

Moroccan family migration to the Netherlands and their integration in Dutch society

A qualitative analysis of the objectives and effects of Dutch restrictive family migration policies

Master Thesis Crisis and Security Management

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1. Introduction

Will thousands of new Moroccan family migrants keep arriving in the Netherlands for years to come? This is a fear that has occupied the political and public debate in the Netherlands since the 1990s and became an even more important political subject of discussion in the early 2000s (Bonjour & de Hart, 2013, p. 67; van Walsum, 2008, p. 212). In the 1960s and 1970s many (among others) Moroccan labour migrant young men migrated to the Netherlands for work. When they decided to stay in the Netherlands, they used their right of family reunification to bring their families from Morocco to the Netherlands, or they frequently married a Moroccan wife and made it possible for her (in most cases) to migrate to the Netherlands (Bonjour, 2009). The public and political expectations in the Netherlands were that family migration would eventually stop, as the second-generation would be more integrated into the Dutch society and would therefore choose a native Dutch partner to marry instead of marrying someone from their parents' country of origin (Sterckx, 2015, pp. 1552–1553).

However, this did not happen. In the 1990s, many second-generation Moroccan migrants still chose to marry someone from their parents' country of origin and let their spouse migrate to the Netherlands as a marriage migrant (Hooghiemstra, 2003; Sterckx, 2015; van Huis, 2007). This shocked and installed fear into Dutch society that, as aforementioned, thousands of new Moroccan migrants would arrive each year by means of marriage migration. This continuous flow of new family migrants would be bad for the integration of the Dutch Moroccan community, would deteriorate the emancipation of Moroccan women in Dutch society, would be a cause of the frequent delinquent behaviour of Moroccan youths and would have a negative effect on intermarriages in the Netherlands (e.g. Bonjour, 2009; Bonjour & Block, 2013; Bonjour & de Hart, 2013; de Jong, 2007; Hooghiemstra, 2003; Kirk & Suvarierol, 2014; Kraler, 2010; Sterckx, 2015; Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015). Therefore, in the 1990s, the Dutch government took a more restrictive turn on family migration and started to implement a series of restrictive family migration policies.

1.1 Research question

This study answers the following research question: “What were the policy objectives of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies on family migration from Morocco to the Netherlands from 1993 to 2010 and how did these policies effect family migration and integration of Moroccan migrants?” The period 1993 to 2010 was chosen, because 1993 was

the starting point of a series of more restrictive family migration policies implemented in the Netherlands, which continued throughout the 2000s (Bonjour, 2009, pp. 212 and 237).

The policies implemented by the Dutch government targeted different categories of migrants. Migrants, or migration, can be categorized into many different categories, for example: high- and low skilled migrants, students, refugees, family migrants and irregular migrants (de Haas, Natter, & Vezzoli, 2016, p. 8). This study focuses on the category of family migrants. Family migrants are defined, in this study, as one or more persons that move from one country to another (in this case from Morocco to the Netherlands) to join and live with a family member that already moved and settled in that country. These could be, for example, spouses, minor children, or parents who are going to live with their children (CBS, 2018c; Sondergaard, 2016, p. 14).

This study focuses on family migration to the Netherlands, because family migration has not only been the dominant (and sometimes only) mode of legal entry into many European countries (Kofman, 2004, p. 243; Kraler, 2010, p. 1; Sondergaard, 2016, p. 14), but also into the Netherlands (Bonjour, 2009, pp. 27–28). Since the 1970s it is, in quantitative terms, one of the biggest migration flows towards the Netherlands. In addition, it has had a lot of political attention in the last twenty-five years.

Moroccan migration is chosen as a case, because the concerns in Dutch public and political debate regarding family migration are mostly about Moroccan and Turkish minorities. Especially marriage migration from Turkey and Morocco has been a major theme in Dutch politics (Sterckx, 2015, pp. 1552–1553). The scope of this thesis is pointed towards Moroccan family migration as in addition, family migration from Morocco to the Netherlands is, after Turkey, the biggest group of family migrants to the Netherlands (CBS, 2016).

By answering the research question, this study argues that the Dutch restrictive policies on family migration were tied to two interlinked main objectives: reducing the relative high number of family migrants and increasing the level of integration of (Muslim) migrant minorities. In this study, integration is defined as the sociocultural absorption of the dominant culture by (migrant) minority groups and the (full) participation of these minorities in the (economic) life of the host society (Coleman, 1994, p. 108; Sterckx, 2015, p. 1565).¹

These two main objectives were interlinked, because the Dutch government wanted to decrease to number of family migration, as this would increase the level of integration. In turn, they wanted to increase the level of integration, because this would solve the integration

¹ Further explanation of what integration is and how it is defined is done in section 5.

related problems of delinquent youths, low level of emancipation of migrant women and the low rate of intermarriages present in the Netherlands.

Furthermore, this study argues that the Dutch government succeeded in their objective to reduce the number of family migrants from Morocco but – although delinquency of Moroccan youths declined and the level of emancipation of Moroccan women increased – did not fully succeed in achieving their objective to increase integration of Moroccans in the Netherlands, as Moroccans (still) chose to marry someone within their own ethnic group. Thus, there were some positive effects to be found on the level of integration and integration related problems that were caused by the Dutch restrictive family migration policies, but the overall effect was that the level of integration did not increase extensively, because low intermarriage rates indicate the Moroccan minority group had not socioculturally absorbed the dominant culture.

1.2 Relevance

This research is academically relevant, because it adds to the debate about family migration to the Netherlands from Morocco and integration of Moroccans in the Netherlands. It gives a wide overview of this debate and tries to add to it by arguing that, although the Netherlands reduced the number of family migrants, it did not fully succeed in increasing the level of integration. In addition, it contributes to the academic debate by identifying the implicit and explicit objectives of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies and what effects these policies had on family migration and integration. This research consequently complements existing academic literature by addressing the gap in the literature on the effects of Dutch restrictive family migration policies.

This research is furthermore societal relevant, because migration of Moroccans to the Netherlands and integration of Moroccans in the Netherlands are both topics that are generally discussed in public and political debate. The policies on the integration and development of the Moroccan minority are relevant for the development of the Dutch society as a whole, because they are aimed at improving society. Research about the implicit and explicit objectives and the effects of these policies could provide a better insight in why the Dutch government is concerned with the integration and development of the Moroccan minority. In addition, it evaluates whether the policies that were implemented had the desired effect. The research could therefore lead to lessons learned which could be incorporated in future Dutch migration policies.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured as follows. First, I will explain what research methods were used in this study and I will (further) define what family migration and family migration policies are. Second, I will give a short historical context of family migration to the Netherlands and identify what the main objectives of the Dutch restrictive family migration measures were according to the academic literature on migration and integration. Thereafter, the quantitative data found on family migration, delinquent Moroccan youths, emancipation of migrant women, marriage migration and mixed marriage of Moroccans to and in the Netherlands will be analysed. In this section, based on the quantitative data and the data analysed during the qualitative document analysis of policy documents, parliamentary debates, laws and policy evaluations, I will discuss if the policy objectives described in the previous section and in the analysed documents were achieved and what the effects of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies were on family migration and integration of Moroccans in the Netherlands. Finally, I will give a summarizing conclusion, shortly discussing the objectives and effects of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies on family migration numbers and integration, giving an answer to the research question. Additionally, I will briefly discuss the limitations of my research and suggest possible future research opportunities on this topic.

2. Methods and data

In this section, I will explain which research methods were used for this research and discuss the strengths and limitations of these methods. Additionally, I will explain how and where I collected the data and why I chose these data.

2.1 Research methods

The research done in this thesis is deductive and empirical, because I test if the objectives of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies were met. In this study, mixed methods were used to answer the research question. The first method is a qualitative document analysis of Dutch policy papers, laws, policy evaluations and parliamentary papers about the Dutch restrictive migration policies on family migration and its effects. A document analysis is a systematic method for evaluating or reviewing documents. It is used as a method to gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge about a certain topic. When using this method, analysis is done by finding, selecting, appraising and synthesising data contained in documents. This data is then organised into major themes or categories that are of interest and make a frequent appearance (Bowen, 2009, pp. 27–28). When conducting a document

analysis, it is important that only relevant or applicable information for the research is identified. The categorisation of the information helps with easily identifying what is relevant and what not (Bowen, 2009, p. 32). Finally, it is important to keep in mind for who or for what purpose the documents analysed were created and what the credibility of the documents are (Bowen, 2009, p. 33).

In this research, document analysis was used to gain insights into the implicit and explicit objectives of the Dutch restrictive migration policies on family migration implemented from the 1990s to 2010. In addition, this type of analysis was used to look at the (intended) effect of these policies on family migration from Morocco and integration of Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands. The documents used for this research were selected based on their usefulness or relevance for this particular research, after which their authenticity was checked. By knowing where these documents originated from, the original intent or purpose why they were created – and from which perspective they were created – could be determined (Olson, 2012, p. 319).

The second method used in this research was the analysis of descriptive and quantitative statistics. This is a method that is used to describe quantitative data, often accompanied by graphs. In this research, this method was used to thoroughly describe quantitative data on the nature of family migration from Morocco to the Netherlands from 1995 to 2010 and partner choice of Moroccans in the Netherlands and the number of marriage migrants from Morocco to the Netherlands from 2001 to 2010. Additionally, it was also used to describe quantitative data on the delinquency and criminality of Moroccan youths from 1999 to 2010 and the emancipation of migrant women from 2001 to 2013.

2.2 Strengths and limitations

Qualitative document analysis was chosen as a research method, because documents can provide a rich source of data, containing a lot of information about the effect or intended effect of Dutch restrictive migration policies on family migration. Furthermore, general availability of documents is high, because many documents are in the public domain. In addition, document analysis can also provide extra historical context on the research topic from a wide variety of sources and documents themselves are unaffected by the research process, which takes away the reflexivity concerns of doing research (Bowen, 2009, p. 31; Olson, 2012, p. 320).

The combination of the analysis of qualitative document with that of descriptive statistics (triangulation) supported the research's validity and reliability. Although the

interpretation of the researcher of the content in the documents could threaten the reliability of the research, this potential bias could be bypassed because of the usage of mixed methods and of qualitative and quantitative data (Babbie, 2010, p. 328; Bryman, 2012, pp. 392 and 635-636). In addition, in this study, with the use of a qualitative document analysis in combination with the use of a qualitative description of quantitative data, extensive and detailed analysis of the (objectives and) effects of the Dutch restrictive migration policies on family migration could be done. The internal validity was therefore assured (Babbie, 2010, p. 328; Bryman, 2012, pp. 392 and 635-636). Hence, the research method of descriptive statistics was chosen as second method to strengthen the analysis, the reliability and internal validity of this research.

However, external validity of this research is hard to reach. Because this study was focused on the objectives and effects of the restrictive migration policies on family migration specifically implemented in the Netherlands, it is difficult (if not impossible) to generalize the findings of this research to other cases (Bryman, 2012, pp. 69–70). Nonetheless, the findings in this research could help with doing further research on this topic in the Netherlands or with conducting the same type of research on other countries their restrictive family migration policies, using the same methods used in this research.

2.3 Data collection

The documents that were used in this research for the document analysis were Dutch policy papers, laws, policy evaluations and parliamentary papers about the Dutch restrictive migration policies on family migration and their effects in the period from 1993 to 2010. I chose to specifically analyse these documents, because they indicate what the objectives of the Dutch restrictive migration policies on family migration were and talk about the effects they had. The documents used in the document analysis were mainly retrieved from the official archive of Dutch parliamentary documents and laws (“Overheid.nl,” 2018) and from the archive of the Dutch Research and Documentation Centre (WODC) (WODC, 2018), which both can be accessed through the internet. A total of 35 documents were analysed.

When the documents were analysed, the content was identified and categorised into five categories: high number of family migrants, integration, marriage migration and intermarriage, delinquent Moroccan youths, and protection and emancipation of migrant women. These five categories were chosen, because they were frequently mentioned as being (implicit or explicit) objectives of the Dutch restrictive migration policies on family migration

in the literature. By dividing it into these four categories, I was possible to identify the most relevant parts of the documents for this research.

The data that was used for the analysis of the descriptive statistics were retrieved from the database of Statistics Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek) (CBS, 2018c). The first dataset shows the family migration from Morocco to the Netherlands and was (earliest) available from 1995 (CBS, 2016).

The second dataset shows the partner choice of Moroccans in the Netherlands, making a distinction between whether they married someone with the same migration background or someone with a Dutch background. It also shows – if someone chose to marry someone from the same migration background – if he or she made use of marriage migration or not (ergo, if he or she married someone from outside the Netherlands). Finally, the data show the differences between first- and second-generation Moroccans. The earliest data were available from 2001 (CBS, 2018b).

The third dataset consists of Moroccans boys and men from the age of 12 to 18 years and from the age of 18 to 25 years who had been criminally charged between 1999 and 2014 (CBS, 2018d). The fourth dataset used, contains Moroccans men who had to go to ‘Bureau Halt’² for committing a petty crime from 2005 to 2014. Unfortunately, earlier data from Moroccans who had to go to ‘Bureau Halt’ were not available (CBS, 2017).

The fifth dataset shows the percentage of Moroccan women who participated in the Dutch labour market and Moroccan women who did not participate in the Dutch labour market. The earliest data were available from 2003 (CBS, 2018a). The final dataset used, consists of the percentage of non-western allochthonous women who did not want to work because they said they needed to take care of the children and the percentage of non-western allochthonous women who worked, searched for work, could not work, or did not want to work for other reasons than because they needed to take care of the children. These data were earliest available from 2001 (CBS, 2014). During the research linked to this last dataset of the CBS, non-western allochthonous women were asked why they did not want or could not work. In this research of the CBS, one of the answering options was that they needed or wanted to take care of the children.

These specific datasets were chosen, because they say something about the (desired) effects of the Dutch restrictive migration policies on family migration. With these data, it was

² Bureau Halt’ is an organisation in the Netherlands that, by order of the Dutch Ministry of Justice and Security, executes punishments for youths from 12 to 18 years who committed a petty crime – such as vandalism, theft on a small scale or school absenteeism – frequently in the form of community service (“Halt,” 2018).

consequently possible to analyse whether the policy objectives of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies were achieved.

2.4 Conclusion

In this section, I explained that this research used mixed methods to answer the research question. The first research method was a qualitative document analysis and the second research method was the method of descriptive statistics. By using mixed methods, internal validity and reliability of the research was guaranteed. However, external validity and generalizability are hard to achieve. Nonetheless, the research could help further research on this topic in the Netherlands or on other countries. In the next section, I will define and conceptualize what family migration and family migration policies are, according to academic literature.

3. Defining family migration and family migration policies

To talk about family migration and identify family migration policies' objectives and effects, it is important to define what they are. In this section, I will define and conceptualize what family migration and family migration policies are.

3.1 Family migration

As explained in the introduction of this thesis, family migrants are defined, in this study, as one or more persons that move from one country to another to join and live with a family member that already moved and settled in that country. These could be, for example, spouses, minor children, or parents who are going to live with their children (CBS, 2018c; Sondergaard, 2016, p. 14).

This type of migration can be categorised into two different categories: family reunification and family formation. Family reunification means that a migrant that settled in the Netherlands already had a family (wife, husband, children etc.) in his or her country of origin and that he or she wants to bring them to the Netherlands in order to live with them there (CBS, 2018c; Kofman, 2004, pp. 246–247). The other category, family formation, – also called marriage migration – can be broken down into two subgroups. The first consists of usually second (or subsequent) generations of children of migrants who marry or engage with a person from their parents' original homeland and bring this partner to the Netherlands to live with them. The second subgroup consists of permanent residents who want to bring a partner with them who they have met abroad while being on holiday, working or studying

(Kofman, 2004, pp. 246–247). Thus, the difference between the two is that family reunification is about bringing the already existing family to the Netherlands and family formation is about creating a family with a single other person and making it possible to let that person migrate to the Netherlands (Kraler, 2010, p. 23). This study focuses on family migration as a whole, entailing both of these categories.

3.2 Family migration policies

In this study, migration policies are defined as laws, rules, measures, and practices implemented by national states with the stated objective to influence the volume, origin and internal composition of immigration flows (Czaika & de Haas, 2013, p. 5). In this definition, volume refers to the objective to reduce or increase migration flows, the origin refers to the countries or regions of origin that the migrants come from and the internal composition refers to the category of migrant (family migrant, labour migrant etc.). The objectives of migration policies can overlap, targeting more countries or regions, or more than one category of migrants (Czaika & de Haas, 2013, p. 5). This study focuses on policies that (mainly or partly) target family migration flows and are aimed at reducing these flows.

Family migration policies consist out of two things. One, they define who the family and what the purpose of the migration is; defining who is eligible for admission and who is not. Second, they define what the conditions are under which migrants are admitted for family related reasons; defining the ‘quality’ of the migrant himself and the family he or she is migrating to (Kraler, 2010, p. 8). The state defines what they see as the (nuclear) family. This means that migrants themselves cannot determine who is part of their family and who is eligible to migrate or not. Differences are, for example, that in many European countries migrants must still conform to traditional marriage patterns, but in the Netherlands – among others – it is also allowed for same-sex couples to make use of their family reunification rights (Kofman, 2004, p. 245). The family members that are eligible for family migration to the Netherlands are spouses, registered partners, minor children, adult children if non-admission would cause hardship and solitary parents over the age of 65 (Kraler, 2010, p. 45). In all these cases there are additional requirements attached to the right of family migration, including for example minimum income requirements, financial dependency or the requirement that spouses or partners, and sometimes also children, need to physically join the sponsor in his or her place of residence (Kraler, 2010, p. 47).

3.3 Conclusion

In this section, I defined family migration and family migration policies to be able to assess and identify, which family migration policies were implemented in the Netherlands and what their objectives and effects were. In the next section, I will shortly describe the history of family migration to the Netherlands and how it became political significant.

4. Historical context of family migration to the Netherlands

In this section, I will give a short historical context of family migration to the Netherlands during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. In addition, I will shortly explain why family migration became political significant and central to public and political debates on migration throughout Europe and in the Netherlands. By doing so, it is possible to identify the objectives of the restrictive family migration policies implemented by the Dutch government in the following chapter.

4.1 The 1960s, 1970s and 1980s

In the 1960s, the Dutch economy flourished and shortages on the labour market grew significantly. This resulted in an increasing need of foreign labour forces. Between 1960 and 1970, labour migrants made up the vast majority of migrants entering the Netherlands. At first, these migrants originated mainly from Southern-European countries such as Spain, Italy or Portugal, but later, as more labour forces were still needed, they mainly came from Morocco and Turkey. The vast majority of labour migrants to the Netherlands left their family behind in their country of origin (Bonjour, 2009, pp. 50–52; Bonjour & Schrover, 2015, p. 1480; Hooghiemstra, 2003, pp. 62–63). The Dutch government and public were convinced that these labour migrants would return to their country of origin after they were done working in the Netherlands. Most of the Southern-European migrants did so in the 1970s, but during this time, the number of Moroccan and Turkish migrants was still rising (Bonjour, 2009, p. 51).

In the 1970s, there came an end to the many years of economic growth and with it, an end to the large-scale flow of labour migrants. Growing unemployment caused the need to halt the number of foreign workers and measures were therefore taken by the Dutch government to diminish the flow of labour migrants. During this period, the recruitment of foreign labour forces came to an almost complete stop. Therefore, the labour migration of migrants around the Mediterranean stopped as well (Bonjour, 2009, pp. 108–110; Hooghiemstra, 2003, pp. 62–63).

Family migration, however, stayed open as a migration channel. The majority of labour migrants from Morocco and Turkey decided that they wanted to reunite with their family in the Netherlands (Bonjour, 2009, p. 135; Hooghiemstra, 2003, pp. 62–63). It became clear to Dutch politicians and the public that Moroccan and Turkish labour migrants were not in the Netherlands temporarily but were here to stay with their families (Bonjour, 2009, p. 135). At first, the family reunification policies were a bit strict, because there were debates in politics about the question whether and under which conditions labour migrants would be allowed to bring their wives and children over to the Netherlands. However, after the second half of the 1970s, the family migration policies became more relaxed and remained very generous throughout the second half of the 1970s and the 1980s (Bonjour, 2009, p. 107; Bonjour & Schrover, 2015, p. 1480).

During this time, the debates about these policies were dominated by the idea of equal treatment of resident migrants and nationals. Dutch politicians tried to include migrants by treating them as full members of Dutch society. There was a sentiment among Dutch politicians that they were responsible for the wellbeing of the labour migrants and that family reunification was a (human) right that could not be taken away from these migrants. In their eyes, it was a morally wrong decision to deny someone their right to have a family and reunite with them (Bonjour, 2009, pp. 134 and 177-182; Bonjour & Schrover, 2015, p. 1480).

4.2 Family migration as politically significant

As is seen in the sub-section above, family migration became, over the last couple of decades, one of the main modes of entry into the Netherlands including, according to the literature, into many other European countries (Kofman, 2004, p. 243; Sondergaard, 2016, p. 14). Lucassen and Laarman argue that, in the Netherlands, because of the migration measures implemented in the 1970s, one of the few legal ways for entry, was through marriage migration (2009, p. 63). As a result, there was a lot of pressure on children of Moroccan (and Turkish) descent born in the Netherlands, imposed by their parents and the Moroccan (or Turkish) community, to marry someone from their parents' country of origin. According to Lucassen and Laarman, this led to a continuing migration flow of (especially) marriage migrants to the Netherlands (2009, p. 63).

It is argued by Kraler that family migration became political significant and became central to public and political debates on migration, because it was the main mode of entry and consequently led to the continuous flow of family migrants arriving in Europe (2010, pp. 6 and 18). According to Bonjour and de Hart and according to Block, this has led to

increasingly restrictive reforms of family migration policies in (among others) the Netherlands, starting from the 1990s (Block, 2015, p. 1437; 2013, p. 62). Within this restrictive turn on family migration throughout Europe, the Netherlands, just as Denmark, was a hardliner and at the forefront of implementing more restrictive family migration measures (Bonjour, 2009, p. 183; Bonjour & de Hart, 2013, p. 62; Sondergaard, 2016, pp. 34–35). This restrictive ‘wave of reforms’ continued during the 2000s (Bonjour & Block, 2013, pp. 203–204).

4.3 Conclusion

This section showed that, during the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, many labour migrants migrated to the Netherlands to find work. After the oil crisis, there came an end to this type of migration. Family migration, however, stayed open as a migration channel and especially Turkish and Moroccan labour migrants decided to let their families migrate to the Netherlands. During this time and until the end of the 1980s, family migration policies were generous.

Family migration became one of the main modes of entry to the Netherlands and because it was one of the few legal ways for entry, there was a lot of pressure on children of Moroccan (and Turkish) descent born in the Netherlands to marry someone from their parents’ country of origin. Because it was the main mode of entry and there was a continuous flow of new family migrants arriving each year, it became political significant and caused a restrictive turn of family migration policies throughout Europe, starting from the 1990s.

In the next section, I will identify what, according to the academic literature on migration and integration, the objectives of the restrictive family migration policies implemented by the Dutch government between 1993 and 2010 entailed.

5. Objectives of Dutch restrictive family migration policies

There were, according to the literature, several reasons for, or objectives of the restrictive family migration policies implemented by the Dutch government. In this section, I will identify what, according to the literature on migration and integration these objectives were for the policies implemented between 1993 and 2010.

5.1 Decreasing the relative high number of family migrants

One of these reasons or objectives to implement more restrictive family migration measures had to do with the relative high number of family migrants. In 1992, the Dutch Ministry of

Justice published a report that in 1988-1989, 70 percent of the people who migrated to the Netherlands were family migrants. This was a total of 42.250 people and almost two-third of these migrants (re)joined a Dutch partner, who in most cases was from (second-generation) migrant origin (van Walsum, 2008, p. 212). In addition, migration from Morocco and Turkey grew from ten thousand in 1985 to twenty thousand in the early nineties. This made clear that migration from these countries to the Netherlands was not a one-off event and that the migration flows from these countries was not yet to an end (Bonjour, 2009, p. 192).

According to Bonjour and de Hart, there was a growing fear in the Netherlands that family migration in the form of marriage migration from Turkey and Morocco would not stop (2013, p. 67). Many politicians thought that this kind of migration would have stopped or decreased significantly over time, because second-generation migrants – children of the original labour migrants from Turkey and Morocco – would marry a partner from the Netherlands, also known as intermarriage. However, these second-generation migrants often chose to marry a partner from their parents' country of origin. Bonjour and de Hart argue that this had caused a growing fear in Dutch politics and society, because people thought this would result in an infinite chain of family migration, bringing a continuous influx of several thousand more family migrants from Morocco and Turkey per year towards the Netherlands (2013, p. 67). Sterckx agrees with Bonjour and de Hart, arguing that this possible perspective caused a bit of a panic in the Netherlands the past few decades (2015, pp. 1552–1553). She argues that this was one of the reasons why the Dutch government implemented more restrictive measures on family migration.

5.2 Improving integration

In the Dutch family migration policies from 1993 onwards, integration of (Muslim) migrants into Dutch society has been an important issue and objective. As said in the introduction, in this research, integration is defined as the sociocultural absorption of the dominant culture by (migrant) minority groups and the (full) participation of these minorities in the (economic) life of the host society (Coleman, 1994, p. 108; Sterckx, 2015, p. 1565). In some policy documents, it is closely linked to the concept of citizenship, which is defined as active participation in society (Entzinger, Saharso, & Scholten, 2011, p. 55).

The concept of integration can be divided into two different dimensions: structural integration and social-cultural – or identificational – integration. Structural integration means participating in modern society by having a good position on the labour market or having a high educational background. Social-cultural integration means having social contact with

people outside your own group, closing down the social distance between groups and adapting to the norms and values of the culture in the country that is migrated to (Hooghiemstra, 2003, pp. 67–68; Lucassen, 2015).

Kofman and Bonjour argue that family migration did not only become politicised and a frequent topic of debate in the 1990s because of the relative high number of family migrants, but also because of the (in)capacity of migrants to integrate (2009, pp. 196–198; 2004, pp. 35–36). An example of this is seen in 1991, when an opinion article of former liberal political leader Frits Bolkestein in the Dutch newspaper ‘de Volkskrant’ stirred public and political debate on the (in)capacity of integration that would continue for many years to follow. He argued that the minority policies in the Netherlands had failed, stating furthermore that the integration of these minorities should be addressed with ‘more courage’, because the current policies were (far) too soft (Bonjour, 2009, p. 193; van Walsum, 2008, p. 204).

In the 2000s, according to Sterckx and Bonjour, this emphasis on the integration of minorities in the Dutch political and public debate continued (2009, pp. 258–259; 2015, pp. 1552–1553). Bonjour argues that family migration was (still) seen as a direct cause of integration related problems and a danger for the cohesion and safety of the society (2009, pp. 258–259). This fierce political and public debate on the integration of (Muslim) migrant minorities continued during the early 2000s with the rise of right-wing politician Pim Fortuyn. He (among others) argued that the integration of Muslim minorities in the Netherlands had failed completely, arguing that the ‘preference’ of Moroccan and Turkish second generation migrants to marry someone from the ‘home country’ was the proof of this failed integration (Sterckx, 2015, p. 1553).

Block and Kraler also argue that the migrant family – and thus family migration – was increasingly being connected to having a negative impact on and being an obstacle for the integration of migrant minorities within society (2015, p. 1434; 2010, p. 6). In addition, Van Walsum argues that, because of the differences between Dutch modern and emancipated family norms on the one side and Muslim minority patriarchal traditional family norms on the other, these latter minorities were seen as dysfunctional in and a threat to Dutch society (2008, p. 268). By doing so, Block argues, European governments, including the Dutch government, used the (negative) connection between family migration and integration of migrant minorities as a justification for restricting their family migration policies (2015, p. 1434). She argues, for instance, that pre-integration requirements were implemented due to, according to the Dutch government, the fundamental necessity and supposed current deficiency of family migrants’ integration into the social, economic, and cultural life of the host society (Block,

2015, pp. 1444–1445). Just as Block, both Kraler and van Walsum argue that these (pre-)integration courses were implemented to increase the level of integration of arriving migrants, grooming the ‘problematic migrant’ for the style of living that fits a Dutch citizenship (2010, pp. 43–44; 2008, pp. 268–269).

However, Bonjour argues that it was clear that, during the debates in the 1990s, the policy reforms regarding family migration were primarily meant to limit the number of family migrants coming to the Netherlands (2009, pp. 208–209). This was, however, being denied by the Dutch government, who argued that the promotion of integration was the main objective, something that was seen as being a justifiable reason to attach conditions to family migration (Bonjour, 2009, pp. 212–213). Suvarierol and Kirk support this argument by arguing that, although the stated goal of the implemented measures was improved integration of new migrants by creating obligatory civic integration trajectories, the implicit goal was to reduce migration and to appease the native population that has been wary of more incoming migrants (2015, p. 248).

In short, in the Dutch political and public opinion, the integration of migrants was going badly and family migration was seen as one of the causes. The idea was that, by decreasing family migration, the integration of these migrant minorities would increase. The question is, why was this lack of integration seen as a problem by the Dutch government, what was their concern? Moreover, what (implicit) integration objectives did they want to achieve with the implemented restrictive family migration policies?

5.2.1 Addressing delinquent Moroccan youths

One of the concerns within Dutch politics and society related to the integration of migrants was the frequent delinquent³ behaviour of Moroccan youths. Kraler argues that the migrant family is problematized within the debates about youth delinquency and violence (2010, p. 6). He argues that youths within the migrant family are seen as a source of violent behaviour and involvement in delinquency because of strained relationship within the family and a lack of parental control (Kraler, 2010, p. 6). In the Netherlands, the migrant family was also being linked to (youth) violence and involvement in delinquency. Especially Moroccan youths were

³ Delinquent behaviour means something different than criminal behaviour. Delinquent behaviour entails more than punishable criminal behaviour, as it also entails troublesome or nuisance behaviour that is not directly punishable through law. For example being noisy on the streets or striking an intimidating pose against bystanders. This delinquent behaviour is noticed if it is done by a large group or if the police or the public see this group behaviour as very aggressive or provoking (de Jong, 2007, p. 12).

seen as a group that exercised frequent delinquent behaviour. They were understood to be aggressive and hot-headed and stood symbol for nuisance and criminal group behaviour, causing disturbances (De Jong, 2007, p. 11).

Research by Laan and Blom points out that Moroccan (and Dutch Antillean) youths in the Netherlands are overrepresented in the registered criminal statistics (2011, p. 35). In addition, they argue that school teachers report more behavioural problems of youths of Moroccan migrant background than of youths of other migrant backgrounds (van der Laan & Blom, 2011, p. 35). Also Bovenkerk and Fokkema argue that, since the 1990s, there has been a persistent problem of criminality among young Moroccan men, arguing that more than half of the second generation Moroccan boys had been criminally charged before reaching the age of 23 (2015, p. 60).

De Jong argues that, in Dutch politics and parliament, there have frequently been discussions about the 'Moroccan problem' or the Moroccan drama' linked to this delinquent behaviour of Moroccan youths (2007, p. 11). Pels also argues that loitering of Moroccan youths, in combination with aggressive and troublesome behaviour, was a frequent topic of discussion in Dutch society (Pels, 2003, pp. 227–228).

The delinquent behaviour of Moroccan youths is linked to migration and bad integration. The migrants who came to the Netherlands through family reunification in the seventies and the eighties had trouble with the language barrier, low income and the change of traditional Islamic rural society to modern Western urban society. This, together with the long separation between husband and wife, had a negative impact on the education of the children of these families (de Jong, 2007, p. 14).

Another possible reason for the delinquent behaviour of Moroccan youths was that Moroccan parents had a hard time in supporting and checking their children's' performance at school, because parents did not speak the Dutch language well enough (or were analphabetic) and did not have knowledge about the Dutch society. Furthermore, in many families, the relationship between the Moroccan father and their sons was under pressure because the father was unemployed due to economic regression, losing the respect and authority of their sons as breadwinner of the family (Blekendaal, 2018; de Jong, 2007).

Above migration and integration reasons for the delinquent behaviour of Moroccan youths is mainly applicable for the first and second generation. The third (and current) generation's behaviour is, according to de Jong, often due to the social-economic backlog and low societal position of their parents, together with their own feelings that they are a subordinated group in society (2007, pp. 14–15). With less knowledge, experience and less to

spend, this results in less opportunities for them to climb the social ladder (de Jong, 2007, pp. 14–15). In short, they feel excluded from Dutch society. Suárez-Orozco and Qin agree with this argument and argue that, in the literature, the delinquent behaviour of migrant boys is connected to poverty and sustained exposure to inequality (2006, p. 175-176). Something that is linked to delinquent behaviour in general.

Finally, there are researchers that argue that the delinquent behaviour of Moroccan youths could be explained through their culture and origin. For example, Pels argues that the behaviour of the Moroccan youths has to do with the influence of hegemonic masculinity and that they are more attracted to tough behaviour, because of their social class and ethnicity (Pels, 2003, p. 228 and 234). Additionally, de Jong explains that it is argued in some literature that Moroccan boys are brought up by their parents in such a way that they would always try to push the boundaries and that they are taught to act belligerent (2007, p. 19).

De Jong argues that these cultural explanations are very popular in the political debate and continuously being used by the media (2007, p. 20 and 210-211). This works stigmatising, because the police and the public see the behaviour of Moroccan youths as something typical Moroccan, because of these frequent messages about ‘Moroccan culture’. Trying to find cultural explanations and stigmatisation could have a negative effect and strengthen delinquent behaviour, because the whole Dutch Moroccan community could get offended by the accusations made about Moroccan people (de Jong, 2007, p. 20 and 210-211).

An example of this frustration is clearly reflected in a Moroccan uprising in the West of Amsterdam in 1998. Preceding this uprising, levels of segregation were rapidly increasing in Amsterdam West. This resulted in neighbourhoods consisting of only migrant population. In addition, there was little to do for the youths living in these neighbourhoods and there was very little parental control, because most parents of these children were not well integrated in Dutch society and did not speak the Dutch language. This resulted in loitering and criminality of the bored Moroccan youths living in these neighbourhoods. After a small incident in Amsterdam West, long rooted frustration of both the police and Moroccans resulted in an uprising. This was stigmatised in the Dutch media, where the Moroccan minority was being branded as a problematic group in Dutch society, mentioned as the ‘Moroccan problem’. The uprising was made into something much greater than it initially was and was used as a manifest for the already ongoing problems with Moroccan youths in the Netherlands since the beginning of the 1990s (Blekendaal, 2018).

The Dutch government wanted to improve integration, because it thought this would solve the problem of delinquent Moroccan youths within Dutch society. By improving

integration of the parents and the Moroccan community, Moroccan youths would also integrate better in Dutch society and refrain from delinquent behaviour. This was consequently one of the implicit objectives of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies identified in academic literature.

5.2.2 (Migrant) women as victims of forced and arranged marriage and their emancipation

In this thesis, emancipation of (migrant) women is viewed as the participation of (migrant) women in the labour market and that they are not solely addressed as mothers and the only ones who have to take care of their children (Kirk & Suvarierol, 2014, pp. 241–242).

A concern within Dutch politics related to the integration of migrants was the position of migrant women. During the 1990s, there was a growing image of Muslim migrant women as victims of an oppressive culture (Bonjour & de Hart, 2013, p. 63). They were increasingly being seen as oppressed by a patriarchal and violent culture and denied all autonomy and control over their sexuality, or denied access to public space (Bonjour & de Hart, 2013, p. 63). According to Akkerman and Hagelund, these oppressive gender relations were being interpreted as signs of defective integration, demonstrating that migrants neither absorb nor respect the values of the host society (2007, p. 213). Additionally, Roggeband and Verloo argue that one of the central values that is defended as ‘Dutch’ is gender equality (2007, p. 272). As a consequence, political actors used gender equality as an argument to protect national identity and as legitimisation to implement more restrictive measures on migration.

In addition, in the 1990s, there was political and public debate about forced and arranged marriages. Kraler argues that family migration became problematized because of these kind of marriages (2010, pp. 40–42). He argues that this was a reason for governments to implement more restrictive measures, such as raising the age of for marriage migration and expanding the scope of the powers of enforcement agencies who investigate cases of alleged marriages of convenience (Kraler, 2010, pp. 40–42).

Bonjour and de Hart argue that these debates about forced and arranged marriages were linked to the image of women seen as victims (2013, p. 65). This took on a prominent role in Dutch politics and society, which has led to the Act for Prevention of Fraudulent Marriages in 1994 (Bonjour & de Hart, 2013, p. 65). They argue that the focus of Dutch politicians on forced and arranged marriages was mainly tied to the children of Moroccan (and Turkish) labour migrants bringing a partner from their parents’ country of origin to the Netherlands. It was viewed as if Moroccan men paved their way to the Dutch labour market by looking for a bride in the Netherlands, sacrificing the wellbeing of girls for their own

family's financial gain. Just as Kraler, Bonjour and de Hart argue that this was the reason why the Dutch government started implementing restrictive measures in 1993, introducing a minimum age of 18 years and a minimum income requirement (2013, pp. 67–68).

The concern about these Moroccan men was soon replaced with a concern of 'import brides', as in the course of the beginning of the 2000s, women made up the majority of family migrants. Bonjour and de Hart argue that politicians spoke of the need to protect women from such marriage practices, leading to family migration policy reforms (2013, pp. 67–68).

However, the protection of Dutch values and the protection of 'poor women' were not the only two reasons to implement these policies. The Dutch government saw women as principally responsible for taking care of and educating their children, making them the most important figure in educating their family towards (cultural) change and integration (Roggeband & Verloo, 2007, p. 286). They were seen as key figures for the integration of their children and their whole family. According to Entzinger et al. (2011) this has led to a broad political consensus on the implementation of, for example, the Civic Integration Law and the Civic Integration Law Abroad (2011, p. 58). By emancipating the women, the integration of their children, their families and the whole migrant minority would follow. Their emancipation is thus seen as one of the solutions to the integration problem.

In short, the Dutch government wanted to emancipate migrant women, presenting itself as a well-intended helper and wanting to protect the national Dutch identity by defending the 'Dutch' value of gender equality. At the same time, it thought that their emancipation would be one of the keys towards better integration (Roggeband & Verloo, 2007, p. 272 and 286).

However, Kirk and Suvarierol argue that the implementation and gendered content of the civic integration courses stood in the way of the policy goal to emancipate migrant women – if emancipation is understood as shared care work and financial and legal independence (2014, p. 255). They argue that this is mainly due to the emphasis on emancipating the migrant woman whilst performing her mothering tasks, by addressing them as carers during the civic integration courses (Kirk & Suvarierol, 2014, pp. 255–256).

5.3 Marriage migration, intermarriage and integration

In the academic literature and in the political debate about family migration and integration in the Netherlands, there is a large focus on marriage migration. This is partly due to the relative high number of marriage migration and because, aforementioned, the general expectation that second-generation migrants were expected to marry a Dutch resident instead of marrying

someone from their parents' country of origin. However, the focus on marriage migration and the partner choice of (second-generation) migrants is not only because of the mere numbers, but also because of the link that can be established with integration. In this sub-section, I will explain what this link between partner choice of migrants with integration entails, why the choice of Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands to marry someone from their parents' country of origin is seen as a problem and why intermarriage could be a boost for integration. Finally, I will explain why there are probably low intermarriage rates of Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands and why the Dutch government wanted to decrease marriage migration and increase intermarriage rates.

5.3.1 Partner choice and the link with integration

Partner choice, ethnic intermarriage, or mixed marriage⁴, is seen as an indication of the level of integration in and orientation towards the host society and is used as an indicator for the integration of migrants because of several reasons (Sterckx, 2015, p. 1550; van Huis, 2007, p. 28). One of the main reoccurring arguments made, is that intermarriage would be a sign of diminishing cultural and social distance between the migrants' own minority group and the dominant group and culture. According to Sterckx, the general (social scientific) assumption is that people prefer partners who are like them (Sterckx, 2015, p. 1555). Intermarriage would therefore be some sort of proof that a minority draws nearer to the dominant group and integrates into society.

Second, Luccassen and Laarman argue that, a high rate of mixed marriages is seen as a sign of decreasing social and cultural differences between ethnic groups, because it shows that social and cultural differences are not felt as an obstacle anymore to marry someone, by both groups (2009, pp. 53–54). They argue that intermarriage is one of the most salient aspects of integration, because it tells something about the cultural and social distance between immigrant groups and the native population (Luccassen & Laarman, 2009, p. 53). It would be even more telling than other indicators of integration, because the choice of partner has a big effect on day-to-day life. Additionally, Kalmijn and Tubergen argue that intermarriage would not only mean that there is contact between two different groups, but also that these two groups accept each other as equals (2006, p. 372). Therefore, the intimate link between these two groups could be seen as an indicator for improved integration (Kalmijn, 1998, p. 396).

⁴ In this research, mixed marriage or intermarriage refers to marriage between people with two different ethnicities.

This is supported by the argument of Coleman, who argues that intermarriage is a useful and decisive measure of integration, because it determines whether a society keeps being divided into subgroups of different religion, ethnicity etcetera or if a society develops towards a more (or one) homogenous group or culture (1994, pp. 107 and 112). In addition, he and Hooghiemstra both argue that mixed marriages can be seen as an indicator of integration, because it indicates that traditional norms and values are being exchanged by modern norms and values over time (Coleman, 1994, pp. 112–113; 2003, p. 44). For example, achieved characteristics like occupational or educational level are much more important in an open society than characteristics such as, class, ethnicity or religion, which are more important in a traditional society.

In addition, Gordon argues that intermarriage indicates a high level of integration, because migrants who intermarried would have probably been part of different groups in society than only their own (1964, pp. 125–126). They were probably members of clubs, associations or institutes within other primary groups of society than their own, where they could have met their partner.

Based on the above arguments made by existing academic literature, this thesis sees the dissolution of cultural and social distance, being part of different groups in society and more social interaction and acceptance between the migrants' minority group and the dominant group as strong indicators of integration. Certain authors, like Gijsberts et al. (2012), even argue that intermarriage can be seen as the final step in the integration process (2012, p. 48).

5.3.2 Choice of partner as a problem

As established in the previous subsection, the partner choice of many young Moroccan people in the Netherlands to marry someone from their parents' country of origin is seen in the literature and by Dutch politicians as a problem for their integration. In this subsection, I will elaborate on other reasons why this choice of partner is seen as a problem for integration.

Sterckx argues that migration marriages are seen as having a negative impact on integration, because they are assumed to have a negative impact on the development and educational prospects of children born of these marriages (2015, pp. 1553–1554). Marrying a co-ethnic partner that did not grow up in the Netherlands has a negative impact on the education and development of the children born in these families, because the mothers of these families, for example, do not know how Dutch society works or what is expected from themselves or from their children. The problem outlined here, is that children are 'badly'

raised in a way that does not fully corresponds with Dutch society and culture. This has a negative impact on the integration of the Moroccan community as a whole, because the integration of new-born children has to start from the beginning again, as if they were children of first generation migrants (Blekendaal, 2018; Sterckx, 2015, pp. 1553–1554).

Hooghiemstra agrees with this argument and adds that, although there has been some progress of integration of the second generation Moroccans (and Turks) compared to first generation Moroccans (and Turks) in the Netherlands, the continuing flow of new migrants has caused the average integration of the total group of Moroccans (and Turks) to remain on a low level (2003, pp. 67–70). She argues that this is because the new migrants that arrive via marriage migration have to start with the process of integration from the beginning (Hooghiemstra, 2003, pp. 67–70). In 2003, one third of the Moroccans from the age of 25 to 35 living in the Netherlands were marriage migrants. This gives an indication of the impact this group has on the integration process for the total group of Moroccan living in the Netherlands. The argument made by Hooghiemstra shows the link between integration and the objective to reduce family migration numbers, because in this case, less marriage migrants would mean better integration for the Moroccan migrant community in the Netherlands.

In addition, Latten argues that inequalities in society are strengthened through partner choice (2005, p. 5). The choice of partner doubles the advantage or disadvantage of the whole nuclear family depending, for instance, on the partner's status or role in society. Because of this phenomenon, the upper and lower side of society increasingly diverge (Latten, 2005, p. 5). Deciding to marry a partner from Morocco would often double the disadvantageous societal position for the nuclear family and thus deteriorate future prospects for integration.

This integration and partner choice 'problem' can be seen as a vicious circle, as bad integration could cause partner choice from the country of origin whilst choosing a partner from the country of origin can cause bad integration – mostly for children born out of these marriages. This raises the question if the choice of partner is the cause for bad integration or if the choice of partner is the result of bad integration in the Netherlands. This circle was addressed in the Dutch family migration policies. On the one hand, the Dutch government tried to increase integration within Dutch society, hoping that people would not chose to marry someone of their parents' country of origin, and on the other hand they tried to decrease marriage migration to increase the level of integration.

5.3.3 Intermarriage as a boost for integration

Kalmijn and Tubergen argue that, in the literature on migration, mixed marriage is considered not only an important indicator, but also a force for integration (2006, p. 372). They, together with Lucassen and Laarman, argue that intermarriage is a force of integration, because migrants who intermarry tend to have a better economic position and a better general upward social mobility (2006, p. 372; 2009, p. 53). In addition, children born out of these marriages identify themselves less frequently with only one group and tend to have less negative attitudes towards other groups in general (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006, p. 372).

Sterckx also argues that mixed marriages are supposed to give a boost to integration, because it would tie together families of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, forging bonds of kinship and love between two different social groups, making integration a smoother process (2015, p. 1556). This would then close the gap with the rest of the Dutch society, with ethnic boundaries fading away as a result of increased mixed marriages (Coleman, 1994, p. 112; Lucassen & Laarman, 2009, pp. 53–54; Sterckx, 2015, pp. 1553–1556).

Finally, Gordon argues that intermarriage would help in breaking free from the own, often closed, social group, which would result in social interaction with people from other groups which helps assimilating to other habits and cultural norms faster (1964, p. 130).

5.3.4 Low intermarriage and decreasing marriage migration to the Netherlands

In the above paragraph it is explained that intermarriages could lead to better integration over time. However, in the Netherlands, intermarriage numbers of people of Moroccan background is very low (van Huis, 2007, Sterckx 2015).

A reason for the low intermarriage rates could be because of segregation in the Dutch society. Many people from the Moroccan ethnic group do not interact on a day-to-day basis with members of other groups, which makes it less likely for them to choose a partner out one of these groups (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006). Additionally, Lucassen and Laarman argue that parents of Moroccan children often favoured the idea of their children marrying someone from their country of origin and raised their children in such a way that they inhibited certain norms about exogamy, influencing their choice of partner (2009, p. 61).

Hooghiemstra argues that, because migration became increasingly considered as a factor that stagnated the integration of Moroccan (and Turkish) migrant minorities already living in the Netherlands, the Dutch government, in 2002, expressed that they wanted to specifically decrease the number of marriage migrants (2003, p. 4). Also, according to Sterckx, these high marriage migration and low ethnic intermarriage numbers were another

reason for the Dutch government to take measures against specifically marriage migration, hoping that less marriage migration would lead to more intermarriage (2015, pp. 1553–1554).

5.4 Hypotheses and conclusion

In short, according to the academic literature, the main objectives of the restrictive family migration policies in the Netherlands were to decrease the relative high number of family migrants and to improve the integration of already present migrants. The Dutch government tried to lower the number of family migrants, because it wanted to increase the level of integration of the Moroccan migrant minority. This increased level of integration would solve the problems in Dutch society with delinquent Moroccan youths, free migrant women from an (supposedly) oppressive culture and emancipate them. Consequently, they tried to reduce the number of marriage migrants hoping that intermarriage rates would go up. This would boost the integration and lessen (new) marriage migrants. In addition, it is argued that children raised by emancipated mothers would have better education than if they would be raised by a Moroccan migrant. Therefore, emancipation of migrant women and intermarriage would mean better integration for the entire Moroccan community in the Netherlands.

As aforementioned, based on the academic literature, Dutch restrictive family migration policies had two interrelated main objectives: to decrease the number of family migrants (and) to increase the level of integration. In the next section, by analysing the policy documents, parliamentary debates and laws, and the quantitative data found on family migration, delinquent Moroccan youths, emancipation of migrant women, marriage migration and mixed marriage of Moroccans to and in the Netherlands, I will test whether the policy objectives were achieved for the case of Moroccan family migration and integration. I will do this by testing the following two hypotheses: Dutch restrictive family migration policies reduced Moroccan family migration to the Netherlands; and; Dutch restrictive family migration policies improved the level of integration of Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands.

6. Restrictive family migration policies in the Netherlands from 1993 to 2010 and their effects

In this section, the quantitative data found on family migration, delinquent Moroccan youths, emancipation of migrant women, marriage migration and mixed marriage of Moroccans will be analysed. Based on these data and the data analysed in the qualitative document analysis of policy documents, parliamentary debates, laws and policy evaluations, I will discuss whether the policy objectives described in section 5 and described in the documents that were

analysed, were achieved and what the effects of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies were on family migration and integration of Moroccans in the Netherlands.

6.1 Decreasing the relative high number of family migrants

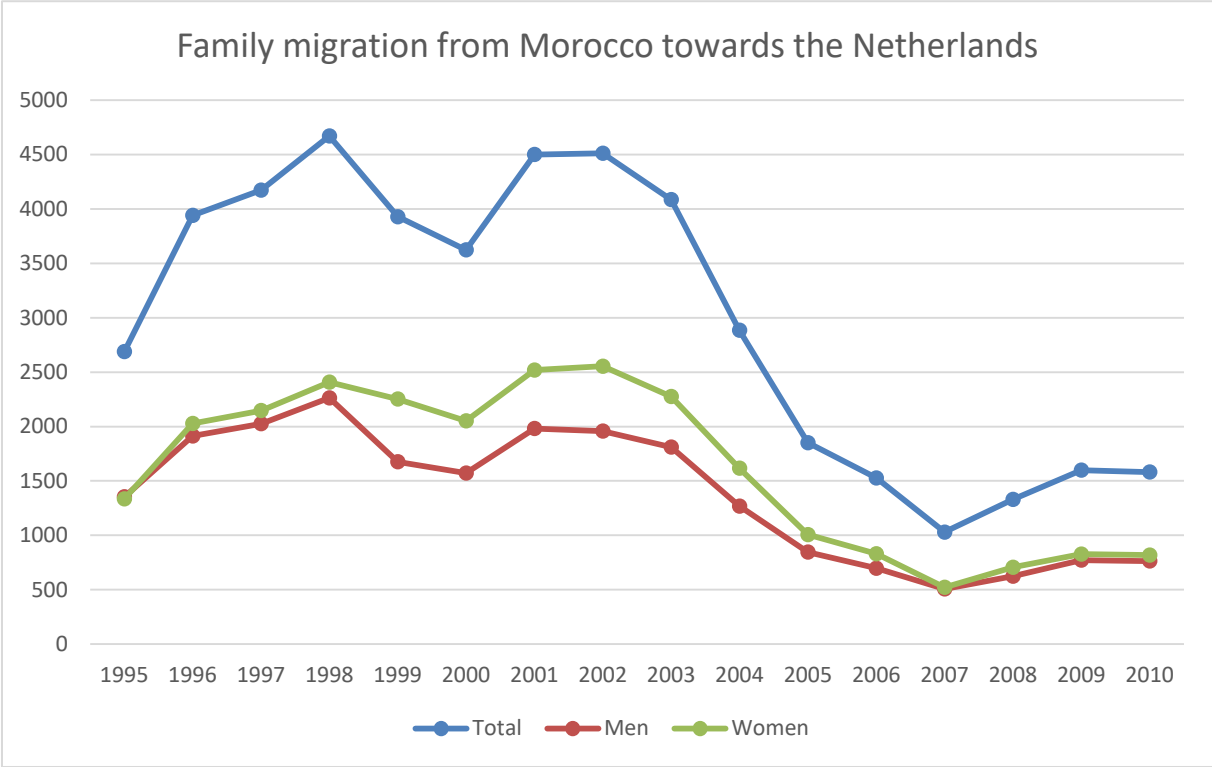
In this subsection, I will analyse the data on the relative high number of family migrants from Morocco and argue what effect the Dutch restrictive family migration policies had on the number of family migrants.

6.1.1 Decreasing number of family migrants in general

Between 1995 and 2010, 47.928 family migrants moved from Morocco to the Netherlands. Of these family migrants, 46 percent were men and 54 percent were women. Figure 1 shows the family migration from Morocco to the Netherlands from 1995 to 2010.

First, it is interesting to see in this figure that family migration was growing from 1995 until 1998. In 1993, the first restrictive policy reform was implemented. With the implementation of this policy, a minimum age of 18 years for partners or spouses was introduced and an income requirement for Dutch citizens and resident migrants of 70% of the social assistance norm was created (TK, 1992-1993, 22809, nr. 10 pp. 4-5).

Figure 1:



Furthermore, it was decided that family reunification should be applied for within three years. This meant that, after a migrant had lived in the Netherlands for three years, his right to family reunification would be expired. This was mainly done to ensure that children of migrants would migrate to the Netherlands at a young age, because then they would get used to Dutch society at a younger age and probably have better prospects to integrate (TK, 1992-1993, 22809, nr. 10 pp. 3-4; TK, 1992-1993, 22809, nr. 19 pp. 5 and 7; Bonjour, 2009, p. 207).

Although the government made very clear that they wanted to increase the level of integration of migrant minorities (TK, 1992-1993, 22809, nr. 10 pp. 1-3; TK, 1992-1993, 22809, nr. 19 pp. 1-2 and 7), it was clear that the (implicit) objective of this policy was to decrease the number of family migrants. When confronted with this, one of the governing parties denied that this was one of the policy goals (TK, 1992-1993, 22809, nr. 19 p. 3). However, as aforementioned, the family migration was growing from 1995 until 1998, which means that this objective of the first restrictive reform was not achieved.

Second, it is notable in figure 1 that family migration experienced a sharp decline after 2002 until 2007. This difference could be explained by the restrictive measures being implemented around that time. In 2000, the Dutch government implemented the Alien Act (Vreemdelingenwet). The primary goal of this law was to come with a solution for the asylum crisis that the Netherlands had been trying to cope with since the early nineties. Therefore, it mainly focused on and changed rules for the asylum procedure (Bonjour, 2009, p. 224; TK, 1998-1999, 26732, nr. 3, p. 2).

Nevertheless, there were also some changes on regular migration rules. Concerning family migration, two things changed. However, only one was important for the family migration from Morocco as the other one only made it easier for asylum seekers to call upon family migration. The important change for Moroccan family migrants was the increase of the minimum income requirement to have someone migrate to you as a family member from 70% to 100% of the social assistance norm (Vreemdelingenwet 2000, 2000, § 8, article 111). However, this requirement only applied for new migrants. The new law provided that people who were already living in the Netherlands still had three years after its implementation to make use of the old income requirement of 70% (TK, 1998-1999, 26732, nr. 3, p. 94). This meant that, for Moroccans already living in the Netherlands, this income requirement was required from 2003 onwards. This law had effect, because, as is seen in figure 1, starting in 2003, there was a sharp decline of family migrants from Morocco.

Additionally, there was another policy change in 2004. This time, the Dutch government decided to change the income requirement for sponsors again, from 100% to 120% of the social assistance norm (Vreemdelingenbesluit 2000, 2004, § 3, article 3.22). In addition, the policy change raised the minimum age of spouses from 18 to 21 years (Vreemdelingenbesluit 2000, 2004, § 3, article 3.14).

According to the documents analysed, the income requirement was especially increased (again) with the intention to decrease the number of migrants (Staatsblad 496, 2004, p. 13). The government argued that a more restrictive family migration policy approach was necessary, because integration of these type of migrants in the Netherlands was insufficient (Staatsblad 496, 2004, p. 5). They argued that the continuous flow of migration had a negative effect on the integration and was the cause of the lack of integration of migrant minorities already present in the Netherlands. Especially the Moroccan and Turkish family migrants had a bad starting position in the Netherlands and less migration would only help these communities to integrate further and gain a better place in Dutch society (Staatsblad 496, 2004, pp. 9-13). Therefore, it could be argued that the Dutch government wanted to decrease the number of family migrants in order to increase the level of integration.

6.1.2 Decreasing number of migrant men

What is furthermore interesting about figure 1 is the relative difference in numbers of women and men migrating. During the whole period, the volume of family migrant women has been higher than that of family migrant men. This difference between migrant men and women first increased, but after 2003 to 2007, this sharply declined. Finally, this started to slightly increase again after 2007.

This difference between men and women migrating to the Netherlands is mainly caused by a sharper decline of family migrant men after 1998 than family migrant women. This difference could be explained by the (supposedly) high number of ‘import brides’ as discussed in section five and by the implementation of a reform initiated by the Dutch government.

In 1994, the Dutch government initiated a reform called the Act for Prevention of Fraudulent Marriages (*Wet Voorkoming Schijnhuwelijken*). In the act, a fraudulent marriage was defined as a marriage in which “the intent of the spouses or one of them was not to fulfil the obligations connected to marriage by law, but to gain access to the Netherlands” (TK, 1993-1994, 22488, nr. 77 p. 3; Bonjour & de Hart, 2013, p.69). Thus, this also tried to stop marriages out of convenience. The act made it easier for civil servants to investigate

suspicious of fraudulent marriage and to deny the signing of a marriage act if he or she thought that it was a fraudulent marriage (TK, 1991-1992, 22488, nr. 3 pp. 4-5).

This act was introduced, because politicians feared that men would use Dutch native and especially migrant women to acquire a Dutch residence status they did not deserve (TK, 1992-1993, 22488, nr. 8 p. 2; Bonjour & de Hart, 2013, p.69). They all agreed that the misuse of marriage solely for the purpose of the right to stay in the Netherlands should be stopped by any means necessary (TK, 1992-1993, 22488, nr. 8; TK, 1992-1993, 22488, nr. 9). Hence, the law was being implemented to protect migrant and Dutch native women from being exploited and to stop migrant men from paving their way to the Dutch labour market in an 'illegal' way.

Evaluation of this policy pointed out that the number of reports of suspicion of fraudulent marriages increased slightly (Fonk, van der Meer & Oelen, 1998, p. ii). However, the number of marriages that were completely rejected was very low (Fonk, van der Meer & Oelen, 1998, p. 72). In addition, three nationalities, Moroccan, Turkish and Surinam, were most frequently suspected of marrying under false pretences (Fonk, van der Meer & Oelen, 1998, p. ii). According to the evaluation, (a small amount) of municipalities thought that the part in the law that facilitates the immigration authority to look into suspicions of fraudulent marriages, had a deterrent effect (Fonk, van der Meer & Oelen, 1998, p. iii; TK, 1998-1999, 26276, nr. 1 p. 2).

Finally, the evaluation of this policy identified two (possible) side effects. One was that more people started 'fake relationships' instead of fraudulent marriages in order to get a permit to stay (Fonk, van der Meer & Oelen, 1998, p. 77). Secondly, people would marry abroad instead of in the Netherlands. This way, people did not have to go through the process, in which a civil servant would look at the authenticity of their marriage. By marrying abroad, their marriage would be (in most cases) directly registered in the Netherlands after they returned (Fonk, van der Meer & Oelen, 1998, p. 76; TK, 1998-1999, 26276, nr. 1 p. 4).

Although on the short-term the reform did not seem to have an effect on the number of family migrant men, the number of family migrant men started to decline more rapidly than the number of family migrant women after 1998. As the difference between family migrant men and women only started to take shape after implementing this reform, it could be argued that the long-term effect of this reform was that the number of migrant men decreased faster than that of women, because it was aimed to and made it more difficult for especially men to marry under false pretences. However, this argument must be made with caution, as other contextual factors could also have caused this difference between family migrant men and

women. Furthermore, it is unclear what could have caused this difference to decline after 2003.

6.1.3 After 2007

Finally, there is one more interesting thing when looking at the number of family migrants from Morocco from 1995 to 2010. As is seen in figure 1, the number of family migrants slightly increased again after 2007. In 2006, the Netherlands was the first European country to implement a pre-departure integration measure called the Law Integration Abroad (*Wet Inburgering Buitenland*). Although this measure was already introduced in 2005, it was imposed for the first time in 2006. This new law meant that, if a spouse, partner or other family migrants between 16 and 65 years old wanted to have entry to and stay in the Netherlands, they would have to take a computer-based Dutch language test and a test of knowledge about Dutch society. The costs for this test was 350 euros (and is currently 150 euros) (Immigratie- en Naturalisatiedienst, 2018; TK, 2003-2004, 29700, nr. 3, pp. 1 and 19). If people failed to pass the test, their request to stay would be rejected (TK, 2003-2004, 29700, nr. 3, p. 6).

As was being argued in 2004 by the government, large-scale family migration had disturbed the integration process of migrants on the group level in the Netherlands over the last ten years. Because of this, the integration process of each generation had to start from the beginning again (TK, 2003-2004, 29700, nr. 3, pp. 2-3; TK Handelingen, 2004-2005, 29700, nr. 60, p. 3885). Therefore, they wanted to decrease the number of family migrants to increase the level of integration. They argued that the new law was supposed to be some sort of selection mechanism, keeping out the people who did not pass the test, because these people would have a very hard time to further integrate in the Netherlands (Bonjour, 2009, p. 263; TK, 2003-2004, 29700, nr. 3, p. 6; van Walsum 2008, pp. 268–269).

Although evaluation of the policy showed that there was a significant drop of migrants after the policy implementation on March 15 in 2006, supposedly indicating that it did work as a selection mechanism, the results of the exams showed that around 88% of the participants passed. This would indicate that the drop of migrants was not due to people not passing the test, but probably due to less migrants considering to migrate to the Netherlands in the first place. This means that the new policy was not only functioning as a selection mechanism, but also had a deterrent effect. The evaluation explained that the decline of migrants was the strongest for Moroccan and Turkish people (Wilkinson, Goedvolk & van Dieten, 2008, 12-13).

However, as is seen in figure 1, the number of family migrants increased after 2007, indicating that the objective of the Law Integration Abroad to decrease family migration in order to increase the level of integration was not achieved on the short-term. Nevertheless, because the data only reaches the year of 2010, it could be that the objective to decrease family migration in order to increase the level of integration is still going to be achieved in the long-term and that it is too early to argue that the policy did not had the desired effect.

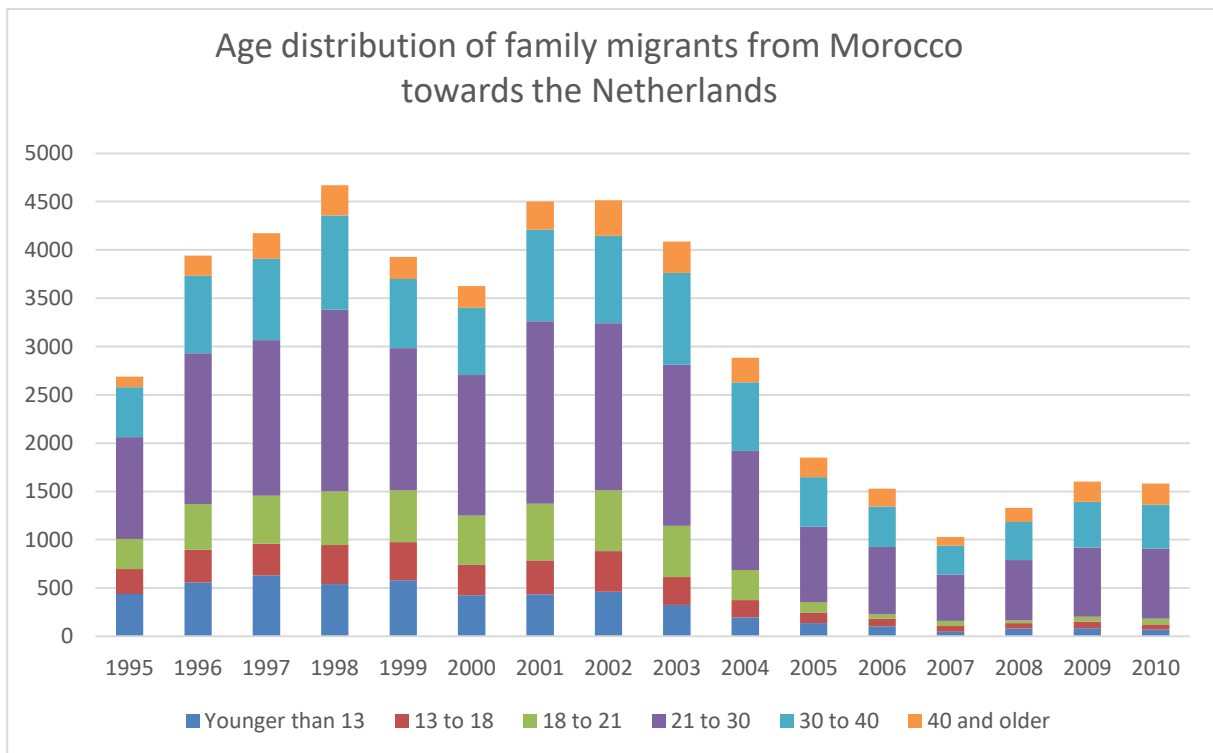
6.1.4 Decreasing family migration at a young age

Figure 2 shows the age distribution of family migrants per year. It shows that the age group between 21 and 30 years is the largest group each year. After that, the age group of 30 to 40 years is the largest followed by the two age groups of younger than 13 years and 18 to 21 years, that are almost equal in numbers and percentages (respectively 10,7 percent and 11,1 percent). What really stands out in this figure is the age group of 18 to 21 years, which started to decline after 2002 and declined very sharply after 2004. Just as the decline in family migration numbers in general, this decline of the age group of 18 to 21 years is due to the measures implemented in 2004.

As aforementioned, in 2004, the minimum age requirement for spouses for marriage migration was increased from 18 to 21 years. The age minimum to let your spouse migrate to the Netherlands was set to 21, because the perception was that transnational marriages between young people of Turkish and Moroccan origin were forced on young spouses by their families. The belief was that raising the minimum age for spousal migration would protect especially women on both sides of the border against pressure from family elders (Bonjour & Block, 2013, p. 205; Staatsblad 496, 2004, p. 11; Sterckx, 2015, p. 1554). In addition, the age requirement was changed, because the government argued that, on this age, young men would be less inclined to drop out of school or stop other education programmes in order to work and earn the money needed for the income requirement (Staatsblad 496, 2004, pp. 10-11).

When having a further look at figure 2, it is noticeable that more or less the same happens for the age group of younger than 13 years as for the age group of 18 to 21. Furthermore, it is notable that the age group of 40 and older stays very much the same the entire period, except for some small peaks in 1998, 2001, 2002 and 2003. It is however unclear what the causes of these two trends were.

Figure 2:



6.1.5 Conclusion of decreasing the relative high number of family migrants

In this subsection, I analysed the data on the relative high number of family migrants from Morocco and argued what effect the Dutch restrictive family migration policies had on the number of family migrants.

When looking at the data and figures analysed, it could be argued that the Dutch government wanted to decrease the number of family migrants in order to increase integration. It succeeded in its objective to decrease the number of family migrants from Morocco to the Netherlands. After 2002, the number of family migrants started to decline fast and started to decline even more rapidly after the implementation of more strict measures in 2004. In addition, an effect of the policies was that the number of young marriage migrants from the age of 18 to 21 decreased rapidly after 2004 and that the number of migrant men declined more rapidly than that of migrant women between 1998 and 2003. However, although there was another measure implemented in 2006, partly aimed at further reducing the number of family migrants, the number of family migrants slightly increased after 2007, which suggests that this policy failed in reaching one of its objectives.

As aforementioned, the Dutch government succeeded in its objective to decrease the relative high number of family migration, which, in their eyes, was a cause for the lack of integration of Moroccans. The question is, if the Dutch government succeeded in their

objective to increase the level of integration. This question will be answered in the following couple of subsections.

6.2 Reducing marriage migration and increasing intermarriage

In this subsection, I will analyse the data on marriage migration and intermarriage of Moroccans in the Netherlands and argue what effect Dutch restrictive family migration policies had on the partner choice of Moroccans.

6.2.1 Decreasing number of marriage migrants

From 2001 to 2010, only 3.020 (8,9 percent) of Dutch Moroccans married someone who had a Dutch background and 28.300 (83,8 percent) married someone with a Moroccan background⁵. Of these 28.300 Moroccans who married someone with the same migration background, 10.190 (36 percent) were migration marriages and 18.110 (64 percent) were not migration marriages.

Figure 3 shows the choice of partner and migration marriages of first- and second-generation Moroccans in the Netherlands from 2001 to 2010. In this figure, it is interesting to see that marriages with the same migration or ethnic background declined from 2002 to 2004, after which it sharply grew until 2010. However, the most interesting thing about figure 5, is the big difference between marriage migration and non-marriage migration within the marriages of the same migration background after 2004. The number of marriage migrants declined and the choice for non-marriage migration grew rapidly after this certain year, until 2009.

The decline of marriage migrants could be due to the restrictive measures implemented by the Dutch government. As aforementioned, in 2004, the Dutch government decided to change the income requirement for sponsors, from 100% to 120% of the social assistance norm and raised the minimum age of spouses from 18 to 21 years. These measures made it harder to fulfil the requirements for marriage migration.

In 2004 and 2007, politicians argued that the continuous flow of migration, as result of the partner choice of Moroccan and Turkish youths, had a negative effect on the integration and had disturbed the integration process of migrants on the group level in the Netherlands over the couple of decades. They argued that the integration process of each generation had to start from the beginning again (Staatsblad 496, 2004, pp. 9-13; TK, 2003-2004, 29700, nr. 3,

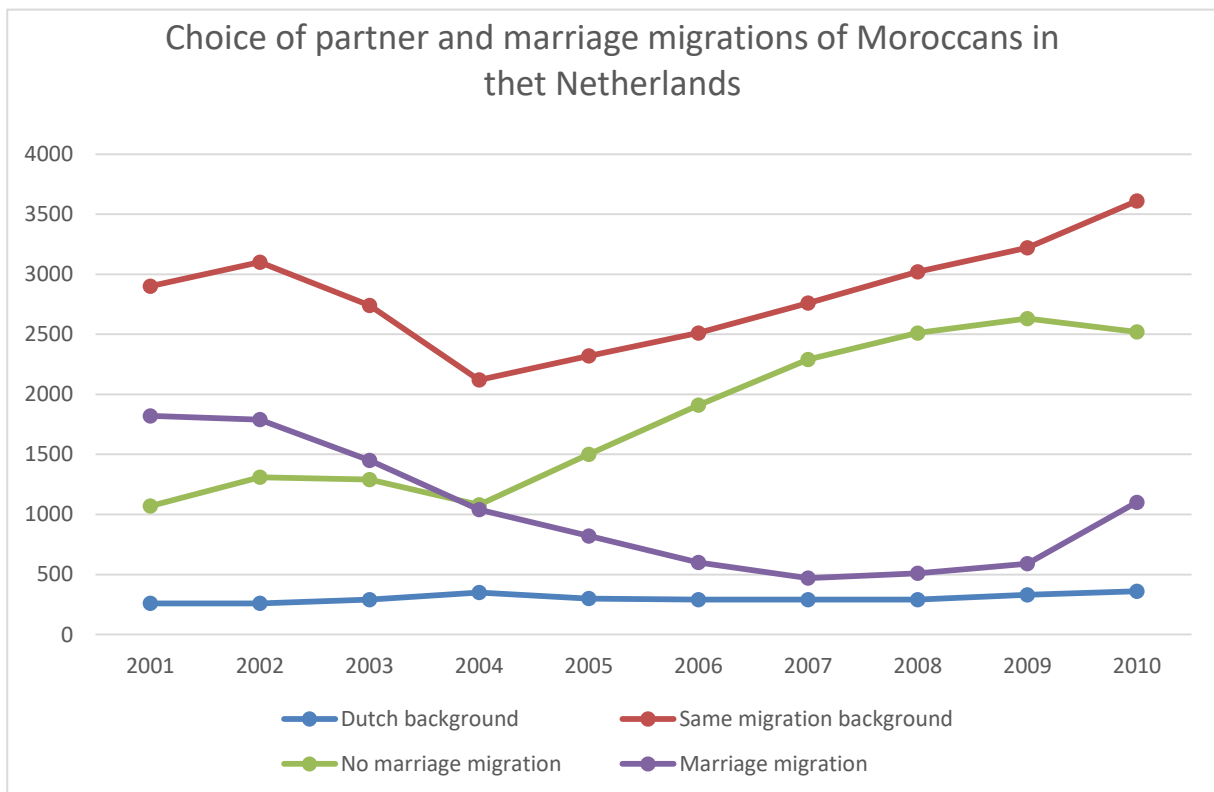
⁵ The remaining 7,3 percent married someone from a different migration background.

pp. 2-3; TK, 2004-2005, 19637, nr. 873, pp. 1-4; TK Handelingen, 2004-2005, 29700, nr. 60, p. 3885).

Also in parliament, marriage migration and the partner choice of Moroccan and Turkish youths were seen as something that had a negative impact on integration and therefore the number of family migrants had to be decreased (TK, 2004-2005, 19637, nr. 873, pp. 1-4). Therefore, there was once again a link created between, this time specifically, reducing marriage migrants and increasing the level of integration

When looking at figure 3, it could be argued that the objective of these policies to reduce the number of marriage migrants was achieved as the number of marriage migrants has decreased significantly. Whether the objective to increase the level of integration was achieved as well, is discussed here below.

Figure 3:



6.2.2 Low rate of intermarriages and high rate of marriages among people from the same ethnic group

When looking at the rest of figure 5, the rapid growth of marriages of the same ethnic background without marriage migration explains why the overall marriages of Moroccans with the same ethnic group did not decline. It seems if marriage migration was replaced with

marrying someone from the same ethnic background within the Netherlands. In addition, the marriage of Dutch Moroccans with someone of a Dutch background was very low in 2001 and almost stayed the same for the entire period. Although there was a big growth of marriages with people of a Dutch background of 257 percent, with 70 marriages in 2001 and 180 marriages in 2010, the number of intermarriages in Dutch society was still very low. In addition, the marriages with someone of the same ethnic background grew even faster with 275 percent, with 640 marriages in 2001 and 1760 in 2010. Therefore, although the rate of intermarriages increased, the rate of non-intermarriages increased even faster.

This low intermarriage rates and high marriage rates of Moroccans marrying someone of the same ethnic background in the Netherlands indicates that, as explained in section 5, cultural and social distance between the Dutch ethnic group and the Moroccan ethnic has not diminished. It means that these social and cultural differences are still being seen as an obstacle to marry someone from a different ethnic group and that the Moroccan minority is not drawing nearer to the dominant group in society. Their traditional norms and values have not been exchanged by modern norms and values and this would thus be an indication that they are not well integrated in Dutch society. Consequently, the level of integration did not increase significantly.

Furthermore, the choice of Moroccans to marry within their own ethnic group in the Netherlands instead of marrying someone from the Dutch ethnic group, also indicates that Moroccans in the Netherlands do not interact often with Dutch natives. As explained in section 5, people are more likely to choose a partner from a group they interact on a day-to-day basis with. This low frequency of social contact with Dutch natives would be an indication that they are still socially not well integrated in Dutch society.

The argument that there is a low frequency of social contact between Moroccans and Dutch natives, is supported by research done by Statistics Netherlands in 2006 and 2011 (CBS, 2013). This research contains a survey that points out that, in 2006, 54 percent had more contact with people of their own ethnic group and only 16 percent had more contact with people from the Dutch ethnic group. In 2011, this contact even deteriorated, with 57 percent having more contact with people of their own ethnic group and only 11 percent having more contact with people from the Dutch ethnic group. In addition, this research questioned people how frequent they had Dutch visitors. In 2006, only 17 percent answered that they had frequent Dutch visitors and in 2011 only 10 percent answered that they had frequent Dutch visitors.

Finally, as explained in section 5, intermarriage cannot only be seen as an indication of integration, but it can also be a boost for integration, as it would tie together families of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, forging bonds of kinship and love between two different social groups, making integration a smoother process. In addition, (second-generation) migrants who marry outside their own group tend to have a better economic position and a better general upward social mobility than those who do not. As intermarriage rates are very low, this boost of integration did not take place.

Thus, the high rate of marriages of Moroccans marrying someone within their own ethnic group in the Netherlands and the low rate of intermarriages indicates that the level of integration of Moroccans did not increase. In addition, because intermarriage rates were low, there was no boost of the level of integration for Moroccans either. It seems therefore that the policies that were implemented to reduce marriage migration did not increase the number of intermarriages but created a side effect of Moroccans marrying someone from their own ethnic group in the Netherlands itself.

6.2.3 Differences between first-generation and second-generation Moroccans

Figure 4 shows the choice of partner and migration marriages from first generation Moroccans and figure 5 shows the choice of partner and migration marriages from second generation Moroccans in the Netherlands from 2001 to 2010. One of the differences between figure 4 and figure 5, is the growth of marriages in general after 2004. The growth of marriages of the second-generation is bigger than that of the first-generation Moroccans. This probably has to do with fewer first-generation migrants marrying these days, as marriages with people of a Dutch background also did not rise and most of them probably already married.

A more interesting difference between these two figures is the difference between non-migration marriages and migration marriages. In figure 4, this difference is far smaller than in figure 5. In figure 5, the choice of second-generation Moroccans to marry someone from the own migration background with no marriage migration was for some years almost the same as the total number of marriages with people from the same migration background, as in figure 4 these two were almost the same in 2010. Therefore, it seems that first-generation Moroccans were more likely to make use of migration marriage than second-generation Moroccans were. This could mean that marriage migration would decrease even further in the near future, because the number of (new) first-generation migrants is declining, as seen in subsection 6.1.

Figure 4:

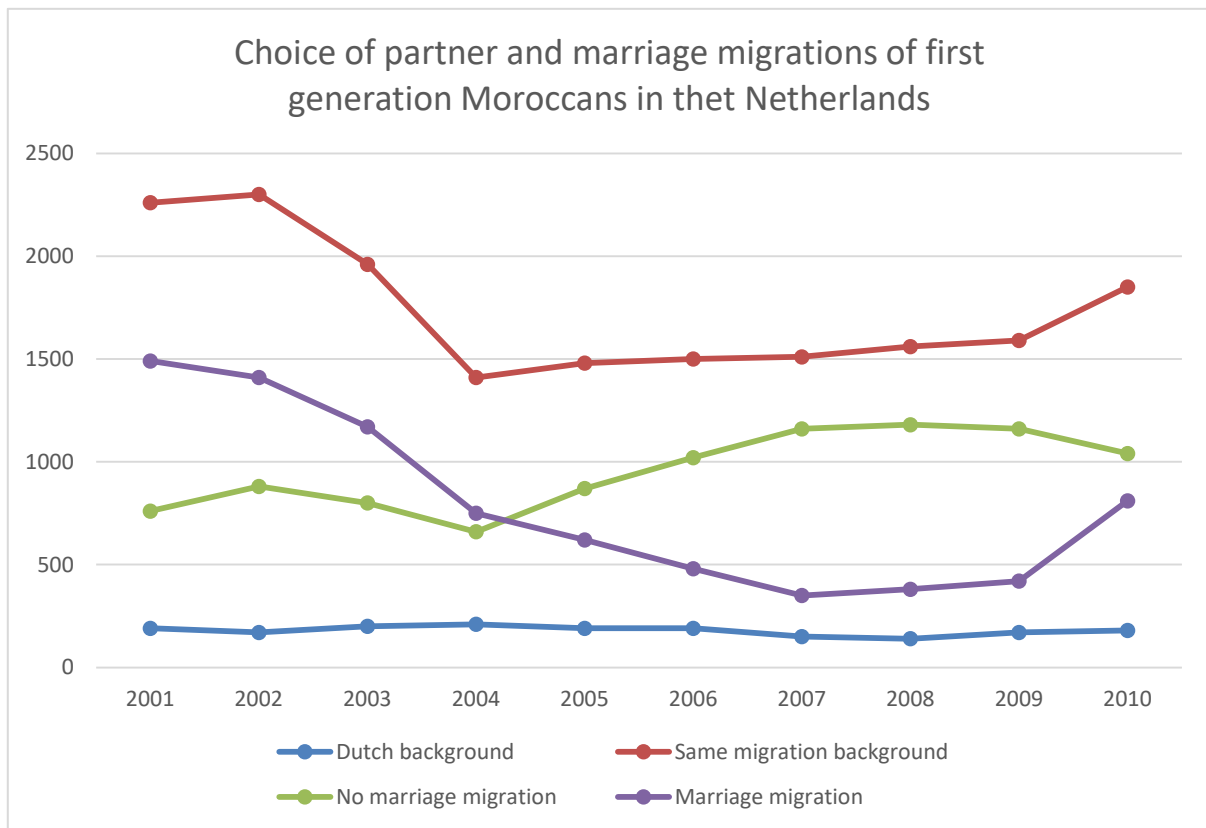
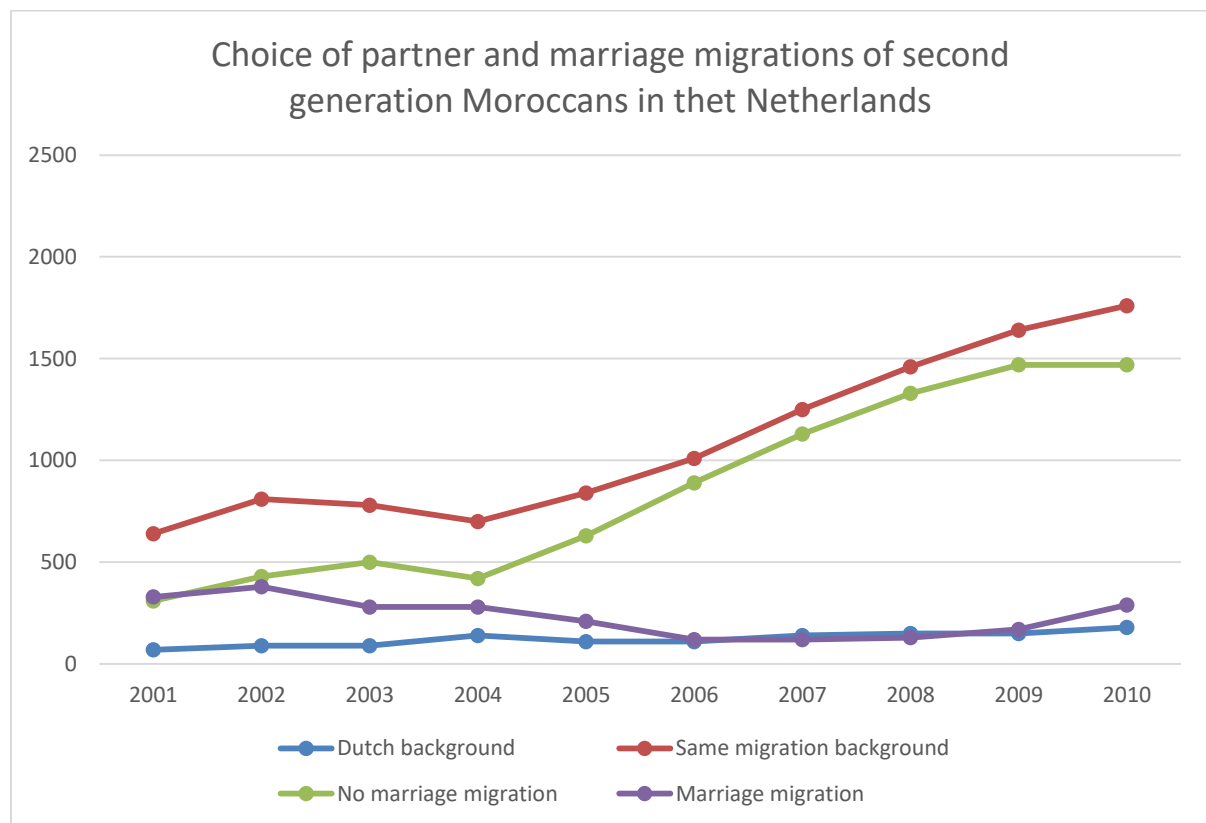


Figure 5:



6.2.4 Conclusion of reducing marriage migration and increasing intermarriage

In this subsection, I analysed the data on marriage migration and intermarriage of Moroccans in the Netherlands and argued what effect Dutch restrictive family migration policies had on the partner choice of Moroccans.

It could be argued that the Dutch government wanted to decrease the number of marriage migrants specifically, in order to increase integration. I argue that the objective of some of the policies to reduce the number of marriage migrants was achieved as the number of marriage migrants has decreased significantly. However, the policies did not increase the level of integration, as Moroccans chose to marry someone from the same ethnic group in the Netherlands instead of intermarrying a Dutch native. In addition, because intermarriage rates were low, there was no boost of the level of integration for Moroccans either.

Finally, it seems that first-generation Moroccans were more likely to make use of migration marriage than second-generation Moroccans. I argue that this could mean that marriage migration would decrease even further in the near future, because the number of (new) first-generation migrants is declining, as seen in subsection 6.1.

6.3 Addressing delinquent Moroccan youths

In this subsection, I will analyse the data on delinquent and criminal Moroccan youths and argue what the effects of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies were on this integration related problem.

6.3.1 The link between the policies implemented and delinquent Moroccan youths

The objective to increase integration in order to solve the problem of delinquent Moroccan youths is mentioned nowhere explicitly in the documents analysed. However, in some of the documents, politicians argued that the lack of integration of migrant children was due to their bad education by not well-integrated and emancipated migrant mothers. Thus, politicians argued that they wanted to improve migrant women emancipation and integration, because this would mean better education and integration of their children (Staatsblad 496, 2004, p. 10; TK, 1996-1997, 25114, nr. 3, p. 6; TK, 2003-2004, 29700, nr. 3, p. 5; TK Handelingen, 2004-2005, 29700, nr. 62, p. 4023; TK Handelingen, 2004-2005, 29700, nr. 62, p. 4039). In turn, this could solve the problem of delinquent Moroccan youths. Increasing integration in order to solve the problem of delinquent Moroccan youths can thus be identified as an implicit goal of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies.

Three of the policies analysed mentioned that one of the goals was to improve migrant women emancipation and integration because this would mean better education and integration of their children. The first of these policies or laws was the Civic Integration for Newcomers Law (*Wet Inburgering Nieuwkomers*), which was implemented in 1998. This law provided compulsory language and social orientation courses for newly arrived long-term migrants (except for those protected by EU law and some other Western countries). After these courses, people had to take a ‘citizenship test’, when they wanted to settle in the Netherlands. If someone failed to pass the test, he or she had to take part in the new integration programme. If someone failed to comply, he or she could have been fined (TK, 1996-1997, 25114, nr. 3; *Wet inburgering nieuwkomers*, 1998).

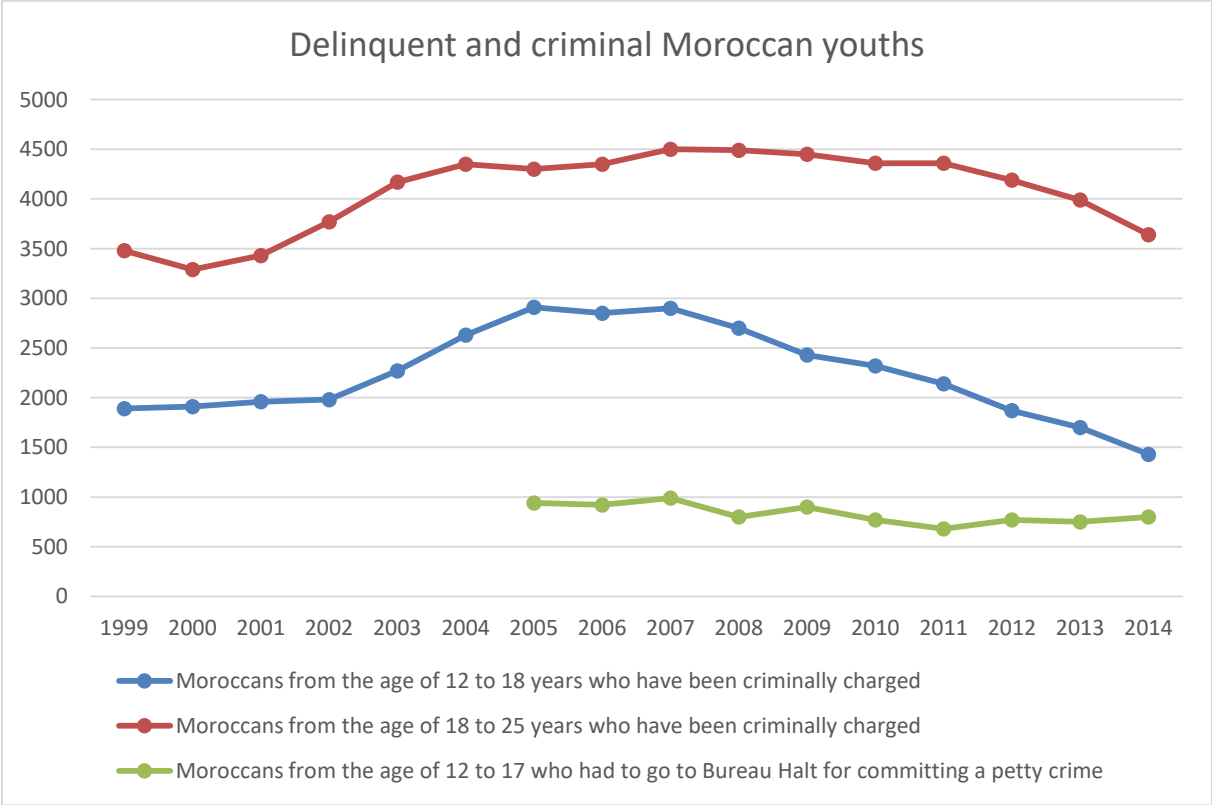
This law was mainly implemented to improve the language skills of migrants, making it easier for them to find a (good) job in the Dutch labour market and to improve general integration by improving basic knowledge of the Dutch society (Bonjour, 2009, pp. 196-197; EK Handelingen, 1997-1998, 25114, nr 27 pp. 1356-1358; Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015, pp. 252-253; TK, 1996-1997, 25114, nr. 3, pp. 6-7; TK Handelingen, 1997-1998, 25114, nr. 21, p. 1584; van Walsum, 2008, p. 208). Politicians argued that it was very important that new migrants would be able to function independently and properly in society as quickly as possible (TK, 1996-1997, 25114, nr. 3, p. 1; TK, 1993-1994, 23684, nr. 2, p. 25).

Additionally, important for solving the problem of delinquent Moroccan youths, the new law focussed on the integration and emancipation of migrant women. It was argued by the government that these women had been hard to reach in the past with previous integration programmes and that their position needed to be strengthened. They argued that helping these women was not only important for the position of these women themselves, but was also important as they would play an important role in the education of children (TK, 1996-1997, 25114, nr. 3, p. 6).

Also in the measures implemented in 2004, which I have explained earlier, there was a small emphasis on helping migrant women. During the implementation of these measures, the government argued that migrant women who migrated as a marriage migrant were not well integrated in the Netherlands and had very bad integration prospects. Few of them had a job or higher education, they had barely contact with Dutch natives and had very traditional views concerning emancipation. The government wanted to help these women not only because they were ‘poor’, but also because they thought that the lack of integration of these women would have negative effects on the next generation of migrants, their children (Staatsblad 496, 2004, p. 10).

The last policy that mentioned that it was (partly) being implemented to improve migrant women emancipation and integration because this would mean better education and integration of their children was the Law Integration Abroad, which I have explained earlier as well. In the explanation of the law, there was an emphasis on the ‘educational task’ of many new female migrants and that is was an important task of the government to make sure the integration of these migrants would progress well (TK, 2003-2004, 29700, nr. 3, p. 5).

Figure 6:



6.3.2 Criminal and delinquent Moroccan youths in numbers

Figure 6 shows the number of Moroccans who were criminally charged or had to go ‘Bureau Halt’⁶ from 1999 to 2014. It shows that the number of Moroccans from both age groups who had been criminally charged grew slightly over most of the earlier years until 2007 and started to decrease after that. In 2014 there were still more Moroccans who had been criminally charged from the age of 18 to 25 years compared to the number in 1999. However, the number of Moroccans from the age group of 12 to 18 years who were criminally charged had

⁶ As aforementioned, Bureau Halt’ is an organisation in the Netherlands that, by order of the Dutch Ministry of Justice and Security, executes punishments for youths from 12 to 18 years who committed a petty crime – such as vandalism, theft on a small scale or school absenteeism – frequently in the form of community service (“Halt,” 2018).

decreased. In addition, figure 6 shows that the number of Moroccans who had to go to 'Bureau Halt', declined very slightly.

As explained, three policies (partly) focussed on improving migrant women emancipation and integration because this would mean better education and integration of their children. Obviously, the education of children takes a couple of years. Migrant women, who, for instance, participated in the Civic Integration for Newcomers Law or the Law Integration Abroad, could have had children after participating in these integration courses. If so, this would have meant, in the case of the Civic Integration for Newcomers Law, that children of these migrant women would be 12 years or older after 2010. It is therefore difficult to make hard conclusions about the effects of the policies on the short-term, because the earlier data would not include (most of the) children who were raised by mothers who participated in the integration courses aimed at better education for migrant children.

However, it seems that, in the long term, the Civic Integration for Newcomers Law had achieved some results. The last couple of years, the number of criminally charged Moroccan youths declined. Especially the number of criminally charged Moroccan youths from the age group of 12 to 18 years was decreasing significantly. This would mean that the children who were raised by mothers who participated in the courses of the Civic Integration for Newcomers Law were better educated and integrated by their mothers than the children who were raised by mothers before this policy was implemented. This had consequently resulted in less criminal charges for Moroccans. In addition, the number of delinquent Moroccan youths who had to go to 'Bureau Halt' was declining.

Finally, it is too early to be able to say something about the effects of the measures implemented in 2004 and the effects of the Law Integration Abroad, as children of the migrants who had to cope with these new measures or participate in these integration courses are still too young. Whether these policies have had their intended effect could therefore be analysed in future research.

6.3.3 Conclusion of addressing delinquent Moroccan youths

In this subsection, I established that it is hard to say something about the short-term effects of the policies that were (partly) implemented with the objective to improve migrant women emancipation and integration to improve the education and integration of their children. Consequently addressing the problem of delinquent Moroccan youths in Dutch society. The children of the migrant women who had to cope with these measures or had to participate in these integration courses could be of too young age to be part of the data analysed, with an

exception for the children of migrant women who participated in the Civic Integration for Newcomers Law.

After analysing the data on delinquent and criminal Moroccan youths, it was notable that especially the age group of 12 to 18 years who were criminally charged had declined over the last couple of years. This would mean that the children of the migrant women who participated in the Civic Integration for Newcomers Law had been less criminally charged.

These numbers mean that the official registered contact of Moroccans youths at this age (but also of the age of 18 to 25 years) with the public prosecutor had declined. As made clear in section 5, delinquency means something different than criminal behaviour, as it also entails troublesome or nuisance behaviour that is not directly punishable through law. Because of this, it is hard to measure if delinquency of Moroccan youths has declined or not, because not all delinquent behaviour is being registered as a crime. In turn, this makes it difficult to conclude if the objective to increase integration in order to solve the problem of delinquent Moroccan youths was achieved or not.

Nonetheless, because declining criminality numbers of Moroccan youths partly say something about the delinquency of Moroccan youths in general, I assume that delinquency of Moroccan youths had declined over the last couple of years. The objective to increase integration and education of migrant children – in order to solve the problem of delinquent Moroccan youths – was thus achieved.

6.4 Protecting and emancipating migrant women

In this subsection, I will analyse the data on the protection and emancipation of migrant women and argue what the effects of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies were on these two policy goals.

6.4.1 Protecting migrant women

In the documents that were analysed, politicians talked frequently about the protection of migrant women. In both the earlier mentioned Act for Prevention of Fraudulent Marriages and the measures implemented in 2004, politicians argued that migrant women needed to be protected from exploitation by migrant men and needed to be protected against pressure from family elders who would force them to marry someone they actually did not want to marry (Staatsblad 496, 2004, p. 11; TK, 1992-1993, 22488, nr. 8; TK, 1992-1993, 22488, nr. 9).

As seen in subsection 6.1.2, the number of family migrant men was reduced. I argued that the long-term effect of the Act for Prevention of Fraudulent Marriages was the faster

decline of the number of migrant men than of women, because marrying under false pretences was made more difficult. As such, it could be argued that the objective of this policy to protect *more* migrant women from being exploited by migrant men was achieved. However, as men were still migrating as family migrants and marriage migrants to the Netherlands after the implementation of the act, it is difficult to argue that migrant women were fully protected from being exploited and that the objective of the policy to protect migrant women was fully achieved.

In addition, subsection 6.2.1 showed that the number of marriage migrants in general had decreased, which means that the absolute number of 'import brides' had decreased as well. However, this subsection also showed that the number of marriages within the own ethnic group in the Netherlands went up. This means that there could still have been pressure of family elders on migrant women to marry someone from the same ethnic group in the Netherlands. It is therefore difficult to argue if, in this sense, the objective to protect migrant women was achieved or not.

In short, the effect of the policies was that women were better protected from being exploited from migrant men, but it is difficult to argue that migrant women were fully protected from being exploited. In addition, it is unclear if they were better protected against forced marriages under pressure of family elders. Therefore, it is difficult to argue that the objective of the policies to protect (Muslim) migrant women from oppression was fully achieved.

6.4.2 The link between the policies and emancipating migrant women

It seems that Dutch government tried to achieve the objective to emancipate migrant women mainly through integration courses and improving these courses. Between 1993 and 2010, there were three policies implemented with strong emphasis on the emancipation of migrant women. The first of these policies was the Civic Integration for Newcomers Law, which I already talked about in subsection 6.3.1. This law was not only implemented to increase the integration of migrant children, reducing Moroccan delinquent youths, but was also implemented to emancipate migrant women in order to strengthen their position in society (TK, 1996-1997, 25114, nr. 3, p. 6).

Early evaluation of the policy pointed out that most newly arriving migrants were not aware of the new law and the obligation to participate in an integration research ('inbrugeringsonderzoek') or integration programme. Nevertheless, after completing the

research or the programme they were positive of the existence of it and argued that it had contributed to their self-reliance in society (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2001, pp. 27-30).

However, later evaluations of the policy argued that it was clear that the current system did not function properly due to long waiting lists and unmotivated migrants. There was a lot of dissatisfaction over the functioning of the system and its inefficiency. In addition, the level of knowledge of the Dutch society and language after the completion of the courses was still severely lacking (Brink et al., 2002; Dagevos, Gijsberts, 2012, pp. 218-220).

Because there was a lot of dissatisfaction about the functioning and the inefficiency of the system, the law was replaced by the Civic Integration Law (*Wet Inburgering*) in 2007. The Dutch government wanted to tackle the problems with the old law and implemented a more rigorous obligation to complete the civic integration process. If someone failed to pass the final civic integration test, he or she could lose his or her residence permit or this could lead to a fine (Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015, p. 253; TK, 2005-2006, 30308, nr. 3 pp. 2-6; TK Handelingen, 2006-2007, 30308, nr. 8, p. 350).

The main objective of this law was thus to improve integration. There was an emphasis on the obligation for every migrant, new or old, to integrate in Dutch society in order to improve the position of already present migrant minorities in society and to prevent new migrants from ending up in a bad position. The new exam was seen as a first good step towards successful integration (TK, 2005-2006, 30308, nr. 3 pp. 10-11; TK Handelingen, 2006-2007, 30308, nr. 9, p. 354).

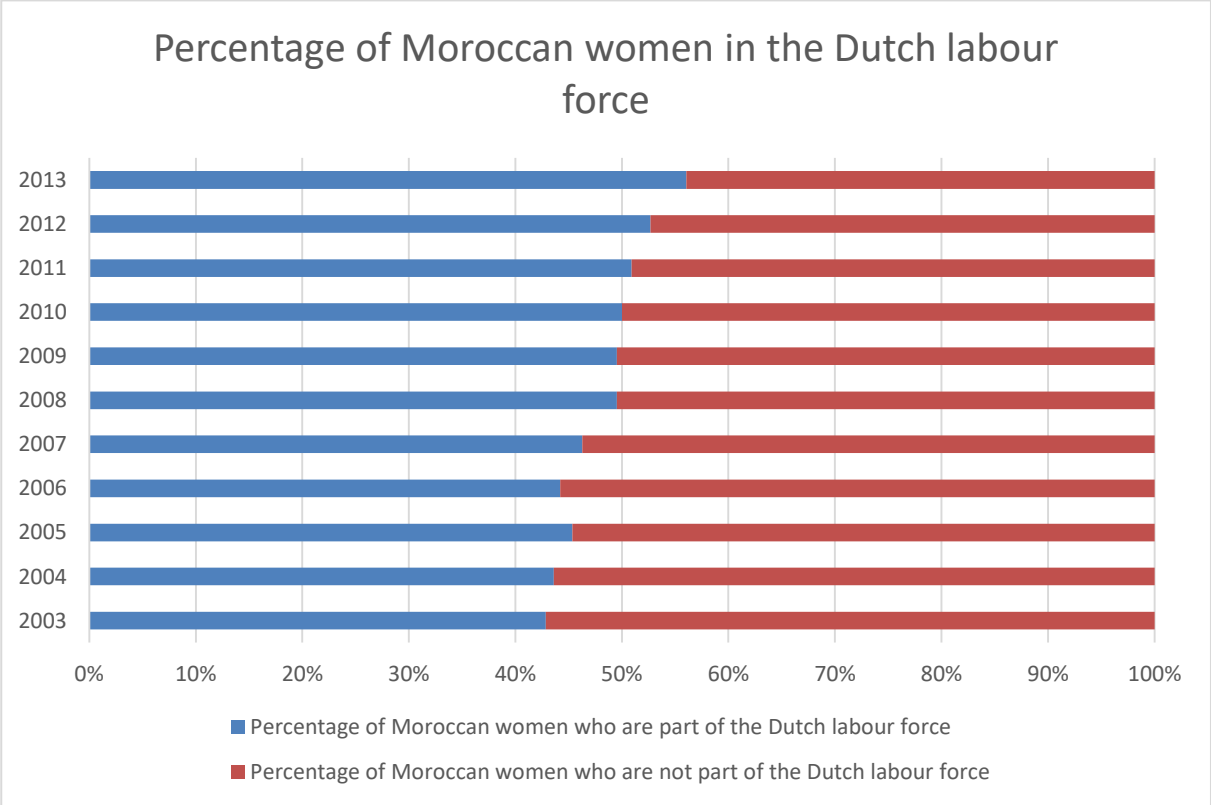
In addition and important to the improvement of the emancipation of migrant women, the Minister of Alien Affairs and Integration argued that the emancipation of migrant women was also an important goal of the Civic Integration Law, just as it was for the previous integration law. In a parliamentary debate, she said that the government had made extra resources available specifically for the integration and emancipation of this group of migrants (TK Handelingen, 2006-2007, 30308, nr. 9, p. 358).

However, evaluation of the policy pointed out that the new law had a slow start. Municipalities who were responsible for the integration programmes and courses were not prepared for the big changes the law provided. Especially the big municipalities were off to a slow start, because they did not have enough time to prepare for the changes that were necessary. Nonetheless, after some small changes which resolved some main problems, the performance of the law was going well in 2008 (Significant, 2010, pp. 84-85). In addition, in 2009, although 74% of the people who participated in the exam passed – while the target value was only 55% – there was critique of the migrants participating in the programme. The

level was sometimes too high or too low and sometimes (mostly depending on the teacher) the programme functioned not as well as expected (Significant, 2010, p. 141).

The third policy that had a strong emphasis on migrant women emancipation was the Law Integration Abroad, which I already talked about in subsection 6.1 and in subsection 6.3. During the debates about this law, there was a broad consensus between parliament and government about the emancipation and integration of new (especially marriage) migrants (TK Handelingen, 2004-2005, 29700, nr. 62, p. 4023). In addition, the Minister of Alien Affairs and Integration even argued that one of the main reasons for them to start creating the Law Integration Abroad was to strengthen the emancipation of migrant women (TK Handelingen, 2004-2005, 29700, nr. 62, p. 4039).

Figure 7:



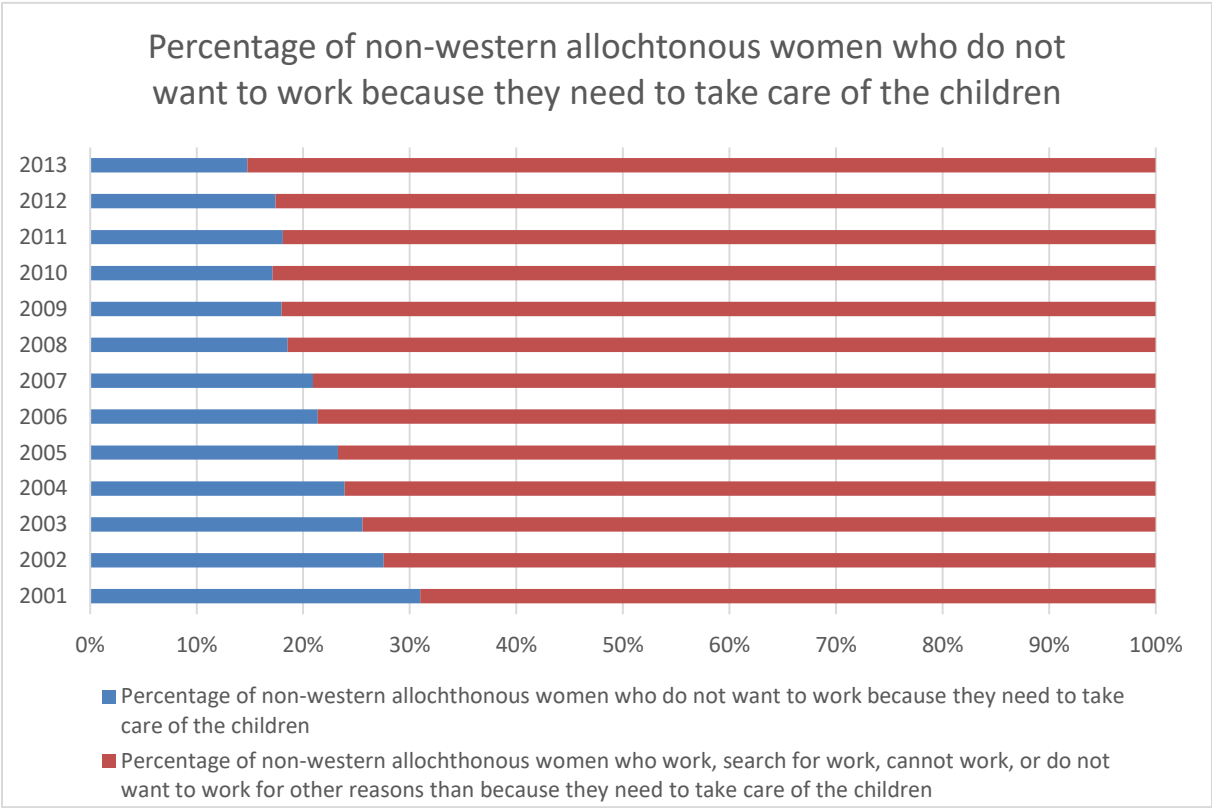
6.4.3 Emancipation of migrant Moroccan women in numbers

Figure 7 shows the percentage of Moroccan women from the age of 15 to 75 who were part of the Dutch labour force and the percentage of Moroccan women from the age of 15 to 75 who were not part of the Dutch labour force from 2003 to 2013. Interesting about this figure is that the percentage of Moroccan women who were part of the Dutch labour force grew very

slightly every year, with an exception of the year 2006. The percentage of Moroccan women who were part of the Dutch labour force in 2013 was 13% higher than that of 2003.

In section 5, emancipation of (migrant) women was partly defined as participation in the labour market. If labour participation of migrant women is thus used as an indicator of emancipation, it could be argued that the emancipation of Moroccan women had slightly increased. This would mean that the objectives of the policies implemented to increase the emancipation of Moroccan migrant women were achieved. However, around 50% of the Moroccan women still did not participate in the Dutch labour market, which means that there was still a long way to go before all Moroccan women were fully emancipated.

Figure 8:



In addition, figure 8 shows the percentage of non-western allochthonous women who did not want to work because they said they needed to take care of the children⁷ and the percentage of non-western allochthonous women who worked, searched for work, could not work, or did not want to work for other reasons than because they needed to take care of the children from 2001 to 2013. What is significant about this figure, is that the percentage of

⁷ As explained in section 2.3, the CBS asked non-western allochthonous women why they did not want or could not work. In this research, one of the options was that they needed or wanted to take care of the children.

non-western allochthonous women who did not want to work because they needed to take care of the children, decreased every year, with an exception of the year 2011. The percentage of non-western allochthonous women who did not want to work because they needed to take care of the children was around 16% lower in 2013 than in 2001, which means the percentage was halved.

Just as labour participation, not working and taking care of the children could be used as an indicator of emancipation, because, in section 5, emancipation of (migrant) women was partly defined as them not being addressed as mothers and as the only ones who have to take care of their children. Therefore, if they do not see themselves as (sole) carers or educators of their children, it could be argued that the emancipation of non-western allochthonous women had increased significantly as the percentage of women who said they did not work because they had to take care of the children was halved. However, because the data includes not only Moroccans but also other non-western migrant minorities, it is difficult to conclude if the emancipation of specifically Moroccan women improved. Nevertheless, they are part of this non-western allochthonous group and I therefore argue that that the policies implemented also contributed to increase the emancipation of Moroccan migrant women and consequently the objectives of these policies were achieved.

Finally, when linking both of the figures back to the policies implemented by the Dutch government, it is notable that emancipation did not improve at a faster rate after implementing the new Civic Integration Law in 2006. As aforementioned, this law was implemented because the previous Civic Integration for Newcomers Law did not have the desired effect on integration and was lacking behind in its integration results. As there was not a boost to the emancipation of migrant women after 2006, it could be argued that the new Civic Integration Law did not have a better effect on the emancipation of migrant women than its predecessor did, which contradicts the evaluations.

6.4.4 Conclusion protecting and emancipating migrant women

In this subsection, I analysed the data on the protection and emancipation of migrant women and argued what the effects of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies were on these two policy goals.

First, it seems that the effect of the Dutch restrictive migration policies was the improved protection of women against exploitation from migrant men. However, it is difficult to argue that due to the policies migrant women were fully protected from being exploited and it is unclear if they were better protected against the pressure from family elders of forced

marriages. Therefore, it is difficult to argue that the objective of the policies to protect migrant women was fully achieved.

Second, when looking at the policies implemented that were aimed at improving the emancipation of migrant women, it seems the Dutch government tried to achieve this goal mainly through civic integration courses and improving these courses. Although evaluation of the first of these policies, the Civic Integration for Newcomers Law, pointed out that it was not functioning properly, it had a positive effect on the emancipation of Moroccan women – if emancipation is understood as more women participating in the Dutch labour market and less women not wanting to work because they needed to take care of the children. The policies that came after, the Law Integration Abroad and the Civic Integration Law, also had a positive effect on emancipation and thus it can be argued that the emancipation objective of these policies were achieved. However, around 50% of the Moroccan women still did not participate in the Dutch labour market, which means that there was still a long way to go before all Moroccan women were fully emancipated. Based on these qualitative and quantitative data, the policies led to an improved emancipation of migrant women, although this could still be enhanced even further.

6.5 Conclusion

In this section, the quantitative data found on family migration, delinquent Moroccan youths, emancipation of migrant women, marriage migration and mixed marriage of Moroccans were analysed. Based on these data and the data analysed during the qualitative document analysis of policy documents, parliamentary debates, laws and policy evaluations, I discussed whether the policy objectives described in section 5 and described in the analysed documents, were achieved and what the effects of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies were on family migration and integration of Moroccans in the Netherlands..

First, I argue that the Dutch government wanted to decrease the number of family migrants in order to increase integration. Second, it I argue that the Dutch government wanted to decrease the number of marriage migrants specifically, in order to increase integration. In turn, they wanted to they wanted to increase the level of integration, because this would solve the integration related problems of delinquent youths, low level of emancipation of migrant women and the low rate of intermarriages present in the Netherlands. I argue that by implementing restrictive family migration policies, the Dutch government succeeded in its objective to decrease the relative high number of Moroccan family migrants and marriage

migrants to the Netherlands. However, it could be questioned whether they succeeded in their objective to increase the level of integration of Moroccans in the Netherlands.

I argue that the Dutch restrictive family migration policies did not increase the level of integration of Moroccans, because Moroccans chose to marry someone from the same ethnic group in the Netherlands instead of intermarrying a Dutch native. Additionally, because of these low intermarriage rates, there was no boost of the level of integration for Moroccans.

However, I argue that the objective to increase integration and education of migrant children – in order to solve the problem of delinquent Moroccan youths – was achieved through restrictive family migration policies aimed at better integrating and emancipating migrant women as the delinquency of Moroccan youths has declined over the last years.

In addition, I argue that the Dutch restrictive family migration policies increased the level of integration and emancipation of migrant women, because more women were participating in the Dutch labour market and less women did not want to work because they needed to take care of the children, after the implementation of these policies.

In short, although the partner choice of Moroccans indicates that the level of integration did not increase, both integration related problems of delinquent Moroccan youths and the lack of integration and emancipation of migrant women had improved, indicating that the level of integration did increase. It is therefore difficult to conclude if the general level of integration has increased or not, because these two findings contradict each other.

In this thesis, integration is defined as the sociocultural absorption of the dominant culture by (migrant) minority groups and the (full) participation of these minorities in the (economic) life of the host society. The partner choice of Moroccans indicates that the Moroccan minority group did not intermarry on a large scale and did not absorb the dominant Dutch culture. As this is, as explained in section 5, frequently being seen as the last step in the integration process, I argue that full integration of Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands was not achieved by implementing the restrictive migration policies between 1993 and 2010. Although the policies were successful in decreasing the number of family migrants from Morocco to the Netherlands, the general level of integration is still lacking behind. Therefore the objective of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies to increase the level of integration was only achieved to a certain extent. There were some positive effects to be found on the level of integration and integration related problems, such as the slight decline in delinquent Moroccan youths and the improved emancipation of migrant women, which were caused by the Dutch restrictive family migration policies. Consequently the two hypotheses, mentioned in section 5.4, are accepted as the policies reduced Moroccan family migration to

the Netherlands and improved the level of integration, although not significantly, of Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands.

7. Conclusion

7.1 Summary and answering the research question

The fear of a continuous flow of new family migrants arriving each year in the Netherlands, provoked Dutch political and public debates on this issue and led to the implementation of restrictive family migration policies in the 1990s. In this thesis I have answered the following research question: “What were the policy objectives of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies on family migration from Morocco to the Netherlands from 1993 to 2010 and how did these policies effect family migration and integration of Moroccan migrants?”

According to the academic literature, the main objectives of the restrictive family migration policies in the Netherlands were to decrease the relative high number of family migrants and to improve the integration of already present Moroccan migrants. These two objectives were seen as interlinked, as the Dutch government wanted to decrease the number of incoming family migrants in the Netherlands, because this would increase the level of integration of already present migrant minorities. The Dutch government wanted to increase the integration of the Moroccan migrant minority, because this would solve the problems in Dutch society with delinquent Moroccan youths, free migrant women from an (supposedly) oppressive culture and emancipate them. Consequently, they wanted to increase the number of intermarriages. Increased intermarriage rates and increased emancipation of migrant women would boost the integration of the entire Moroccan migrant minority group in the Netherlands.

After a document analysis on policy documents, parliamentary debates, laws and policy evaluation and an analysis of quantitative data on family migration and marriage migration from Morocco, partner choice of Moroccans in the Netherlands, delinquency and criminality of Moroccan youths and emancipation of Moroccan women, I argue that that the policy objective of the Dutch government to reduce the number of family migrants arriving in the Netherlands was achieved, but the integration objective only to a small extent.

Although the Dutch restrictive family migration policies had some positive effects on the level of integration and integration related problems of delinquent Moroccans youths and migrant women emancipation, the partner choice of Moroccans to marry someone within their own ethnic group indicates that the Moroccan minority group has not socioculturally absorbed the dominant culture, meaning that their level of integration is still lacking behind. In the

future, restrictive family migration policies could consequently be directed more towards improving intermarriages between Moroccan migrants (from different generations) and people from Dutch origin, to improve the level of integration even more.

7.2 Limitations and possible future research

As I have explained in the method section, the generalisation of this research is limited (if not impossible), because it only focuses on Dutch restrictive family migration policies and its effects in the Netherlands. This means that research on, for example, Germany or France on restrictive family migration policies, could have very different outcomes, because the objectives of the policies in these countries could be very different and the contextual factors in these countries could influence the effects of these policies, creating a different outcome. Future interesting research on the topic of restrictive family migration policies could thus be research in other (Western-)European countries, in order to compare what kind of policies were implemented here, analyse what their objectives were and if these objectives were reached or not. This way, there could be learned from (possible) successful policies in other countries.

Another constraint of this thesis is that the research is limited to the available data. Some data used in this thesis were only available from 2001 (or even 2005) and most of these data were only available until 2010. This limits the research, because the restrictive family migration policies could have a different short-term and long-term effects. Therefore, it would be interesting for future research to look at the long-term effects of the restrictive family migration policies, when further data is available.

However, this research has provided great insights and detailed information on Dutch restrictive family migration policies and its effects due to its high internal validity. As a consequence, it has contributed with in-depth knowledge on the content of Dutch restrictive family migration policies in the existing academic literature.

Other possible future research could be research on integration in the Netherlands. There could be researched what factors influence the integration of Moroccans other than the restrictive family migration policies. These could be external factors like the political situation in Morocco or pressure from the Moroccan government on the Moroccan community in the Netherlands to not fully integrate in Dutch society (Groen & Kranenberg, 2008). However, it could also be interesting to look at other internal factors, such as for instance segregation or religion. These are (among others) interesting variables that could help explain why certain policy objectives were achieved or not and could be explored in future research.

To conclude, although faced with some methodological challenges and limitations, this research contributes to the existing academic literature by identifying the implicit and explicit objectives of the Dutch restrictive family migration policies and what effects these policies had on family migration and integration of Moroccans. Finally, it shows that the integration objective of the Dutch government was not fully reached, which means that – if the Dutch government nowadays still wants to increase the level of integration – the restrictive family migration policies have to be revised, to mainly focus on intermarriages.

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