

Abrupt Shifts in the Dutch Integration System: Analysis of Dutch Integration Policies

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Abstract

In 1970, the Netherlands introduced several multiculturalist policies with the purpose of integrating newly arrived immigrants. Almost three decades later, the Netherlands' integration policies have transformed into a harsh model of civic integration. So how can the shift from multiculturalism to a harsh integration model be explained in the Netherlands? This article argues that the dramatic change in Dutch integration policies was caused by the extreme politicization of immigration and Islam, and tensions between Dutch natives and immigrants. This essay uses the punctuated equilibrium theory and the weaving policy metaphor to explain the shift in the Dutch integration system. It then concludes by highlighting the importance of the perception of aliens in policy change.

Key words: Netherlands; Immigration; Punctuated Equilibrium; Weaving Policy Metaphor; Policy Entrepreneur; Integration

"I think we can all do better."

-Jim Jeffries

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Introduction

The integration of immigrants into their host societies is necessary for immigrants' development and success. Western European countries such as the United Kingdom (UK) have shifted away from a multiculturalism rhetoric, where they claim to use multicultural policies, towards harsher civic integration policies² in the last twenty years. An example of this is when David Cameron claimed that state multiculturalism had failed (Meer et al, 2015). Although, other countries such as Germany and Denmark, have kept their civic integration agenda (Meer et al, 2015). Robert H. Cox (1992) claims that big European countries are often given a disproportionate amount of attention when studying policy science. This essay will veer away from this and instead use the Netherlands as a case study. The Netherlands, once proudly considered a multicultural country, adopted several of these policies in the late 1990's, and has become a model of integration for many European countries such as Germany, France, and England (Meer et al, 2015; Joppke, 2007).

The Dutch model for immigration and integration stands out among other Western European countries because it is the only model in Europe that requires a language test and basic knowledge of Dutch society prior to an immigrants' entry (Joppke, 2007; The Minister for Immigration and Integration, 2005; EMN, 2012). The Newcomer Integration Act (1998) and the Aliens (Abroad) Act (2005) are the main policies that characterize the harsh integration model in the Netherlands (EMN, 2012; Bruquetas-Callejo, 2011). The sudden shift from a multicultural country to a harsh integration system leads to the following question: How can the shift from multiculturalism towards harsh integration be explained in the Netherlands? This essay will argue

² Sergio Carrera and Anja Wiesbrock (2009) define civic integration as: "the use of integration as a norm in immigration law, and the organisation of integration courses or introductory/orientation programmes, tests and contracts" (p.3).

that the politicization of immigration and Islam, and tensions between Dutch natives, like Indigenous Dutch people, and third-country nationals, such as aliens from a non-EU country, has led to several dramatic changes in Dutch integration policies.

This essay will support its main argument by using the punctuated equilibrium theory, for example non-incremental policymaking along with support from policy and policy entrepreneurs. This essay will therefore use relevant literature and government statistics to support its claims. As such, the essay will first provide a literature review. Then, it will proceed to explain the social dynamics of Dutch society in the 20th century as a background for the understanding of further integration policies. Next, it will discuss the foreign workers program from 1950-1973. Afterwards, it will review the multicultural period in the Netherlands from 1983-1994. Then, it will review soft civic integration policies from 1994-1999 and events that led to the implementation of harsher versions of these policies during the first half of the 2000's. Subsequently, it will explain the harsher civic integration policies from 2005- till today and how punctuated equilibrium can be used to explain them. Lastly, this essay will build a "Weaving" metaphor proposed by Howlett et al (2015).

Literature review

Immigration in the Netherlands has been a widely studied subject and Ruud Koopmans has been amongst the most influential academics in the field. Koopmans (2010) argues that the implementation of multicultural policies backfired on the integration of immigrants. By comparing the Netherlands with other countries where multiculturalism has not been practiced, he claims that those who have implemented multicultural policies have failed to properly integrate immigrants (Koopmans, 2003; 2010). Brug et al (2015) then explain the politicization of immigration in the Netherlands where they claim that far-right politicians have framed members of the Muslim

community as being incompatible with Dutch norms and values. Vasta (2007) and Maria Bruquetas-Callejo et al (2011) then elaborate upon the evolution of Dutch integration policy and then from the pillarization process describe the development of this. Peter Scholten (2011;2013), on the other hand, has observed that the framing of the immigrants has been a key factor in the non-incremental policymaking of integration. He further explains the influence that policy learning from earlier policies has on policy change. Even though there is a vast amount of literature on this subject, there is no literature that highlights the importance of a policy entrepreneur and islamophobia regarding the non-incremental change of the policy making process. This essay aims to fill this gap in literature and provide a new insight about the policy analysis of the Aliens Act. In the next section, a brief history of the integration and immigration policies of the Netherlands will be presented to show the abrupt changes in the current integration system.

Pillarization

To understand the evolution of integration policies, it is essential to understand the process of pillarization (*verzuiling*) in the Netherlands. The term pillarization refers to the division and segregation of political and religious groups (Andeweg and Irwin, 2009). In the early 17th century to avoid coercion between Catholics and Protestants, these groups were separated and given their own-state sponsored and semi-autonomous institutions (Andeweg and Irwin, 2009; Vasta, 2007). Later, during the early 20th century, the socialist and liberal ‘pillars’ were added to the pillar system (Maussen, 2009; Shrover, 2010; Andeweg and Irwin, 2009). By 1930, these groups had their own health care, welfare system, education system, radio stations, political parties, soccer leagues, newspapers, and trade unions (Andeweg and Irwin, 2009; Bax, 1988). This segregation led to a peaceful society in which the members of these groups stayed within their community parameters (Vasta, 2007). The few people allowed to leave the community parameters were elites with the

sole purpose of solving problems between groups (Shrover, 2010). Several authors (Shrover, 2010; Bax, 1988) and politicians also claim that with the entrance of Muslim aliens a fifth pillar was created. But, Andeweg and Irwin (2009) claim that although non-western immigrants had their own schools, religious temples (i.e. mosques) and radio stations subsidized by the government; this group was not big enough to form their own pillar. So, instead they labelled Islam a social cleavage (Andeweg and Irwin, 2009).

By the late 60's pillarization started to lose importance in the Netherlands. The native Dutch stepped out of their closed communities and started to interact with members from other pillars (Shrover, 2010). By 1994, the segregation between communities was minimal; and was only noticeable through schools and political parties. The shift from pillarization to individualism, like depillarization, was an important factor in the formulation and evolution of integration policies because it represented Dutch society becoming a homogeneous country instead of a minority-based country. The government also started to focus more on the individual rather than on the group (Cox, 1992; Vasta, 2007). After the depillarization process was completed, non-western individuals joined the group of outsiders in the now homogeneous Dutch society. This process led to the desire to make non-western aliens equal by integrating them into Dutch society.

Foreign Worker Program 1950-1973

The shortage of work after WWII led to establishing a foreign workers program. Like many other countries, such as Denmark and Germany, the Netherlands had a shortage of low skilled labour in the 50's which led to the creation of the Foreign Worker Program (Maussen, 2009; Bruquetas-Callejo et al, 2011). This program was formulated behind closed doors by the Ministry of Justice and Social Affairs (Bonjour & Shrover, 2015; Scholten, 2013). Consequently, it began as a strict and selective program (Bonjour & Shrover, 2015). In the policy, the government framed

immigration as a necessary focus to improve the stagnant economy (Scholten, 2011). At first, southern European and former Dutch colonial workers were preferred for the program (EMN, 2012). Eventually, during the mid 1960's the program relaxed and became more tolerant towards the immigration of spouses and children (Bonjour & Shrover, 2015). Simultaneously, workers from Turkey, Morocco, and former Yugoslavia were also recruited under the same program (EMN, 2012). In 1969, there were 69,000 foreign workers living in the Netherlands (Maussen, 2009; Bruquetas-Callejo et al, 2011). Moreover, many of these workers earned and used the right to family reunification (Bonjour & Shrover, 2015).

With the population increase of non-western immigrants, mainly from Muslim countries, social tensions between natives and immigrants intensified (Brug et al, 2015). In response, in 1970 the Dutch government issued the Memorandum on Foreign Workers (*Nota buitenlandse werknemers*), in this, they claimed that the Netherlands “was not, and should not be a country of immigration” (Maussen, 2009, p.128). Then, when the oil crisis hit in 1973, the Dutch economy suffered from high unemployment and low commercial activity; this led to the discontinuation of the foreign workers program (Bruquetas-Callejo et al, 2011; Maussen, 2009; EMN, 2012).

Even though there were no more foreign workers coming to the Netherlands, many workers were still eligible for permanent residency which entitled them to family reunification rights, and entrance to the welfare system, which would include a pension plan, unemployment benefits, public health, and children allowance (Bonjour & Shrover, 2015; Brug et al, 2015; EMN, 2012). Neoclassical economists argued that when there were no job opportunities in a host country, immigrants would typically follow the market trend and return to their countries, but the Dutch society was completely different from the neoclassical theory arguments (Castles, 2004). Due to high unemployment, immigrants became dependent on government benefits such as the

unemployment insurance provided by the welfare system (Maussen 2009). Their dependence on the unemployment benefits, along with high levels of unemployment, low levels of education, and low salaries for low skilled labour led to the segregation and ghettoization of immigrant neighborhoods (Maussen, 2009). This created more tension between immigrants and natives. This also incentivized people to ask the question why were immigrants reluctant to leave the Netherlands? Stephen Castles (2004) claims that immigrants became reluctant to leave the host country when they started seeing more life opportunities in addition to the possibility for family reunification. The permanent stay of non-western immigrants, their segregation and tensions against natives eventually created the need for integration policies.

Multiculturalism 1983-1994

Established in 1972, the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WWR) was a semi-independent institute responsible for reports on various policy topics; to which some scholars referred to as Dutch technocracy (EMN, 2012; Bruquetas-Callejo et al, 2011; Kickert et al, 1995; Scholten, 2011). In 1978, WWR was tasked to formulate an integration system (Scholten & Timmermas, 2010). Subsequently, in the late 70's the Dutch government created another council for integration policy development and research called the Advisory Committee on Minorities Research (ACOM) (Scholten & Timmermas, 2010). As such, multicultural policies were eventually adopted by the Dutch government in the early 80's. In 1983, the Ethnic Minorities Act was formulated by the WRR (Scholten, 2011) and since the Dutch government did not want to politicize the topic, they passed the Ethnic Minorities Act behind closed doors (Scholten, 2011; 2013). Several other multicultural policies were also created after the implementation of the Ethnic Minorities Act (Kickert et al, 1995). These policies included easier access to a path to citizenship, less strict family reunification policies, the inclusion of the immigrant's mother tongue in the

school curriculum, the right to vote in local elections, and full access to the welfare state (Kickert et al, 1995). This policy was then framed as a “Mutual adaptation in a multicultural society” (Scholten, 2011, p.82). In summary, these policies show that the Dutch government was ready for the opening of the society and was welcoming of immigrants.

However, the effects of multiculturalist policies were detrimental for integration. Ruud Koopmans (2010) claims that multiculturalism was extremely unsuccessful in integrating non-western immigrants because it created “easy access to equal rights, including unrestricted access to welfare state arrangements, and in combination with a large degree of facilitation of cultural differences, have had unintended negative effects on the socioeconomic integration of immigrants” (p.2). This means that integration is harder to achieve when the state actively nourishes immigrants, this leads to a constant dependence on the welfare-state. Additionally, since first and second-generation immigrants from non-western countries tend to have lower language skills, they have higher unemployment levels, and higher segregation levels (Koopmans, 2010).

Although, Koopmans (2010; 2006) claims that Germany, a country that has never applied multicultural policies, has had more success with the integration of non-western immigrants in comparison to countries that have practiced multiculturalism in the past (i.e. Netherlands, UK, and Sweden). He substantiates his claims with evidence that multicultural policies have led to poor language skills, low participation in the labour market, high degrees of segregation, and over representation in prisons (Koopmans 2010; 2003). These social problems have also led to more tension between native Dutch citizens and immigrants (EMN, 2012). In response to non-European immigrants’ high levels of unemployment and their dependence on unemployment benefits, Dutch natives in the 90’s disagreed that the Islamic community was a contributor to Dutch society and the economy (Duyvendak, & Scholten, 2011; Scholten, 2011; 2013). As such, by 1994

multiculturalism was seen as a complete failure and as if there was a constant discussion of immigrants' dependence on the welfare state (Vasta, 2007). The dependence on unemployment benefits, the corrosion of the welfare state, and low levels of integration then triggered the politicization of integration.

Soft Civic Integration 1994-1999

The errors of multiculturalism led to adopting a civic integration model. In 1989, the WWR created a new report on the integration of non-western immigrants. In this report, the technocratic council claims that immigrants have rights and obligations in Dutch society (Scholten, 2013). These obligations were to contribute socially, economically, and especially to the welfare-state (EMN, 2012). They also framed immigration as requiring socio-economic participation (Scholten, 2011; 2013). In light of this information, the lower house of parliament had the first National Minorities Debate in 1994 (Scholten, 2011; Brug et al, 2015). During the debate, they discussed that immigrants had the duty to integrate into the labour market, which would simultaneously allow them to contribute to the economy and society (Scholten, 2011). They also claimed that the Netherlands was a country where differences had to be respected (Scholten, 2011). Peter A. Hall (1993), argues that the “most important learning is [done from] a previous policy itself” (p.277). He defines policy learning as “a deliberate attempt to adjust the goals or techniques of policy in response to past experience and new information. Learning is indicated when policy changes as the result of such a process” (Hall, 1993, p.278). In 1994, the Aliens Act was passed; this act implemented language classes for adults as well as active citizenship classes (Bruquetas-Callejo et al, 2011). The change from multiculturalism to soft integration policies also showed that Dutch politicians and bureaucrats experienced some policy learning from the failure of multicultural policies, and with the WWR's new information.

Harsh Civic Integration 1999-2005

The civic integration act evolved into a harsh integration mechanism four years later. In 1999, another policy titled the Newcomer Integration Act 1998 was introduced. This policy was stricter than the former because the act made immigrants take compulsory courses about integration into the workforce, Dutch language classes and a society exam (Bruquetas-Callejo et al, 2011). Under this act, municipalities were also forced to subsidize integration programs to help with the integration of third country nationals (EMN, 2012). Furthermore, for the first time in Dutch history, third country nationals would face sanctions if they were reluctant to attend these courses (Bruquetas-Callejo et al, 2011; Vasta, 2007). The low levels of participation in the economy made the Dutch government act against those living off of unemployment benefits. In 2000, the Modern Migration Act was introduced which added the necessity of having a sponsor in order to achieve permanent residency (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2011). These acts were the result of incremental changes to the integration system.

Towards ‘New style integration’ 2000-2005

In the first few years of the new millennium, the politicization of Islam and integration increased substantially. In 2000, there were 152,693 Moroccans born in the Netherlands and 178,027 Turks born in the Netherlands (OECD, 2018) (See **table 1**). Most of these immigrants had poor language skills and low education (EMN, 2012). The failure of the multiculturalism model lead to the discontinuation of several multicultural policies, such as including their mother language in the school curriculum and those that did work faced tougher regulations when they applied, for rights like family reunification (Vasta, 2007; Bruquetas-Callejo et al, 2011). In 2000, Dr. Paul Scheffer published an article called ‘The multicultural drama’ (Scholten, 2013; Vasta, 2007). This article ignited public debate about the low integration of non-western immigrants,

specifically Turks and Moroccans (Scholten, 2013; Brug et al, 2015). That same year, the Second National debate on Minorities in the lower house of the parliament took place (Brug et al, 2015). This debate focused on the mistakes of multiculturalism and how social distance affects the economic integration of immigrants (Brug et al, 2015). The failure of multiculturalism, xenophobia and Islamophobia, in cumulation 9/11 incited the rise of far-right parties and politicians (Otjes, 2011). Among these politicians was Pim Fortuyn, former sociology professor in the University of Rotterdam, and leader of the Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) (Otjes, 2011). Although, unlike most far-right politicians in Europe, Dr. Fortuyn believed in women and LGBT rights (Otjes, 2011; Brug & Mughat, 2007). Pim Fortuyn was often described by the media and scholars as a charismatic leader that brought people together with the help of free publicity from his significant media presence (Brug & Mughat, 2007, p.33). But his clear hate against Islam and his populist beliefs led to his assassination just before the 2002 elections (Scholten, 2013). In spite of his assassination, the LPF still won several seats in the lower house of parliament which allowed them to form a coalition government with the Freedom and Democracy party (VVD) and Christian Democratic Appeal party (CDA) (Otjes, 2011; Brug & Mughat, 2007). However, the absence of a strong LPF leader created party discrepancies and these disputes led to the dismantling of the government in 2003 (Otjes, 2011).

The release of Dr. Scheffer's article and the assassination of Fortuyn contributed to the increasing amount of Islamophobia and media criticism against immigrants wherein it rose to its highest levels yet (See **Image 1**), Dutch natives began calling for a harsher integration process, which Simon Otjes (2011) labeled the 'The Pim Fortuyn Effect' (Scholten, 2013). Another event that explains the high politicization was the assassination of film director Theo Van Gogh in 2004 (Scholten, 2013; Bruquetas-Callejo et al, 2011). Van Gogh was assassinated by a Dutch-Moroccan

terrorist because of Van Gogh's direction in a movie that portrayed violence that some Muslim women have experienced (Scholten, 2013). This subsequently framed Muslim immigrants as dangerous to Dutch society (Scholten, 2011). As seen in **Image 1**, the publication of articles on migrant integration peaked when *The multicultural drama* was published in 2000, during the campaign and assassination of Fortuyn in 2002, and when Theo Van Gogh was assassinated (Scholten, 2013). By definition, policy windows are "the moments or 'windows' of opportunity which policy actors [policy entrepreneurs] c[an] take advantage of to move items onto the government agenda" (Howlett et al, 2016, p.279). These events open a policy window by politicizing immigration and integration of non-western aliens.

	1996	2005 (January)	2020 (Forecast)
Alloctonen* - Population in total	2,498,715 (16,1%)	3,112,431 (19.1%)	4,152,415 (24.7%)
Turkish origin	271,514	357,911	451,717
Surinamese origin	280,615	328,312	374,720
Moroccan origin	225,088	314,699	431,957
Dutch Antilles + Aruba origin	86,824	129,721	188,865
EU-24		810,070	
Non-western Foreigners (Turkish, Africa, Latin America, Asia, with exception of Indonesia and Japan)	1,171,113 (7.5%)	1,691,982 (10.4%)	2,425,016 (14.4%)
Total population Netherlands	15,493,889	16,294,847	16,799,820

* In its population figures, the Netherlands distinguishes between "Autochtone" and "Allochtone". According to official Dutch CBS Statistics, a person with at least one parent born overseas is designated as "allochtoon", regardless of the place of their birth (Holland or elsewhere). This is an unusual way of categorising national data on immigration, and implies that Dutch figures on immigration appear as somewhat inflated in international comparisons.

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS).

Table 1: Retrieved from Michalowski (2005)

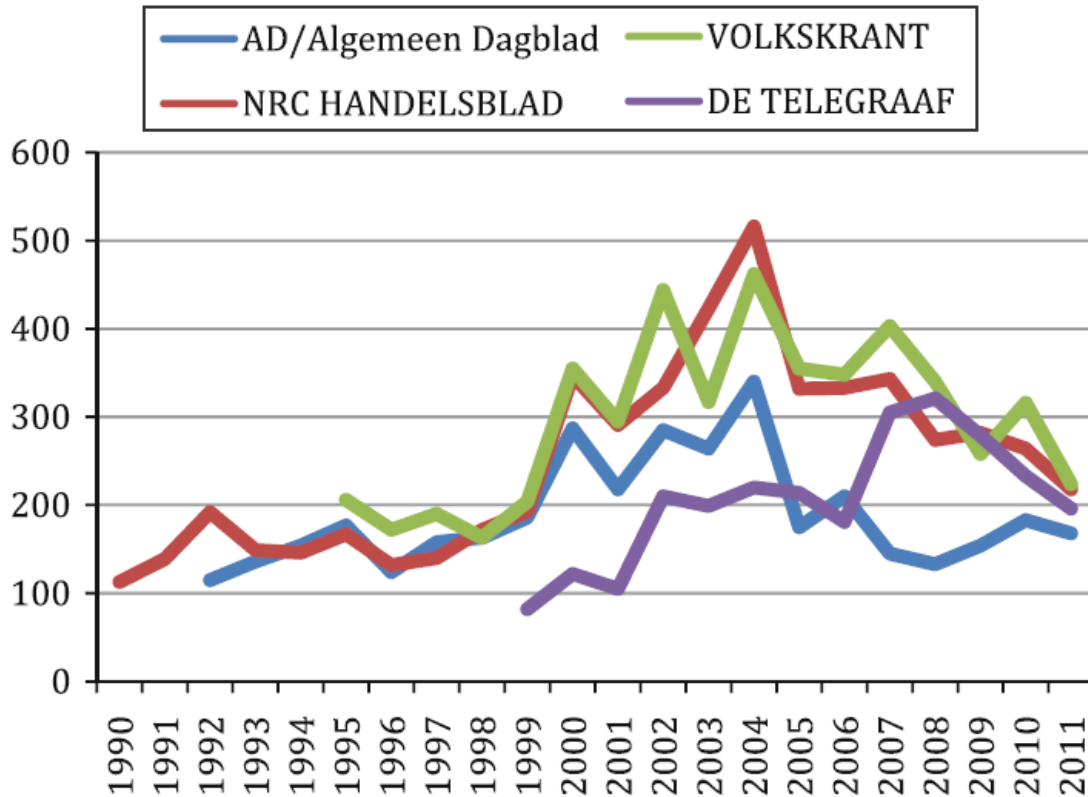


Image 1: National media agenda: annual number of newspaper articles in national media on migrant integration (1990–2011). Retrieved from Scholten (2013)

Verdonk's New Style Integration 2005 to date

The events that occur in the first half of the 2000's opened a policy window. Rita Verdonk, the Minister of Immigration from 2003 to 2007, was the policy entrepreneur for the Aliens (Abroad) Act. What exactly is a policy entrepreneur? As explained by Michael Mintron and Phillipa Norman (2009) policy entrepreneurs have specific roles as:

highly motivated individuals or small teams [that] can do much to draw attention to policy problems, present innovative policy solutions, build coalitions of supporters, and secure legislative action... they can be in or out of the government... they have [the] willingness to invest their resources—time, energy, reputation, and sometimes money—in the hope of a future return. (Mintron & Norman, 2009, p. 649- 651)

There are several characteristics that these individuals demonstrate that help them, like their ability to properly define a problem, a display of social activity, and the ability to form teams (Mintron

& Norman, 2009). Although not all policy entrepreneurs display these characteristics, those with these strengths tend to be more successful (Mintron & Norman, 2009). This essay proposes that they also have the ability to properly frame a problem and its solution. A policy entrepreneur should define the problem by framing it in a way that would sell their policy. Rita Verdonk used this ability to successfully set the agenda for the Dutch government while she was Minister of Immigration (Scholten & Timmermas, 2010). So Verdonk framed a necessity for harsher integration policy to socio-culturally integrate dangerous Muslim aliens (Brug et al, 2015). In her policy, immigrants were framed as a potential danger to Dutch society because they rejected the Dutch values and language (Scholten, 2011, p.82). Verdonk is a policy entrepreneur because she invested time, energy, reputation, and her government position to bring together the problem, solution and politics to accomplish the implementation of harsher integration policies in the Netherlands. This last point will be discussed more broadly later in this essay.

Verdonk used the fear and rejection of immigrants to open dialogue for a harsher integration and full retrenchment of previous multicultural policies. While she was Minister of Immigration, she introduced the Aliens (Abroad) Act; this policy aims to lower the acceptance rate for low-skilled labour and decrease family reunification for immigrants from a non-western background (The Minister for Immigration and Integration, 2005; Scholten, 2011). The Aliens (Abroad) Act aims to decrease family reunification and to ensure the socio-cultural integration of non-western aliens (Bruquetas-Callejo et al, 2011; The Minister for Immigration and Integration, 2005). This is done by making immigrants who are also third-country nationals have to integrate before entering Dutch soil, which consequently makes it harder for third-country nationals to migrate to the Netherlands. The bill states that the immigrant must pass the knowledge test of Dutch language, values and society prior to entry to the Netherlands (The Minister for Immigration

and Integration, 2005). The Minister for Immigration and Integration (2005) claims that while Dutch society should provide opportunities to immigrants, they are still expected to integrate and contribute to the enrichment of the Dutch society. Several other bills were passed and eliminated to ensure the full integration of immigrants (Scholten, 2013). Mandatory Dutch language, values and society courses were reinforced with high sanctions against aliens who dropped out of or failed the courses, and a full retrenchment of subsidies to non-western institutes (Scholten, 2013; Scholten & Timmermans, 2010).

The use of expert information in formulating these policies was necessary. In 2001 the WRR published a report of ethnic minorities' integration. But this report was ignored by policy elites because the WRR was framed as a council with multicultural bias (Scholten & Timmermans, 2010, p.534). Instead, Verdonk used data from the Social and Cultural Planning Agency (SCP), several conservative academics such as Ruud Koopmans and Paul Scheffer, and Statistics Netherlands (CBS) (Niespen & Scholten, 2017). This information was then used to frame the solution in a more effective way for Verdonk's intentions.

Punctuated Equilibrium Theory

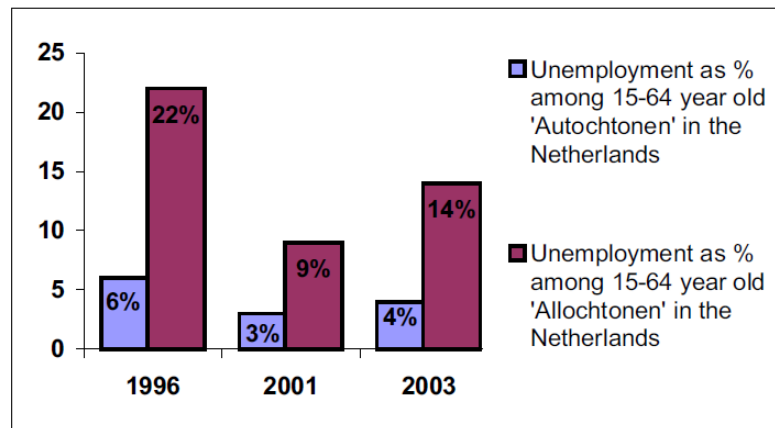
The radical change from multiculturalism to soft integration and then to a harsher integration system can be explained by using the punctuated equilibrium theory. This theory was introduced by Niles Eldredge and Stephen Gould to explain sudden changes in the evolution of species (Givell, 2010). This theory refers to "long periods of relative stability or incrementalism [that are] interrupted by a burst of dramatic change" (Givell, 2010, p. 188). This term is used in policy sciences to refer to a policy that has had an incremental path that is abruptly interrupted by a radical change, but following this radical change, a long-term form of incrementalism arises (Jones & Baumgartner, 2012). Baumgartner & Jones (1993) see this process as a change in the

agenda setting of a government. This change is often ignited by policy learning from an earlier policy, new information or technology, policy entrepreneurs exploiting windows of opportunities, changes in public opinion, a crisis, war, media exposure, parliamentary discussion, or more (Baumgartner & Jones 1993; Jones & Baumgartner 2012). These changes led to a major change in the policy system that was followed by several years of slow incremental policy change (Givel, 2010, p.188). Another important factor for the punctuated equilibrium theory is framing an issue and agenda setting (Baumgartner & Jones 1993; Jones & Baumgartner 2012). Changes in agenda setting may occur differently depending on how an issue is framed (Baumgartner & Jones 1993; Jones & Baumgartner, 2012).

As seen in the Netherlands, there were changes from no integration policy during the foreign labour program, to the emergence of multiculturalism following the civic integration act, and eventually the development of harsh integration policies that can be characterized by radical and abrupt changes in the integration of non-western immigrants. The segregation and acceptance of permanent stay of foreign workers led to technocratic decisions from the WRR to implement multiculturalism (Scholten, 2011). The failure of this system led to the creation of an economically oriented integration (Vasta, 2007). Despite this type of system successfully reducing unemployment (see **Image 2**), the culmination of Paul Scheffer's extreme politicization of immigration, Pym Fortuyn's campaign and assassination, 9/11, Theo Van Gough's assassination, and the harsh integration trend in Europe all contribute to the acceptance of Dutch harsh integration policies in 2005 by imposing an anti-immigrant sentiment on the Dutch society (Scholten, 2011; Michalowski; 2005). As said before, the framing of non-western aliens during these changes is one of the many influential factors of agenda setting and punctuations in policy. The shift from

pillarization to individualism may have also added to the explanation of the change in the alien's framing and the agenda setting of the Dutch government.

The anti-Muslim feeling in Dutch society played a big part in the development of the policy. Aileen Tom (2006) argues that “changes in immigration policy are made to address economic and security problems, [and] they are also often the result of disguised racism and xenophobia” (p.451). Among the Dutch natives, the notion of the incompatibility of Islam and European values incremented after Pym Fortuyn's Campaign and the assassination of Theo Van Gogh (Tom, 2006; Romeyn, 2014). This disguised feeling played a big role in the punctuated equilibrium in 2005 and the notion of undesirability of Muslims is still present among the Dutch natives today. In fact, in 2015, 88% of Dutch natives perceived Islam as a violent religion and 66% of Dutch natives had a negative view of immigrants arriving from the Middle East and North Africa (Abdelkader, 2017). It also appears that policies in the Netherlands became harsher towards Muslims with the banning of face coverings in public places including burqas and niqabs in June 2018 (Reuters, 2018). This incrementalism after a punctuation is evidence of punctuated equilibrium, and also evidence of intolerance among policy makers.



Source: CBS.

Image 2: Autochtonen* refers to Indigenous Dutch and Allochtonen* refers to a person born inside or outside the Netherlands with at least one immigrant parent. Retrieved from Michalowski (2005)

The next section will study the policy process of the Aliens (Abroad) Act by using a model created in 2016 by Michael Howlett, Allan McConnell, and Anthony Perl. This essay will emphasize agenda setting and the agenda building process since they relate most to the punctuated equilibrium theory.

“Weaving” the policy

Michael Howlett, Allan McDowell, and Anthony Perl (2016) formulated a model in which several policy frameworks were adapted into a mega-framework. The weaving policy metaphor includes the cycle model, the advocacy coalition framework, multiple streams framework, and punctuated equilibrium theory (Howlett et al, 2016). This essay will add the presence of a policy entrepreneur to the model. Although the policy entrepreneur is present in the Baumgartner & Jones (1993) and Howlett et al (2016), it is essential to understand his or her presence and interaction with the problem, solution, and sometimes politics.

Agenda building- Critical juncture 0.5

Howlett et al (2016) claims that at the beginning of every policy there should be three streams: problem, solution, and politics. This essay argues that the presence of a policy entrepreneur is sometimes necessary to understand how these streams tie together. As was said before, a policy entrepreneur is the one that pushes a policy when a window of opportunity is opened. But what happens when the window of opportunity is not opened yet? This essay will assume that most of the time the policy entrepreneur has already found a solution to the problem or a problem to a solution. This actor may push the solution and/or the issue that would fit his or her own personal agenda.

Cobb et al (1979) argue that there are three types of models for agenda building. The first one is outside initiative model, which argues that non-governmental actors or groups would bring an issue to the government with the hopes of punctuation, incrementalism, or even stagnation (Cobb et al, 1979). The second is the mobilization model, in which the actor or group is inside the government and would have to bring an issue by mobilizing political actors and civilians to set governmental agenda (Cobb et al, 1979). The third model is called inside initiative, where government elites want the issue to be in the government agenda but not expanded towards the mass public, for example staying within elite government circles (Cobb et al, 1979). This essay will propose a fourth model, the mobilization-inside model, to describe the Aliens (Abroad) Act.

Rita Verdonk, as the minister of immigration, was in a comfortable position within the government elite to set the agenda because she did not have to mobilize the government nor the public to agree to her agenda setting. Especially since she gained support among Dutch voters for starting a huge debate about Islam and its dangers to the Dutch society, and this would reflect in the following elections (Andeweg and Irwin, 2009). The model that this essay proposes would fit

for many other populist politicians in positions of power as well, such as Donald Trump, Sebastian Kurz, Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador, or in this case Rita Verdonk. In this critical juncture, the policy entrepreneur would help bring the problem, solution, and politics together (See **image 3**); but the closeness of the streams would depend on the amount of power the policy entrepreneur has.

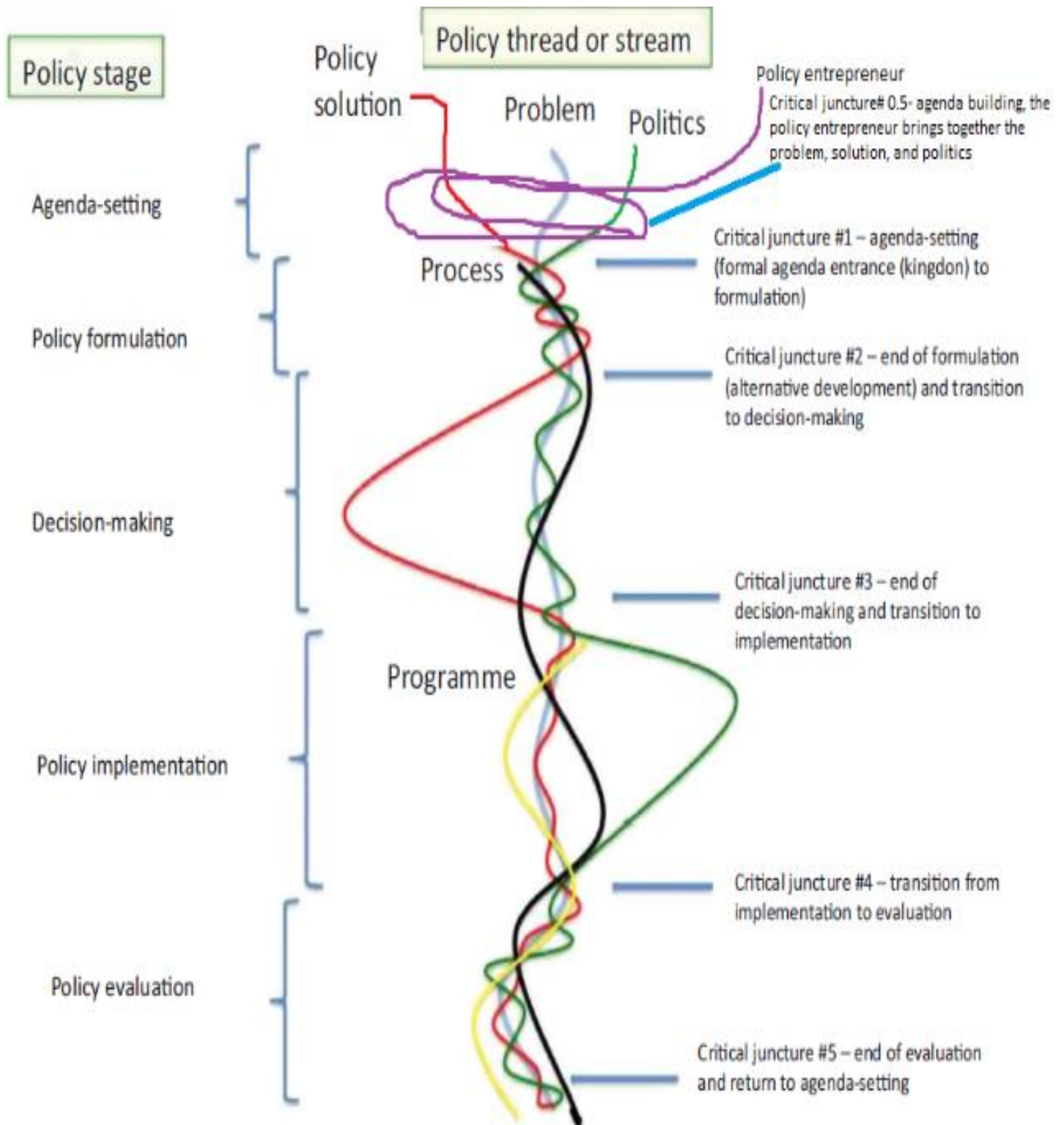


Image 3: Adapted from Howlett et al. (2016)

Agenda setting- Critical juncture 1

Due to the high politicization of migration and Islam, Verdonk used this policy window to set government agenda to include a harsher integration system (Scholten, 2013; Brug et al, 2015). The policy window was opened with the assassination of Fortuyn and Van Gogh. Several other factors such as 9/11 and the high segregation of minorities also contribute to the opening of the policy window (Brug et al, 2015; Romeyn, 2014). So Rita Verdonk used these events to set the agenda for a tougher integration process.

Policy formulation- Critical juncture 2

Rita Verdonk used the advice of SCP and data from academics and CBS. SCP advised the government to set a test that would prove whether or not the immigrant was susceptible to integration in a Western country (Nispen & Scholten, 2017; The Minister for Immigration and Integration, 2005). Because immigrants often dropped out of integration programs that frequently only taught low level language skills and contributed to high levels of unemployment, it was still necessary to ensure that new immigrants had the ability to speak enough Dutch to ensure their participation in the labour market (Duyvendak & Scholten, 2010; The Minister for Immigration and Integration, 2005).

The formulation was planned so immigrants started their integration process before entering Dutch territory (The Minister for Immigration and Integration, 2005). Since families that were unable to pay for Dutch classes abroad had no chance at immigrating, this also suggests that the Dutch government was rejecting immigrants from poor backgrounds and using the policy to control migration (The Minister for Immigration and Integration, 2005). During the formulation of this policy, immigrants from non-western countries were also framed as dangerous for the Netherlands (Duyvendak & Scholten, 2010).

The Minister for Immigration and Integration (2005) claims that while drafting the bill, advice was taken from several governmental and non-governmental groups, like the Alien Affairs Advisory Committee (ACVZ), and the National Consultative Committee on Minorities (LOM), and from collaboration groups like Consultative Body on Turks (IOT), Lize (National Government consultation partner for South European communities), Collaboration Group of Moroccans and Tunisians (SMT) and Refugee Organisations in the Netherlands. (EMN, 2012).

Decision Making- Critical juncture 3

Because of the high politicization of these issue by Dutch media and the recent political assassinations of Fortuyn and Van Gogh, most parties favoured integration. Therefore, bills like the Civic Integration Abroad Act (2005) passed without problems or severe opposition (Brug et al, 2015). As such, this demonstrated Verdonk's perfect timing to introduce the bill to parliament and since most European countries had already applied policies of the same nature, these harsh integration policies were more easily accepted (Meer et al, 2015).

Policy implementation- Critical juncture 4

The Ministry of Immigration, integration, and asylum is in charge of applying the Aliens Act and the Dutch government places a large amount of the responsibility on integration of the immigrant (EMN, 2012). If the immigrant qualifies for entry, they must complete the integration courses and present active citizenship. As said before, this policy was meant to decrease immigration and integrate the immigrant. If the immigrant was reluctant to participate in their integration, the government would not consider the individual to be a member of Dutch society (EMN, 2012). In other words, if the immigrant did not voluntarily participate in their integration, the government would not allow the individual to remain on Dutch soil.

The policy implementation process also depends on collaboration with several ministers, agencies, and non-governmental organizations (NGO) (EMN, 2012). Municipalities also play a big role in procedure implementation, such as those related to housing refugees, promoting participation among natives and immigrants, providing naturalization papers, registering immigrants, and ensuring the integration of migrants (Scholten, 2013; ENM, 2012). Therefore, several agencies belonging to the Ministry of Immigration, integration, and asylum work together to implement this policy. The Repatriation and Departure Service agency manages the deportation of immigrants, either voluntarily or forcefully (EMN, 2012). The Integration and society department is in charge of the promotion of participation of immigrants in Dutch Society. This department is also responsible for the social and cultural integration of third country nationals, like non-EU citizens (EMN, 2012). The Ministry also cooperates with the Netherlands Employees Insurance Agency (UWV), which is in charge of helping third country nationals find work as fast as they can (EMN, 2012).

The implementation of this policy requires inter-ministry cooperation. The Consular Affairs and Migration Policy Department (agency that belongs to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) is in charge of fostering the compulsory language and society exams to third country nationals before entering Dutch soil (EMN, 2012). The Ministry of Interior and Kingdom relations is in charge of monitoring the process applications of third-country nationals, this ministry is mainly in charge of applying the Nationality act, or naturalization (EMN, 2012). The Ministry of Security and Justice monitors the legal status of third country nationals on Dutch soil (EMN, 2012). Lastly, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment is in charge of overseeing the income security of immigrants and their inclusion in the labour market (EMN, 2012).

Evaluation of the policy- Critical juncture 5

The policy has not been successful in lowering migration numbers from family migration or family formation immigrants nor fully integrated non-western immigrants. Although from 2005 to 2007 there were fewer immigrants that came to the Netherlands for family reunification, but the number of newcomers has increased since 2007 (Statistics Netherlands, 2016). This means that the Aliens (Abroad) Act has not been successful in limiting immigration (see **image 4**). The annual report on integration (Statistics Netherlands, 2016) claims that in 2015 immigrants experienced high unemployment, high school leave, over representation in prison, and they had a higher dependence on welfare benefits compared to their significant others (see the annual report in integration 2016). Again, this report shows that the integration of immigrants has been limited. The incremental policies that followed the Aliens (Abroad) Act such as the banning of burqas in public buildings portrays a new reality in the socio-democratic country (Reuters, 2018). Harsh integration policies do not show a desire to integrate immigrants, but instead portray populist Islamophobia among political elites. The Aliens (Abroad) Act therefore marked the beginning of racist policies that deterred immigrants from the Netherlands.

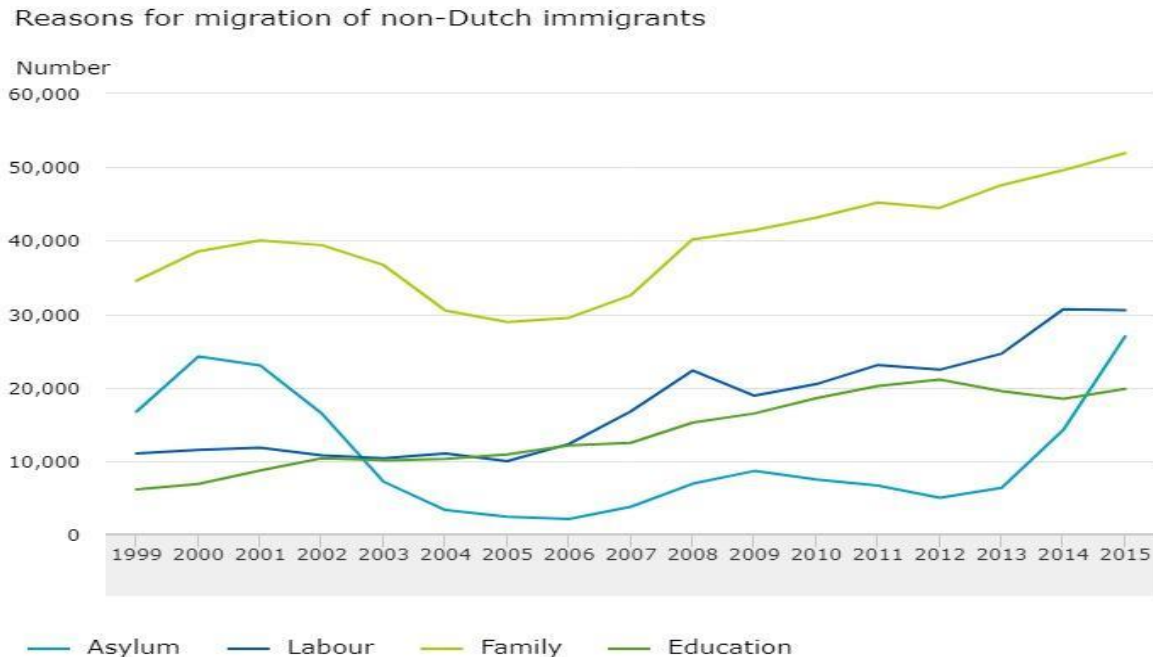


Image 4: Image retrieved from Statistics Netherlands (2016)

Conclusion

When considering whether the Netherlands has the chance to revert the integration system to a multicultural base, or at least an intra-cultural base, this essay argues that it depends. Perhaps the Netherlands will win the next soccer world cup with a multi-ethnic or multi-religious team which may change the framing of non-western immigrants and lead to a punctuation in policy. Maybe, this would eventually force the Dutch integration system to be reversed back to a multicultural model. Or maybe nothing would happen, and alternatively integration policies could experience incrementalism towards a harsher path.

In conclusion, punctuated changes in Dutch integration policy happened because of the high politicization of Islam and integration, and the high tensions between immigrants and natives. The study of the integration policies in the Netherlands can be explained by using punctuated equilibrium theory supported by the policy learning and policy entrepreneurs' concept. Other types

of policy tools that can be used in this analysis are advocacy coalitions, and Peter Hall's work on the policy paradigm shift. However, it is necessary to study integration policies in Europe, because they show the harsh reality that non-western immigrants face in a coercive host country. The overall study of immigration also helps people better understand other social and economic policies.

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