Access to citizenship of the population of foreign origin in The Netherlands

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English abstract
This contribution looks into the access to citizenship of the population of foreign origin in the Netherlands. It is meant as an introduction for outsiders on the Dutch nationality legislation and a source for some basic recent figures on the foreign population in the Netherlands. A round up is made of the legislation on attribution and acquisition of the Dutch nationality and numbers related to the different procedures of acquisition of Dutch state citizenship are provided. Since this possibility exists for the Netherlands due to qualified data, the numerical importance of the overall population of foreign origin – who are called ‘allochthones’ in the Netherlands – is assessed.

French abstract
Cette contribution examine l’accès à la nationalité néerlandaise de la population d’origine étrangère présente aux Pays-Bas. Le but est de donner une introduction sur la législation sur la nationalité néerlandaise et de fournir quelques statistiques de base sur population étrangère en Hollande. L’état de la législation sur l’attribution et l’acquisition de la nationalité néerlandaise ainsi que des données chiffrées des différentes procédures d’acquisition de la nationalité sont présentées. Vu que cette possibilité existe, des différentes données sur la population d’origine étrangère, ceux qu’aux Pays-Bas on appelle les ‘allochtones’, seront examinées.

Dutch abstract
Deze bijdrage onderzoekt de toegang tot het Nederlands staatsburgerschap van de buitenlandse bevolking gevestigd in Nederland. Bedoeling is een inleiding te verzorgen op de Nederlandse nationaliteitswetgeving en enkele kerngegevens omtrent de buitenlandse bevolking in Nederland te verschaffen. De krachtlijnen van de wetgeving betreffende de toekenning en verwerving van de Nederlandse nationaliteit en een aantal cijfergegevens aangaande de verschillende procedures ter verwerving van de nationaliteit worden gepresenteerd. Gezien deze mogelijkheid bestaat, worden verder ook de cijfers betreffende de bevolking van buitenlandse oorsprong, die in Nederland ‘allochtonen’ worden genoemd, nader bekeken.

Key words: state citizenship, nationality legislation, the Netherlands, foreign population, immigrants, allochthones
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INTRODUCTION
In the 1960s and early 1970s, the Netherlands have attracted considerable numbers of foreign workers to alleviate the shortage in workforce in a number of sectors of the labour market. When they stopped actively recruiting foreign workers in the mid 1970s and installed a more severe immigration regime, the migratory influx nevertheless continued due to the policy of family reunification and the – although increasingly reluctant – admittance of political refugees. At the same time, a large number of ‘new Dutch’ people, originating from the former colony of Surinam, from the overseas Dutch territory Aruba or from the Dutch Antilles, equally immigrated towards the continental territory. In the 1980s, Dutch politicians and administrators began to recognize the fact that large groups of foreign residents would remain part of Dutch society and acknowledged the position and integration of ex-colonial inhabitants in the Netherlands as a policy issue. It was assessed that certain groups of foreign residents and ex-colonial inhabitants were held back in different areas of society, and agreement grew that something should be done about this. An incorporation policy was set up aimed at emancipation of the official categories of ethnic minorities, with the objective of elevating the ethnicized groups to equal social status with the indigenous groups in Dutch society, while at the same time propagating the ideal of a multicultural society. It would be mistaken to underestimate the importance of pragmatic motives in the development of this policy: a main concern of the Dutch political establishment was to keep control over the ‘allochthonous factor’ in society (Jacobs, 1998a). There is hardly any doubt that the terrorist attacks by the Moluccan minority, which the government had been neglecting for years, were important in creating a political consensus on the importance of immigrant integration. In addition, there were the informal agreements between the traditional parties to polarize as less as possible on the immigrant issue and thus isolate the extreme-right wing parties. This back stage agreement also helped to establish a coordinated policy in the domain of integration.

The main strategy which was opted for to ameliorate the position of foreigners in Dutch society consisted in facilitating the acquisition of Dutch state citizenship in order to reduce the number of people who reside permanently in the Netherlands as foreigners, holding a legal status which provides them less protection. Thus, in 1984 the Dutch nationality legislation was modified to allow children born on Dutch territory and residing there since birth to acquire Dutch state citizenship between the ages of 18 and 25 by declaration. At the same time, the procedure of discretionary naturalisation underwent important modifications in order to make it less time-consuming and more attractive. In this respect, the
intervention of Parliament in the procedure was struck and the responsibility for the investigation regarding the conditions for naturalization was transferred from the police to the municipal administration. In addition to this policy to encourage acquisition of Dutch state citizenship, efforts were equally undertaken to limit the number of different legal regulations for Dutch citizens and foreign residents. It is in this logic that the right to vote and to stand as a candidate in local elections was granted to foreign nationals in 1985 (Jacobs, 1998b).

In this contribution I will look into the access to citizenship of the population of foreign origin in the Netherlands. I will start with general figures on the foreign population. In a next section, I will make a round up of the legislation on attribution and acquisition of the Dutch nationality and will provide, when this is possible, numbers related to the different procedures of acquisition of Dutch state citizenship. For a historical overview of the development of the Dutch legislation on nationality, I want to refer you to the solid study of Heijs (1995). In this contribution I will limit myself to presenting the current state of affairs with regard to the Dutch nationality legislation. I have chosen to present the main aspects of the nationality legislation, but it is impossible to avoid to mention a number of details in order to guarantee an adequate overview of the rather complex legislation with regard to Dutch state citizenship. Since this possibility exists for the Netherlands due to qualified data, we will discuss the numerical importance of the overall population of foreign origin – who are called ‘allochthones’ in the Netherlands - at the end of this contribution.

FOREIGN POPULATION
Tabel one gives an overview for the period between 1989 and 2000 of the number of foreigners in the Netherlands (each time for the 1st of January). As far as the their proportion in the total population is concerned, one can note that they constituted 4,9% of the total population in 1995, but that this figure has dropped to 4,1% in 2000. The overall majority of the foreign residents are so called ‘third country nationals’, foreigners from outside the European Union. In 1995, 22% of the foreign residents were EU citizens from one of the 14 other member states of the European Union. The proportion of EU citizens among the foreigners has become 30% in 2000.

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1 An earlier version of this contribution was published in French in the journal Migrations Société (2002, 14 (80) : 103-117).

2 Special procedures related to loss and reacquisition of nationality, or the consequences of adoption and marriage for Dutch nationality, will not be discussed. Have a look at http://min.buza.nl if you are interested in learning more about the new procedure, in vigour since 2002, with regard to reacquisition of nationality.

3 The difference with neighbouring country Belgium is remarkable: in 1995, 60% of the foreigners of Belgium were EU-citizens.
Tabel two gives an overview for the period between 1989 and 2000 of the number of foreigners of distinct nationalities in the Netherlands (each time for the 1st of January). In the table, only the numbers of the neighbouring countries and the most important immigration countries are provided. All nationals of states which used to be part of former-Yugoslavia (pre 1990), are joined together in the table – which is (still) a fairly common practice in Dutch statistics on the foreign population.

The foreigners mainly live in the municipalities at the borders and in the four large cities of the Randstad (=a conglomerate of cities in the West of the Netherlands), where their proportion in the total population is clearly a lot larger than the national average. In 2000, the city of Amsterdam had 12% of foreigners among its inhabitants, while the other three large cities (Rotterdam, The Hague, Utrecht) have a proportion of non-Dutch inhabitants of about 10%. It should be noted that the proportion of foreigners in the large cities has slightly dropped the last years, due to the large number of nationality acquisitions. This is especially the case for Amsterdam.

Figure one shows the spatial distribution of the proportion of foreigners on Dutch soil. Some of the highest proportions of foreigners (10 to 13%) are to be found in municipalities as Sluis-Aardenburg, Sas van

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Morocco</th>
<th>Turkey</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>Belgium</th>
<th>Italy</th>
<th>Spain</th>
<th>former-Yugoslavia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>130,1</td>
<td>167,3</td>
<td>39,4</td>
<td>37,1</td>
<td>22,9</td>
<td>15,9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>139,2</td>
<td>176,5</td>
<td>40,3</td>
<td>37,4</td>
<td>23,1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>191,5</td>
<td>41,8</td>
<td>37,5</td>
<td>23,3</td>
<td>16,7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>156,9</td>
<td>203,5</td>
<td>44,3</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>23,6</td>
<td>16,9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>163,7</td>
<td>214,8</td>
<td>46,9</td>
<td>41,8</td>
<td>23,9</td>
<td>17,2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>165,1</td>
<td>212,5</td>
<td>49,3</td>
<td>44,1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17,3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>164,6</td>
<td>202,6</td>
<td>52,1</td>
<td>44,7</td>
<td>24,2</td>
<td>17,5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>158,7</td>
<td>182,1</td>
<td>53,4</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>24,1</td>
<td>17,5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>149,8</td>
<td>154,3</td>
<td>53,9</td>
<td>41,1</td>
<td>24,1</td>
<td>17,4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>138,7</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>53,5</td>
<td>39,3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17,3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>135,7</td>
<td>114,7</td>
<td>53,9</td>
<td>39,2</td>
<td>24,4</td>
<td>17,4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>128,6</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>54,1</td>
<td>38,8</td>
<td>24,8</td>
<td>17,6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (http://statline.cbs.nl)
Gent and Hulst in the south-west of the country at the border with Belgium. In the south-east of the country, near the German border, there are even 30% of foreigners in the municipality Vaals, of which the majority are Germans.

**Figure 1. Proportion of non-nationals in the Dutch municipalities (2000)**

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, (http://statline.cbs.nl)

IUS SANGUINIS AT THE CORE OF THE NATIONALITY LEGISLATION

As in most countries of the European continent, the principle of *ius sanguinis* (principle of descent) as principle for intergenerational transmission of citizenship, constitutes today the fundamental rule of the Dutch legislation on state citizenship. Children born in the Netherlands from a Dutch parent are automatically Dutch nationals. Children, born abroad from a Dutch parent, equally automatically become Dutch nationals. Until the mid 1980s a patrilinear system was applied. Until 1985, the nationality of the father was crucial in determining the nationality in the Netherlands. The newborn was only attributed Dutch nationality at birth if the father possessed Dutch citizenship. It was only when the father was stateless, that the newborn would obtain the Dutch nationality from the mother. Between the 1\textsuperscript{st} of January 1985 and the 1\textsuperscript{st} of January 1998, a transitory measure installed the possibility for children born of a Dutch mother and a foreign father to opt for Dutch nationality, if they were born before 1985 and had not reached the age of 21. About 30,000 people residing in the Netherlands have made use of this procedure (Heijs, 1995: 204).
DOUBLE IUS SOLI AS INSTRUMENT OF INCLUSION

The nationality legislation also has elements related to the principle of *ius soli* (principle of territoriality). Since 1953, complementing the principle of *ius sanguinis*, there is a form of *double ius soli*, according to which persons born on Dutch soil from parents equally born on Dutch soil are considered Dutch state citizens. Indeed, Dutch nationality is – once again – attributed to children of foreigners if in turn one of their mothers was living on Dutch soil at the time of their own birth. In practice, this means that practically all so-called ‘immigrants of the third generation’ automatically become Dutch nationals at birth. There are no data available with regard to the number of immigrants of the third generation who obtain (or have obtained) nationality in this way.

ACQUISITION OF NATIONALITY THROUGH OPTION

Since 1984, there is in the Netherlands also a system based on the principle of (simple) *ius soli* to acquire state citizenship through declaration. One can do this between the ages of 18 and 25 if one was born in the Netherlands (including its overseas territories). The technical term for this procedure is acquisition of nationality through option. In the 1980s the number of acquisitions of nationality through option remained fairly modest, with an annual average of about 450 acquisitions (Heijs, 1995: 205). In the 1990s the procedure was used significantly more and become fairly important, as can be seen in figure 2.

![Figure 2. Number of acquisitions of nationality through option](http://statline.cbs.nl)

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, (http://statline.cbs.nl)

NATURALISATION

Of course, apart from the application of the principles of *ius sanguinis* and *ius soli* for the attribution of nationality, the Netherlands also have a system of naturalisation. Naturalisation (acquisition of nationality after an

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4 Until 1892, the Netherlands had a pure and simple application of the principle of *ius soli*: every person born on Dutch soil of parents residing there, automatically became Dutch (Heijs, 1995: 216).

5 A similar system earlier existed for foreign women who married a Dutch man. This possibility was abolished in 1985 (Heijs, 1995: 204).
explicit demand and on a case by case basis, following an examination by
the public authority) is in principle a favour granted to applicants in a
procedure which stands outside normal legal criteria. Nevertheless,
naturalisation has in practice seen an evolution toward becoming a kind of
right (Heijs, 1995: 207). The conditions\(^6\) for naturalisation are that one
has to be an adult, who resided legally over five years on Dutch soil, is
sufficiently integrated and does not constitute a danger for the public
order. Since 1985, the residence requirement for naturalisation has been
three years if one is a foreigner who is married to a Dutch national.
Sufficient integration is in practice equated with a basic oral command of
the Dutch language, while not constituting a danger for the public order
means one has not been condemned for crimes and is not the object of
any criminal investigation at the time of the application. In addition, the
applicant has to denounce his or her initial state citizenship if this is
possible. Until 1985, naturalisation could be accorded either by law
through Parliament – the normal procedure - or by a decision of the
Minister of Justice. After receipt of the application of naturalisation, the
(foreigners) police would embark on an investigation to verify whether the
applicant fulfilled all requirements. This investigation would constitute the
basis of an advice of the District Attorney (Justice Officer) to Parliament.
In general, the naturalisation would automatically be granted (or not) by
Parliament, in line with the advice they had received and without any
further enquiries nor debate (Heijs, 1995: 172-175).

In a number of cases, the Minister of Justice could in a simple
government decision grant the nationality without intervention of
Parliament. It was through this procedure that, for instance, former Dutch
citizens (persons who once had Dutch nationality but lost it) and – since
1976 – immigrants who were born and residing in the Netherlands (the
‘immigrants of the second generation’) could directly acquire Dutch
citizenship through an intervention of the Minister.

Since 1985, naturalisation is always the object of a ministerial
decision, without any intervention of Parliament. In addition, the
investigation into the conditions for naturalisation would be no longer the
task of the police but would become transferred to a municipal
administrator. The latter would send his or her advice directly to the
Minister of Justice. Although the modifications to the system were meant
to accelerate the procedure, a naturalisation procedure would on average
still entail around two years after 1985 (Heijs, 1995: 192). According to
the website of the Immigratie- en Naturalisatiedienst (IND), the office
which is responsible for the naturalisation procedure, the procedure now
takes about 6 to 12 months\(^7\). The price of the procedure is € 226,89 but
this can be reduced to half price for persons in financial difficulty.

Although the law stipulates one has to renounce ones initial state
citizenship in order to become a Dutch national, the public authorities

\(^6\) The conditions were not made public until 1977. Before that time the state
wanted to avoid it would be bound by explicit rules (Heijs, 1995: 169).

\(^7\) http://www.immigratiedienst.nl/
have adopted a lenient attitude in this regard and turned a blind eye between 1992 and 1997. From October 1997 onwards, however, the Minister of Justice reinstalled a stricter policy (De Groot, 1999). Table 3 presents an overview of the number of naturalisations between 1989 and 2000.

Table 3. Number of naturalisations 1989-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of naturalisations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>27,435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>11,544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>27,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>33,961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>40,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>46,590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>67,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>78,731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>55,743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>55,679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>58,144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>45,940</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, (http://statline.cbs.nl)

The increase of the number of naturalisations in the 1990s can be said to be spectacular. In the course of the year 1995 almost 68,000 persons, or about 10% of the total foreign population, has acquired Dutch citizenship through naturalisation. These are really spectacular figures if one compares them with those of neighbouring country Belgium, for instance. In 1995, only 4,500 foreigners have been naturalised (in the strict sense) in Belgium, or about 0.49% of the foreign population. In comparison, in 1995 more than 78,000 foreigners (or 11.2% of all foreigners, see figure 3) have been naturalised in the Netherlands.

Figure 3. Number of naturalisations for every 1000 non-nationals

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, (http://statline.cbs.nl)

If we take the totality of voluntary acquisitions of Belgian citizenship in 1994, 25,787 persons have become Belgian, which is still largely inferior to the Dutch figures. In 1997, 31,678 persons, or 3.4% of the foreigners, have acquired Belgian nationality through other reasons than birth. The number of naturalisations remains fairly weak in Belgium in comparison to the Netherlands, even though there has been an important increase in the 1990s. Without any doubt, the new law on Belgian nationality of March 2000, which is very liberal, will further stimulate the number of naturalisations.

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There is no doubt that the fact of tolerating double nationality has led to an important increase in the number of naturalisations. Indeed, when the demand to renounce the initial nationality was (partially) reinstalled in 1997, this led to a drop in naturalisation rates. But there are still more than 55,000 foreigners (or 8.3% of the foreign population) who were naturalised in 1998. In 2000 the number amounts to nearly 46,000.

The vague of naturalisations in the course of the 1990s has not remained without effect on the number of non-nationals in the Netherlands. The number of non-nationals has dropped from nearly 780,000 in 1994 to about 671,000 in 1998. The effect is illustrated in figure 4.

Most of the naturalisations are made by foreigners originating from non-EU-countries. In 2000, of the total of 45,940 naturalisations, 30,935 were made by non-EU non-western foreigners. One can mention Morocco (12,357), Turkey (3,913), Bosnia (2,641), Iraq (2,402), Surinam (1,936) and Somalia (1,628) as the most important countries of origin for all naturalised. Note that not a single country of the EU is among the countries in this list. Indeed, the European citizens hardly use the possibilities to acquisition of Dutch nationality. There is, however, a clear pattern that a lot of refugees opt for naturalisation.

Figure 4. Number of foreigners in the Netherlands (1988-1999)

![Graph showing the number of foreigners in the Netherlands](http://statline.cbs.nl)

The two oldest groups of non-European guestworkers, the Moroccans and the Turks, figure on top of the list. The remarkable difference between the two groups is most probably linked to the obligation to renounce the initial nationality. This rule does not apply for foreign residents from countries which do not allow their citizens to renounce their nationality. This is the case for Morocco. Between 1992 and 1997, when double nationality was tolerated, it were foremost the Turks who have – massively – naturalised. According to the Central Office of Statistics (CBS), in 2002 no less than 57% of all people of Turkish origin (also) have Dutch state citizenship, while this was only the case for 5% of the Turks ten years before.

THE INHABITANTS OF THE FORMER COLONIES AND OVERSEAS AREAS
In conclusion of this section on the nationality legislation, let us have a look at the position the Netherlands have taken with regard to granting the Dutch nationality to inhabitants of their former colonies and their overseas areas. In 1892, the Netherlands have installed a distinction between Dutch citizens and 'non-Dutch Dutch subjects'. In practice, almost all inhabitants of Surinam and the Antilles were given Dutch state citizenship. The indigenous population of the Dutch Indies (current Indonesia), however, was given a citizen status of second tier, the one of Dutch subjects.

At the moment of the independence of Indonesia in 1949, a distinction was made between two groups of subject, the indigenous non-Dutch Dutch subjects, who obtained Indonesian nationality, on the one hand and the allochthonous non-Dutch Dutch subjects (these are persons of Chinese origin living in Indonesia), who could opt for Dutch state citizenship on the other hand.

In 1951, the status of 'subject' was only still applied in New-Guinea, which, after a short transitory administration by the United Nations, was finally annexed by Indonesia. Following these events, the status of Dutch subject was abolished. Certain groups of Javanese in Surinam who still had the status of subject were made full citizens (Heijs, 1995: 122-144).

At the moment of independence of Surinam in 1975 and the attribution of a nationality to its inhabitants, the legislation no longer allowed to make a distinction between different types of citizens according to 'racial' or social criteria, as had been the case for Indonesia. Using the criteria of country of birth and country of residence, one was, however, able to create some kind of distinction between the 'Surinamese Dutch' who would become Surinamese nationals and the 'European Dutch' who would remain Dutch nationals. All Dutch born in Surinam and living there on the day of its independence, would acquire Surinamese nationality and would not have a (special) right to keep or acquire Dutch citizenship. Persons whose parents where born Dutch outside of Surinamese territory, could, however, regain Dutch nationality on demand within a year after Surinamese independence. In addition, the rule applied that everyone who was able to leave for the Netherlands (and settle there) before the day of Surinamese independence would stay a Dutch citizen. It is important to note that until the day of independence the right to travel and the unconditional right to settlement wherever in the Kingdom of the Netherlands was guaranteed for all Dutch nationals (including the Surinamese) (Van Niekerk, 1994). On independence day, in November 1975, more than 100,000 persons of Surinamese origin would in the end reside in the Netherlands (in Europe) and thus were able to keep their Dutch state citizenship.

THE ALLOCHTHONOUS POPULATION
As is illustrated in figure 5, in the course of the 1990s significant numbers of foreigners have obtained Dutch nationality through either the option procedure or the naturalisation procedure. In the Netherlands, this does not cause these persons to disappear from figures with regard to the
population of foreign origin. Given the fact that the Netherlands have a policy of integration which is based on a logic of ethnic minorities, it is no taboo (as it is the case in France or Belgium) to monitor and keep track of ethnic origin among the nationals.

For the Netherlands we are indeed not limited to figures based on nationality – which only provides us information on the foreign population. We equally have data based on ethnic origin and can thus precisely pinpoint the numerical strength of the population of Dutch nationals of foreign origin and the population of foreign origin at large (including both Dutch nationals of foreign origin as non-nationals).

Figure 5. Acquisitions of Dutch citizenship (other than through birth)

Source : Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, (http://statline.cbs.nl)

The number of so-called ‘allochthones’ is closely monitored by the Dutch government. By ‘allochthones’ are officially meant people who reside in the Netherlands and are a) either not born in the Netherlands, or b) were born in the Netherlands and have at least one parent who was not born on Dutch soil. To avoid confusion it should be stressed that one will thus find among the ‘allochthones’ both persons who are Dutch nationals as persons who are not.

Table 4. Number of allochthones in the Netherlands 1995-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of allochthones</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Proportion of allochthones in the total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>2,447,910</td>
<td>15,424,122</td>
<td>15,9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>2,498,714</td>
<td>15,493,889</td>
<td>16,1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>2,554,289</td>
<td>15,567,107</td>
<td>16,4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>2,620,400</td>
<td>15,760,225</td>
<td>16,7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2,699,234</td>
<td>15,863,950</td>
<td>17,1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2,775,302</td>
<td>15,863,950</td>
<td>17,5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>2,870,224</td>
<td>15,987,075</td>
<td>18 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source : Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, (http://statline.cbs.nl)
Table 4 gives a national overview of the number of allochthones and their proportion in the total population for the period between 1995 and 2001 (each time on the 1st of January). More in detail, table 5 gives an overview of the number of allochthones of the first generation, of the second generation with both parents born abroad and of the second generation with one parent born abroad.

Table 5. Number\(^9\) of allochthones of the first and second generation in the Netherlands 1996-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of first generation</th>
<th>Number of second generation with two parents born abroad</th>
<th>Number of second generation with one parent born abroad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>1,284,120</td>
<td>430,340</td>
<td>784,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1,310,675</td>
<td>450,440</td>
<td>793,180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>1,345,725</td>
<td>471,520</td>
<td>803,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>1,390,145</td>
<td>494,415</td>
<td>814,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1,431,140</td>
<td>518,335</td>
<td>825,805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1,488,970</td>
<td>542,890</td>
<td>838,390</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, (http://statline.cbs.nl)

Figure 6. Proportion of allochthones in the municipalities (2000)

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (http://statline.cbs.nl)

As is the case for their subcategory of foreigners, the allochthones are mainly to be found in the municipalities at the borders and in the four

\(^9\) The figures are rounded to five by the CBS for reasons of ‘statistical secrecy’ (sic).
large cities of the *Randstad* (40% in The Hague and Rotterdam and almost 30% in Utrecht). But it is mainly Amsterdam which has a very large number of allochthonous inhabitants, with up to 44.4% of inhabitants of foreign origin in 2000. More specifically about 324,560 inhabitants of Amsterdam are allochthones, of which 47,910 are of EU-origin and 227,330 are of non-western origin. Among them we find 33,705 Turks, 54,720 Moroccans and 71,220 Surinamese.

**THE NON-WESTERN ALLOCHTHONOUS POPULATION**

More than often, when one uses the word ‘allochtheone’ in the Netherlands, this in fact signifies someone of non-western (non-white) origin rather than just anyone of foreign descent. ‘Allochthone’ is used by the common man or woman in the street to designate a person of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Antillian origin or refugees from Africa, Asia and Latin-America. This is paralleled by the tendency of the government (since the 1990s) to use the term ‘allochthones’ increasingly as a synonym for ‘ethnic minorities’\(^\text{10}\), however, without including the former Southern-European guestworkers.

It is therefore no coincidence that the Central Office for Statistics (*Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*, CBS) provides special data on the non-western allochthonous population. Due to their socio-economic position, people of Japanese and Indonesian origin, although non-western, are not taken into the category of non-western allochthones of the CBS. Turkish immigrants and persons of Surinamese and Antillian origin are, however, included in the category. Table 6 gives an overview of the number of non-western allochthones and their proportion in the overall population (each time for the 1\(^{st}\) of January).

**Table 6. Number of non-western allochthones in the Netherlands 1996-2001**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of non-western allochthones</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Proportion in the total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>1,171,122</td>
<td>15,493,889</td>
<td>7.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1,221,137</td>
<td>15,567,107</td>
<td>7.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>1,278,462</td>
<td>15,760,225</td>
<td>8.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>1,346,043</td>
<td>15,863,950</td>
<td>8.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1,408,777</td>
<td>15,863,950</td>
<td>8.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1,483,196</td>
<td>15,987,075</td>
<td>9.3 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, (http://statline.cbs.nl)

\(^{10}\) In the Dutch ‘minorities policy’ the Surinamese, Antillians and Arubans, Moluccans, Turks, Moroccans, guestworkers from mediterranean Europe (Italians, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, (ex-)Yugoslaves), refugees, gypsies and ‘inhabitants of trailers’ were considered to be ‘(ethnic) minorities’. A group of foreign origin is considered to be an ‘ethnic minority’ in case it is judged to be structurally in a disadvantaged position in the socio-economic field (see Entzinger, 1993) Not all immigrant groups are considered to be ethnic minorities. The Chinese, for instance, are not.
Once again table 7 gives a more detailed overview of the number of non-western allochthones of the first generation, of the second generation with both parents born abroad and of the second generation with one parent born abroad.

**Table 7. Number of non-western allochthones of the first and second generation in the Netherlands 1996-2001**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of allochthones of the first generation</th>
<th>Number of allochthones of the second generation with both parents born abroad</th>
<th>Number of allochthones of the second generation with one of the parents born abroad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>761,558</td>
<td>303,348</td>
<td>106,216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>786,005</td>
<td>322,377</td>
<td>112,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>816,213</td>
<td>342,426</td>
<td>119,823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>853,766</td>
<td>364,213</td>
<td>128,064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>886,239</td>
<td>386,296</td>
<td>136,242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>928,563</td>
<td>408,987</td>
<td>145,646</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, (http://statline.cbs.nl)

Among the total of 1,483,000 non-western allochthones the Turks in 2001 constituted the largest group with 319,600 persons\(^{11}\). The Moroccans were 272,750 persons in 2001\(^{12}\).

Let us end with a quick look at the inhabitants of the Dutch territory in Europe who originate from the former colonies or from the overseas Dutch areas. As far as the inhabitants originating from Surinam – of which the history is closely linked to slavery - are concerned, the CBS estimates there are about 308,825 Surinamese in the Netherlands in 2001. The large majority are Dutch nationals – there are no more than 8,665 Surinamese without Dutch citizenship in the Netherlands in 2000. One should be reminded that Surinam itself had no more than 434,039 inhabitants in 2000. As far as the overseas Dutch areas are concerned, the CBS estimates there are about 117,090 Antillians and Arubans in the Netherlands in 2001. All of them have Dutch nationality. In 1997, the population of the Dutch Antilles (Dutch West-Indies) and Aruba was estimated to be 265,986 people.

**SUMMARY**

State citizenship is in the Netherlands automatically attributed at birth to children of foreign origin of the third generation and people of foreign origin of the second generation can acquire citizenship through option. To naturalise, a foreign resident in principle has to renounce his or her initial nationality. In comparison to neighbouring country Belgium, quite a large proportion of foreigners have opted to become Dutch state citizens through naturalisation. The proportion of foreigners in the Dutch

\(^{11}\) About 100,690 Turks did not have the Dutch nationality in 2000.

\(^{12}\) About 119,725 Moroccans did not have the Dutch nationality in 2000.
population is over 4%. The number of allochthones, the population of foreign origin, constitutes 18% of the total population. Turks, Surinamese, Moroccans and Antillians are the largest groups among them. The majority of allochthones live in the four large cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) where the number of allochthones can be over 40%.

REFERENCES

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