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Immigration–mismatches in labour, housing and space

The effects of immigration of several nationalities with regard to the Netherlands

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In the Netherlands, the sharp recent increase of the number of refugee immigrants (asylum seekers) runs parallel to increased numbers of immigrants of other types. Therefore, at least five types of immigrants should still be distinguished (labour migrants, migrants from former colonies, from EU countries, from other rich countries, and asylum seekers). Their spatial orientation in the Netherlands (urban, suburban, rural), by choice or by constraint, is the main focus of this study. The outcomes of the immigration processes have been confronted with general and spatial characteristics of the labour market and housing market. Matches and mismatches are discussed.

Since the mid-1980s Western Europe has been confronted with a sharp rise in the number of immigrants. The increase in immigration of foreigners in the Netherlands has mainly been caused by the arrival of asylum seekers, whose numbers have risen from 1214 in 1982 to 20 346 in 1992. However, substantial numbers of other immigrants have also entered the country from other advanced states (such as other European Union countries, the USA and Japan), from former and current Dutch colonies and from former non-EU labour recruitment countries such as Turkey and Morocco.

In recent publications on international migration much attention has been paid to the changing volume of migration and to the changing types of immigrants, as well as to new geographical patterns on a global scale (King, 1993; Champion, 1994; OECD, 1994; Stalker, 1994). Increasingly, however, research has also focused on the study of the geographical orientation of migrants within the nation-state. As Champion (1994: 667) puts it, international migration 'takes on particular significance because of its uneven spatial incidence within countries'. It is the aim of this article to add to the knowledge of the spatial orientation of immigrants by paying attention to the development of the spatial pattern of immigrants entering the Netherlands. Labour market and housing market factors, as well as the application of specific policy instruments, will be brought to the fore to interpret and evaluate the development of the spatial distributions of migrant groups.

Research context

Immigration is often perceived to be associated with 'problems' for the host society. The concentration in timing of immigration waves is often an important contributing factor in this problematization of immigration. The problems are often related to cultural differences between immigrants and the original host population, but also to housing issues and, most importantly, to employment questions. Acute problems may arise, such as a shortage of specific facilities, a shortage of adequate housing and a shortage of suitable jobs. In addition, all kinds of xenophobic reactions may develop in relation to specific societal and cultural background factors affecting both the immigrant groups and the original host population.

One of the most difficult problems, for immigrants as well as for the original resident population, is the (mis)match between the demand for and supply of *labour*. Low and semi-skilled immigrants find that their qualifications fit manual work in traditional manufacturing industries, yet the restructuring of western economies has led to a reduction of employment opportunities for this kind of labour (Cross, 1992). Service sector jobs have been on the increase since the decay of traditional manufacturing industry. Social scientists, such as Wilson (1987), regard that changing structure as one of the most important factors for understanding the lack of social mobility of the black population in the USA.

Other hypotheses have also been developed. One of these is the so-called social polarization hypothesis, which views the new service sector as providing both high-level and low-level jobs. Unskilled workers, among them many immigrants, would be able to find jobs in these lower sections of the service sector (Sassen, 1991). Low-skilled people, in this model, are not excluded from the labour market, since they are able to get a (low-level) job. However, segmentation of the labour market, particularly increasingly limited access to higher-sector jobs, as measured in terms of skills and social status, has emerged and grown. In this social polarization hypothesis it is the middle class which, in terms of employment opportunities, suffers the most from economic change. Support for these hypotheses varies from country to country and is, among other things, dependent on the nature of the organization of the welfare state.

In the Netherlands, the majority of recent employment opportunities that have developed in new sectors of the economy call for higher-level skills in particular [of course, there is also an informal or illegal sector, but the extent of low-skilled, low-paid employment is far from the levels of the USA (Feagin and Smith, 1987)]. Therefore, the labour market mismatch hypothesis seems to fit the Dutch situation best, at the present time. In addition to the mismatch between the traditional unskilled and semi-skilled immigrant workforce and current labour market needs, a spatial mismatch has appeared between the demand for and the supply of labour. The often-quoted example is the concentration of low-skilled immigrants in the largest cities, while the jobs that would fit their educational level best have dispersed themselves to smaller settlements (Kasarda *et al.*, 1992). Sometimes, low-skilled, low-wage jobs have even disappeared to other parts of the world, particularly to low-wage countries of the third world.

However, the generalizations described so far are of a rather simple character. Whereas the mismatch of skills may be true for the majority of immigrants from Turkey and Morocco, one should not expect the same situation to apply to immigrants from all countries. Both immigrants from the more advanced countries and asylum seekers have very different educational profiles and job orientations from Mediterranean labour migrants. It has been shown (Brink and Pasariboe, 1993) that an important proportion of asylum seekers in the Netherlands are highly educated and skilled, with considerable working experience. University degrees of a high standard are not exceptional. In theory,

the majority of asylum seekers could relatively easily insert themselves in the most modernized parts of the economy, if a policy were adopted through which they could settle in the country in the economic core areas, and if on the one hand they were allowed to participate in the economy more quickly after, say, their first six months of settlement in the Netherlands, and on the other hand if the Dutch labour market were to be freed from discriminatory tendencies. Unfortunately, neither of these is the case. Unemployment among refugees and among persons permitted to stay on humanitarian grounds is probably the highest of all, if compared with other immigrant categories. Findlay (1992), in a study on the economic impact of immigration to the UK, came to more or less identical conclusions. He stressed that, contrary to prevailing opinion, labour market benefits could arise from the encouragement of certain kinds of immigration. Certain skill shortages could be overcome, immigrant entrepreneurs could become generators of jobs instead of people asking for a job, and so on.

A second issue, which is closely related to the first, is changing access to *housing*. As in most other West European countries, early immigrants, entering the Netherlands in the post-war period of severe housing shortages (1950s, 1960s), were typically housed in lodgings. However, from the 1970s immigrants were able to gain access to low-rent private accommodation. In more recent years the system of housing allocation and access to public housing has become relevant (Musterd and Ostendorf, 1994). In most West European countries, large immigrant flows were registered roughly at the time that the process of suburbanization peaked. Van Amersfoort and Cortie (1994) argue that because of that coincidence, new immigrants were able to find housing in the central cities. They could simply take advantage of the suburbanization process, even though they did not participate in that process themselves. In the Netherlands, it was said, the extensive stock of relatively inexpensive public housing in the central cities stimulated entry to these areas.

Champion (1994), however, provides evidence that the central city orientation of immigrants reflects a more general attitude, which is not specifically linked to access to public housing. Using the concept of 'replacement population' he has referred to the study by White (1993) in which the tendency for immigrants to concentrate in the largest cities was demonstrated convincingly. This is not to say that an urban orientation was the rule for all immigrant categories. In recent years, for example, the Dutch government has aimed to disperse asylum seekers across the country. Experiences in other countries, such as Sweden, Belgium and the UK, showed that this kind of policy is far from unique. In the UK in the early 1980s, for example, Vietnamese refugees were dispersed in small groups across the country (Robinson and Hale, 1990). Unlike the situation in Sweden, where the aim of population growth in the periphery was an important motive in directing newly arrived immigrants to that periphery, Dutch policy was driven by the idea of reducing pressures in the housing market of the larger metropolitan areas. The dispersion policy was focused only on asylum seekers and hardly tried to influence the spatial distribution of other immigrants. The effects of such dispersion policies seem to be small in the long run. In the UK, secondary migration soon redirected many of the asylum seekers to the larger cities (Robinson and Hale, 1990).

In short, the spatial distribution of asylum seekers in the Netherlands must predominantly be understood by referring to specific national policy instruments. In general, the distribution of most immigrants does not relate anymore to labour market factors, but must be understood with reference to their economic status relative to the housing market. That is to say, the spatial distribution of affordable and accessible (public) housing is a key determinant of the pattern of many immigrant groups. A secondary influence producing small spatial variations in the pattern of immigration is the cultural background of the migrants. Surinamese and Antillean immigrants, for example, mirror

Dutch residential patterns more closely than Turks and Moroccans. Immigrants from the Mediterranean prefer cheap housing, mostly but not exclusively in the rented sector. This offers them the opportunity to save money for family members or to remit income for re-investment in their country of origin. Surinamese and Antillean immigrants do not tend to share this behaviour. They are more prone to accept more costly, but also more spacious, modern apartments, with or without the housing subsidies of the Dutch government (see also van Dugteren, 1993).

As a result, one might expect the spatial outcome of these orientations to be that low-income immigrants—Turks and Moroccans—would be concentrated in large cities or the cheaper (peripheral) rental housing segments in some of the growth centres in the metropolitan areas of the largest cities in the Netherlands. These are the areas that, because of the availability of cheap rented dwellings, are accessible to these households. Although one might have expected the issue of access to housing to become increasingly important for them because of their weakened labour market position, this has not entirely proved to be the case. Some of the lowest-income migrant groups still seem to be orientated to the larger cities across the Netherlands, since these cities were the prime locations of the first (manufacturing linked) labour immigrants of the 1960s. Children and family members of these immigrants continue to make use of established networks and try to get housing and work in these areas.

The Antillean immigrant population has traditionally been focused on urban centres, which could supply the educational facilities needed. They were expected to be orientated to the somewhat larger cities. During the peak years of Surinamese immigration, the authorities tried to disperse immigrants from Surinam and the Antilles over the country with a so-called 5 per cent rule. From 1975 to 1980 every municipality was obliged to reserve 5 per cent of the newly built state subsidized housing in the rental sector for Surinamese (and also Antillean) households. The orientation of Surinamese immigrants, however, is much more urban, which may be related to their economic position and/or to their urban origin.

Immigrant households in the Netherlands originating from member states of the EU, Japan and the USA, who mostly belong to the financially better-off, might be expected to have the will and the ability to buy or rent a house in the urban or suburban fringe near economic core areas. Because of the clustering of Japanese economic activities as well as language, Japanese immigrants were expected to cluster more strongly than European and American immigrants.

Apart from acute housing and employment problems, these housing market and (spatial) labour-market-related migration processes may also have had other major implications. First, in addition to the (spatial) labour market mismatch described above, a *housing-labour market mismatch* could also be developing in the Netherlands. Available housing for low-income (low-skilled) households may appear to be predominantly urban, while at the same time the urban supply of low-skilled jobs seems to be declining continuously. Secondly, an ever sharper pattern of segregation, in terms of differences in income, purchasing power and social prospects between the urban core areas (except for the historical city centre) and the urban edges of metropolitan areas should result from the developments which have been described. Most residential areas within the urban core might face impoverishment and high unemployment, while the suburban zones will collect those parts of the population that are employed and can afford higher housing costs. No major change might be expected in the character of traditional urban residential areas for the poor and the unemployed. The populations of these areas have very limited opportunities to move to more promising locations. However, some of the new immigrants have different characteristics from the older immigrant categories. Young Turks and Moroccans entering the country as brides and grooms of their resident compatriots are

reported to have better educational backgrounds than their fathers and mothers-in-law. Thirdly, for some specific categories of immigrants, such as asylum seekers, labour-housing mismatches may arise due to the dispersion policies which have been applied. It is important to realize that the category of asylum seekers is very heterogeneous; a significant proportion has relatively high educational standards and belonged to the skilled workforce of their country of origin. By dispersing them all over the (non-urban parts of the) country, the opportunity may be lost to link their educational skills with the national labour market needs of the Netherlands. Many of the asylum seekers could more easily integrate in the economy if housed in the economic core area of the Netherlands (the Randstad).

Methods and research questions

Before investigating the possible policy implications of immigration, we first have to test the magnitude and selectivity of the locational orientation of migration processes. Most of the above-mentioned relationships may only be formulated as hypotheses. Before turning to the empirical testing of these ideas, we present a typology of immigrant categories on the basis of nationality and grounds for admission. This discussion forms the basis for the empirical classification of immigrants used in the later analyses. Thereafter, data will be discussed to test the hypotheses. New and thus far unpublished migration data will be used to test the differences in location of destination of the various categories of immigrants. To be able to test and elaborate on the assumption we have distinguished between several types of location:

- (1) each of the four largest (urban) municipalities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht);
- (2) so-called population growth centres (often new towns where cheap housing might be available) of these four metropolitan centres;
- (3) other suburban municipalities of these four metropolitan areas;
- (4) all other municipalities in the western core provinces of the Netherlands (the Randstad);
- (5) larger cities (100 000 inhabitants or over) in the rest of the country;
- (6) all the other (smaller and rural) municipalities.

Different immigrant categories were specified by nationality, but also according to the above-mentioned types of location. In order not to complicate the analysis we have restricted our study to a selection of years. The years chosen—1972, 1982 and 1992—are neither extreme nor unique in terms of immigration (see *Figure 1*) and in fact each represents a certain period in recent Dutch migration history. In 1972, labour recruitment from Mediterranean countries was still in full swing, postcolonial migration was still rather unimportant. The year 1982 characterizes the period of family reunification of labour migrants, while postcolonial migration continued after incidental highs in 1974/75 and 1979/80. The year 1992 might be seen as representing the recent phase of the country's immigration history, when increasing numbers of immigrants from OECD countries, as well as increasing numbers of persons in need of international protection, entered the Netherlands.

Of course, it is not simply immigration that is responsible for the developing spatial patterns. Selective outmigration, internal migration and differences in natural growth are also important. Analysis of outmigration appeared to support the results of the immigration analysis and is therefore not dealt with further in this paper. We have also analysed the changing population structure of the areas involved, but only for some nationalities and for the years 1982 and 1992.

Figure 1. Immigration and emigration of non-Dutch (Aliens) with respect to the Netherlands, 1950–91. *Source:* CBS

In summary, the research questions addressed by this paper are:

- (1) To which types of (metropolitan) areas (milieus) are different categories of immigrants orientated upon entering the country?
- (2) How has the pattern of immigration developed during the 1970s and 1980s? And how is this pattern related to the changing population in terms of nationalities and types of areas involved?
- (3) What interpretation can be given to the spatial and temporal differentiation described, and what is the estimated role of local and national policies in this respect?

Towards a typology of migrants

At the macro level, international migration to European countries can largely be explained by a limited number of factors (Muus, 1993). In the countries of settlement the factors concerned are: the labour market, respect for human rights and admission policies. In the countries of departure the same set of factors is at play. A third category of factors influencing migration centres around the existing immigrant populations in the countries of settlement. Their legal status and demographic composition may become or may already be an important factor in inducing an autonomous chain migration process. This migration may take place irrespective of the factors mentioned under the countries of settlement and the countries of departure. The factors are summarized in *Figure 2* with reference to migration to EU member states.

International migration takes place between nation-states that differentiate, or at least try to differentiate, between citizens and non-citizens, and between all kinds of admitted and non-admitted categories of foreign (non-citizen) migrants. Migration policies are still highly national in character. State sovereignty and different concepts of citizenship between countries prohibit the development of common migration policies, even where economic and political integration processes seem to develop. In the EU and EFTA, free movement of citizens between member states is allowed, albeit under strict conditions. Non-EU citizens do not have this freedom. They are—for purposes of admission and residence—fully dependent on national migration policies as stipulated in the respective national alien laws. As a result, a variety of types of immigrants can be distinguished on the basis of nationality and other grounds for admission (*Table 1*).

Figure 2. Schema of analysis: international migration and Europe—factors influencing migration to EU member states. *Source:* Muus (1993: 17)

The differentiation of immigrants according to nationality is of prime importance when considering first admission to a country of settlement. Within the EU, citizens have almost unlimited settlement rights in other EU member states, given that they earn sufficient incomes by work, pension or a scholarship to support themselves. The unemployed and also those receiving unemployment benefits are not allowed to settle freely in other EU countries. Third-country nationals have no free settlement rights elsewhere in the Union, once settled in one of the member states. Only in specific cases, such as those of the

Table 1. Types of migrants

According to nationality

- (1) Citizens
 - (a) Full rights
 - (b) Partial rights
- (2) Aliens
 - (a) Citizens of EU member states
 - (b) Third country nationals
 - (c) Former citizens/nationals and their descendants

According to grounds for admission

- (1) Migrants with a valid stay permit
 - (a) Labour migrants
 - (b) Entrepreneurs
 - (c) Follow-up migrants (family reunification/family formation)
 - (d) Refugees/asylum seekers
 - (e) Students
 - (f) Economically not-active & post-active persons
 - (g) Former citizens/nationals and their descendants
- (2) Migrants without a valid stay permit
 - (a) Illegals

Source: Muus (1993: 20)

German *Aussiedler* or the Pontic Greeks (non-EU citizens who receive EU citizenship upon arrival and who might consequently enjoy all the rights of EU citizens, including freedom of movement) is this rule waived. In the Netherlands, such cases do not exist, except, one might argue, for the Antilleans, who have Dutch citizenship, and who are allowed to settle in other EU states after an initial stay in the Netherlands.

For the purpose of this study, the most important differentiation of types of migrants is that based on admission policy. Non-Dutch immigrants might settle as economic migrants (dependent and independent labour), as follow-up migrants under schemes of family reunification and marriage, as persons in need of international protection, or as students, economically non-active and post-active persons. Former nationals are a last legal category based on admission policy; they settle as foreigners but might later change their citizenship. Finally, those migrants who settle illegally or overstay in the country of settlement are considered as undocumented or illegal immigrants.

The following typology of immigrants was constructed for use in subsequent empirical analyses. It is by nationality grouping, taking into account the above-mentioned types of admission:

- (A) *Dutch nationals*
 - (A1) Dutch nationals born in Surinam
 - (A2) Dutch nationals born on the Dutch Antillean Islands
 - (A3) Other Dutch nationals born outside Surinam and the Antillean Islands
- (B) *EU citizens*
 - (B1) British nationals
 - (B2) German nationals
 - (B3) Other, but non-Dutch, EU nationals
- (C) *Third-country nationals*
 - (C1) Turkish nationals
 - (C2) Moroccan nationals
 - (C3) Surinamese nationals
 - (C4) USA nationals
 - (C5) Japanese nationals
 - (C6) Other third-country nationals (mostly asylum seekers and refugees)

Immigration

One of the most significant developments during the past two decades has been the changing origins of international migration to the Netherlands. In 1972, about half of all immigrants were of Dutch nationality. In 1992, the share of Dutch nationals in the total had dropped below 30 per cent. Between 1982 and 1992 non-Dutch immigration doubled, reaching a level of over 80 000 persons a year. A somewhat more detailed view of the immigration figures reveals that especially the so called 'other non-Dutch' is the new and major growth category (Figure 3). As mentioned before, this category is roughly identical to the asylum seekers. However (Figure 4), most of the longer-established migrant populations show a continuation of migration to the Netherlands. In 1992, all categories showed an increase in immigration compared to 1982 (a ratio above 100).

The increase of the number of immigrants from Turkey, Surinam, EU countries and Japan was above the average for all immigrants (an increase of 65 per cent). The improved economic circumstances of the early 1990s, compared with the economic crisis of the early 1980s, may explain this increase. Asylum seekers doubled in numbers between 1982 and 1992.

Figure 3. Immigration of Dutch and non-Dutch in the Netherlands, 1992. Source: CBS

Figure 4. Immigrants by country of nationality, ratio 1992/1982. Source: CBS

Figure 5. Area orientation of immigrants with non-Dutch nationality, 1972, 1982, 1992. Source: CBS

Locational orientation

As expected, locational orientation varies between immigration categories as well as over time. There appears to be a loss of Dutch immigrants from the large cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht), to the benefit of less urbanized areas. Figure 5 reveals that immigration of the non-Dutch population was more urban in character, with 40 per cent of all non-Dutch immigrants settling in one of the four largest cities. This development parallels the experience of most developed countries, where as noted before (White, 1993; Champion, 1994) immigrants are also disproportionately concentrated in large cities (see also Berry, 1993). The 'globalization' of urban populations is most evident in relatively large cities.

If measured relative to the non-Dutch population already present, an interesting picture shows up (Table 2). In 1992, the migration-induced increase of non-Dutch inhabitants was 11 per cent. Though no spectacular differences can be shown between 1982 and 1992, the increase in the number of non-Dutch appears to be highest in suburban areas; that is, growth centres and suburbs surrounding the four large cities. The suburban area is apparently not unattainable for non-Dutch, at least not for some of them. Here it should be stressed that the non-Dutch category consists of a wide variety of types of migrants and nationalities.

The locational orientation of the five main non-Dutch immigrant categories is summarized in Figures 6–10 and discussed in more detail below.

Moroccans and Turks

The former guestworker category has become even more typically urban in its orientation (Figure 6). In 1992, the municipality of Amsterdam (the core of the metropolitan area)

Table 2. Non-Dutch immigrants by three area types, 1982 and 1992

Area	No. (1982)	No. (1992)	As % of non-Dutch population		Location quotients	
			1982	1992	1982	1992
Large cities	14 746	32 923	7.82	11.64	103	103
Suburbs	4 389	8 429	8.95	12.41	118	110
Other	21 795	41 670	7.26	10.91	95	96
Netherlands total	40 930	83 022	7.61	11.33	100	100

Figure 6. Percentage share of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants settling in specified areas, 1972, 1982, 1992 (the percentages of all 15 area types together add up to 100 per cent). Source: CBS

received 23 per cent of all immigrating Turks and Moroccans. Some 51 per cent of the inflow focused on the four main cities, even though these cities accounted for only 13 per cent of the total population of the Netherlands. By contrast, in 1972 the four cities had received only 35 per cent of all Turkish and Moroccan immigrants. More detailed analysis reveals small losses in Rotterdam and Utrecht and significant losses in the rest of the country. Clearly this pattern is related to the vanishing of traditional manufacturing labour in these areas. These processes run parallel to the increase in informal labour in the textile industry, which is predominantly located in Amsterdam and offers important employment opportunities mostly for Turkish citizens.

Housing market conditions are probably most important for the change of orientation from the old manufacturing areas to metropolitan areas such as those of Amsterdam. Although we are not able to present the ultimate evidence, there is some new support for our hypothesis: where the labour market is no longer the dominant motive for migration, housing market characteristics now seem to generate the pattern of settlement. The city of Amsterdam is top of the list of places, ranked according to the share of rental housing. Approximately 90 per cent of all dwellings in that city are in the rental sector; over 50 per cent is public rented housing. Both sectors are relatively accessible. An identical argument is true for the growth of Turkish and Moroccan immigration in the planned growth centres of Amsterdam. Some of these are also characterized by public housing. Given the lack of pressure in some segments of that housing market, immigrant categories may obtain direct access to these segments. Residential areas outside the four cities and their growth centres are much more expensive and for that reason less accessible to these immigrants.

Surinamese and Antillean

Although immigration from Surinam dates from the nineteenth century, it increased sharply in the 1970s. Surinam became independent in 1975. Many Surinamese inhabitants chose to continue their Dutch nationality and as a result moved to the Netherlands. After

independence, migration continued, not being hampered by restrictions until 1980, when immigration rules became more strict. Visa regulations were introduced and Surinamese citizens were treated as full third-country nationals. However, the effect of restrictive admission policies did not result in low numbers. In 1992 immigration from Surinam increased sharply again.

Some 70 per cent of immigrants from Surinam (Figure 7a) are concentrated in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague. The first immigration peak around 1974/75

Figure 7. Percentage share of (a) Surinamese and Surinamese Dutch and (b) Antillean Dutch immigrants settling in specified areas, 1972, 1982, 1992 (the percentages of all 15 area types together add up to 100 per cent). Source: CBS

happened to coincide with the termination of the construction of a public high-rise housing district in Amsterdam, known as the Bijlmermeer. The indigenous Dutch households for whom this new housing district was developed preferred suburban housing, leaving many vacancies in the newly built areas (see van Amersfoort and Cortie, 1994). As a result, the Surinamese had easy access to housing in this part of the town. In general, the orientation of Surinamese immigrants is even more urban than that of the Mediterranean labour migrants.

Although recently the share of the influx directed to Rotterdam has increased to about 15 per cent, the Antillean Dutch (Figure 7b) were and still are predominantly orientated to areas outside the four main cities, their suburbs and growth centres. Almost 50 per cent of Antilleans moved to smaller municipalities in the Dutch Randstad or elsewhere in the country. Their migration behaviour has always been more directed to the smaller university towns all over the country. This in turn may be related to the existence of stronger ties between the Antilles and the Netherlands, compared to the weaker ties between Surinam and the Netherlands.

European Union

Until recently, almost all migration between EU countries was linked to economic processes or household formation. Free mobility between the countries seems to have introduced new types of migration. Formerly, immigration was rather heavily focused on small municipalities in the country. Recently, however, immigration flows have become more urban orientated. Relative figures (percentage immigrants of the population already present) show that recently cities, such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam and the Hague, have received 20–30 per cent more EU nationals than could be expected on the basis of the respective populations living there (Figure 8a).

More detailed analysis of migration from EU countries reveals the diversity of experience of EU immigration. Two examples are presented here: Germany and Great Britain. Germans (Figure 8b) are mostly attached to the border regions, whereas the British (Figure 8c) have a much more varied pattern, with a stronger orientation towards the economic core areas. Relatively high percentages were registered in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, as well as in suburban and smaller municipalities in the economic core of the country, the Randstad. The special position of Amsterdam is quite evident.

USA and Japan

The often economy-related immigration from the USA appears to be strongly related to suburban areas (Figure 9a). Whereas only 1 per cent of the population of the Netherlands lives in the suburbs of the Hague, almost 11 per cent of US immigrants settled in these places. Some 32 per cent of the Dutch population can be found in the growth centres, suburbs and small municipalities in the Randstad, but 47 per cent of US immigrants in 1992 went to such places. The purchasing power of these immigrants, like that of EU citizens and Japanese, for example, is great enough to pay the relatively high prices of the owner-occupier dwellings in these suburban municipalities.

Immigration from Japan (Figure 9b) appears to be much more restricted in its orientation. Probably due to language problems, and as expected, Japanese immigrants tend to cluster close to each other. Almost 65 per cent of the Japanese in the Netherlands live in Amsterdam or the Amsterdam region. Most of them are even clustered in a small part of Amsterdam, together forming a sort of colony. It is not surprising that the majority of Japanese immigrants settle in the same region. A combination of language, the location of place of work, and the availability of good-quality housing and neighbourhoods seems to provide an explanation of this specific immigration pattern.

Figure 8. Percentage share of (a) EU nationals (excluding Dutch), (b) German and (c) British immigrants settling in specified areas, 1972, 1982, 1992 (the percentages of all 15 area types together add up to 100 per cent). *Source:* CBS

Figure 9. Percentage of (a) US and (b) Japanese immigrants settling in specified areas, 1972, 1982, 1992 (the percentages of all 15 area types together add up to 100 per cent). *Source:* CBS

Asylum seekers

The category 'other non-Dutch' (*Figure 10*) may for practical purposes be equated with asylum seekers. This category is most obviously influenced by national policy instruments. As mentioned before, after their entry to the Netherlands, a spatial dispersion policy is applied. The result is a rather even distribution across the country. The availability of vacant housing in almost all Dutch municipalities has been an important factor in the dispersal process. The pattern bears no relation to economic factors.

Figure 10. Percentage share of other non-Dutch (mostly refugees, asylum seekers) immigrants settling in specified areas, 1972, 1982, 1992 (the percentages of all 15 area types together add up to 100 per cent). Source: CBS

Conclusions and implications

Several of the hypotheses formulated in the introduction to this paper have been supported by our empirical analyses. One of the first things to notice is that a sharp increase in immigration is predominantly related to the immigration of asylum seekers. However, this does not imply that other immigration flows have been reduced. Many people, including politicians, had expected that labour-related migration would stop once labour market circumstances changed. Guestworkers did not, however, leave the country after the demand for immigrant labour ceased. Instead, immigration has increased and is now related to family-reunification and family formation.

Immigration from the former colony of Surinam did not stop either, after the initial migration explosion connected with independence. The established relationship with the rich former ruler also appears to have led to continued migration. Both labour-related migration and migration linked to (former) Dutch colonialism have lost their original basis. Since the educational level of Surinamese immigrants decreased continuously after independence, the new influx of Surinamese migrants must be connected with high unemployment and social problems in the country of origin. Many of these immigrants arrive in one of the large cities, not because of available jobs, but because of cheap and accessible housing and the presence of relatives. The paradox is, however, that the employment opportunities in these core areas are far from good, and may even be worse than elsewhere. So, in addition to the labour market mismatch (education and skills do not fit the economic demands), a housing–employment mismatch shows up. The places where cheap housing is accessible are not those where (scarce) employment for these newcomers is available.

A consequence of this mismatch is that national policy instruments, such as the 1993 Act on Equal Employment Opportunities, have mostly lost their value. The Act sought to improve labour market participation amongst some categories of immigrants, by obliging

firms to register their workforce once a year by nationality and/or ethnicity. In some of the residential areas where these immigrants are established there are simply no suitable jobs available. Policy instruments stimulating longer-distance internal migration might be more effective, although the prime problem remains low levels of education and skills.

Compared with the US experience, the Dutch welfare state model, characterized by high minimum wage levels and generous unemployment benefits, together with high productivity per worker, has prevented the development of a cheap labour reserve (Musterd and Ostendorf, 1994). The framework of Sassen's work is still fundamentally different from that of the Netherlands and many other European countries, and for that reason not equally important.

Immigration from rich countries cannot be neglected. Recent economic development (globalization, internationalization) seems also to have stimulated high-income, highly skilled migrants. A new fact is the increased orientation of these migrants towards economic core areas, to cities in particular. The spatial orientation of these immigrants does not differ widely from the well-to-do Dutch, and is closely linked with labour market opportunities and the availability of better quality housing.

For asylum seekers there is no straightforward relation between on the one hand their skills and educational attainments and on the other hand the labour market opportunities in the residential areas. For this category in particular the settlement pattern is heavily influenced by national policy instruments. Current policy still aims at a spatial dispersal of these immigrants. Though this could theoretically be a good option for low-skilled labour and colony-related immigration, it is not the best option for the refugee and asylum seeker category. These immigrants are very often highly skilled, and could match the modern economic activities of the core areas of the country. In this respect the dispersal policy is counterproductive. Many of these immigrants cannot find jobs in the places they are offered housing, so they become dependent on unemployment benefits, while at the same time their skills are needed in the economic core area of the Netherlands.

A revision of policy options seems logical. Politically, such a policy change will be extremely difficult, if only because of xenophobic reactions in the most urbanized parts of the country. Where unemployment is highest, immigration is highest. The ecological association of these features leads to a simplified and false linkage of immigrants with a wide range of other problems (such as drugs and criminality). It will thus be difficult to enlarge the size of immigration flows to the urban core areas of the modern economy.

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Book reviews

The Future Population of the World: What Can We Assume Today?

W Lutz (ed)

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484 pp

£19.95 paperback

The International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) in Austria serves as a place where researchers can come together to tackle 'big' questions. One of the big questions tackled is the future of populations at subnational, national, world-regional and global scales. To make progress, IIASA has frequently adopted the twin-track strategy of combining invited contributions from world experts with detailed analysis using computer models by in-house researchers. *The Future Population of the World* is the result of such a collaboration.

The book reports on the assumptions of and outcomes from long-term scenarios for the future populations of 12 world regions. Although the focus of the book is on the development of scenarios in fertility, mortality and migration for the 12 regions, most of Parts II to V are devoted to reviews of recent trends in the demographic components and discussion of the principal factors influencing those trends. As such they constitute excellent summaries of the current state of demographic knowledge. Here I choose some of the highlights. Griffith Feeney discusses the conundrum of fertility trends in China—stabilization of total fertility after the introduction of the one-child policy—in chapter 6 and provides important explanation. John Bongaarts in chapter 9 uses his pioneering demographic-epidemiological model of the HIV/AIDS epidemic to derive a linear relationship between HIV prevalence and the death rate due to AIDS and to assess the possible impact of AIDS on mortality for sub-Saharan Africa.

Wolfgang Lutz in chapter 11 develops a succinct review of the arguments for lower fertility and for higher fertility in industrialized country populations. Finally, Hania Zlotnik provides a comprehensive summary of what we know about trends in migration to and from developing regions in chapter 13.

These expert views on trends and possible futures are converted by Wolfgang Lutz, Christopher Price, Jeanette Langgassner and Joshua Goldstein in chapters 2, 15, 16 and 17 into alternative scenario inputs to a multi-state population projection model, starting from the 1990 base used in the UN world population projections. For each demographic component, high and low scenarios are developed which are permuted to yield eight contrasting futures plus a central scenario which is an average of all the highs and lows. The scenarios were then run for the 12 world regions and results discussed in detail in Part VI of the book, with appendices providing detailed and useful tables of projected populations.

Their principal conclusions are three in number, which hold across all scenarios though at different absolute population levels: '1. The world population will continue to grow. By 2030 it will have increased by between 50 percent and 100 percent. 2. The regional distribution of the world population will change significantly. In 2030 between 85 percent and 87 percent will live in developing countries. 3. The world population will become older' (pp. 418–19).

These conclusions are not new, but the IIASA projections foresee higher growth, more ageing and more redistribution at the extremes than previous UN or World Bank projections. The vital point is made that, short of mass euthanasia or extreme catastrophe, nothing is likely to alter these three demographic prognoses.

I have two minor complaints. First, where is the companion volume on methodology? There