173	3.0
1965	518	3.5	203	3.5
1966	558	3.8	211	3.9
1967	487	3.3	202	3.8
1968	475	3.3	219	4.0
1969	439	3.1	224	4.1
1970	407	2.9	208	3.9
1971	405	2.9	208	3.9

Source: ISTAT in Allen, Kevin and Stevenson, Andrew, 1974 : 108

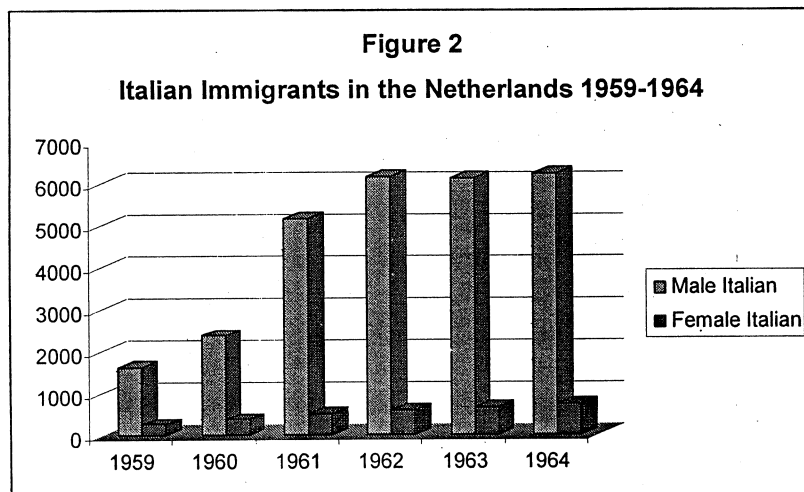
It has become an accepted belief that high unemployment will affect the growth of the economy. Naturally, it will push agricultural labour to move to another sector, the industrial sector for instance, or migration in order to search for better life opportunities. During the 1950s and the early 1960s there was an increased number of young Italians migrating to Western Europe.

In the case of the Netherlands, Italian migration existed, on a modest scale, long before the official bilateral recruitment agreement was signed by the two countries in 1960. The Netherlands economic expansion in the aftermath of WWII actually attracted many Italians to emigrate through the common partnership of the Netherlands and Italy in the Iron and Steel Community and Common Market. Some of them actually had already made worker contracts with some Dutch firms such as the 'Staatsmijnen' in Limburg (Motta 1964:70). Some others spontaneously came via France and Belgium.

At the beginning of the sixties, a shortage of labour was evident, especially in the labour intensive textile industry, the metal industry and mining. Italian labour recruitment contracts were taking into account; imitating the German example. Therefore, the government gave its approval to the recruitment of Italians for the mining industry in 1949 and for the metal industry on a two-year contract basis in 1959. In the Italian worker recruitment, a selection centre was built in Milan and included the representatives of the Ministry of Social Affairs and of employers. Demand for workers was made to the Labour Supply Bureau of Italy. This Bureau distributed the demands among suitable labour offices (Dincer 1962:22). The first waves of recruited guest workers were mostly from Alpine Italy and nearly 700 guest workers came through the

bilateral mechanism. It was followed then with 2000 Italian guest workers (Lindo in Vermeulen 2000:127). This statement is supported by Lindo in a short interview when he said that the Netherlands government officially opened their recruitment agencies directly in Italy in places such as Milan and also in some parts of Sardinia. However, it also depended on company strategies in recruiting labour. Several of the companies directly came to Italy, even to the villages, to recruit their desired workers. Despite this, the multi-stage migration with regard to the regional disparities was impractical. Southern Italians like the northerners, were directly recruited in their villages. Most of the post World War II migration was from the southern poor areas (interview with Lindo). It was stated by Bielly (1973) that in Italy, southern migrants were far more concentrated in unskilled, insecure and dependent employment than the northerners (King 1987:121). These structures directly influenced the jobs taken by the Italians in the Netherlands.

Figure 2, below, shows that there was an enormous increase in Italian migration during the sixties. These immigrants were mostly young male migrants. This made it easy for them to move to other jobs or even to other countries for better opportunities. Other consequences were the high desire for marriage. Tinnemans (1991) in Vermeulen claims that 80% of the Italian guest workers married local girls. *Buitenlandse Werknemers* on 1 January 1969 also described the high marriage rate among the Italian immigrants and the native Dutch. It is stated that of the 314 Italian immigrants, 293 married a native; other southern European immigrants show a similar pattern (Bagley 1973:168).



Source: Motta 1964: 74

Recruitment increased the number of Italian workers in the Netherlands from the late 1950s to 1964. It is recorded that in 1959 there were no more than 1959 Italian immigrants. This number increased about three fold in 1964 with more than 6000 immigrant workers. Observing the distribution of Italians they were mostly concentrated in the southern part of the Netherlands such as in the provinces of Limburg, Noord Brabant, Zuid Holland and to a lesser extent, Noordoeolland. It is not surprising as most of the southern Netherlands were the centre of the Dutch mining industry (Luccassen and Penninx 1997:54). Some of the migrants also worked in the shipbuilding industries and the harbour as Italians were found in Rotterdam as Table 9 shows.

**Table 9.**  
**Distribution of Italian Immigrants in the Netherlands**

	1962		1963		1964	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<b>Over IJssel</b>						
Almelo	167	1	154	3	163	5
Enschede	651	23	696	28	745	31
<b>Noord Brabant</b>						
Eindhoven	93	65	88	30	82	30
Breda	34	4	35	3	24	3
<b>Limburg</b>						
Heerlen	331	17	346	20	269	10
Maastricht	192	211	214	270	197	268
<b>Gelderland</b>						
Arnhem	477	10	482	9	501	12
Nijmegen	105	2	78	3	78	2
<b>Utrecht</b>						
Utrecht	405	3	311	10	328	17
Veenendaal	42	4	23	2	20	4
<b>Noordeolland</b>						
Ijmuiden	424	2	504	5	535	1
Haarlem	151	11	155	14	163	12
<b>Zuidholland</b>						
Rotterdam	347	18	287	26	320	31
's-Gravenhage	264	61	298	60	292	73
Delft	210	8	183	4	177	5
Dordrecht	203	6	177	7	184	8

Source: Motta 1964: 75

In the area of work distribution most of the Italians were concentrated in the metallurgical, textile and rubber industries and in the processing sector. In 1964, there were 2351 Italian male workers in the metallurgical sector. The textile industry also absorbed 1188 Italian male workers. Meanwhile, Italian women were mostly concentrated in *aarderwerk*, *glas enz* occupations.

However, the massive industrialization had made the corporate demand for more labour reach its optimum production capacity. Along with it, Italians were considered no longer sufficient to provide the labour for the market. This pushed the Netherlands to establish a chain labour recruitment agreement with several labour surplus countries such as Spain (1961), Turkey (1964), Greece (1966), Morocco (1969), Yugoslavia (1970) and Tunisia (1971) to solve the labour shortage as well as directing and regulating labour migration (Shadid 1979:42-49). It was not long before Italian immigration was surpassed by the Spanish and Turkish immigration. The Netherlands industrial collapse in 1973 and the Italian economic miracle pushed Italians to return to their home country.

#### **4.3.2. RESTRICTED MIGRATION PERIOD (1973 ONWARDS)**

The first oil crisis which hit the Netherlands in 1973, caused the collapse of many industrial sectors and the government decided to briefly stop the labour recruitment. Many Italians resolved to return to their homeland. It is also important to note that the Netherlands economic difficulties at that time were not the only motivator for the immigrants to return. The most important magnet for them was the improving Italian economic condition which, like it or not, was fostered by the country's decision to join the ECSC in 1952 (Scimone et al: 194). As well there was an advertisement placed in Swiss newspapers encouraging Italian emigrant workers to return to work in Italy. Italy really gained a positive advantage from joining this organization which transformed into the European Union. With one-quarter of the Common Market area and 29% of its population, Italy was one of the three big members of a

population mass of 180 million and of a bloc that became the single greatest trading entity in the world. Italy produced about one-third of the Community's wheat, two-thirds of maize, half its grapes and fruit, half of its natural gas, one fifth of electrical power and automobiles, a quarter of cotton textiles and one-third of woollen goods. Furthermore, by 1980 the Italian steel capacity was the second largest in the whole of Western Europe after that of West Germany accounting of 21.5% of the EC Nine (King 1987:32-33). It could be seen clearly in the increasing investment, production capacity and also foreign trade which brought Italy into the economic miracle era. The Italian economic miracle was really concentrated in a brief period from 1959-1963 reflected in the expansion of the gross national product that was exceeded in Western Europe by that of the German Federal Republic (Podbielski 1982:15).

**Table 10.**  
**Annual Average growth Rates of Real GDP, 1950-1970**

Country	1950-1960		1960-1970	
	Total (%)	Per capita (%)	Total (%)	Per capita (%)
Japan	8.0	6.8	10.6	9.4
USA	2.9	1.2	4.6	3.2
UK	2.7	2.3	2.8	2.1
West Germany	7.7	6.6	4.6	3.6
France	4.4	3.5	5.7	4.6
Belgium	2.7	2.0	4.5	3.9
The Netherlands	4.6	3.3	5.3	4.0
Sweden	3.6	2.9	4.3	3.5
Italy	5.5	4.9	5.2	4.4

Source: United Nations Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics in Allen and Stevenson 1974: 49

In these economic achievements, the Italian migration motive cannot simply be explained by different economic factors. Hendrik P van Dalen and Kene Henkens study of emigration from high-income countries, explains that the emigration intentions relate to the importance of the private and public domains of life. The private domain refers to variables that can be controlled by individuals or households and actions that benefit the individual or household. There are three factors in this domain that force a person to emigrate, human capital, social networks and personality traits. Human capital such as education, health and age play a role in triggering off the propensity to emigrate. Therefore, people who decide to migrate are self-selected. This means that immigrants are described as tending, on average, to be more able, ambitious, aggressive, entrepreneurial or otherwise more favourably selected than similar individuals who choose to remain in their place of origin (Chiswick 2000:61). These immigrants have a higher ability to recoup the out-of-pocket costs of migration, faster, they may also be more efficient in migrating and they may adapt more easily to the conditions (language, norms and rules) in the destination country. Meanwhile, the social networks not only provide information (jobs, wages) for the potential immigrants but also reduce the personal costs of migration and integration. However, the strength of the social networks in the home country could also reduce the intention to migrate. Meanwhile, the public domain refers to variables that are outside the direct control of individuals and relate to communities or societies at large. Individuals will respond by migrating if they do not get good access to public goods. Therefore, differences in quality and prices of public goods trigger off migration. Regarding this description, the characteristics of immigrants from Italy in this period are that they were relatively highly skilled who tended to find better jobs and new life experiences.



Despite the high scale of returning migration, it was noted by Petrillo (1974), Italian emigration did not cease completely, and indeed stabilized at 50,000 people yearly in the second part of the 1980s and in the last few years was marked by a significant intellectual emigration; a brain drain caused by difficult conditions in Italian universities (Petrillo 1974:255). The Italian emigration in this period did not have any significant obstacles as the EU guaranteed free movement for members in the EU area. This free movement also was intensified with the Schengen Treaty mechanism, that there would be no border control for the Schengen member countries. Therefore, it is not surprising if there were increasingly intra regional movements between Italy and the Netherlands as shown in Table 11 below. It clearly shows that Italian emigration to the Netherlands was motivated by the labour market conditions in the Netherlands, the Netherlands' good quality universities and to a lesser extent, family reunification. There was also movement in the distribution of Italians in the Netherlands in this period; concentrated in the administration of business and education in cities such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Tilburg and Utrecht.

**Table 11.**  
**Italian Emigration to the Netherlands by Motive**

Year	Working	Family Reunification	Family Forming	Study	Other Motives
1995	490	99	71	24	37
1996	606	116	99	92	36
1997	678	100	82	152	55
1998	754	115	63	167	37
1999	858	109	65	175	47
2000	967	100	47	129	38
2001	977	105	50	83	25
2002	880	88	53	96	24
2003	757	144	19	108	44
2004	650	119	41	122	61

Source: CBS

#### 4.4. CONCLUSION

Italian migration to the Netherlands was heavily influenced by the economic developments in both countries. Italian immigrants followed the pattern of economic factor differences. Poor Italian economic conditions after WWII became the driving force for young Italians to get better jobs in response to the Netherlands' industrial expansion. However, the Italian economic miracle in the late 1950s followed by the shortage of skilled labour especially in the northern industrialised area induced many Italians abroad to return. Since then, Italian emigration has become small in number. There was small scale Italian migration to the Netherlands of people who were not satisfied with the public goods and services in Italy. They came to the Netherlands in order to get better education and salaries.

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# CHAPTER V

## ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS: FROM ADAPTATION TO INTEGRATION

*Kurnia Novianti*

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

The Netherlands has dealt with the immigration issue for more than four centuries. Like Great Britain and Belgium, the Netherlands experienced low rates of immigration until the Second World War although considerable numbers of immigrants settled here. After the Second World War, the Netherlands and other Western European countries (with the exception of Germany and Belgium) were confronted with immigrants from the colonies (Mollucans and Eurasians from Indonesia and Surinamese) on an unprecedented scale (Lucassen et al 2006: 12-17). In the period of the 1960s the Netherlands experienced a great demand for manual labourers, a situation mirrored in other European countries, especially Germany. In response to this labour demand a more or less spontaneous flow of migrants from Mediterranean countries like Italy and Spain came into being (Amersfoort and Penninx in Amersfoort and Doomernik 1998: 46).

Bagley (1973: 149) notes that in 1968 there were between six and seven million foreign workers in the industrialized countries of northern Europe. Five million of these had come from Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal and the remainder from Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria. In the Netherlands such workers

accounted for 1.5% of the labour force. The Dutch industry, especially the mining and steel industries, began to recruit foreign labour in 1949. The first workers came from Italy, later, in 1961, an agreement was made with Spain regarding the admission of workers and this was followed by agreements with various other countries, including Turkey. Since 1964 increasing numbers of migrant workers have been coming to the Netherlands of their own accord, rather than as specially recruited workers.

Most of the Italian immigrants who came to the Netherlands were young, single and unskilled or semi-skilled. Dincer (1962 in Bagley 1973: 150) in a case study of Rotterdam found that the city was short of some 2,000 municipal workers, including hospital domestic staff, so special efforts were made to recruit Italian and Spanish workers to fill these vacancies. They were also working in 3D (dirty, dangerous and difficult) jobs, such as mining, oil refining, industry and the informal sectors. When the oil crisis occurred in 1973, the government stopped the recruitment agreements and encouraged guest workers, including Italians, to return to their home countries. Half of them returned to Italy<sup>29</sup> but others stayed in the Netherlands. Many of them married<sup>30</sup> Dutch women and were

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<sup>29</sup> Italian immigrants who returned to their home country after the economic recovery were facilitated to do so by the country to fulfil its labour demands. The development in Italy changed it to be an industrial country which needed a lot of workers and the growing number of particularly younger migrants returning to Italy can partly be explained by the positive economic prospects in this country (<http://www.reintegration.net>, accessed 12 February 2007).

<sup>30</sup> The figures for marriages of immigrants in the Netherlands for 1967 show that 293 of the 314 Italians marrying in the Netherlands married Dutch girls; 156 of the 204 Spaniards in the Netherlands married Dutch girls; 28 of the 29 Portuguese did so; 117 of the 131 Greeks; all of the 97 Turks; and 62 of the 63 Moroccans (Bagley 1973: 168).



involved in entrepreneurship<sup>31</sup> with their families. And since their economic position (participation in the labour market) and educational attainment of the young were at a good level, Italians were no longer categorized as a target group. Their proficiency in using the Dutch language also made it relatively easy for them to socialize within the Dutch society.

Even though Italians have been recognized as a successful immigrant group in the Netherlands since their improvements in education and economic and social adaptation with Dutch society, in the beginning period of their coming to the Netherlands, the process of integration of Italians into the Dutch society was not too smooth. Bagley (1973: 160) reported that in the autumn of 1959, there were in fact serious clashes between Italian and native workers in the province of Twente. Italian workers were attacked by Dutch youths who claimed (correctly, it seems) that the Italians were gaining the affection of Dutch girls. What was particularly objected to was the ease and manner of seduction, carried out in a typically Italian, and most untypically Dutch manner. Dutch courtship tends, like other Dutch relationships, to be somewhat stiff, restrained and formal. Formality and restraint were notably lacking in the Italian approach. As a result of this, some bars, cafés and dance halls put up posters saying 'No Italians Allowed'.

Some negative stereotyping of Italian workers is reported by Motta (1964: 11-13). In his research, he notes factors which

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<sup>31</sup> Bovenkerk and Ruland (1992: 927) claim that in 2 decades after their first arrival in the Netherlands, Italians became successful as seasonal artisans, as spazzacamini (chimney sweeps), terrazzieri (mosaic and pavement makers), figurinisti (makers of plaster statuettes) and gelatieri (ice-cream makers and vendors).

made integration difficult for Italians but much less difficult for Spaniards. Motta interviewed twenty-five officials in Amsterdam, Utrecht and Rotterdam, all of whom had regular contact with Italian and Spanish workers. Among these officials there was an almost unanimous stereotype of the Italian workers. The Italian worker, it was said, did not work hard, was often absent, had no interest in learning Dutch, was unreliable, frequently flirted, seduced 'our girls' and spent money as fast as he got it. But the informants produced quite another stereotype of the Spanish worker. He was said to be serious, hardworking, not stopping even to smoke a cigarette, purposeful, honest, reliable and faithful to his wife, moderate in courtship, punctual, respectful and thrifty. These are all traits of the ideal Dutchman. Motta's hypothesis is that the first experience of the foreign worker in a new culture is an alienating one but as the Italians got negative feedback because of their non-conformity to Dutch mores, their alienation would increase, while the Spaniards' alienation would decrease because they earned 'positive feedback' for their conformity to Dutch notions of civic behaviour.

Italians, as immigrant workers from inside the European Economic Community (now European Union) had not necessarily obtained labour permits before entering the Netherlands (Bagley 1973: 150). Besides this, Italy's 'economic boom' in the 1960s affected the returning workers from receiving countries. In the next period of Italian emigration to other countries, the wave of migration was not dominated by unskilled labour. Most of those going to the Netherlands were the second generation of Italians who were highly educated and proficient in Dutch language. Mixed marriages also influenced the integration process of Italians into Dutch society. Even though the process of being accepted into Dutch society succeeded, Italian immigrants also faced some obstacles at the

beginning but then, they performed well in the economic, social and cultural lives in relation to the Dutch. These factors are some reasons why the integration of Italian immigrants in the Netherlands is interesting to explore. Questions of how the integration of Italian immigrants into the Dutch society in legal/political, socio-economic and cultural/religious aspects compares with other immigrant groups in the Netherlands will be answered in this chapter.

## 5.2. THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE CONCEPT OF INTEGRATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

Brochmann (in Amersfoort and Doornik 1998: 32-33) claims that there are important connections between immigration and integration, or more precisely, between entry regulations and immigration/integration policies, yet it took a strikingly long time to understand the importance of the interplay (as observed by Hammar 1985: 273). This interplay is complex and there is no simple causal relationship as both entry regulations and integration policies will always be affected by a whole range of other factors as well. The very concept of 'integration' has stimulated a comprehensive debate. So far, the concept of 'integration' in relation to immigrants has relied heavily on the 'theoretical imagery of assimilation', understood as a *unilinear* process of immigrant adaptation to the recipient society by renouncing their original cultural attachments. According to this theory, in the end, immigrant minorities will logically disappear, blending into society as a whole. Assimilation theory is related to the general function tradition in sociology, with assimilation being the end result of a process marked by diminishing social disequilibrium initially created by conflicting cultural values and norms. The pace of adaptation will vary, yet

the elements of the process, which is believed to be irreversible, are basically the same.

Although this simplistic theory of assimilation has not survived the confrontation with reality, elements of the thinking still persist. The difference between 'integration' and 'assimilation' is basically a question of orientation: which elements one stresses most. Recent European history has shown that this emphasis is variable in the sense that changing government or the general political climate entails redefinition of the concepts. 'Integration' has vaguely come to mean equality in basic rights and duties, yet without pressure to conform culturally (Amersfoort and Doornik 1998: 32-33). At the moment immigrants settle in a new society they have to acquire a place, both in the physical sense (a house, a job and income, access to educational and health facilities, etc), but also in the social and cultural sense. Particularly if newcomers see themselves as different and are perceived by the receiving society as physically, culturally and/or religiously 'different', they aspire to become accepted also in these respects. It is from these observations that Penninx (2004: 2) deduces a basic and at the same time a comprehensive definition of integration: the process of becoming an accepted part of society.

According to Penninx (2004: 5), in order to understand the present integration policies of European countries and their differences, we need to develop a basic typology as a tool. This typology is based on a simple analytical framework that centres on the concept of 'citizenship'. Recently political theorists have contributed significantly to our thinking on citizenship, particularly when they have tried to answer the question of how basic democratic values can and should be combined with the two essential elements

of any integration policy: cultural and religious diversity on the one hand and socio-economic equality on the other (Bauböck 1994; Bauböck et al. 1996; Brubaker 1989 and 1992; Hammar 1990; Kymlicka 1995; Soysal 1994; Young 1990).

Moreover Penninx believes that there are three aspects or dimensions of the concept of 'citizenship'. The first is the *legal/political dimension* which refers to the basic question whether immigrants are regarded as fully-fledged members of the political community. In practice, the question for alien immigrants is first of all whether they do have secure residence rights. Followed by: How far do immigrants and ethnic minorities have formal political rights and duties that differ from those of natives? This also includes the question whether newcomers may (easily or not) acquire national citizenship and thus gain access to the formal political system; it evidently also includes the granting (or not) of political rights to non-nationals, for example, at the local level of cities. Also less formal political participation, such as through consultative structures for immigrants, are part of this dimension.

The second is the *socio-economic dimension* of citizenship which pertains to social and economic rights of residents, irrespective of national citizenship; these include industrial rights and rights related to institutionalized facilities in the socio-economic sphere. Do immigrants have (equal) rights to accept work and to use institutional facilities to find it? Do they have the same rights as indigenous workers? Do they have access to work related benefits, like unemployment benefits and insurance and to the state-provided social security facilities, like social housing, social assistance and welfare and care facilities?

The third dimension pertains to the domain of *cultural and religious rights* of immigrants: Do they have (equal) rights to organize and manifest themselves as cultural, ethnic or religious groups? Are they recognized, accepted and treated like other comparable groups and do they enjoy the same or comparable facilities? (Penninx 2004: 5).

The three dimensions of 'citizenship' concept above are like a blueprint for integration policies that need to be considered by the government of receiving countries in Western Europe. As one receiving country since the 1960s, the Netherlands had, through long processes, to formulate suitable migration and integration policies. On the one hand, integration policies should facilitate immigrants to participate in political, economic, social and cultural aspects, and on the other, integration policies also have to protect the native interests. The balance of integration policies will reduce the politico-economic and socio-cultural problems such as the low participation and attainment of immigrants in the political arena and the labour market and value conflicts between immigrants and natives.

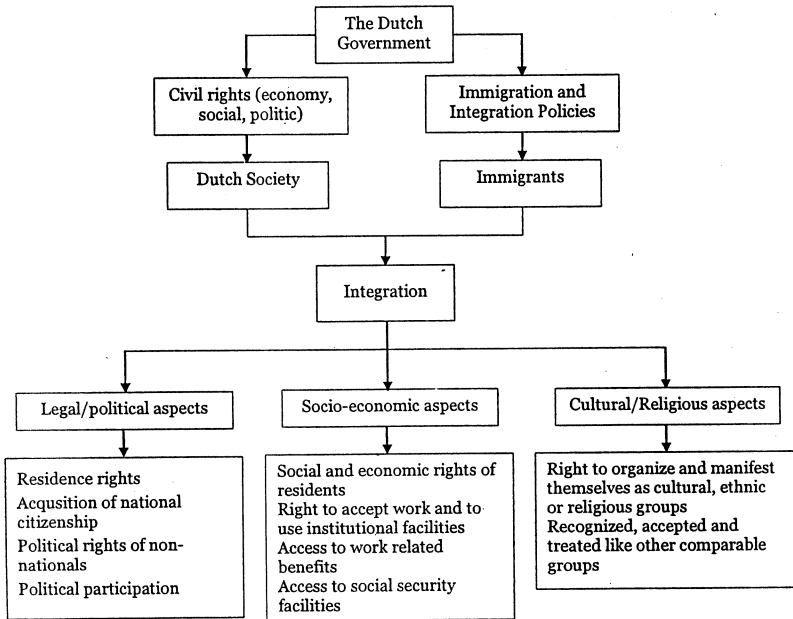
According to the Netherlands Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment perception, integration means that someone who has come to the Netherlands speaks Dutch and is familiar with the culture and the values and norms (VROM International, <http://www.international.vrom.nl>). People must be able to understand and tolerate each other. Integration is therefore necessary for those who wish to live here. A definition of integration is: Making into a harmonious whole or adoption into a whole. Integration is a common term for the coalescence of social groups in society. Integration policy is oriented towards the advancement

of the integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities. The goal of the integration policy is a society in which everyone can fully and actively participate.

The (ongoing) processes of integration in the Netherlands involve not only immigrants but also the government, the Dutch society and social and political elements/associations. On the one side the immigrants, with their particular characteristics, efforts and adaptations and on the other the receiving society with its reactions to the newcomers. The interaction between these two determines the direction and the ultimate outcome of the integration process. They are, however, unequal partners. The receiving society, its institutional structure and the way it reacts to newcomers, is much more decisive for the outcome of the process (Penninx 2004: 3). The government and the social-political elements are facilitators of these processes. To analyze the integration of natives and immigrants, we need to study the approach that the government uses; an approach implemented in the integration policies. The theoretical framework of the integration process in the Netherlands is shown in the Figure below:

**Figure 3.**

**Elements and Aspects of the Integration of Immigrants in the Netherlands**



The Figure shows that the Dutch government, Dutch society and immigrants (Western and non-Western) themselves are the elements which have a role and function to accomplish integration. As mentioned previously, integration processes involve not only the Dutch and migrants but also the government which formulates the integration policies and facilitates migrant participation. In the integration processes, there are legal/political, socio-economic and cultural/religious aspects that the government uses to measure the integration successes and failures. In the Italian context, civic rights



attainment, participation in elections and politics are a few things to study in the legal-political aspects. Labour market participation, education rates, marriage between Italians and Dutch and housing and health quality are important points to measure migrant integration success in the socio-economic area. In the cultural/religious aspects, can be seen the Italian ability to use the Dutch language and similarity in religion.

To understand the way in which immigrants and their children build lives in a new society means that we conceive integration as something more than the simple characterization of the 'melting pot' predicated upon a process of unidirectional assimilation orchestrated by the receiving society. Integration now is understood as a sustained mutual interaction between newcomers and the societies that receive them; an interaction that may well last for generations. Dealing directly with the complexities inherent in these interactions has tremendous importance for the ways that groups live together, the quality of public debate about migration and especially the public policy goal of 'good governance' with respect to immigration for the benefit of newcomers and long-time residents alike (Ray 2002, [www.migrationinformation.org](http://www.migrationinformation.org)).

### **5.3. OVERVIEW OF INTEGRATION POLICIES TO ORGANIZE THE IMMIGRANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS**

Social policy on how to treat the immigrant workers has developed quite slowly. According to Dincer (1962; in Bagley 1973: 150) many officials regarded their presence as temporary. True, many of the migrant workers returned home after one or two years, but many stayed and brought in their wives and families. A similar lack of explicit social policy was also the case with the West Indian

immigrants, the majority of whom were a particular category of migrant labour. Simons (1962) points to the uneven provision of special facilities, accommodation, recreation centres and social work assistance, in the Netherlands. In most cases it was left to the recruiting firm to provide such facilities or to the denominational organizations. Since the immigrants were rarely Protestant, they tended to fare badly in Protestant areas. Deakin (1968) contrasts the planned social policy on behalf of the Indonesian immigrants with the lack of such policy in respect of West Indian immigrants.

Bagley (1973: 150-151) also says that in 1968 the direction of Dutch policy made a clear change. By that date appreciable numbers of West Indians were in the country and it was also realized that many European and north African immigrants were bringing in their families with the object of settling permanently in the country. The new policy was made explicit, by the Minister of Culture, Recreation and Social Work in a speech on the occasion of the official opening of the West Brabant Institute for Assistance to Foreign Workers at Breda on 21 August 1968. The statement of policy referred to both European workers and immigrants from the West Indies and one probable factor underlying the change in policy seems to have been the recognition of the fact that the various groups of immigrant workers had reached sufficient numbers to begin to form pillars or blocs of society in their own right. This led too to the realization that explicit social action must be undertaken to strengthen the cultural identity of these pillars, to ensure that their members behave in a way compatible with the smooth running of the traditional plural society of the Netherlands.

Dutch policy concerning migrant workers has emerged from an initial attitude of general *laissez faire* to one of very positive

action. This policy involves instructing the migrant, in the context of a group of his countrymen, in the language and workings of Dutch society but at the same time retaining this group's cultural and linguistic identity. This is an explicit implementation of 'integration' as we have defined it above. This policy also extends to West Indians, as will emerge from the description of the activities of some of the *Stichtingen*<sup>32</sup>. Since 1964 the Ministry has guaranteed 70% of the finance of these foundations, the remainder having to be found from other sources, namely, the local authority, local industry and voluntary associations (Bagley 1973: 153-154).

In the next period, integration became a higher priority considering the persistent gap in educational and economic attainment between immigrants and the native born in the Netherlands. Bovenkerk (1971) reported that in 1972 it was the Turks and north African groups which appeared to have the greatest difficulty in their relationships with the Dutch population, while the Italians were by and large, an accepted group (Bagley 1973: 163). These migrant worker groups bringing their families pose the problem of education and this aspect of integration has been discussed by Van der Velden (1968) in a review of 'The Social Reception and Assistance of Migrant Workers and their Families'.

Until the period of the 1980s, integration policies in the Netherlands were still initially focused on multiculturalism in their approach: immigrants should be fully involved in society, yet their

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<sup>32</sup> *Stichtingen* are foundations entrusted with a great deal of welfare activity in the Netherlands. These are voluntary organizations, often having a denominational basis and usually supported by state funds. The initiative in setting up foundations for foreign workers (including West Indians) has come either from interested denominational organizations (especially Catholic) or from the main industries employing these workers (Bagley 1973: 152)

differences should be accepted (Nana 2007: 1, [www.migrationinformation.org](http://www.migrationinformation.org), 1 May 2007). Even so, the term 'integration' was rarely used: terms such as 'emancipation' and 'combating disadvantage' were much more common in the early days (van Selm 2005 [www.migrationinformation.org](http://www.migrationinformation.org), 7 May 2007).

In 1987 the government commissioned new recommendations from the WRR and these were made two years later in a report entitled *Allochtonenbeleid* (Ethnic Minority Policy). By the term *allochtonen* (literally 'non-indigenous people') the WRR understood various categories of people of non Dutch origin: aliens, former aliens who had been naturalized, ethnic Dutch people from present or former overseas territories and descendants of all these groups down to the third generation if they regard themselves as non indigenous. A *minority* was a non indigenous group in an inferior position. The report urged priority attention to employment, children's and adult education and further improvement in legal status. The term *allochtonen* was subject to criticism and never gained acceptance from provincial or local authorities. In the 1994 policy paper *Contours Memorandum*, the national authorities finally rejected the word as an official term (Vermeulen 1997: 44).

In the early 1990s, a set of policy instruments was developed, with the nature of 'soft law', mainly in the form of a set of financial instruments for the benefit of municipalities towards developing and implementing courses aimed at facilitating the integration of minority groups in the Netherlands. These consisted of programs to train members of these groups to obtain certain linguistic and social skills, in order to improve access to the labour market and to reduce their social and cultural isolation (Leonard 2006: 2-3). Moreover, Vermeulen (1997: 45-46) says that in this

period, the terms *inburgering* (adaptation, integration) and *nieuwkomers* appeared on the scene. In its Memorandum Outlines for the Newcomers' Integration Bill (1996), the government wrote that integration required that newcomers rapidly learn to independently find their own place in society. Newcomers were people who intended to settle in the Netherlands for an extended period but EU nationals were exempted from the newcomer policy. Integration was to be achieved by means of an 'integration program', consisting of courses in Dutch and social and vocational orientation, career planning, social guidance and assignment to a follow up course or organization that could further help the newcomer enter the labour market. The scheme was to be implemented by local authorities.

In 1998, these social policy measures were turned into hard law, sanctioned by fines, in the 1998 Act on the Civic Integration of New Immigrants (*Wet inburgering nieuwkomers*). In essence, this Act prescribes an integration program of 600 hours of language training and general knowledge of Dutch society for 'newcomers', aliens and Dutch nationals born outside the Netherlands, aged 18 years and older and who have come to the Netherlands for the first time in order to reside there for an indefinite period. Among the people exempted from this measure are non Dutch EU citizens, those who come to the Netherlands only for a limited time for a specific reason (for instance, those who work for a limited time) and those 'who on the basis of provisions of treaties or decisions of international organisations cannot be obliged to participate in an integration program'. The sanction for not participating in the program is an administrative fine. The Act came into force on 30 September 1998 and is at the moment of writing still in force, but is to be replaced by a new Civic Integration Act (*Wet inburgering*),

which was mentioned in the introduction above and about which a few words will be said below (Leonard 2006: 2, [www.libertysecurity.org](http://www.libertysecurity.org), 13 February 2007).

What is important to note is that with the Act on the Civic Integration of New Immigrants (*Wet inburgering nieuwkomers*) of 1998, integration measures were changed from social policy measures into hard legal measures, imposing legal obligations enforced with pecuniary sanctions in the form of fines. From primarily social measures they became legal measures. Still, the legislative measures were designed and defended by ministers in charge of minorities, which at the time, were the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Education and the Sciences and the State Secretary for Health, Welfare and Sport (Leonard 2006: 3).

According to Nana (2007: 1-2), integration did not become a major political issue until the May 2002 Elections. Politician Pim Fortuyn's, nascent party, Lijst Pim Fortuyn (LPF), called for halting new immigration while integrating existing immigrants more effectively. By 2003, the word 'multicultural' was increasingly criticized as 'soft' and had all but disappeared from policymakers' plans, replaced with an approach that emphasized integrating into and understanding Dutch society. Concern over integration reached a new level of urgency in November 2004, after a young, Muslim Dutchman of Moroccan descent, killed Theo van Gogh for his role in making 'Submission I', a short film about the abuse of Muslim women. Since then, the Dutch government has toughened its integration policies for prospective immigrants as well as for existing immigrants and their children, whose combined population totalled 3.15 million in 2006, or 19% of the country's 16.3 million people, according to the Dutch Central Bureau for Statistics. After

the January 2003 Elections, the 2002 Coalition Government quickly collapsed due to infighting in the LPF, a new Coalition Government decided to keep the post of Minister of Integration and Immigration. Rita Verdonk, a member of the Liberal Party (VVD) that was part of the new coalition, took up the position with the promise to rigorously enforce policies in both areas. Extensive efforts were made to reduce the backlog on asylum claims and more controversially, to enforce repatriation requirements for rejected asylum seekers.

Penninx (2006: 8-9, <http://www.ceg.ul.pt>, 28 February 2007) concludes that in the period 1994-2002, integration policy in the Netherlands focused on reframing towards 'Republican' policies (which are focused on individuals (replacing group), the socio-economic domain, away from culture, citizenship and its duties/equipment and area based policies (replacing group emancipation), decentralization as city/local policies develop since 1998 under the Minister for Urban Policy and Integration (within Home Affairs), increasing politicization during the 1990s and the second Report of Scientific Council for Government Policy (1989) triggered off a change like ACOM abolished (1990) and Mixed Advisory Committee TWCM 1992-1996. In the next period the integration policy 'New Style', focused on integration as a precondition for immigration (including mandatory courses and tests, integration; the responsibility of the migrant and sharing norms and values). Immigration and integration policies were brought together under a new Minister within the Ministry of Justice (recentralization), with hyper-politicization at the national level (*populist* policy proposals and symbolic policies) and absence of structural bridges between research and policy (pick and choose strategies).

Moreover, Leonard (2006: 3) explains that the legal 'solution' to the social problem again changed drastically in nature with the 2005 Act on Civic Integration Abroad (*Wet inburgering buitenland*) which applies to third-country nationals who need a visa and who are subject to a (simple) computerized test concerning a very basic knowledge of the Dutch language and society. From a piece of legislation in the field of social measures, aimed at solving a social problem, civic integration became a measure of immigration law aimed at halting the entry of migrants. Since the putting into force of this Act, the sanction attached to the obligation to integrate is mainly to be found in the area of residence permits: those who are not 'integrated' do not have a right to settle permanently. The Act thus canonizes the view that a social problem is and can be solved by way of immigration law sanctions. In charge of the legislative project were no longer the ministers dealing with minorities and education but the Minister for Migration Affairs [Dutch: *Vreemdelingenzaken*, which is literally: Aliens Affairs] and Integration, who resides in the Ministry of Justice.

This 2005 Act requires third-country nationals who come from countries for which a visa requirement exists, to pass an oral test in elementary Dutch and social knowledge while still abroad. The test (which is quite elementary) is to be assessed with the use of a computer at a Dutch Embassy or Consulate General in the country of residence and costs approximately €350. The sanction for failing to pass the test, which is required for the visa, is that a visa may be refused. The sanction is no longer limited to failing to participate in the courses but failing the exam; also those who have passed the test and are admitted to the Netherlands have to follow the integration program under the 1998 Act, intended as an extra hurdle, before being able to come to the Netherlands. This Act on



Civic Integration Abroad was passed on 22 December 2005 and came into force on 15 March 2006 (Leonard 2006: 3-4).

The most recent Civic Integration Act came into force on 1 January 2007. Under this Act, participation and successful completion of an introductory program is required for both new migrants, '*oudkomers*' (non-citizen resident minorities) and spiritual leaders. Permanent residence status for new migrants is dependent on successful completion of the integration program, as measured by the integration exam. This exam consists of both practice-oriented and theoretical sections and must be completed within three and a half years if the applicant has successfully completed the integration exam in the country of origin and five years after arrival for *oudkomers*, asylum seekers, and those not required to take the exam in the country of origin. Finally, the integration exam officially replaced the naturalization test for non-EU citizens on 1 January 2007. Civic integration is now a prerequisite for naturalization and successful completion of the integration exam serves as a basic requirement for citizenship (Nana 2007: 1, [www.migrationinformation.org](http://www.migrationinformation.org), 1 May 2007).

Many people from various countries live in the Netherlands. In order to understand each other, it is important that everyone speaks Dutch and that everyone knows something about the Netherlands. Therefore, since 1 January 2007, there has been a new Integration Act in the Netherlands. The Act states that people who come to and live in the Netherlands must learn the Dutch language and also know how Dutch society functions. We call that integration. People who must integrate are also called 'integration subjects'. They have to pass an exam (Netherlands Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment/VROM International [www.international.vrom.nl](http://www.international.vrom.nl)).

According to the Integration Act which came into force on 1 January 2007, there are three groups of people who must undergo integration: old comers, newcomers and religious functionaries. Old comers are those who: do not have a Dutch passport; are between 16 and 65 years of age, already lived in the Netherlands before 1 January 2007, lived in the Netherlands for fewer than 8 years when of school age and have no diplomas to prove that they have an appropriate knowledge of the Dutch language and the Netherlands. Meanwhile, the newcomers are those who: do not have a Dutch passport, are between 16 and 65 years of age, came to live in the Netherlands after 1 January 2007 or were newcomers on 31 December 2006. According to the old Integration Act for newcomers and religious functionaries, religious functionaries are those who work for a religion or church. Imams, preachers, priests, spiritual leaders, teachers of religion or missionaries are examples of religious functionaries. However, these are groups of people who do not have to participate in the integration procedure: younger than sixteen years, 65 years or older, people who have lived for eight years or longer in the Netherlands when of school age, have a certain diploma, certificate or other proof of schooling; and are citizens of a country that belongs to the European Union or the European Economic Area, or if they come from Switzerland (VROM International [www.international.vrom.nl](http://www.international.vrom.nl), 1 May 2007).

Italians, who are not categorized as *allochtonens* or newcomers, since they have a high economic attainment and good social and cultural relationships with Dutch society, have different characteristics from other small groups of immigrants in the Netherlands such as Turks, Moroccans and Surinamese. Those three ethnic groups are categorized as target groups in the Netherlands for particularly their difficulty in integrating into the native society.

But Italians, especially the second, third and following generations, find it much easier to adapt to Dutch life values and norms. Vermeulen<sup>33</sup> in an interview at IMES explained that in general, Italians had almost no difficulties in becoming part of Dutch society; Italian immigrants' education level is almost the same as of natives and they are also economically successful. Moreover, he said that Italians have similarities in culture and religion with the Dutch. These factors give Italians more advantages in their social relationships with the Dutch. Another factor is that Italians are dispersed over many areas in the Netherlands, as Lindo<sup>34</sup> argues, unlike the Turks; Italians were not concentrated in a specific region/area. They are more diffused with the Dutch people and almost all Italians of the second and third generations use the Dutch language.

The reality that Italian immigrants are not in the *allochtonen* classification has positioned them differently from the target groups such as the Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and even Moluccan, in the past. Target groups are immigrants with a low education level, low participation in the labour market and difficulty in integrating with natives; measured by Dutch language proficiency and cultural understanding. To bridge the gap, integration policies were made by the Dutch government: Immigrants are obliged to

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<sup>33</sup> Dr Floris Vermeulen is a researcher at the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) in Amsterdam. His focus subjects are Economic and Social History and he was one of the key informants in this research. We were able to interview him on 22 and 29 May, 2007.

<sup>34</sup> Dr Flip Lindo is an Anthropologist and a Senior Researcher at the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) in Amsterdam His focus subjects are life courses, education, migrant youth and ethnic mobilisation. One of his researches (in the 1980s) was about immigrants from southern Europe (including Italians) and published a few articles in journals. He was one of the key informants in this research whom we interviewed on 24 May 2007.

learn the language and Dutch culture and have a permanent job and income (according to a minimum standard). Italians have the same education levels as the Dutch, most of them are professionals, with excellent language proficiency and similarity in religion and culture with the Dutch. These factors are some reasons to not categorize them in the target groups. Moreover, the integration policies in the Netherlands have not been applicable to Italians since 1972.

#### **5.4. ITALIAN IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION IN THE NETHERLANDS**

Processes of integration of newcomers are long term by their nature. At the individual level, an adult immigrant may adapt significantly in the cognitive dimension of his/her behaviour which is both pragmatic and pays off immediately if they learn how things are done, by whom, etc. Adaptation of adults in the aesthetic and normative dimensions of their behaviour, however, tends to be less easy, knowledge may change but feelings and likings, and evaluations of good and evil are pretty consistent within an individual's lifetime. This is a general rule for mankind but it becomes more manifest in those who change environments through migration (Penninx 2004: 5).

Integration now is understood as a sustained mutual interaction between newcomers and the societies that receive them; an interaction that may well last for generations (Ray 2002, [www.migrationinformation.org](http://www.migrationinformation.org), 7 May 2007). In the Netherlands, not all immigrants have successfully integrated in Dutch society. There are many factors behind this. As explained by Penninx, immigrant integration, into the society, should be measured by:

legal-political, socio-economic and cultural-religious aspects. It means that successes and failures of immigrant integration could be observed from their participation in the labour market, education levels, ability to use the native language and understanding of the culture of the receiving country. On the other hand, acceptance of the society is also important because interaction between immigrants and natives is not only for months but for years and involves more than 2 generations.

That of the Italian immigrants is a unique case in the Netherlands. They came to the Netherlands in the 1950s and faced difficulties in adapting with the Dutch society as migrant workers. Some negative stereotypes and lack of cooperation in living alongside the Dutch in an atmosphere of mutual respect, was positioning Italians as one of the unsuccessful immigrant groups to integrate with the Dutch. But it has changed since the social control process by Dutch society made Italians learn to adopt the outward signs of civic obedience which Dutch culture requires (Bagley 1973: 163) and they were successful in businesses such as ice cream making, restaurants and cafes (according to an interview with Dimitris Grammatikas<sup>35</sup>) and also their high educational attainment. The integration process of Italian immigrants brings them to be part of the Dutch society.

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<sup>35</sup> Drs Dimitris Grammatikas is a staff member of the employment and education division of the National Consultative Committee of the Dutch Government for the people of Mediterranean countries, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cape Verde, Croatia, Greece, Italy, Macedonia, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain and Yugoslavia (LIZE). The writer was able to interview him on 28t May 2007 at the LIZE office in Utrecht.

### 5.4.1. LEGAL/POLITICAL ASPECTS: CIVIC RIGHTS (CITIZENSHIP)

One of the basic rights that immigrants attain is civic rights, such as citizenship -through naturalization<sup>36</sup>- and residence permits. The processes to achieve these needs were not always easy. It is all dependent on the receiving country's policies; as mentioned by Nana (2007), in the Netherlands permanent residence status for new migrants is dependent on the successful completion of the integration program, as measured by the integration exam.

In the Italian context, naturalisation is not needed because Italy is part of the European Economic Community (now European Union). Italian immigrant workers also did not have to obtain labour permits before entry and the process of their immigration to the Netherlands was based on labour agreements between the two governments in the 1960s. This was different with refugees from eastern Europe who migrated to the Netherlands to ask for protection (of law) and in the process to achieve citizenship status had to become naturalized. Meanwhile, the second and third generations of Italians who lived in the Netherlands were children from marriages between Italian immigrants and Dutch women and Italy's status as a member of the European Union facilitates Italians to mobilize within other EU countries and makes it possible for them to have double citizenship.

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<sup>36</sup> Bevelander and Veenman (2006:3) explain that in general the extent to which naturalization is requested, depends both on the legal status of 'non-nationals' and the opportunity a country offers to obtain its legal citizenship. In connection to the legal status (or juridical rights) one can isolate several features including the *ius sanguinis* or *ius soli* framework (the latter applies in the Netherlands), the residence right, the right to vote and to be voted in all elections and not just in local elections and unrestricted movement within the EU.

It is necessary to look at the Italian immigration process to the Netherlands to understand the way they perceive their civic rights as part of the legal/political aspect. According to Lindo Italian immigrants could not be categorized as *oudkomers*. They arrived in the 1950s and the process of their entrance to the Netherlands was similar to the migration from villages in Italy to villages in the Netherlands in the southern parts of these countries:

Of all the south European immigrants, the Italians came first. They were the first who came to the Netherlands in the 1950s. During the post-War period. Italian immigrants came to Limburg, which is in the southern province of the Netherlands, which has the mines; the gold mines and there also exists an Italian community of mine workers. Italian miners before the War, came in the 1930s. So there exists an Italian community and those who came right after the War in the 1950s came to join them. In the beginning, in 1949, the state mines, the national mines, the state property and the private mines, started to recruit Italians. In the beginning they still recruited labourers from the northern Italian provinces and in the second half of the 1950s, people from the Island of Sardinia, which is regarded as being part of the southern Italian region and from Sicily; also from the southern part of Italy. In 1959, a local newspaper calculated that only in the state mines in Limburg province more than 4,000 Italians were recruited. At the end of 1957, the recruitment stopped because there were still Dutch labourers doing the job and at the end of 1958, the contracts were stopped and not repeated so people had to go back because they did not get extensions of their contracts. Only 65 men who were married to Dutch girls could stay. So those Italians who did not get the extensions of contracts, found work in other Dutch firms, for instance, the steel companies and the seaside in Arnheim, where there are many Italian and Spanish workers.

Lindo mentions that some Italians married Dutch women. After marriage, young Italian men chose to stay in the Netherlands permanently. In another interview with Vermeulen, I was told that Italians are the successful immigrants. As was mentioned by Lindo, in the early period of the Italian coming to this country, Italians were dominant in mining (belonging to the government) but after the economic conditions improved in Italy, many of them returned to Italy. Italians who stayed in the Netherlands, according to Vermeulen's observations, are mainly entrepreneurs. They sell ice cream, Italian food and home services. These kinds of businesses involve families and continue in the following generations.

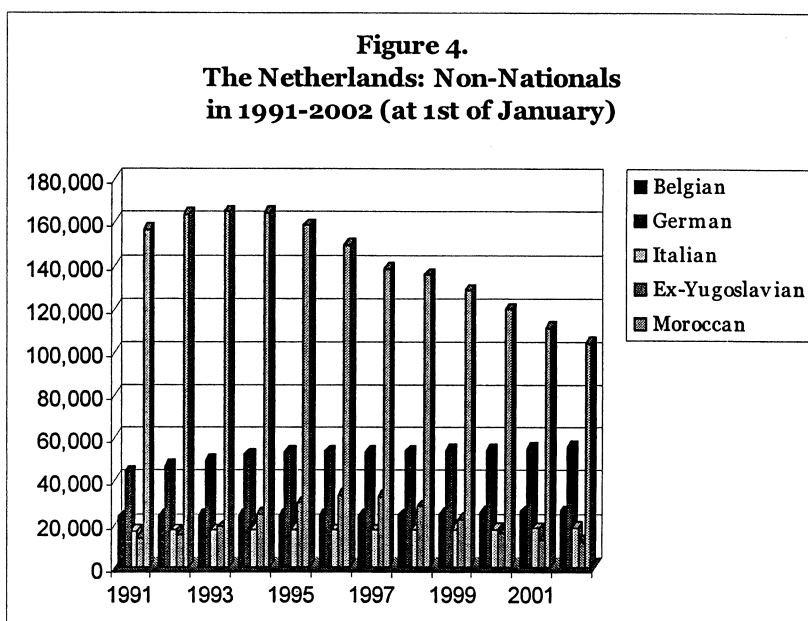
..In the first period, the main employment was in the mines and the factories. The mines were in the east and south of the Netherlands. So, large Italian communities in the 1960s were in the province of Limburg in the south and in the east. In the western part of the Netherlands the Italians were mainly working in the ice cream shops and this is a long tradition. So in all major cities in Holland, you have these Italian ice cream shops and some of them are still owned by the families that founded them in the 1960s or even in the 1950s. Although in Rotterdam and some other important cities like Amsterdam and The Hague there are just a few families, they have an impact so much larger, in the sense that the Dutch people have become familiar with the Italian ice cream or Italian coffee and these things are very normal now but I think in the 1960s or the 1950s were exotic

Vermeulen also explains that Italians are a small group in numbers. Italians are different from Turks or other target groups which are growing fast in quantity (as shown by the *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek* in 1991-2002). Besides their positive participation in the labour market, good cultural and language adaptation, the number of Italians also affected the process of native acceptance.



The thing about the Italians is that their number is not so high. However, if their number was high then they could be a major part of the population, but at this moment the number is very low and there are rarely problems with them. I think also many of the first generation have gone back to Italy, and of course, now after the European Union, it is also very easy to travel to Italy then come back. It doesn't really matter where you live because you are allowed to work and live anywhere. I can also go to Italy. Of course, it is not as easy as that but it is possible to go there and to live there and to work there. This is something, I guess, that has affected the population very much; that they can come back when they want to and that's important too.

**Figure 4.**  
**The Netherlands: Non-Nationals**  
**in 1991-2002 (at 1st of January)**



Source: Statistik Netherlands Residential Population, <http://www.emz-berlin.de>, 28 February 2007

From the government perspective, Lindo claims that Italians were not categorized in the target groups which tried to integrate into the native society because of the Italians success in integrating with the natives. Some indicators to measure their success are their participation in the labour market, Dutch language proficiency and adaptation in culture and religion. As well, their status in the EU makes it easier for them to travel and to mobilize within EU countries; to find a job or school.

In the Netherlands, like France, the UK and Sweden, just as in Australia, naturalisation is easily obtained with most foreign born already citizens. The immigrated or foreign-born populations are therefore in those countries much larger than shown by statistics based on citizenship (Hammar 1995: 3, [www.immi.gov.au](http://www.immi.gov.au), 7 May 2007). Citizenship is more than just a formal status, as demonstrated by the possession of a passport. It is important to consider the contents of citizenship, in terms of civil, political and social rights. Moreover, the possession of citizenship is not an either/or question. With increasing length of residence, immigrants sometimes acquire forms of 'quasi citizenship', which confer some but not all, rights of citizenship. One important form of quasi-citizenship is the citizenship of the EU, introduced through the Maastricht Treaty (1991). The rules for becoming a citizen in various countries are complex and have undergone considerable changes in recent years (Castles 1998: 238).

A combination of *ius soli*<sup>37</sup> and *ius domicili*<sup>38</sup> has emerged in the Netherlands as in France, Italy and Belgium. Children born

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<sup>37</sup> The principles of laws on citizenship or nationality which derive are based on birth in the territory of the country.

<sup>38</sup> Long-term residence in the country

to foreign parents in the territory obtain citizenship, providing they have been resident for a certain period and fulfil other conditions. Moreover, the Netherlands, France and Belgium also apply the so-called 'double *ius soli*': children born to foreign parents, at least one of whom was also born in the country acquire citizenship at birth. This means that members of the 'third generation' automatically become citizens, unless they specifically renounce this right upon reaching the age of majority (Castles 1998: 241-242).

This system makes it possible for the second and third generations of Italians to have Dutch citizenship automatically. With this status, Italians have the right to work and live in the Netherlands permanently. This is one of the factors that strengthens the Italian immigrants' position in their interaction and socializing with natives. With the same status as natives, Italians of the second and third generations find it easier to achieve better education and other civil rights. Italian existence in the social structure of Dutch society is equal with that of the Dutch natives. Their high education levels, proficiency in the Dutch language and their ability to blend with natives make it easier for them to integrate with Dutch society.

Besides the legal status of citizenship, immigrants also have rights in politics. In the present situation, however, large immigrant minorities in Europe, in fact a total population of the size of the Netherlands (15 million), are still, after a period of 20 to 30 years of residence, excluded from full political rights. They were from the beginning refused all political participation. They were sometimes even seen as a direct threat to the public order. Even basic civic rights were withheld, such as long term or permanent residential rights, the freedom of expression, the right to organise

or to form associations of their own, the right to stand for election in the trade unions or to be a member of a political party. But during the 1970s, these civic rights were granted to denizens in most countries and some countries, like the Nordic countries and the Netherlands went further, giving voting rights in local elections to those who were legal residents for more than three or, in the Netherlands, five years (Hammar 1995, [www.immi.gov.au](http://www.immi.gov.au), 7 May 2007).

Niessen, Jan and Yongmi Schibel (2004: 40-41) in the *Handbook on Integration for Policy Makers and Practitioners* mention that participation in political processes is one of the most important elements of active citizenship. Political participation of immigrants provides opportunities for integration and should be supported in its different forms, including acquisition of nationality, local electoral rights and consultative structures. Political participation has many facets: activities such as voting, affiliation to political parties, following political debates in the news, participating in electoral campaigns, contacting politicians, writing letters to government representatives and becoming a candidate in an election, among others.

According to Niessen and Schibel (2004: 41), immigrants will attain the fullest degree of political rights if they become citizens of the country they reside in. With regard to non-citizens, some attention has been focused on the concept of civic citizenship. In its November 2000 Communication on a Community Immigration Policy, the Commission defined civic citizenship as guaranteeing certain core rights and obligations to immigrants which they would acquire gradually over a period of years. Civic citizenship would help immigrants to settle successfully into society

and could also be a first step in the process of acquiring the nationality of the Member State concerned. The Commission further elaborated the concept in June 2003 through 'Communication on Immigration, Integration and Employment' which recommended granting the right to vote and to stand as a candidate at least in local elections to all residents. Outside the electoral process, immigrants often have the opportunity to participate in consultative chambers or forums. These can be valuable tools for political participation, representation and defending the interests of foreign residents, especially at local levels. With all forms of political participation, immigrants tend to participate more with increasing length of residence and depending on individual factors such as age, education and income. However, participation also depends crucially on the creation of opportunity structures for immigrants and on the openness of societal institutions.

Political participation is not limited to voting at local elections. In his study, Tillie (2003: 8-11) mentions four other types of political participation: Visiting municipal hearing meetings; participation in so-called 'interactive' decision making processes (in which the municipality develops local policies in deliberation with citizens); and participation in 'neighbourhood committees' (committees of citizens addressing the problems in their neighbourhoods). Membership of an *immigrant ethnic* organization is also positively correlated to political participation. This is surprising, since a number of students of social capital and political participation have argued that some forms of social capital are better than others. An important distinction in this respect is that between the so-called *bonding* social capital and *bridging* social capital. Especially bridging social capital is then considered to have an important effect on political participation.

In the Italian case according to our informants, there is no specific data of political participation of Italian immigrants in the Netherlands. As vanHeelsum<sup>39</sup> says:

There were few Italians in my data base but I didn't know how many Italians (political participation) there were in the full samples, so I could say something about the Moroccans and Surinamese but not about the Italians. Because I don't have the data. You have to find the total and then see. As I don't have the total figure, I have no clue, I don't know.

The interview with Lindo also shows that specific information about the Italian immigrant political participation in the Netherlands is not available. Lindo explained that statistically, Italian immigrants are very low in number and in general, the associations of southern European immigrants mostly do not facilitate their political activities. He also explained that Italian immigrants' political participation in the Netherlands is affected by the political history in their mother country.

When we talk about politics, it means that we talk about organizations. Italians' way of organizing themselves is very much along Italian political parties. Italian political parties are Socialist and Christian Democrat and Communist. Like people organize in Italy, they organize here as is also the case with others. Italy

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<sup>39</sup> Like Dr Lindo and Dr Vermeulen, Anja van Heelsum is also a Researcher at the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) in Amsterdam. She received her MA in Social Psychology and her PhD in Social Sciences at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. Her PhD dissertation was entitled 'The ethno-cultural position of the second generation Surinamese.' From 1997 onwards, she has been a Researcher at IMES, primarily concentrating her work through three main topics: migration, ethnicity, migrant associations and political participation. We were able to interview her on 21 May 2007.

was not a dictatorship but in Greece there was a dictatorship in 1967-1974. People came here in that dictatorship period so there was a division among the immigrants in the Netherlands. In several European immigrant groups, like the Spanish and the Portuguese it was the same; the Salazar regime in Portugal and the Franco regime in Spain and many of the immigrants who came here didn't like those regimes much. At the same time, there were some political refugees too. People leave because of political reasons; because they have no opportunity to speak out; because their educational level is more than the average. Among Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese and Greeks organized also the labour migrants who didn't have much education but still were politically interested. For the Italians there was no dictatorship but still Italian parties were important to organize people in this way.

About the Italian immigrant organizations, Dimitris also said that the organizations play a great role in the social and cultural aspects of the lives of Italian immigrants:

There are quite many organizations of Italians in the Netherlands. There is nothing like a federation of Italians; they are supported by the Italian Consulate which you can call some kind of federation, they call committees. But many Italian people organize by the place where they come from. Let us say, there are organizations for the Sicillians; an organization in the Netherlands for the Sicillians who come from Sicily. Also for people from Corsica. They organize sometimes, not only Italians but also local inhabitants. Sicily, Corsica or southern areas of Italy. They're quite well organized. The problem is that the organization at this moment is more for the elderly, let us say, it's for the first generation of Italians in the Netherlands. Young people have mostly no need to be part of these organizations. They mostly speak the Dutch language very well. They reach a good level at school. So, they live their lives in the Netherlands. Still, they play with the idea of

having double identities, most of them being proud also to be Italian or coming from Italy. But without this, all of them separate in the street. There are quite many (activities), sometimes organized by Italian communities in cities and sometimes organized by the Italian elderly in the Netherlands. Many times they just gather in groups of friends but it is not really something that is well known in the Netherlands. There are many things going on, there are quite many things happening inside the Italian communities but because of the factor that they are concentrated somewhere, because of the factor that there are many Italians married to Dutch people and because of this fact they are organized by the place they come from, Sicily, Corsica or whatever. There are not very big activities that have been organized for all of them. That doesn't mean that they don't try to see each other, to meet each other, to celebrate together. These kinds of activities happen but are not big, at least for all the Italians in the Netherlands. They try to meet each other, they try to celebrate things together but let us say they stay low, not trying to present a picture, just doing it!

In his observation and from his perspective, Vermeulen also explained about the Italian associations' role in the Netherlands:

... maybe there is some but it's very specific to certain organizations and also if they tell you how many members they have and they only have a few organizations so it's not really a big movement but it also relates to the size of the whole number of Italians. I can imagine that at this moment, the majority of Italians living in the Netherlands are students or people just here for a few years then going and young people, because it's so easy to travel in the EU and you see that people just live in the Netherlands for only a few years then go back to Milan or other cities in Italy. But there's not anymore a large groups of Italians settling in the Netherlands.



The difficulty to get statistical data for Italian immigrants' political participation on a large scale (national) is caused by in fact that almost none of the research in the Netherlands focuses on Italian immigrants. Most research about immigrants in the Netherlands focuses on the target groups of immigrants in ethnic groups considered as having 'problems' in the integration process with the native society. They have low participation in the labour market (high unemployment) low education levels, difficulty in adapting with natives and other factors which make their integration process not smooth. Research about Italian immigrants has not been great since the government categorizes them as one of the successful immigrant groups in the Netherlands. In general, Italian immigrants' political participation has not been too dominant because almost no political interest of Italian immigrants has to fight in the context of their existence as immigrants. As Lindo clarified in the Councils in the Netherlands there are only a few Italians as the parties' representatives. Dimitris has also said that Italian immigrant political participation is more at the local level.

#### **5.4.2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS: EDUCATION LEVELS AND PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOUR MARKET**

To live in the receiving country, immigrants need housing, health facilities and an education infrastructure. Compared with other immigrants such as Turks or Moroccans, Italians have better conditions in their economic and social lives. As explained by van Heelsum and Vermeulen Italians have a higher educational level, positive participation in the labour market (low unemployment level) and are better accepted culturally in the Dutch society than Turkish or other target groups.

The Turks were even poorer. The Turks were very often not even able to read or write. They were illiterate like the Moroccans. Well, Italians, at least most of them, have secondary school education so they have a higher educational level. I think their language proficiency in Dutch was faster. And they married Dutch women, which is simply the best way to learn the Dutch language, of course. And the children are speaking Dutch; there is not a single one who doesn't speak Dutch. In Turkish families, children that go to school very often learn the Dutch language in school. The first Dutch language they learn. So, I think the education level and the culture are probably nearer to the Dutch ones. So it makes it easier. Religion seems to be important too. For a start, the Muslims remain Muslim; of course, they don't want to give up their religion. Well, Italians didn't have to give anything up because half of Holland is Catholic.

The cultural domain is also positive, in the labour market and education (I don't know the figures) but I would guess these could be positive too. So the size of the groups is very important and the situation in the country of origin is very important. A small size of a group also helps to have a positive integration process because people are not really afraid of this group and if your country of origin is doing well, this probably also helps the integration process because some people can decide to go back.

Interviews with two experts in IMES (cited above), show that the education level of Italian immigrants is much better than of other immigrant groups such as Turks, Moroccans or Surinamese. As members of the European Union, Italians have a privileged right to come and leave the Netherlands whenever they want. According to Dimitris, in the last two decades, most Italians who enter the Netherlands are students and professionals. Skills and language proficiency are two factors to access higher education in the Netherlands and their chances are greater than of other groups.

The high educational level of Italians affected them in accessing the labour market. Since the Netherlands received a big flow of immigrants from the EU new members, like other Western European countries, the requirements to enter the labour market were made tighter by the government. In other words, only professionals with high education and skills could participate positively in the labour market. In the Italian immigrants' case, especially in the second and third generations, they have the same level of education as Dutch natives and it makes it easier for them to access the labour market and get a job. As immigrants, Italian people also compete with natives and other ethnic groups in the labour market. Compared with immigrants from a non-Western background such as Turkish and Moroccan, among Italians (and other Western background immigrants) the unemployment rates are also much lower.

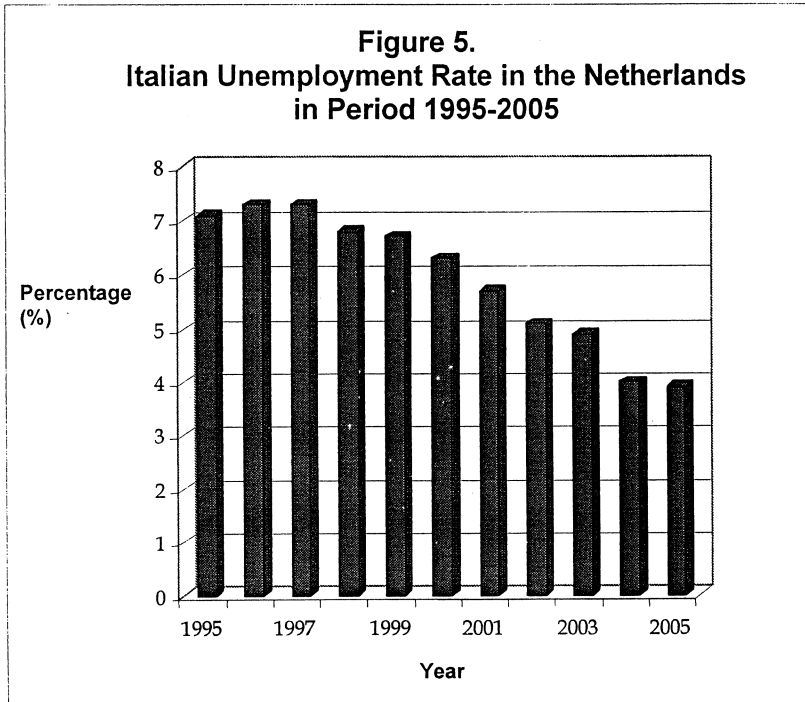
**Table 12.**

**Migrant Unemployment Rates in the Netherlands Based on Their Backgrounds (Unemployed labour force as a % of the labour force)**

	1995	2000	2004	2005
<b>Native Dutch</b>	6.7	3.0	5.3	5.2
<b>Western foreign background</b>	11.0	5.1	8.4	9.1
<b>Non-Western background</b>	26.3	11.0	16.1	16.4
<b>Turkish</b>	31.2	9.1	13.9	14.4
<b>Moroccan</b>	31.9	13.0	22.1	19.9
<b>Surinamese</b>	18.9	9.1	11.7	12.2
<b>Antillean/Aruban</b>	23.3	8.7	15.7	17.6
<b>Other non-Western</b>	31.6	13.9	18.5	19.1

Source: Statistical Year Book of the Netherlands 2006, <http://www.cbs.nl>, 1 May 2007

The Figure below shows that the Italian unemployment rate declined in the decade (1995-2005):



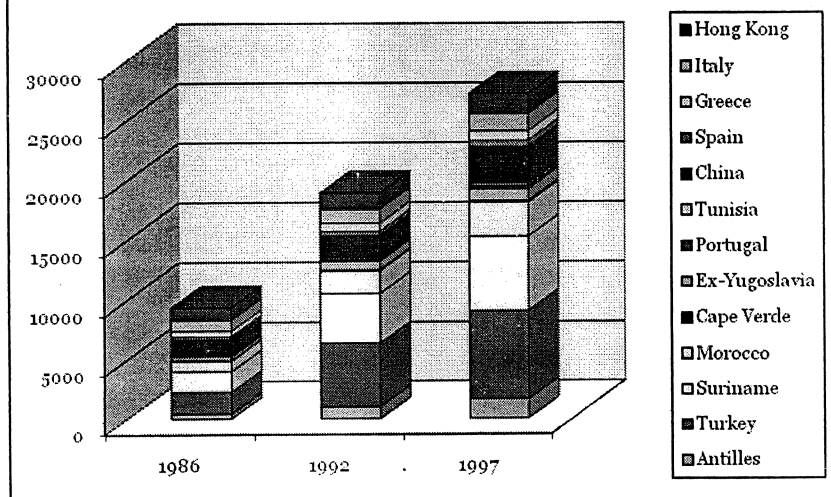
Source: Harmonized long-term unemployment rates - Annual data 10 March 2007

The research by Zorlu and Hartog (2000: 7) with the title ‘The Effect of Immigration on Native Earnings’ describes that immigrants from EU countries are more likely to be white-collar and more highly qualified than blue-collar and poorly qualified. The composition of the labour force and the labour market position of these groups show similar patterns to those of the native Dutch.

They also mention that immigrants from EU countries have a comparable education level with the native Dutch population while immigrants from non-EU countries have a considerably lower education level than the native Dutch (Zorlu and Hartog 2000: 12). Italian immigrants come from an EU country and have all the categories that have been mentioned; high education level and a relatively better labour market position.

One of the reasons for the Italians' predominance was their creativity in entrepreneurship. Research by Waldinger, etc. (1990: 91) entitled 'Ethnic Entrepreneurs' mentions that Italian immigrants have been active in business since the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century and more active since the end of World War II. The Italians produced and distributed ice cream which became one of of businesses in the 1960s and 1970s, together with the spread of Italian catering and food retail. Recently, small businesses which belong to Italian immigrants have been growing very well and serve the small Italian communities and the society in general with 'specializations of Italian people'.

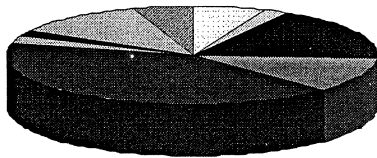
**Figure 6.**  
**The Entrepreneurship Growth of Italian**  
**Immigrants in the Netherlands**  
**(in 1986, 1992 and 1997)**



Source: Van den Tillaart and Poutsma, 1998 in Havelaar, Anne 1999.

Meanwhile other research by Kloosterman and Rath in 2000, describes Italian immigrants' business distribution in the Netherlands with the diagram below showing the statistics:

**Figure 7.  
Business Distribution  
of Italian Immigrants  
(in the Middle of 2000)**



Total: 1.228 (=100%)

- Agriculture/Forestry 0%
- Manufacturing 3%
- Construction 6%
- Car Trading 2%
- Wholesale Trading 17%
- Retail Trading 11%
- Catering 40%
- Transportation 2%
- Financial Services 1%
- Allowance Services 1%
- Other Business Services 11%
- Private Services 5%

Source: van den Tillaart (2001: 38) in Kloosterman and Rath (2003: 133)

The diagram above shows that Italian immigrants achieved some changes. Since the first generation of Italians came to the Netherlands, the majority of their jobs were in the unskilled areas such as mining. Later, the next Italian generations were professionals with high education levels, as well as skilled workers. Entrepreneurship as practised by the Italians was very specific so we can say that some of the catering businesses such as pizza and ice cream making belonged to the Italians (even though ice cream did not come from the Italian immigrants in the beginning). Although there were some other immigrant groups selling the same kinds of food as the Italians made, the Italian involvement was

very particular. Some kinds of food made by the Italians are very famous in the Netherlands and are accepted by the Dutch society. This acceptance by the native society affected and made their businesses branch out to almost all European countries. With their specializations and skills, Italian immigrants positively participated in the Netherlands labour market.

#### **5.4.3. CULTURAL/RELIGIOUS ASPECTS: MIXED MARRIAGES, PROFICIENCY IN THE DUTCH LANGUAGE AND RELIGIOUS SIMILARITY**

In the previous part, I mentioned that first generation Italians who decided to stay permanently in the Netherlands had chosen to marry Dutch women. In the research in the 1980s, Lindo shows that marriages between Italian men and Dutch women were very common. In his observation, this was not without impediments. In the beginning, Italian men had conflict with Dutch men because Italian men were considered to be 'stealing' Dutch women.

The image of young Italians in the 1960s was not good because they were marrying Dutch girls and it was really undeserved because they were hard workers and it was really hard for Dutch people to accept that young Italians were very popular with Dutch girls and there was also the issue of religion because Italians are Catholics... For the second generation or the children of immigrants who came to the Netherlands and stayed about 80-90% of Italians married Dutch women, so it was a great majority.

Motta in his study of alienation amongst some foreign workers in the Netherlands (1964) also described that all did not



go well in the adaptation of the Italian workers to Dutch conditions of living and working. Practically all of his respondents at the time said that the Italians, in general, do not work hard, skip work as often as feasible, create great scandals, are not punctual, are not interested in improving their way of working and that not only with the eyes but also with the hands, like to behave and dress like a 'signor', have no interest in learning Dutch, speaking it even after years '*met handen en voeten*', are unreliable and do not keep their word, outside and even inside, the workshop, they seduce 'our girls', who are charmed by the black colouring of their eyes and hair, 'our girls' being often under the age of 18, that they are 'erg royal' and tend to spend very fast the money they get, instead of saving for some future need, etc (Motta 1964: 11).

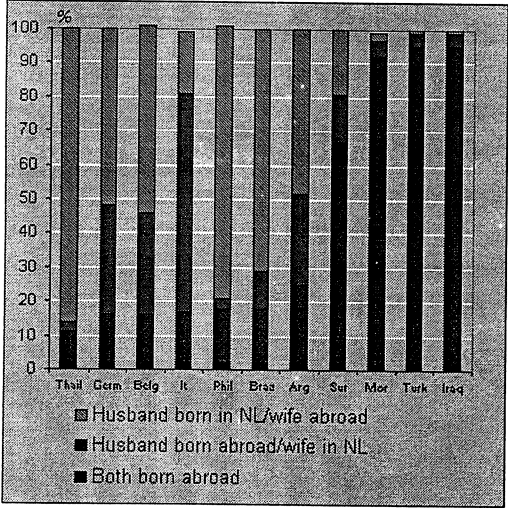
Meanwhile, as was often (but not always) the case, social workers and priests, felt more friendly towards the Italians, the matters above, were explained in terms of Italians being 'artists', 'accepting life as a gift' or 'having another idea of life' (as opposed to the Dutch). The Italians, according to the unanimity of the respondents appear to be behaving in the Netherlands in a way that, if not properly deviant, may be called semi-deviant. They seem to lack a clear realization of the roles they are expected to play in this country and it also appears that their purpose in migrating is short of a certain depth that would make their adaptation more viable. Some personnel managers said that they hire Italian workers only as a lesser evil (the greater evil being the shortage of manpower) and in a town of south Holland, the personnel managers of an important factory, that employs foreigners other than Italians, told us bluntly that if there were no Italians it was because the experience in other factories discouraged this factory from employing them (Motta 1964: 11-12).

In the 1970s and 1980s, many Italian immigrants of the first generation lost their jobs because the government was closing mining. Some of them went back to their home country. Meanwhile, some Italians who had work in the Netherlands decided to stay. Apart from job reasons, many of them married Dutch women. As Dimitris explained in an interview below:

I can say also for the people from the first generation, that there were some Italians who married Dutch ladies and because of that they became a part of a mixed marriage and this is so for the Portugese, the Spaniards and Greeks, just less than for the Italians.

Marriages between Italian men and Dutch women were common until the next period, as shown in the Figure below.

**Figure 8.**  
**Italian and Dutch Mixed Marriages in 2001**



Source: Mixed Marriages 2001, <http://www.cbs.nl>, 20 March 2007

The composition of marriages with one partner of Mediterranean origin is remarkable. For example, two out of three Dutch-Italian marriages are between an Italian man and a Dutch woman. Many labour migrants arriving in the early sixties found a Dutch wife and stayed on. The situation is completely different for people from Turkey and Morocco, among whom mixed marriages are very rare: in more than 85% of marriages involving these nationalities, both partners come from the same country. More people from Suriname, on the other hand, marry a Dutch partner: one in three marriages are to Dutch born partners (Statistics Netherlands/CBS, 2001, in <http://www.cbs.nl>).

Even compared with other migrant groups from southern Europe such as Portuguese, Spaniards and Greeks, marriages between first generation Italians and Dutch women are higher.

Dimitris also explained that in the first period of Italian immigrants' coming to the Netherlands, many of them returned after the improvement in economic conditions in their home country. While the Italians who stayed in the Netherlands, established families and settled in jobs. Therefore, the Italians had two big reasons to stay in the Netherlands; economic and psychological. Economic, means that they did not want to lose their jobs but the most important was the family as the psychological aspect. As mentioned by Lindo, for Italians who stayed in the Netherlands, the motive was economic. It was a most important reason for them to manage to keep their jobs but another motive was their family (a Dutch wife and children) and the sense of being part of Dutch society.

Although the marriages between Italian men and Dutch women were not for integration purposes, it cannot be denied that

mixed marriage is one factor of integrating in Dutch society. Italians who married Dutch people found it easier to learn the Dutch language. For their children (second and third generations), it is easier to learn the Dutch language because they communicate by using Dutch at home. Dimitris explained that in the Netherlands there are only Italians of the first and a few second generations who speak Italian intensively. Communication between Italians in public areas is much more by using the Dutch language than of their own language.

Sure, the first generation speaks Italian and also the second generation. The second generation still speak Italian, most of them I think, but also the Dutch language, quite well. Maybe also in the street when they're together or they gather or are walking; in the restaurants, they speak Italian and also Dutch. It's not often that I've heard them speak Italian in the street but I think they still use it if they think that they have to.

Italians' proficiency in the Dutch language and their ability to socialize with the natives are indicators that they are more successful in the process of integration, especially in cultural integration. As Hagendoorn (2003: 4) explains, cultural integration can be defined as a typical balance between the orientation towards the in-group and the host society (in our case, Dutch society). One way to define cultural integration is that immigrants are more culturally integrated if they orient themselves more towards the host society (whether a shift of the host population towards the normative orientations of immigrant groups contributes to this or not) and less culturally integrated if they orient themselves more towards their own immigrant community.

To describe the cultural integration of Italian immigrants compared to other ethnic groups such as Turks, Dimitris claims that:

Italians for example, being accepted into the Dutch society, has to do with the fact that they speak Dutch, they are not concentrated in the cities, quite many of them were married to Dutch women but this has nothing to do with the fact that they have the same religion as some of the Dutch. Probably the integration of the Italians into the Dutch society is because of many reasons but not because they've come from the same religion and follow the same thoughts that the integration of some other immigrant communities has been less successful because of some other factors but not because of the fact that they're Muslim. That the attention exists at this moment in the Dutch society being Christian and some other immigrants being Muslims, is a fact. But because of that fact, immigrants being well or not, integrated into the Dutch society, I believe is not correct. Italians and also people from Portugal and Spain, are Catholics. People from Greece are also Christians. Some people from the former Yugoslavia are Christians and many of them are Muslims. In all these groups the degree of integration doesn't depend on being Christians or being Muslims but depends more on being accepted, having a life here, having a job, being married to Dutch women, having children who are fitting in well into the Dutch society and other factors. The amazing thing is that they're integrated and on the other side, there are some groups that have had problems emotionally with the Dutch government and the Dutch society for the last few years and speak about immigrants. Because when the Dutch media speak about the immigrants in the Netherlands, they don't say something specific about the Muslims or the Moroccans, they speak of represented immigrants. They think that they are just a part of the society and because of the political way of speaking about the minorities to start with, to think and to feel against the minority.

As mentioned by all informants, there are some factors/aspects to analyze the Italian immigrant integration process, such as in politics, economics, social, cultural, and even religious life. In the description above I mentioned that in almost every aspect, Italian immigrants have participated positively. van Heelsum also gave her opinion that the success of the Italian integration process into the Dutch society started with the similarity of Italian and the Dutch cultures. She mentions that because both countries are European, Italians also did not find much difficulty in learning the Dutch language. Italians are also Catholic like some of the Dutch. Even though the Italians have managed their own churches (which are different from the Dutch churches) but similarity in religion has made them close and cooperative with one another. This is one of the logical consequences of similarity of religion that makes a person or a group become accepted by a new group. Compared with other immigrant groups in the Netherlands which come with different faiths/religions, Italian immigrants found it easier to adapt to the society of the receiving country. These two things are two factors that give Italians advantages in integrating more easily than non-Western immigrant groups. Consequently they were easily accepted by the Dutch society at any social level.

## CONCLUSION

Italian immigrants in the Netherlands have characteristics; different from those of other immigrant groups but it does not mean that they had not faced obstacles in the process of adaptation with the Dutch society. Since Italians have come to the Netherlands, there have been some negative stereotypes which made the adaptation process not too smooth. However, Italian immigrants

showed that they could adapt well. This was proved by the integration process of Italians which started with marriages between Italian men in the first generation and Dutch women. Similarity in religion and cultural values between Italians and Dutch made possible the marriages. Even though mixed marriages were not for integration purposes, it cannot be denied that it made the process smoother, particularly in learning the Dutch language. Italian proficiency in using the Dutch language made their interaction and adaptation with Dutch society easier. Italian immigrant access to education in the Netherlands is also better than of other groups because of their status as a member of the European Union. In the next period, Italians of the second and third generations had the same high education level as the natives. High education attainment and skills of Italians give them wider opportunities to access the labour market. Moreover, the Italian characteristic not to concentrate in one specific area in the Netherlands makes it easier for them to socialize with Dutch people. These factors provide advantages to Italians to be accepted in the Dutch society.

It can be said that Italians are one of the successful groups of immigrants to integrate into the Dutch society. Although the process of adaptation was not too good in the early period but in next period they performed excellently in economic, social and cultural adaptation. Positive participation in the labour market and low unemployment rate, proficiency in using the Dutch language and adaptation to the Dutch cultural values are some aspects which made it easier for Italians to integrate into Dutch society.

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## CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION

### *Researcher Team*

There is a changing migration policy in Europe. Once, Europe was very keen on an open migration policy. This means that Europe was open to any migration movement motive. This did not last until the realisation of the united Europe. In the early formation of the European Union, which was signed with the cooperation between the coal and mining society among Luxembourg, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Italy, it regulated the free movements of people among these countries. However, the great industrial expansion in these countries forced them to import some workers from outside Europe. This period was called the *laissez faire* of migration policy in the European circle. However, after the oil crisis in 1973, most of Western Europe was forced to adopt a restrictive migration policy. The Europeans also regulated the movement of the labour mechanism which forced the employers to import labour only from Europe. On the other hand, the increasing economic cooperation led some of the European countries to sign the Schengen Treaty which banished border controls among the Schengen members.

The Italian immigrant group is a unique case. In the early 1950s their economic development which was less than of the Western European countries, caused large migrations of low skilled immigrants to the Netherlands. However, its membership in the European Community brought prosperity to this country. It had an

effect on the high returning migration and changed character of later migration, of mostly high skilled people who were not satisfied with the Italian public services such as education.

As part of the European Union, Italians had some rights which made them different from other immigrant groups outside the EU. They travel freely to other EU countries and stay there permanently. Even though the Italian immigrants who came early to the Netherlands, in the 1950s, had faced several obstacles related to their stereotyping in the Dutch point of view but in the next periods, they performed as one of the successful immigrant groups to integrate into Dutch society. Italian success could be recognized from a few aspects: economic, social and cultural. Italians' success as entrepreneurs and participants in the labour market showed that they had improved their position from unskilled to skilled labour. Additionally, Italians are one of the immigrant groups with a low unemployment rate.

Mixed marriages also contributed a big effect to the process of integration. Through mixed marriages, children of first generation Italians became completely a part of Dutch society. They have the same high education levels as the Dutch and they are also proficient in using the Dutch language and very rarely speak Italian in public spaces. Similarity in cultural values and religion has also affected the smooth process to their integration into Dutch society. It shows that Italians' social adaptation with Dutch people and other immigrant groups is relatively successful. The success of Italian economic, social and cultural adaptation in the Netherlands brought them to be part of the Dutch society.

## Executive Summary

### Pendahuluan

Transformasi Eropa dari sebuah entitas geografi menjadi sebuah kesatuan kerjasama regional secara langsung berpengaruh pada kebijakan migrasi di kawasan tersebut. Pada awalnya, entitas nasional Eropa mempunyai sedikit perhatian pada pergerakan manusia antar negaranya. Hal ini terkait dengan perkembangan ekonomi yang terjadi, sehingga pergerakan manusia dianggap sebagai modal bagi berjalannya siklus ekonomi. Akan tetapi gambaran ini berubah total setelah perang dunia kedua. Negara industrialisasi menjadi semakin tertutup dengan keberadaan para immigrant. Keadaan ini dipicu oleh kekhawatiran Negara-negara Eropa dengan diaspora-diaspora yang tercipta sebagai akibat perekrutan tenaga kerja *low-skilled* dari Negara dunia ketiga, dimana diaspora ini terus memainkan peranan penting dalam kehidupan social ekonomi Negara tersebut terlepas dari kesulitan dalam proses integrasinya.

Italia sebagai mantan supplier tenaga kerja pada masa ini juga mempunyai cerita yang cukup berbeda dengan Negara pengirim lainnya. Imigran Itali dianggap mampu berinteraksi secara baik dengan komunitas Eropa. Berbagai analisa menggambarkan bahwa perkembangan keadaan ekonomi Itali yang cukup impressive setelah perang dunia kedua menjadi modal imigran ini untuk mendapatkan tempat dalam komunitas social ekonomi masyarakat Eropa. Akan tetapi, study ini mencoba menganalisis lebih jauh dengan melihat perkembangan social, ekonomi maupun politik imigran Itali. Sehingga diharapkan akan muncul sebuah kesimpulan

yang mampu menjelaskan posisi imigran Italy dalam masyarakat Eropa.

### **Tujuan Penelitian**

Studi ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui perkembangan social, ekonomi dan politik imigran Italy dalam komunitas masyarakat di Belanda. Studi ini juga mencoba untuk mengeksplorasi perkembangan kebijakan migrasi di Eropa terutama dengan adanya pembentukan Uni Eropa.

### **Lingkup Study dan Metodologi Penelitian**

Untuk mendapatkan gambaran yang jelas mengenai perkembangan social ekonomi dan politik imigran Italy di Belanda serta kebijakan migrasi di eropa, studi ini menfokuskan periode penelitian setelah perang dunia kedua sampai masa sekarang. Dalam kurun waktu periode ini akan sangat terlihat jelas konektivitas peristiwa-peristiwa ekonomi dengan fluktuasi aliran imigran ke Belanda maupun dampaknya pada perkembangan social ekonomi dan juga respon politik dengan keberadaan para immigrant.

Studi ini menggunakan metode penelitian diskriptif untuk menganalisis perkembangan imigran Italy di Belanda dengan pendekatan multidisiplin seperti hukum, ekonomi dan antropologi. Pendekatan hukum ditujukan untuk menjelaskan perkembangan Uni Eropa dengan transformasi kebijakan migrasinya. Sedangkan pendekatan ekonomi digunakan untuk memberikan sentuhan penjelas motivasi dibalik proses migrasi imigran Italy ke Belanda. Pada bagian lain, pendekatan antropologi bermanfaat untuk

menjelaskan fase-fase integrasi imigran Italy dan factor-faktor dibalik kesuksesan integrasi tersebut. Berbagai kompilasi data baik kuantitatif maupun kualitatif digabungkan secara terintegrasi untuk menjawab pertanyaan penelitian ini.

## **Sistematika Penulisan**

### **Bab I. Introduction**

Bab ini memberikan gambaran jelas mengenai latar belakang studi, tujuan studi, ruang lingkup studi dan metodologi yang digunakan. Bagian ini diharapkan mampu memberikan sistematika umum dalam pembuatan laporan ini.

### **Bab II. The Regulation of Migration in the European Union**

Pada bab ini Gusnelly mendiskripsikan perkembangan Eropa dari kumpulan national menjadi kesatuan supranational. Dalam tulisan ini perkembangan kebijakan migrasi di Uni Eropa menjadi focus kajian dengan memberikan juga beberapa contoh perkembangan dari masing-masing Negara.

### **Bab III. Immigrant Minorities in the Netherlands**

Bagian ini mencoba menterjemahkan secara khusus efek dari tranformasi Uni Eropa terhadap perkembangan imigran di Belanda. Amin Mudzakir mengambil secara spesifik terciptanya minoritas imigran dengan permasalahannya, terutama imigran berbasis Islam, terkait dengan perkembangan kebijakan Uni Eropa yang secara langsung berpengaruh juga pada kebijakan migrasi di Belanda.

#### **Bab IV. Italian Immigration to the Netherlands: Past and Present**

Bondan Widayatmoko menggambarkan perkembangan migrasi internal maupun international imigran Italy. Dengan data kuantitatif ekonomi yang dikaitkan data aliran migrasi dapat digambarkan secara diskriptif mengenai kaitan perkembangan ekonomi dengan motif dan pola migrasi yang terjadi.

#### **Bab V. Italian Immigrants in the Netherlands: From Adaptation to Integration**

Bagian ini merupakan pendiskripsian lanjutan dari bab sebelumnya. Kurnia Novianti secara detail menjelaskan proses adaptasi imigran Italy yang cukup keras di awal migrasinya ke Belanda sampai pada fase integrasi yang dianggap sukses secara umum.

#### **Bab VI. Kesimpulan**

Bab ini menyimpulkan bahwa perubahan Uni Eropa dengan kekuatan ekonominya semakin menjadikan entitas ini semakin eksklusif. Hal ini terlihat jelas pada semakin tertutupnya Eropa bagi pergerakan manusia di luar Uni Eropa. Keadaan ini sesungguhnya bertolak belakang dengan semangat liberalisasi ekonomi yang menjadi dasar terbentuknya perkumpulan ini. Tentu saja keadaan ini memberikan dampak pada terciptanya *black market* pada pasar tenaga kerja juga pada terciptanya minoritas imigran di Eropa. Dampak yang lebih lanjut adalah kerentanan dalam masyarakat Uni Eropa, pada kasus ini adalah Belanda, dengan semakin rentannya minoritas imigran ini dengan isu-isu perbedaan budaya, agama maupun keamanan.

Imigran Italy dengan sejarah perkembangan integrasinya yang diawali gesekan-gesekan social dan diakhiri dengan



meleburnya imigran Italy dalam masyarakat Belanda memberikan kesimpulan sementara bahwa pertama, perkembangan ekonomi yang maju dari Negara pengirim tenaga kerja memberikan modal percaya diri bagi imigran untuk bersosialisasi dalam masyarakat dan partisipasi politiknya. Selain itu kapabilitas ekonomi yang terbentuk dari individunya menjadikan tenaga kerja imigran tersebut dapat sewaktu-waktu berpindah, sehingga kekhawatiran pembentukan diaspora yang merugikan bisa dikesampingkan. Kedua, latar belakang sebagai “Eropa” dengan kesamaan relative budaya dan agama juga menjadi factor penentu keberhasilan integrasi imigran Italy di Belanda.

