



University of Twente
Enschede - The Netherlands

Formation of Highly-Skilled Migration Policies in the Netherlands

by Inesa Grytsanova

MTEC-Scholar

MSc-Public Administration

Graduation Committee:

dr.prof. Enders J.

dr. Beverwijk J.M.R.

Supervisors:

dr. prof. Enders J.

dr. Beverwijk J.M.R.

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Foreword

At the moment there is a mixture of sadness, joy and relief in my heart and mind. I feel sadness since some, very important part of my life is over and I should start a new page of it... I feel joy because I have completed something that seemed impossible to complete at the beginning, I mean my studies in the Netherlands. I feel relief due to the fact that all the courses have been passed, all the grades have been obtained... and this Master Thesis is the last step towards getting my Master of Science Diploma.

The topic of the Master Thesis was not chosen by accident. When I arrived in the Netherlands a year ago the country seemed gray (mostly because of famous Dutch weather), the people looked distant. At the same time there were many talks about importance of highly-skilled workers for the Netherlands. I was wondering: "I could possible become one of these 'kennismigranten' and I do not feel welcome here... So, how these people are going to overcome barriers between 'outsiders' and themselves, and attract more knowledge migrants if they are so restrictive, cold towards them?" So, I decided to learn more about the subject and write my Master Thesis about highly-skilled migration policies in the Netherlands.

While doing my research I learnt that 'those Dutch' are not that distant and cold at all. In reality these are people who are ready to help and cooperate, to be open and discuss different issues. I want to thank people who were supporting me in my work: Mr Eduard Jansen and Dr Eric Beerkens from Nuffic, Mr Lennart Noorij and Mr Alex van Balluseck from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, Mrs Kitty Hemmer from Mobstacles Team, Mr Adri Zagers from the IOM, Mrs Ira van der Zaal-van Bommel from the Ministry of Justice. I am thankful to Drs Kees Terwan for opening me the doors to the Seminar "Managing Highly-Skilled Migration". Special Thank to Mr Neils Achterberg from the Ministry of Economic Affairs who I met just before finalizing my work, and who made the 'highly-skilled migration puzzle' complete. I am very grateful to my supervisors, Dr Jasmin Beverwijk and Dr. Prof. Jurgen Enders for being so supportive and for motivating me in my work.

I feel great responsibility in front of those who were so helpful to me. And I want to believe that this paper is worth their trust in me.

From the bottom of my heart,

Inesa Grytsanova

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List of Abbreviations

ACF – Advocacy Coalition Framework

ACVZ – Advisory Committee on Aliens Affairs

CPB – the Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis

EZ – the Netherlands Ministry of Economic Affairs

HBO-Raad – the Netherlands Association of Universities of Applied Science

IND – Immigratie – en Naturalisatiedienst

IOM – International Organization for Migration

KNAW – Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Science

MVV – Provisional Residence Permit

NAW – the Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research

OCW – the Netherlands Ministry of Education, Culture and Science

OECD – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

SER – Social and Economic Council

VNO-NCW – the Confederation of the Netherlands Industry and Employers

VSNU – Association of Universities in the Netherlands

1. Introduction

Policy change in a certain area of life never happens rapidly and without a reason. However the questions to be asked are: why are these changes? Why do policy-makers decide to generate a new declaration, new policy document regarding this or that policy? The current paper is going to investigate and find the answers for the case of highly-skilled migration policies. I will conduct a research by the example of the Netherlands, a state with a long and contradictory immigration history.

The immigration policies of the Netherlands are rather young in spite of the long-lasting immigration history of the country (Doomernik, 2006, p.3). The first regulation regarding immigrants, the Aliens Act, was issued in 1965. The act was in force and without undergoing any changes for about 40 years. New version of the Aliens Act was adopted in 2001 (The Aliens Act, 2000). However, the document was aimed in principle at immigration regulation, mainly asylum-seekers, and had a restrictive character saying nothing about labour and study migration.

A major policy change was in 2006 with the introduction of the project “A Modern Migration Policy” (Modern Migratiebeleid). Its goal, presented clearly in ‘The Memorandum’, was that - “the Netherlands should become more attractive for high-level knowledge workers and talented scientists” (Memorandum, 2006). Special attention was paid to labour and study migration. New migration policies should no longer be restrictive but selective ones. Thus, the Netherlands, the country with rather negative immigration experience in the past, became one of the first continental European countries that made the adoption of policies, supporting highly-skilled migration, one of its top priorities.

The aim of this paper is to examine the formation processes of policies regarding highly-skilled migration, and to find the genesis of the policy change.

The research will include introduction, four main chapters, conclusion, list of the references, and five appendixes (A, B, C, D, E).

In the *Introduction* part an overview of the literature on the subject will be given, outlining the object of the study, the main research question, and providing a general description of the problem investigated within national (the Netherlands) and sub-national (European) context.

The four main chapters will include *Theoretical framework*, *Research Methodology*, *Empirical Evidence and Analysis* parts.

In the *Theoretical Framework* part one can find an explanation of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) main premises, basic concepts and notions.

Research Methodology sets out the type of data collection approach used for this paper. The theoretical framework serves as a method of focusing data collection. Also the Expectations regarding major policy change will be formulated in this chapter.

The *Empirical Evidence* part will begin with the history of immigration policies in the Netherlands. Afterwards, mapping of the actors (governmental, public, private, and societal) will be done. Each actor will be characterized by its main features, and basic activities.

Based on the ACF and empirical data an *Analysis* will be conducted which is the next part of the research. In line with the Expectations I will try to explain the nature, and causes of a major policy change. The study is to be grounded on five variables: actors, policy beliefs, actors' activities, policy-oriented learning (i.e. information and information exchange, interactions between actors), and external factors.

The *Conclusion* will present the research main findings based on empirical evidence. This part will analyze if concepts of the ACF can be applied and explain the major policy change in such area of life as migration. Finally, the idea of a further study on the subject will be set out.

1.1 Relevance of the subject. Formulating the Main Research Question.

The subject of this research is highly-skilled migration policies in the Netherlands.

There are a great number of various studies devoted to immigration and migration policies, both in the Netherlands and in other countries of the European Union (Hammar (1985); Fischer (1999); Borjas (1999); Peenix (2005); Salt (2003); Saczuz (2004), Roodendurg (2003), etc.). Quite a few works deal with highly-skilled migration policies. Let's have a closer look at some of them.

Cerna (2007) in the work "*The Varieties of High-Skilled Immigration Policies: Sectoral Coalitions and Outcomes in Advanced Industrial Countries*" presents a comparative political economy theoretical framework of high-skilled immigration (HSI) policies in advanced industrial countries and seeks to explain the differences in countries' policies in terms of HSI openness (Cerna, 2007). This work could be interesting for those who want to find an answer to the question: in what way the state benefits from the acceptance of more highly-skilled migrants.

Kelo and Wachter (2004) in their research “*Brain drain and Brain gain. Migration in the European Union after enlargement*” give an explanation of what migration is, and what migration governmental policies look like. They explore how the 2004 EU enlargement will impact migration between the EU-15 countries and the new member states in general, and the way it will influence the movement of the highly skilled in particular. (Kelo&Wachter, 2004).

McLauchlan in “*Migration Policies towards highly skilled foreign workers*” investigates policies recently developed by selected European (including the Netherlands) and New World states to encourage the recruitment and entry of highly skilled foreign workers (McLauchlan, 2003).

“*Highly skilled globetrotters: mapping the international migration of human capital*” is the research of **Mahroum** where the author looks at labour mobility across borders. He studies the factors driving highly-skilled workers in choosing a particular a country of destination; as well as the solutions and problems different actors have in this regard (Mahroum, 2000).

Based on the New Growth Theory **Straubhaar** gives an idea of the possibility for Europe to use the American ‘Brain gain’ strategy in the work “*International Mobility of the Highly Skilled: Brain Gain, Brain Drain or Brain Exchange* (Straubhaar, 2004). The research uses the brain-drain-brain-gain theory however does not provide insights on the way that new policies regarding highly-skilled (or potentially highly-skilled) workers can be reached, or the actions politicians should employ on national and European level to change the situation.

One of the latest researches regarding knowledge migrants is the work of **Fourage and Ester** “*Highly-Skilled and on the move. Migration behavior and intentions of the higher educated in the Netherlands and Europe*” (Fourage&Ester, 2007). The authors emphasize the importance of the mobility issue in Europe, “The right to live and work in other Member States is a symbol of European integration, and of European identity... A more mobile Europe labour force is required – both within and between the countries – in order to help the European economy to more adequately adapt to changing national and international conditions” (Fourage&Ester, 2007, p. 5). The research provides a review of the empirical evidence on migration choices, mobility policy in the Netherlands and ‘in the rest of Europe’ (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, the UK). But, once again, there is no explanation of the process of policy formation, and a policy change.

Thus, the very formation phase of the policies remains ambiguous. The studies mentioned above do not provide an explanation of the processes that lead to the policy change. Therefore, this research is going to investigate the factors that make a policy change happen. In doing so, it will focus *on the actors, their views and objectives, on the political, social and economical context that could influence the process of policy-making*. This will be done on the basis of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), the premises of which will be discussed later on in this work.

There are two main aspects that influence the direction of migration policies: market demands and state perspectives. The first one includes issues like the aging of the European population, shrinking of the European labor force, the processes of globalization and internationalization, which favor the new highly-skilled migration policies; and the second one concerns mostly the fiscal and social, political impacts of the policies (OECD. Policy Brief. Economic Survive, 2008). These two contradictory factors lead to dilemmas the policy-makers need to address and decide if there is a necessity of a policy change or not.

The central question of this research is *how and why the highly-skilled migration policies in the Netherlands have been developed to what they are right now, and what, and who influenced the latest changes in the policies (2000-2008)? How the changes in the policies can be explained from the Advocacy Coalition Framework perspective?*

Later on, in the part “Research Scope and Expectation” a list of sub-questions will be presented that will help the author find the answer to the central research question. The set of these sub-questions will be formulated in line with the Theoretical framework used for the research (the ACF).

The following part is going to focus on the relevance of the subject within European (sub-national) and the Netherlands (national) context.

1.2 The Netherlands and European Context

Global labour markets have been transforming for the last years and have new demands regarding workers, and their qualifications nowadays. The idea of *Knowledge Economy*¹ suggests that successful performance in the future can be achieved through the economy focused on the production and management of knowledge. The need in highly-skilled workers is becoming urgent

¹ The phrase “knowledge economy” was invented and later on popularized by Peter Drucker as the title of Chapter 12 in his book ‘*The Age of Discontinuity*’ (Drucker, 1969). The term refers to the use of knowledge technologies (such as knowledge engineering and knowledge management) to produce economic benefits.

and topical issue. *The global war for talents*² has become a matter of priority for the governments of many countries. One of the examples is the USA which economy prospers and benefits from highly-skilled labor force, the main part of which is non-US born population.

“By 2000, over one-third of Silicon Valley’s high-skilled workers were foreign-born, and overwhelmingly from Asia” (Saxenian, 2005, p. 35).

Aging population, the consequent reduction in workforce, stagnant growth and sluggish development rates have finally made 'Castle Europe' (EU) open the doors to highly-skilled migrants from outside the EU.

The situation is well-described by Fouarge and Ester, “Europe needs a more mobile workforce; Europe needs more and more mobile high-skilled workers. These, in a nutshell, are two of the cornerstones of the present EU employment strategy. This strategy has been adopted by the Netherlands as well. The globalization of national economies, increased competitiveness and the need for permanent innovation, the emerging knowledge society, and the ageing of the European and Dutch workforce, call for more and more mobile highly educated and skilled workers willing to fill present vacancies where occur” (Fourage&Ester, 2007, p. 57).

In Lisbon in 2000, the European Commission decided that Europe ought to become the most dynamic knowledge economy in the world. The plan for achieving this goal was the so-called "Lisbon strategy" which aims at making the European countries spend at least three percent of their gross domestic product on research and development (R&D) starting no later than 2010. If this goal is to be met, analysts conclude, Europe will need at least extra 700,000 researchers. The economic developments in the industrialised parts of the world are of such a nature that after the economic recessions of the 1970s and 1980s, many industrial activities have disappeared from the wealthiest states to make way for a strongly expanding service sector. This has had major consequences for the demand for labour: it is increasingly a matter of education. At a follow-up to this high-level meeting the European Commission, among other things, proposed the following: *'Around 2010 the member states are to ensure that the average percentage of 25 to 64 year olds in the EU that have completed higher secondary education is at least 80% or more.'* (Committee Statement, 2001). That became a concern and strategic plan of all countries of the EU, including the Netherlands.

² The phrase 'the global war for talents' is often used by the media (The Economist, the BBC News) and refers to the idea that the demand for skilled workers (talents) goes up, the supply of it is going down, that is why the governments, businesses are looking for the ways to fill the existing gap between supply and demand on labour market.

However, in autumn of 2003 during a conference on "brain gain" in The Hague, the Netherlands' Minister of Economic Affairs Laurens-Jan Brinkhorst pointed out that a slow progress was made on the way of reaching the aim and provided an explanation. A worldwide "battle for brains" was going on, he said, a raging fight to attract the latest knowledge and the best scientists to the world's most developed (and most rapidly developing) economies. According to Brinkhorst, Europe doesn't look attractive enough compared to, for example, the United States and Japan.

On the 13th of September, 2007, EU Justice Commissioner Franco Frattini in his speech *"Enhanced mobility, vigorous integration strategy and zero tolerance on illegal employment: a dynamic approach to European immigration policies"* said, "We have to look at immigration as an enrichment and as an inescapable phenomenon of today's world, not as a threat... We should take more account of what statistics tell us: 85 percent of unskilled labour goes to the EU and only five per cent to the USA, whereas 55 percent of skilled labour goes to the USA and only five per cent to the EU. We have to reverse these figures with a new vision."

The process of revising migration policies towards attracting highly-skilled migrants started in 2000 when Germany introduced so-called Green Card aimed to attract IT-specialists, including also nurses since 2001, from outside the EU (Apap 2003, p. 10).

At the same time, the Netherlands was rather slow in adopting a more open and easy scheme regarding acceptance of knowledge migrants. The immigration issues was of high profile in the political debate in the Netherlands, especially since 2002 when late Pim Fortuyn party won 17.9% of votes in parliamentary elections by calling for the ban on further immigration. The right wing of the Parliament was not in favor of more liberal migration policies as well. It affected migration policies towards highly-skilled migrants. Though the Netherlands (as well as other EU countries) was experiencing a lack of professionals (*"Zonder Kenniswerkers geen Kenniseconomie"*, 2002), Dutch politicians were not in a hurry of adopting new rules and regulations which could attract more knowledge migrants.

Bartlett, an economic advisor to "RSM International", notes that, "Liberalized immigration policies generally lead to a better business climate and a stronger national economy. However, many countries are restricting immigration, making it hard for multinational companies to compete for skilled workers" (Bartlett, 2007). One of these countries used to be the Netherlands. The policy change appeared when Tweede Kamer approved 'income-based immigration scheme' that was helping to allow knowledge migrants to enter the country and in 2006 a new project "Modern Migration Policies" was introduced (Memorandum, 2006). In spite of the continuing discussions

between policy-makers on issue of economic reasoning (based on the fact that a large number of highly-skilled people were leaving the Netherlands, the aging of population, the lack of local skilled labour force) and the social aspects (i.e. housing shortage) of change, in transformation of migration policies happened. The restrictive immigration policies were turned into a selective migration approach (Memorandum, 2006). And the aim of this work, as it was mentioned before, is to study the genesis of the policy change by the case of the Netherlands migration policies towards the highly-skilled workers.

The next chapter will explain the theoretical framework used in the research.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 The Advocacy Coalition Framework

There are several models, frameworks and theories that could explain policy change: Policy Process Analysis, Institutional Analysis and Development. In the research the **Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)** is to be used that provides a useful conceptual framework to explain the stability and change of policies. It has a focus on the coalitions that share a set of normative and causal beliefs and often act in concert, and understands policy changes as ‘the consequences of coalitions’ competition to translate their ideas into official actions’ (Sato, 1999).

The ACF has not been applied to the cases of immigration or migration policy formation. Policies in this domain lay predominantly within the scope of governmental agencies and institutions. Therefore, societal and private actors play minor or no role in their changes. In this regard policies towards highly-skilled migrants, that is a part of migration subsystem, can be considered as very unique ones. They can be seen and analyzed from the state perspective and from the perspective of individual companies, enterprises. The complications arise on the stage of local labour force protection, from one side, and satisfaction of business needs in foreign labour, from another side. Also one need to take into consideration that highly-skilled labour migration includes knowledge migrants and potential knowledge migrants, students (study migration). The last makes circle of stakeholders involved even wider, thus, fields of their interests even broader. Very often these interests and desires are heterogeneous, even contradictory.

2.1.1 The basic concepts of the ACF

The initial version of the ACF was developed by Sabatier over twenty years ago (Sabatier, 1987, 1988) as an attempt to combine the best features of top-down and bottom-up approach. As a result ‘a synthesis which combines top-down and bottom-up approaches in the analysis of policy change’ (Sabatier, 2003) was created.

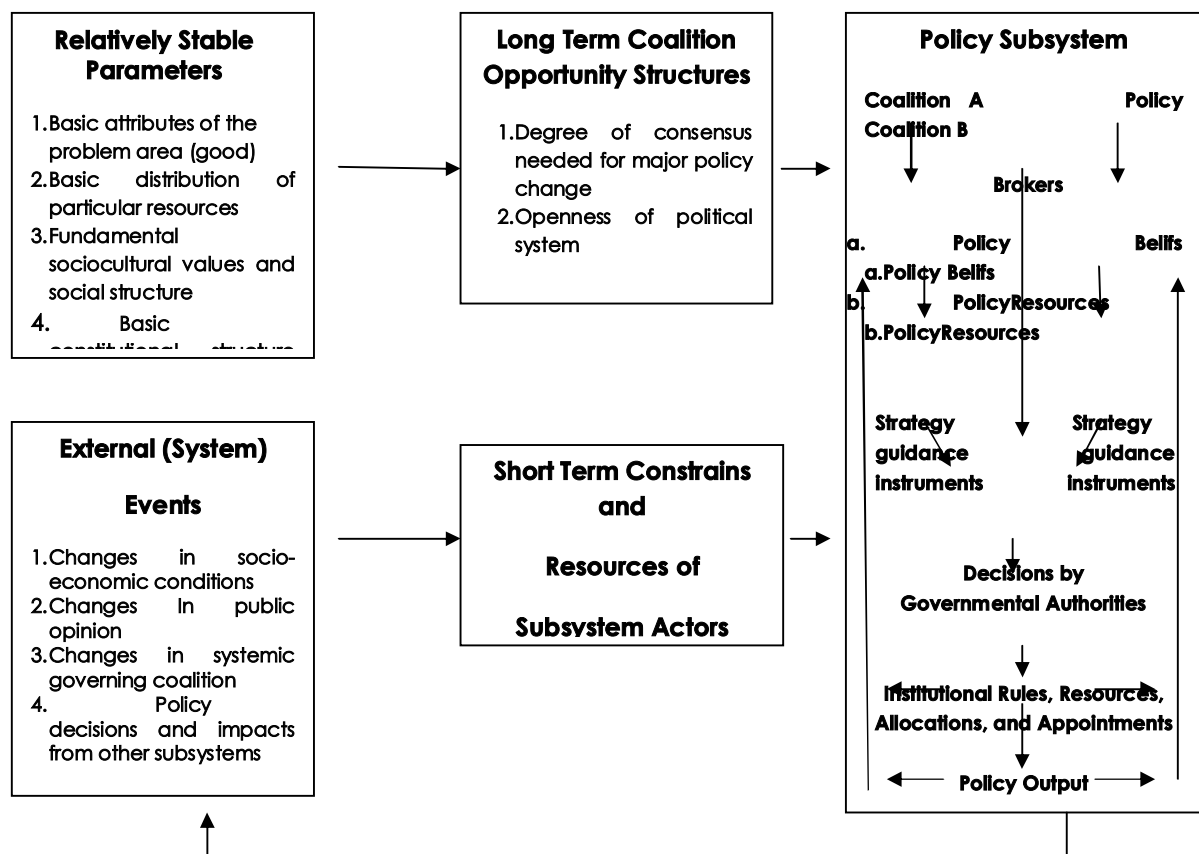
The ACF was based on five main premises:

1. Theories of the policy process and policy change need to address the role played in the process by technical information concerning the magnitude and facets of the problem, its causes, and the probable impacts of various solutions (important role of think tanks and policy analysis).

2. Understanding the process of policy change requires a time perspective a decade or more ('enlightening function' of the policy research).
3. The most useful unit of analysis for understanding policy change in modern industrial societies is not any specific governmental organization or program, but a policy subsystem (or domain).
4. The policy subsystem should be broadened from traditional notion of iron triangles (administrative agencies, legislative committees, and interest groups) and include two additional categories of actors: a) journalists, researchers, policy analysts; b) actors of all levels of government active in policy formulation and implementation.
5. Public policies/programs can be conceptualized in much the same way as belief system.

Structural overview of the ACF can be presented in the following scheme:

Diagram of the Advocacy Coalition Framework



Source: Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999)

The scheme presents a general overview of the ACF. On the left side are two sets of variables – relatively stable, and more dynamic.

Stable parameters include constitutional structure, sociocultural values, and natural resources of political system. These variables are very difficult to change, that is why they are rarely the subject of coalition strategies. Nevertheless, they affect behavior.

The next set of parameters is more likely to change. The ACF argues they are a critical prerequisite to major policy change (Sabatier&Jenkins-Smith, 1998, p. 121). They include: 1) major socioeconomic changes; 2) changes in the systemic governing coalition; 3) policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems.

Right part of the scheme presents a set of crucial for the ACF notions. It starts with the ACF principal concept, *policy subsystem*. The *actors*, within the *subsystem*, can be aggregated into a number of *advocacy coalitions*. Each coalition has a hierarchical tripartite structure of *belief systems*. At any particular time, each coalition adopts one or more *strategies* to realize its policy objectives.

Each of the mentioned principal for the ACF concepts is to be explained in details in the following part.

2.1.2 Policy Subsystem

Policy subsystem is a principal concept of the ACF. This notion ‘needs to focus on the group of people and/or organizations interacting regularly over periods of a decade or more to influence policy formulation and implementation within a given policy domain/area’ (Sabatier, Jenkins-Smith, 1999, p. 131). That is why it is necessary to distinguish a *nascent* subsystem (i.e., one in the process of formation) from a *mature* one (i.e., one that has existed for a decade or more). There are four main principles sufficient for existing of a mature subsystem:

1. The participants regard themselves as a semiautonomous community who share a domain or expertise.
2. They have sought to influence public policy within the domain over a fairly long wperiod of time (i.e., seven to ten years). This criterion stems from the ACF’s assumption that such an interval is necessary for doing meaningful policy analysis that can deal with learning and real-world impacts (external factors).
3. There exist specialized subunits within agencies at all relevant levels of government to deal with the topic. This criterion follows from the assumption that without such units at all levels, implementation will be exceedingly problematic and coalitions will

come to realize this. A persisting subsystem needs to have some ‘organizational residue’.

4. There exist interest groups, or specialized subunits within interest groups, that regard this as a major policy topic.

Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith emphasize that ‘the ACF is not interested in debating societies (which don’t seek to influence policy over the long term) or in policy preannouncements that lack any serious effort at effective implementation and at changing problem conditions in the world’ (Sabatier&Jenkins-Smith, 1999, p. 134). So, the ACF main focus is long-term policy change, and a mature subsystem. However they recognize the possibility of new subsystems emergence. The conditions of the case would be: 1) a group of actors became dissatisfied with the neglect problem by an existing subsystem and sought to develop a new venues (Baumgartner&Jones, 1993); 2) subsystems may also emerge out of new issue or a new conceptualization of an situation (Stone, 1988). Hence a subsystem is seen as a group of people and/or organizations interacting during a decade or so, it is possible to conclude that the composition of the subsystem can be changed over time. Thus, a new actor who has entered a mature subsystem could provoke the situation of a new subsystem emergence.

Baumgartner and Jones (1993) have developed a model of agenda setting in which policy actors compete with each other to affect or alter the “image” of a policy because of the way the image can influence membership in relevant policy subsystems. Sabatier also has suggested that significant changes in policy outcomes occur ultimately due to shifts in subsystem membership.

There are two major categories of factors affect the subsystem: the *relatively stable parameters* of a subsystem (i.e., the basic characteristics of the field being studied, socio-cultural values, the social structure and the constitutional regulations of the system) and *external events* (such as changes in socio-economic conditions, in public opinion, in the governing coalition, as well as decisions and impacts on other subsystems).

2.1.3 Advocacy Coalitions

According to the ACF, each sector of a public policy carries its own coalition of networks defined as: “people from variety positions (elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researchers) who 1) share a particular belief system – i.e., a set of basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions- and who 2) show a non-trivial degree of coordinated

activity over time” (Sabatier&Jenkins-Smith, 1999). In other words, one needs to look closer at complex policy subsystem that includes policy-makers, agency officials, officers, interest groups, researchers from multiple organization and institutes, journalists.

In each subsystem, there are coalitions of networks that are formed from a *belief or common values system* that advocate their cause, hence *advocacy coalitions*.

An advocacy coalition, in Sabatier terms, consists of ‘actors from wide variety of institutions who share policy core beliefs and coordinate their behavior in variety of ways’ (Sabatier&Jenkins-Smith, 1999, p.127). Thus, political leaders, agency officials, researchers, and journalists are seen as potential members of the coalition.

2.1.4 Policy Beliefs

Coalitions are organized in the subsystems, at the same time the basic premise for creation of the coalition is shared beliefs system of the actors.

According to Sabatier, there exists a three-tiered belief system. The first level is that of an individual’s *deep core* values, which correspond to his fundamental principles, his way of interpreting values such as freedom, justice and equality. *Deep core* elements include basic ontological and normative assumptions about human nature, or the priority of fundamental values such as liberty or equity, or political support to a left or right wing party. It refers to the individual’s underlying person philosophy. This belief usually applies to all policy fields and provides the foundation for the other more specific beliefs. At that level, changes in values are rare (Beverwijk, 2005, p.61).

The second level is that of the *policy core*, in which values and beliefs are normatively translated into public policy. This level is at the scale of a subsystem; it is connected to strategic principles in which advocacy coalitions impose their values or beliefs. These beliefs related to a specific policy field or subsystem. It includes the basic strategies and policy positions for achieving deep core beliefs in the policy area of subsystem and involves topics such as: whose welfare counts, the relative authority of governments versus the market and the role of various actors in the policy subsystem (Beverwijk, 2005, p. 62).

Defining characteristics for policy core beliefs are their *scope and topic* (Sabatier&Jenkins-Smith, 1998, p. 121). *Scope* means that the beliefs should apply to virtually all aspects of subsystem policy, rather than to only narrow ranges. *Topic* means that it should pertain to one of the subjects listed under ‘policy core’ in the Table “Revised Structure of Belief System of Policy Elites”:

	Deep core	Policy core	Secondary Aspects
Defining characteristics	Fundamental normative and ontological axioms	Fundamental policy positions concerning the basic strategies for achieving core values within the subsystem	Instrumental decisions and information searches necessary to implement policy core
Scope	Across all policy subsystems. Very difficult; akin to a religious conversion.	Subsystem-wide	Usually only part of subsystem.
Susceptibility to change		Difficult, but can occur if experience reveals serious anomalies	Moderately easy; this is the topic of most administrative and even legislative policymaking
Illustrative components	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Human nature: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a)inherently evil vs. socially redeemable b)part of nature vs. dominion over nature c)narrow egoists vs. contractarians 2. Relatively priority of various ultimate values: Freedom, security, power, knowledge, health, love, beauty, etc. 3. Basic criteria of distributive justice: Whose welfare counts? Relative weights of self, primary groups, all people, future generations, nonhuman beings, etc. 4. Socio-cultural identity (e.g., ethnicity, religion, gender, profession) 	Fundamental normative precepts: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.Orientation on basic value priorities 2.Identification of groups or other entities whose welfare is a greater concern Precepts with a substantial empirical component: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3.Overall seriousness of the problem 4.Basic causes of the problem 5.Properdistribution of authority between, government and market 6.Proper distribution of authority between levels of government 7.Priority accorded various policy instruments 8.Ability to society to solve the problem 9.Participation of public vs. experts vs. elected officials 10. Policy core policy preferences 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.Seriousness of specific aspects of the problem in specific locales 2.Importance of various causal linkages in different locales and over time 3.Most decisions concerning administrative rules, budgetary allocations, disposition of cases, statutory interpretation, and even statutory revision 4.Information regarding performance of specific programs or institutions

Source: Sabatier, 1998, p.113

The third level groups the *secondary aspects*, defined as instrumental decisions that apply to only a part of the subsystem (administrative regulations, budgetary allocations and so on). They refer for instance to the multitude of instrumental decisions and information searches necessary to implement the policy in a specific policy area (Sabatier&Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p.28). Changes at this level are easy and frequently occur.

2.1.5 Policy-Oriented Learning and Policy Change

The ACF has a particular interest in understanding *policy-oriented learning* as one of the premises of policy change. The term refers 'to alternations of thoughts or behavioral intentions that result from experience and/or new information and that are concerned with the attainment or revision of policy objective' (Sabatier, Jenkins-Smith, 1998, p.123). Through increased knowledge of the problem parameters and the factor affecting them, policy-oriented learning leads to the changes in the policy domain.

Sabatier, through his interest in confrontation among coalitions founded on different belief systems (coalition A versus coalition B), attempts to understand changes in public policy that are made possible through *policy-oriented learning*. Advocacy coalitions whose members share common beliefs on one or more *public policies* or *resources* would employ different *strategies* in order to influence the formulation or adoption of one or more public policies. The ACF presumes the existence within a policy subsystem of at least two competing advocacy coalitions, because the confrontations and compromises between them (*political learning*) lead to changes that affect the policy core and secondary aspects that, in its turn, lead to a policy change. Sabatier agrees, 'while changes in the policy core are usually the result of external perturbations, changes in the secondary aspects of governmental action program are often the result of policy-oriented learning by various coalitions or policy brokers' (Sabatier, 2003, p. 13). By a *policy broker* Sabatier understands a group of actors 'whose principle concern is to find some reasonable compromise which will reduce intense conflict' (Sabatier, 2003, p.11).

Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith conclude (Sabatier& Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 123) that policy-oriented learning is only one of the forces affecting policy change. There are two other sources of policy change: changes in real world, and turnover in personnel.

2.1.6 Major Policy Change

The ACF provides with the criterion of distinguishing major from minor policy change. Major policy change is ‘change in the policy core aspects of governmental program, whereas minor change is change in the secondary aspects’ (Sabater&Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 124). The topic and the scope can be considered as the determinants of distinguishing between major and minor policy change.

Major policy change occurs, according to Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) under seven main conditions.

First, one needs to remember that changes in the policy core are infrequent events. Thus, they are difficult to predict.

Second, that is also a reflection of Policy Change Hypothesis 2 (p.127): Significant perturbations external to the subsystem (e.g., changes in socioeconomic conditions, public opinion, systemwide governing coalitions, or policy outputs from other subsystems) are necessary, but not sufficient, cause of change in the policy core attributes of a governmental program.

Third, great emphasis is given to ‘changes in public’ opinion, which is separated from the broader category of ‘changes in socio-economic conditions’ (p. 128).

Fourth, one should always remember that the degree of consensus needed to institute major policy change varies considerably across the country that affects the strategies of subsystem actors.

Fifth, a hierarchical superior of units of governmental is always necessary to take into account. Superior level may attempt to change the policy core of a subordinate level.

Sixth, we can suspect two processes of major policy change within a given policy subsystem: 1) the replacement of one dominant coalition by another; 2) the minority coalition increases in importance and attempts to take advantage of an opportunity afforded by an external perturbation but does not have the votes in the legislature to push through a substantial change in the policy core of governmental policy.

Finally, ‘in the situation in which all major coalitions view a continuation of the current situation as unacceptable, they may be willing to enter negotiations in the hope of finding a compromise that is viewed by everyone as superior to the status quo’ (p. 129).

When it comes to the explanation of the major policy change, the basic argument of the ACF is that, although policy-learning often alters secondary aspects of a coalition’s belief system, changes in the policy core aspects of a governmental program require a perturbation in non-cognitive factors external to the subsystem.

2.2 Research Scope and Expectations

In this research with the help of the ACF the author will try to find the explanation for major policy change based on the variables generated from the theoretical framework.

As it was outlined in the Introduction part, the Dutch immigration policies is about 40 years old, and policies regarding highly-skilled migrants are much younger. At the same time, the Dutch immigration subsystem has undergone serious transformation: new set of actors with their beliefs, values, and activities entered it. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith state ‘whatever the origins, subsystems normally contain a large and diverse set of actors’ (Sabatier, Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 25). Thus, the actors analysis is needed for to outline ‘the substantive and territorial scope’ (Weible, 2006, p. 98) of a subsystem. Almost all applications of actors’, stakeholders’ analysis address a similar set of questions (Weible, 2006, p. 96):

1. Who are the actors to include in the analysis?
2. What are the actors’ interests and beliefs?
3. Who controls critical resources?
4. With whom do the actors form coalitions?
5. What strategies and venues do the actors use to achieve their objectives?

Taking into consideration the ACF I will focus on the following research sub-questions that are in line with the central research question discussed in Introduction: *1) who are those actors and stakeholders who are part of the subsystem under analysis at particular period of time (2000-2008)?; 2) what are the actors’ beliefsystem (deep core beliefs, policy beliefs, secondary beliefs?); 3) with whom do the actors form coalitions? are there any changes in the*

composition? 4) what information, when and how do the actors use? 5) what are the external factors that have an impact on the system?

The author will adopt a three-layer beliefs system generated by Sabatier and will apply it to the case in order to follow the logics of creation of coalitions and, if applicable, changes of the beliefsystem within/across the coalitions. Outside factors influence the policy core beliefs, and lead to major policy change. In this regard, the expectation towards major policy change is:

Expectation 1. If major policy change occurs, this happens due to changes external to the subsystem.

In order to analyze the immigration policy developments and policy change in the Netherlands one need to concentrate attention at core and secondary aspects of the beliefs systems, at the policy-oriented learning across the coalitions. In line with this there is the next expectation:

Expectation 2. While changes in the policy core are usually the result of external perturbations, changes in the secondary aspects of a governmental program are the result of policy-oriented learning by various coalitions.

In the case of Dutch highly-skilled migration policies major policy change occurred in 2006. According to the ACF, major policy change happens infrequently, that is only after a decade or so (Sabatier, 1986, p. 39). However the analysis will be concentrated on the period 2000-2008 because the Netherlands immigration subsystem was passive before 2000, one can hardly find any actors' activities within its domain.

3. Research methodology

The ACF starts with the idea that the most useful unit of analysis for understanding policy change in modern industrial societies is *a policy subsystem* (Sabatier, 2003, p. 11). The subsystem consists of *actors* from different public and private organizations who are actively concerned with a policy problem or issue (p.11). The actors are aggregated into a number of advocacy coalitions. Each coalition has its own policy *beliefsystem* and *resources*.

Actors that participate directly and indirectly in the process of policy-making are the unit of the research. It is important to conduct the stakeholders' analysis, to find out which of the actors entered coalitions, which of them left coalitions, and at what period.

Beliefsystem 'is synonymous with perception regarding policy, such as perception of policy goals... perception of how to reach objectives, and a set of basic values and perception of the magnitude of the policy problem' (Beverwijk, 2005, p. 88). In the ACF there are three levels of beliefsystem: deep core, policy core and secondary aspects. According to their beliefsystems actors create coalitions.

Resources include money and members (Sabatier, Jenkins-Smith, 1993). Beverwijk argues for the information to be also an important resource for coalition actors to influence policy developments (Beverwijk, 2005, p. 88).

In the situation when most of the actors involved are governmental institutions and agencies, and the policy domain lies on the national level, it is difficult if possible to study *financial resources* allocations, distribution and control over it. That is why such variable as *financial resources* is not to be used in the research.

Membership is an important point to look at. The author will study the composition of the subsystem and the coalitions. For that reason the interviews with the actors and stakeholders will be conducted, and stakeholders' analysis will be done. The intention is to study if there are any changes in the composition of the coalitions over time, who and when has been involved in the subsystem, which actors have entered policy subsystem and which of them have left it, which among actors have been active/passive.

Information is an important variable. The author will focus on information streams between the subsystem actors concerning highly-skilled migration policies. The aim is to find out who, with what type of information, for what purpose came out, and how subsystem actors react to it. Information is also one of the principal factors in the process of policy learning: what kind of information the actors were in possession of, the way they were using the information, the processes of information exchange. The resource 'information' will be obtained with the help of secondary-data analysis (written documents, i.e. advice on policy change, surveys, economic analysis); with the help of interviews (what type of information the actors get, when, why, what was the topic, etc.).

Interaction between the actors of the subsystem is one more variable to be used in the work. The aim is to study the ways of iterations between the actors and coalitions that can give an understating of the process of policy learning.

The first set of variables to be used is *beliefs, information, membership and interactions*.

According to the ACF, one of the premises of major policy change is *policy leaning* process. Following Sabatier (Sabatier, 1993, p. 19) this factor can be defined as a notion that combines both information-based learning (*information* streams), learning about values, meanings and frames (*beliefs systems*). The basis of policy-oriented learning is *interactions* between actors.

The ACF Diagram shows other two sets of variables that could explain major policy change: relatively stable parameters (basic attributes of the problem, basic distribution of natural resources, fundamental socio-cultural values and social structures, basic constitutional structures (rules)); external system events (changes in the socio-economic conditions, policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems, changes in systematic governing coalitions, changes in public opinion); degree of consensus needed for major policy change; constrains and resources of subsystem actors.

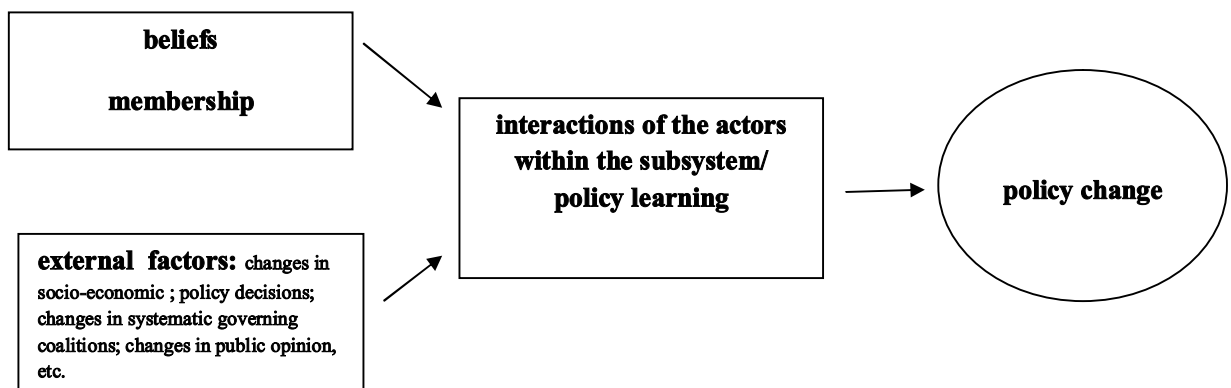
Thus, these additional variables will be taken into account: *changes in the socio-economic conditions, policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems, changes in systematic governing coalitions, changes in public opinion*.

Changes in the socio-economic conditions that could influence the creation of the coalition that could lead to the policy change are basic macroeconomic parameters (unemployment rate, migration net).

Changes in systematic governing coalition can be of special interest. The policy change started just after the Elections of 2004, and was confirmed after the Elections of 2006 when the new parliamentary coalitions were created.

Changes in public opinion and policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems cannot be taken into account because of lack of the empirical evidence.

The casualty scheme can be presented as the following:



3.1 Research techniques for the Netherlands migration subsystem case study

There are two basic *techniques* to be used for an analysis of the subsystem: interviews and secondary-data analysis

Interviews. Structured in-depth interviews are to be conducted with the representatives of the actors. The author will discuss the topic with officials and policy officers from the Ministry of Education and Science, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Finance; with the spokesmen of the parties presented in the parliament (Tweede Kamer); with the representatives of the agencies, organizations and institutions from public and private field (such as Nuffic, MKB, HBO-Raad, IOM, etc.); with knowledge migrants.

Secondary-data analysis. Written documentation is one more important source of information. First of all, such kind of information gives an understanding of the actors' interests, knowledge. Second, written information gives an insight on past events, history of interactions and relations between the subsystem actors. The author will study such documents as policy advice, declaration (i.e., Coalition Agreement), reports and surveys analysis that were done by the CPB Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis, Social Economic Council (SER), in addition to that the attention will be devoted to the statistical information provided by CSB, OECD, web-site information.

Additional source of information will be for me a participation in the Seminar "Managing Highly Skilled Labour Migration" organized by the OECD, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment and the Ministry of Justice, and held on the 17th-18th of June, 2008 in Amsterdam.

3.2 Summary

Migration policies domain lies predominantly within the scope of governmental agencies and institutions. When it comes to highly-skilled migration policies, societal, and private actors play an important role, so, the policy subsystem gets a new meaning.

One can look at migration policies from state, and from market perspective, these perspectives at times controversial. Which of the perspectives choose the actors in their activities is a point to look at (in the ACF terms, the beliefsystem of actors).

In order to explain policy change within the Dutch migration subsystem and answer the research question, the author will learn more about actors, their beliefs, information streams across/between them, actors' activities. On the bases of the ACF, the focus will be given to: 1) beliefsystems of the actors; 2) membership of the actors within coalitions/groups of the subsystem; 3) external factors that could lead to major policy change; 4) policy-oriented learning (informational streams, interactions between the actors) as the basis for the change in secondary aspects of governmental programs.

4. Empirical Evidence

This chapter of the work explains the Netherlands' highly-skilled migration policies development. In order to conduct an analysis the empirical findings are needed. The author will start with the history of Dutch Immigration and Migration systems. Without description of the immigration policies in the past it is not possible to give insight into the present state of them.

Afterwards on the basis of stakeholders' analysis the actors who are members of interested for us policy subsystem are to be outlined.

4.1 History of Dutch Immigration policies

Immigration policies can be considered a double-sword problem. From one side immigration provides opportunities and possibilities. In the case of bigger number of highly-skilled migrants the country gets a chance to become more competitive on international market; strong internationalization, globalization, desire to create an economical, cultural and knowledge development are priorities for modern state to prosper, thus, highly-skilled labor is needed. However from another side, immigration provides with inherent risks: considerable risks in the form of integration, and the associated social tensions. It means that immigration policies should be in balance between attracting more highly-skilled labour force and protecting national labour market, preventing society from tensions. The Netherlands can be an example where the problem of harmonization of these two points is really topical, mainly due to the immigration history of the country.

Through the ages the Netherlands has experienced numbers of waves of immigration. One of them started in the 60th of last century when net migration has shown an upward trend (Euwals, Rele, 2003). The Dutch economy was blooming and employers looked abroad for employees that could fill the vacancies. As the result low-skilled and unskilled workers from Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Morocco came to work in the country. The idea was that the presence of these 'guest-workers' would be terminated. But in reality the number of Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands grew steadily (Euwals, Rele, 2003). The quest workers who proffered to stay received resident permits and were allowed to let families join them. In addition, about 10.000 illegal immigrants were granted a legal status in 1975. This way in early seventies, there were 55.000 Turkish and Moroccan guest workers in the Netherlands and about 20.000 family members, while quarter of century later these ethnic groups accounted half a million people in total (Roodenburg, 2000).

In addition to that, in 1954, the relations with the colonies were revised. Inhabitants of Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles became Dutch citizens and thus acquired the right to migrate to the Netherlands.

Refugees created another huge group contributed to the immigration process. Over 450.000 persons have requested asylum since 1985 (Euwals, Rele, 2003). For the period of 1972-1997 it has been estimated that the number of applications granted was about half the number of applications submitted during the period (CPB, 1999).

It was an oil crisis of 1973 that became a turning point in Dutch immigration policy. That time the Dutch government decided to undertake serious efforts to limit the number of foreigners settling in the country. It was decided that from then on the Netherlands would deal with immigration restrictively. This entailed that permanent residence would only be permitted if important Dutch interests were served in that way; international obligations gave rise to it or there were serious humanitarian reasons. This put an end to room for spontaneous labour migration (Doomernik, 2007). However here lies the seed of the social theme which is on people's minds to this day, because instead of the expected end to large-scale immigration, the Netherlands were confronted with the continuing permanent relocation of newcomers (during the same 1970s, large numbers of people from Surinam relocated to the Netherlands. Their arrival – closely linked as it was with the former colony's imminent independence – was also unexpected. Ultimately, in 1980 (the year in which they definitively had to decide whether they wanted to become Dutch citizens or be Surinamese) approximately a third of all Surinamese lived in the Netherlands).

It is possible to conclude that immigration policies of the Netherlands have a short history, no more than 30 years since it was only in 1970th when Dutch government decided to undertake serious efforts to limit the number of foreigners settling in the country. However they were not effective and Dutch society was 'enriched' with more immigrants. That lead to the situation when immigration policies finally became very restrictive, preventing from any further immigration (including knowledge migrants).

At the time when all countries are fighting for best brains that was not a beneficial position, and at the beginning of 21st century radical change in the policies appeared.

4.2 *Developments of Dutch Migration policies in 2000-2008*

One need to take into account the situation at the beginning of the century brightly described by Ms. Nabahat Albayarak, Secretary of State for Justice, who during her speech on the Seminar “Managing Highly-Skilled Migration” said, “...none would dare to speak about labour migration.. we were concentrating on who we do not need in the Netherlands, and how we could prevent them from coming... That would be political suicide to say about migration policy”... These words referred to the Netherlands politicians who ‘did not dare’ to talk about migration policies at the end of 19th-beginning of 20th century.

The situation started to change in 2003. It was the time when a new Parliament Coalition and new Cabinet came into power (see Appendix A). The first step towards new migration policies was an idea of an Innovation Platform which consisted of 18 members from governmental institutions and 15 members selected from the business community and knowledge institutes. The Innovation Platform aimed to support the Cabinet in the development of policies which could stimulate the production of knowledge in the Netherlands.

Doomernik (2006) in his research “Overview of the Dutch asylum and immigration system” states, “The Netherlands has clearly lost some attraction to newcomers as we can read from the migration statistics, which currently show a negative net migration rate. It is difficult to assess this. Anecdotal evidence suggests that it is the better skilled who leave the country and the poorer skilled who still seek to settle in the Netherlands. Whether this is related to migration rules, hostility towards migration in general and Muslims in particular, the economic cycle, or rising cost of living, we do not know”.

One of the evidences that the Netherlands is in need of ‘kennismigranten’ is significant emigration of Dutch nationalities themselves (Van Dalen&Henkens, 2007). In addition, due to decreasing immigration to the Netherlands, the net migration balance is turning negative. “The negative balance of net emigration of Dutch nationals deteriorated dramatically during the past decades. Because the net migration flow of non-nationals has decreased, the total balance has become negative. This has led a net loss of highly-skilled labour in the Netherlands” (CPB, 2007). The table illustrates the net migration of nationals and non-nationals in the Netherlands, Germany and Belgium:

Net migration of nationals and non-nationals in the Netherlands and Germany (thousands)

		1990-1994	2005
The Netherlands	Nationals	-6.3	-43.7
	Non-nationals	47.4	39.4
Germany	Nationals	195.9	-16.7
	Non-nationals	372.8	95.7
Belgium	Nationals	-1.8	-7.7
	Non-nationals	21.0	34.7

Source: van Dalen and Henkens, 2007, p. 42

As the tables shows the negative balance in net emigration and the loss of higher skilled workers is a topical issues to deal with in the Netherlands. The closest neighbors of the country, Belgium and Germany, have positive balance in net emigration and look much more appealing. In view of this negative balance, the Dutch economy has a clear incentive to maintain the right share of highly-skilled labour, both by binding the present proportion of higher-skilled workers and by attracting higher-educated employees from abroad. ‘Binding and bridging are the core stones of Dutch employment strategy for the higher labour market segment’ (Fourage, Ester, 2007, p. 17). As for bridging policies, the Dutch government enlarged the possibilities for highly-skilled workers to be employed in the Netherlands and introduced new policy scheme.

In *May 2004* the obligation of obtaining a work permit to work in the Netherlands was abolished for certain groups of recipients of (European) and visiting lecturers. In *October, 2004*, a new “highly-skilled workers residence permit” was introduced. This residence permit allows highly-skilled workers to enter the Dutch labour market without an employment license. Also, the IND commits itself to take a decision on an application of both the highly-skilled worker and the family members within a two-week period. A highly-skilled worker is a migrant who is employed by a Dutch organisation/firm and earns a yearly salary of more than €46.541, (or €34.130,- for people under 30 years of age). The income criterion does not apply for foreigners employed as PhD-student by an educational or research institution, nor for post-doctoral or academic teachers and medical specialists in training. Further, labour migrants who do not meet the income requirement, and who therefore cannot make use of the procedure to obtain a highly-skilled worker residence permit, can make use of the shortened MVV-procedure to obtain a visa for the Netherlands. This procedure takes four to six weeks.

In 2005 working group consisted of four policy-officers of the Ministry of Justice started to work on the project “Modern Migration Policy”. They initiated consultations across governmental and non-governmental actors: VNO-NCW, IOM, VSNU, the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, the Ministry of Economic Affairs (complete list of actors see in Appendix C). On the basis of this cooperation, there was generated a policy document “Towards New Migration Policies”. It was approved by the Parliament in 2006.

In 2006 Rita Verdonk, Minister for Immigration and Integration that time, and strong supporter of restrictive immigration policies, stated in the Preface for “Towards a modern Migration Policy. Memorandum on the Review of the policy on the managed migration in the Netherlands”, “The Netherlands has a growing need for high-quality foreign labour. The highly-skilled migrants arrangement was the first step towards meeting this requirement. By entering into contacts with companies, knowledge institutes the government has simplified the admission of high-knowledge workers considerably. I would like to take the next step by completely reviewing the regular admission policy, which must become less complex, easier to understand and better enforced” (Memorandum, 2006, p. 3).

The basic principles of the new migration policies were formulated as the following (p.6):

1. The migration policy is based on the principle that a modern migration policy must be based on the need for immigrations that exists in Dutch society as a whole. More so than has been the case until now, the contribution that immigrants can make to Dutch society must be taken as the underlying principle in admission policy. Immigrants choosing the Netherlands as their new country are expected to participate in society.
2. By opting for selectivity, the Government does not intend to broaden the admission policy but aims to achieve increased flexibility and streamlining in the admission policy for those migrants the Netherlands would be pleased to admit, depending on the needs of Dutch society and the Dutch labour market.
3. The Government has decided to modernize the admission policy. By doing so, the Government aims to develop an admission policy that can be used to quickly and decisively respond to the needs of society and of the labour market, and that can take optimum advantage of the possibilities offered by migration. After all, it is to the Netherlands’ advantage that, as much as possible, the contribution that immigrants can make to society is used as a basic principle for admission.

4. In order to full justice to this basic principle, the Government has opted for an admission model comprised of five 'residence tiers'. This model replaces the existing, complex system of 26 residence objectives that have little cohesion and require frequent adjustments. Admission is granted on the basis of one of the five tiers and is always accompanied by a uniform package of rights and obligations. Thus, migration policies from restrictive became selective ones. In other words the Netherlands is ready to welcome migrants but the admission of the last ones is to be based on the needs of Dutch society and Dutch labour market.

Labour migration and study migration got special attention that time, "The Netherlands wants to be a dynamic knowledge-based economy, and attain – and maintain - a good starting position in the 'battle for brains'. In order to attract the top of the labour market, the labour migration policy must be selective and inviting, and much apply to all highly qualified labour migrants who can make an important positive contribution to the Dutch economy and culture.... The policy for foreign students must be inviting. The basic principle is the fact that students come to the Netherlands to study at an institution for higher education"... (Memorandum, 2006, p. 7).

May, 2006. A Code of Conduct for the International Student in Dutch Higher Education was introduced. This Code of Conduct is a self-regulating instrument designed by the Dutch institutions for higher education. The Code formulates a large number of rights and duties/obligations for higher education institutions to which they have to comply in order to be permitted to allow third country students to study at their institution. The Dutch government requires an institution to sign the Code as a condition to grant an authorisation for temporary stay for study at higher educational level to third country citizens. This is not as much a relaxation of migration law as it is a guarantee for students that they will receive high quality education at a Dutch university or a university for professional education, and that a student is given the education s/he is promised beforehand.

November, 2006. Third country trainees no longer need a work permit to complete a traineeship at a Dutch organisation within the scope of his or her Dutch education. An agreement between the institution of higher education, the trainee and the employer sufficed.

Finally, in 2007 Coalition Agreement of the present Dutch government made it clear: the Netherlands is building knowledge economy and thus, there is special focus on highly-skilled migrants:

‘The essential requirements are a well-educated and well-equipped labour force, high-quality knowledge and information... The policy document towards a modern migration policy will be fleshed out in a multi-year programme to adjust regular immigration policy to meet the needs of the labour market. Immigration policy will also be adapted by continuing and improving knowledge migrant policy (Coalitieaccord, 2007).

In *December 2007* a new rule towards highly-skilled migrants came into force (www.ind.nl). Ernst&Young reports: “The salary requirement for knowledge migrants is being indexed on an annual basis. As of 1 January 2008 the salary requirement to fall within the scope of the knowledge migrant policy... As of 19 December 2007, foreign students, who graduated in the Netherlands, will have a one-year period as of their graduation to find a job in the Netherlands. During that year, the graduated student is allowed to work in the Netherlands without restrictions...” (www.expatica.com).

In the year of 2008 the working group consisted of 12 teams who are representatives of governmental, public, private, societal actors are dealing with a blue print of the policy document on New Migration Policies (complete list of actors presented in Appendix D). The document was sent to the Parliament on the 26th of June, 2008. It has great emphasis on knowledge migration. The press-release of the Council of Ministers (www.regering.nl) from the 27th of June, 2006 stated:

“On the proposal of State Secretary for Justice Albayrak, the Council of Ministers has consented to a radical modernisation of the regular admission policy for immigrants. This reassessment is referred to as the “modern migration policy”. The starting point of the modern migration policy is selective. This means that the policy has been liberalised for migrants that are sorely needed to boost the economy, culture and sciences and made restrictive to others. In effect, it will become no easier to gain admission to the Netherlands except for those groups of migrants that the Cabinet deems desirable. This will make the Netherlands more attractive as a location for international companies and knowledge migrants. Prior to the modern migration policy, a talent scheme will be introduced by the first half of 2009 for an expected 500 graduates and doctoral graduates at top Dutch and foreign universities. They will be given the opportunity for one “search year” to find a job as a knowledge migrant in the Netherlands”.

Much attention is given to the implementation processes of the new migration policies (Modern Migratiebelied, 2008), such as procedures on getting MVV for ‘highly-skilled migrants’, work of IND-offices.

4.3 Characteristics of Dutch highly-skilled migration system' actors

Now it is important to look closer at actors, stakeholders that are involved in the process of policy formation. So, *where the policy is made?* In the Netherlands there has, since 2002, been a Minister for Immigration and Integration, but no separate ministry. Rather the civil service apparatus responsible to this Minister is part of the Justice Ministry – and there is a Justice Minister. The creation of the new Minister's post meant that aspects of immigration were put under the responsibility of this Minister rather than the Minister of Justice and the (junior – non-cabinet position of) State Secretary for Immigration as had previously been the case. In addition, immigrant integration affairs were taken over from the Interior Ministry. Elements of migration policy remain the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in particular visa issuance. So, the main actors involved are the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Justice* (part of which the *Immigratie-en Naturalisatiedienst* is), *the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Social Affairs, Nuffic* (the Netherlands organization for international cooperation in higher education), *NWO, KNAW, 13 Dutch Universities, international students, knowledge migrants, governmental and non-governmental scientific agencies (The Social-Economic Council (SER), CPB Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis, ACZV, Ernst&Young), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), HBO-Raad, MKB.*

The official position of the government is formulated on the IND web-site: "The immigration policy is laid down by the government and the Upper and Lower chambers" (www.ind.nl). Though the government is responsible for the policy change, these are also players who are active in the process of policy formation hence one should differentiate between politicians and actors involved in policy-making (Radin, 2000).

Centraal Planbureau (CPB)

Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis was founded in 1945. It is an independent research institute and has its own independent external advisory body. CPB Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis makes independent economic analyses that are both scientifically sound and up-to-date, and relevant for policymaking in the Netherlands. With its analyses, CPB informs not only politicians and policymakers but also societal organisations, the scientific community and the general public. CPB conducts its research on its own initiative, as well as upon request by a limited group. Within this group are the Cabinet, government ministries, the Parliament, individual members

or factions of Parliament, and political parties (parties in office, as well as opposition parties). Also able to call on CPB's research efforts are employers' and employees' organisations, the Social Economic Council and several other institutes and organisations in the field of social economic policy and research.

Formally, all requests not originating from the government must pass through the Ministry of Economic Affairs. The Minister decides whether or not CPB will answer a particular request, or may determine that CPB may participate only to the extent that the request fits within CPB's common activities. Such a request to the Minister need not contain detailed information about specific policy proposals. For instance, in the preparation of a counter budget or an election platform requestors are not obliged to reveal their strategies at an early stage.

To ensure its independence, CPB conducts its analyses free of charge: exceptions mainly concern requests for research by international organisations such as the EU and the OECD. This prevents clients from making high demands upon CPB results.

“To prevent unfair competition between CPB and commercial research institutes, the bureau is allowed to work only for the group of clients mentioned above. CPB is obliged to turn down the requests of other organisations, such as municipalities, provinces, companies or action groups -also when clients offer to pay for the research” (www.cpb.nl).

The emphasis of the work of CPB is its independence and respect to politicians, since “the result of an analysis will never be a straight recommendation on a particular course of action” (www.cpb.nl).

In 2003 CPB made an analysis of the impact of immigration on Dutch Economy (Roodengurg& Euwals&ter Rele, 2003). In the conclusion, among other points, it was mentioned:

“Assuming a selective immigration policy, there is little doubt that some degree of labour migration is beneficial to the economy of a host country... the analysis indicates that there are no substantial gains to be expected from immigration of labour; more specifically, such immigration would not be effective in alleviating the financial burden of population ageing in the Netherlands” (p. 91).

The suggestion of CPB was not to change labour migration policies, and remain them as they are: demand-driven³ (at the same time the Report recognize that ‘we can learn from the traditional immigration countries like Australia, Canada and the USA, that employ supply-driven⁴ system of labour migration” (p. 92).

So, by the example of CPB we can find very careful attitude towards changes in the immigration policies, more likely they should not be changed, according to the conclusions made by CPB.

The same, well-balanced and without much enthusiasm approach we can find in the “Immigration policy and Welfare State Design” research (Chorny&Euwals&Folmer, 2007). The authors note that ‘it is an open question whether an alternative structure of the acknowledged types of immigrants is the right answer to the problem (labour migration problem, and benefits for welfare state from labour migration)’ (p. 48). The main challenges welfare state will face in the situation of a new, more liberal migration system, are of social character, and is not an answer to the existing problems (i.e. ageing). However the Research also point out that ‘self-selection of immigrants, caused by their rational economic behavior, is a curse for a welfare state.. these countries gain relatively little from immigration as the gain largely goes to the immigrants themselves ’ (p. 44).

So, we can characterize CPB as an actor with balanced, careful attitude towards new migration system which is not rejecting importance of highly-skilled labour for the Netherlands but at the same time is not in favor of attracting knowledge migrants from abroad.

Adviescomissie voor Vreemdelingenzaken (ACVZ)

The Advisory Committee on Aliens Affairs (ACVZ) was installed on November, 28th, 2001 as a result of the Aliens Act 2000. In the Aliens Act 2000 the organisation and terms of reference of the ACVZ are regulated.

The ACZV consists of 15 members:

- *the Chairman* (preferably a judge);

³ Demand-driven systems are those in which the initiative for the migration comes from the employer who makes a request to the immigration authorities for a work and residence permit for the future worker.

⁴ Supply-driven migration refers to situations in which a host country advertises its willingness to take applications for immigration directly from potential candidates, independently of a specific job offer.

- *The Members* of the ACVZ are appointed by the Government for a period of 4 years. The members may be reappointed twice. The members act independently and are chosen on the basis of their expertise in the field of immigration issues and sociological issues;
- *Executive Committee* that consists of the Chairman, the Deputy Chairman, the ACVZ Secretary and the ACVZ Deputy Secretary;
- *Bureau* that supports the Committee in its activities. The Bureau is headed by the ACVZ Secretary.

ACVZ presents reports and policy analysis that later on is debated in the Parliament. So, it is important strategic actor in the process of policy making.

In the Advisory Report from February, 2007 - "Benefiting from educational migrants: a report on labour market position of foreign graduates" - ACVZ gave the next recommendations regarding future study policies: 1) to increase a search for a job period for graduates to one year; 2) to create less demanding and differentiated salary requirements; 3) do not guarantee welfare benefits but permit to work during the search period; 4) to shorten decision period for residence permit.

The policy document "Towards a Modern Migration" was reviewed by ACVZ. Based on the findings the advisory report "A Customized Immigration Policy" was published in October, 2007. Though general agreement with the principles proposed in the policy document, ACVZ notes, "A high level of income must not in the ACZV's opinion be the only admission criterion for highly-skilled knowledge workers. This is unsound and may facilitate abuse. The decision as to whether a person can be deemed to be a knowledge worker must also be based on qualifications and work experience" (ACVZ. A Customized Immigration Policy, 2007, p. 71). Another crucial issue raised in the Report is the necessity of 'the elaboration of the policy document...in direct cooperation with the partners and sector organisations most concerned and with direct stakeholders' (p. 72). That can be considered as the evidence of the fact that migration policies should not be made in the governmental offices only, but also should include broader circle of actors and stakeholders, their interests and positions.

Sociaal Economische Raad (SER)

The Social and Economic Council is an advisory and consultative body of entrepreneurs, employers and independent experts, the Social and Economic Council of the Netherlands (SER) aims to help create social consensus on national and international socio-economic issues.

Established in law by the 1950 Industrial Organisation Act (Wet op de bedrijfsorganisatie), the SER is the main advisory body to the Dutch government and the parliament on national and international social and economic policy. The SER is financed by industry and is wholly independent from the government. It represents the interests of trade unions and industry, advising the government (upon request or at its own initiative) on all major social and economic issues.

The SER also has an administrative role. This consists of monitoring commodity and industrial boards, which perform an important role in the Dutch economy. Industrial boards are responsible for representing the interests of particular branches of industry, and are made up of employers' representatives and union representatives.

The SER consists of three groups, each with 11 members, making up a total of 33 members. This tripartite composition reflects social and economic relations in the Netherlands. The first group consists of members representing employers, the second consists of members representing unions, and the third consists of independent or 'Crown' members appointed by the Government.

Employers' representatives:

Confederation of Netherlands Industry and Employers (Vereniging VNO/NCW)

Association of Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (MKB Nederland)

Dutch Organisation for Agriculture and Horticulture (LTO)

Union representatives:

Federation of Netherlands Trade Unions (FNV)

National Federation of Christian Trade Unions in the Netherlands (CNV)

Federation of Managerial and Professional Staff Unions (MHP)

Crown members:

Crown members are independent experts. They are often university professors with a chair in Economics, Finance, Law or Sociology. They are appointed by the Crown, but are not accountable to the government. In appointing a crown member, special care is always taken to maintain a fair balance between the various fields of interest and political views in the country.

The President of the Nederlandsche Bank (the Dutch central bank), and the Director of the CPB Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (Centraal Planbureau) are both Crown members. The Chairman of the SER is also appointed by the Crown, on the SER's advice.

The SER started its input on the field of the new migration policies with the publication of 2004 "Evaluating the Lisbon Strategy". In this report SER admits the importance of Lisbon Strategy for national policy-makers, but also it calls for social partners to participate because 'Lisbon goals involve increasing the labour participation rate and labour productivity' (SER, 2004, p. 33).

In 2007 the SER published an advisory report on labour migration policy. Among other suggestions, it stressed on the necessity to 'promote "brain gain" in the countries of origin, the Council is in favour of continuing and expanding programmes for circular migration' (SER, 2007, p. 5), i.e. that type of migration based on the idea that 'immigrants should be able to come, go and come back again, without many restrictions and making use of contemporary transnational networks' (Bieckmann and Muskens, 2007).

The Ministry of Economic Affairs (Ministerie van Economische Zaken, EZ).

The Ministry of Economic Affairs defines, implements, and regulates the enforcement of economic policy in The Netherlands. The idea of the Netherlands as a part of an open global economy is a key mission for EZ.

Currently the Ministry' strategy ensures that: businesses are given more room to do business and to innovate; consumers are in a stronger position and can exercise their rights; we have a secure supply of clean energy and our telecommunications system is safe and reliable.

EZ aims to make the Netherlands one of the most attractive knowledge economies for innovative development. "That is why the government, despite the difficult budgetary situation, is investing € 800 million in education and knowledge. But money alone is not enough. It is also a question of what trade and industry and knowledge institutions can do themselves to contribute to a greater innovative capacity. A coherent strategy and the input of all parties involved is therefore essential" (www.ez.nl).

EZ is interested in good business environment in the country and so, it is the task of EZ to take care of appealing climate for the local and international businesses in the country. That is why when it comes to the idea of new migration policies, the key points for EZ were shortages on local labour

market (labour migrants could fill the gap), and a quicker procedure for companies that wants to get a highly-skilled worker to the Netherlands.

The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW)

OCW is, probably, one of the main actors in the process of migration policy change. It 'makes policies, drafts legislation and appropriates public funds on behalf of Dutch citizens' (www.minosw.nl) in the field of education, culture and science. And since the Netherlands aim to be a country with knowledge society and knowledge economy, it is science, technology, innovation, and, thus, education and research to be a matter of priority.

When talking about education we should remember about internationalization that 'increase competitive pressures and inspire discussions about the optimal design of higher education policy' (Thissen&Ederveen, 2006, p. 7) and marketization of the higher education that means 'more students -more money'. That is why, starting from the market perspective, the OCW is interested in changes in migration policies, to be more particular in student migration policies (potential highly-skilled labour). This changes can make the Netherlands higher education institutions look more attractive for international students

The percentage of enrolled with a foreign nationality students is constantly increasing: it is 3% in 2002, and 5.6% in 2005 (Internationalization in higher education in the Netherlands. Key Figures, 2006). Strategic plan (Strategische agenda, 2007) of OCW indicates, that 'the international position of the Dutch higher education is good. According to the research, most of Dutch universities are among 200 best in the world, many of them are in the top 50.... That helps in appealing students and knowledge migrants, in addition, one more goal has been achieved, and this is much easier administrative procedure for international students who come to the Netherlands' (p.27).

Less formal, faster administrative procedures, easier visa obtaining process is an objective for the Ministry of OCW. The Ministry promotes the necessity to generate such migration policies that would create more appealing atmosphere for international students to arrive to the Netherlands.

It is not only students who are the target group of the Ministry of OCW, these are also researchers, scientists. The departure point in the discussion about higher education is its marketization and internationalization. That is why 'you cannot afford to see international student simply as students. They are customers. Disappoint customers and you spoil the market' ... (Gilligan,

2003, p.130). To reduce immigration obstacles for mobility of the students, researchers and scientists is the priority for the Ministry of OCW.

Nuffic (the Netherlands organization for international cooperation)

It is an independent, non-profit organization that supports internationalization in higher education, research and professional education in the Netherlands and abroad, and helps improve access to higher education worldwide.

The most important contract partners of Nuffic are the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We play an important role in fostering international cooperation in higher education between the Netherlands and other countries.

Special group named 'mobstacles team' was introduced in Nuffic in 2001. Nuffic recognize that 'internationalization is still being hampered by strict Dutch immigration laws' (Nuffic. Annual overview, 2007, p. 26.) The role of Nuffic, and mobstacle team in particular, is to work with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (IND), to promote the idea of necessity in less restrictive rules and regulations towards international students. Nuffic is also cooperating with the universities where it is learning about the problems, obstacles they face in the area of aliens law and procedures.

Nuffic is an actor that sees more liberised and simplified administrative procedures towards students, researchers, scientists, trainers as the marketing strategy to promote Nederlands higher education in the world. The organization was interested in a new migration policies implementation. In that Nuffic went much further than pure support of the new policies, it started to work with the society, with the beliefs inside the community. For example, Astrid Scholten, Head of Studies in Nuffic, in her thesis "*Exploration of portfolio characteristics for the recognition of prior learning. The identification, assessment and recognition of actual competencies of highly-skilled migrants*" concludes that highly-skilled migrants who want to practice their profession in the Netherlands 'are judged by very Dutch standards. Qualifications count more than work experience, and they must speak the language' (Annual Overview, 2007, p. 47). Knowledge migrants are assessed less on their work experience than on their qualifications. Nuffic works with the problem, trying to change the beliefs as for highly educated foreigners. For this reason it conducted several pilot projects using portfolios to recognize, assess, and evaluate the competencies of highly-educated foreigners (p. 47). The results of these projects were rather pessimistic. Though there is significant need in knowledge workers, 'migrants... are assessed less on their work experience than on their qualifications' (p.47).

Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Science

Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Science (KNAW) started its history back in the 17th century. Nowadays it is ‘voice of the arts and sciences in the Netherlands’ (www.knaw.nl). The Academy promotes the quality of scientific and scholarly work and strives to ensure that Dutch scholars and scientists make the best possible contribution to the cultural, social, and economic development of Dutch society.

Main functions of the KNAW include:

- Advising the government on matters related to scientific research
- Assessing the quality of scientific research (peer review)
- Providing a forum for the scientific world and promoting international scientific cooperation
- Acting as an umbrella organisation for the institutes primarily engaged in basic and strategic scientific research and disseminating information

Processes of internationalization considered to be one of the most dominant one within the KNAW activities (KNAW. Strategisch Plan, 2006). Exchange of researchers, attraction of scientists from other countries are the steps in the scope of internationalization.

KNAW was one of the first who started its activities in the field of admission of knowledge migrants. In August, 2002 it urged the Ministers of Education, Culture and Science, Foreign Affairs, Aliens Policy and Integration, Finance, Economic Affairs and Social Affairs and Employment to remove obstacles to the admission of foreign researchers to the Netherlands (KNAW. Annual Report, 2002). Attention was drawn to the catastrophic role played by the Dutch embassies and other representatives abroad in the verification procedures under the Aliens Act 2000. That had adverse effects for research institutes and industry, where there is an acute need for foreign graduates, a warning letter was sent to the Minister of Justice by a series of organisations, including KNAW, at the initiative of the Nuffic.

The Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research

The Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research (NWO) has the following statutory mission. The Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research:

- is responsible for enhancing the quality and innovative nature of scientific research as equally initiating and stimulating new developments in scientific research
- mainly fulfils its task by allocating resources
- facilitates, for the benefit of society, the dissemination of knowledge from the results of research that it has initiated and stimulated
- mainly focuses on university research in performing its task.

In fulfilling its responsibilities NWO pays due attention to the aspect of coordination and facilitates this where necessary. NWO wants to ensure that Dutch science continues to be amongst the best in the world and that the currently strong position is further strengthened (www.nwo.nl).

Thousand of scientists and researchers arrive to the Netherlands under the support of NWO. Naturally, the organization was interested in easier and faster administrative procedures towards scientists and researchers from outside the EU.

Association of Universities in the Netherlands

Association of Universities in the Netherlands (VSNU) is an ‘umbrella organization’ for 14 Dutch Universities that are: *Universiteit Leiden, Universiteit Utrecht Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, Universiteit Maastricht, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Radboud Universiteit, Nijmegen Universiteit van Tilburg, Technische Universiteit Delft, Technisch Universiteit Eindhoven, Universiteit Twente, Wageningen Universiteit, Open Universiteit Nederland.*

The VSNU represents the interests of these universities in the fields of research, education, knowledge transfer, funding and personnel policy. This includes signing the Collective Employment Agreement (CAO) with university personnel on the universities' behalf.

The four basic tasks of the VSNU are to: 1) promote the universities’ common interests vis-a-vis the Dutch cabinet, politicians, government and civil society organizations; 2) provide a forum for discussion through which common standpoints can be developed; 3) provide services and information; 4) serve as an employers’ organization, participating in discussions with the government and employees’ organisations regarding employment conditions in the university sector (comprising approximately 52,000 employees).

In the area of immigration policy, the interest of the VSNU comes from the ‘knowledge society’ idea, and, necessity in promotion of Dutch universities, research institutes. The organization (together with KNAW, NWO) is involved in the process of lobbying new governmental projects that would support ‘*knowledge strategy*’⁵. In October 2001, ‘Manifesto Parties’⁶ sent an open letter to the Coalition parties in the Parliament which called for addition investments scientific research and argued in favour of a knowledge strategy aimed at meeting the Lisbon/Barcelona criterion.

HBO-Raad

The Netherlands Association of Universities of Applied Sciences (HBO-Raad) brings together all government-funded Universities of Applied Sciences in the Netherlands. 44 Universities of Applied Sciences are affiliated to the Association. Together they have 30,000 employees and over 350,000 students.

The HBO-Raad focuses on strengthening the social position of Universities of Applied Sciences. To this end it maintains contacts with a broad range of people and organisations. For contacts both inside and outside the association, the HBO-Raad is the knowledge centre for applied sciences. The social position of the Universities of Applied Sciences is strengthened through the transfer of knowledge about higher education and by providing information.

For the Universities of Applied Sciences the HBO-Raad is an excellent platform for collaboration. The HBO-Raad functions also as an employers' organisation on their behalf.

“Investment in talent, practical researches, and personnel. This is the goal of the high education institutions” is written in the Strategic Agenda of HBO-Raad. In 2006 the organization launched the project “Nederland Kennisland de Kenniseconomie” (www.hbo.nl) that aimed in promoting of the idea about ‘shortage of talents, raise of teachers’ skills, education quality improvement’ (Kenniseconomie Monitor, 2006).

The Strategic Consultative Committee on Internationalization (SOI) where representatives of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs exchange views with representatives from the umbrella organizations for higher education – the Association of

⁵ The term ‘knowledge strategy’ defines a policy that is aimed to develop knowledge processes through acquisition, creation, applying and delivering knowledge and results in creation of ‘knowledge society’ and ‘knowledge economy’

⁶ ‘Manifesto Parties’ is the coalition of VNO-NCW, NWO, KNAW, and VSNU created in 2002 and aimed to protect ‘innovation and knowledge’ policies in the Netherlands

Universities in the Netherlands (VSNU), the Netherlands Association of Universities of Applied Sciences (HBO-Raad) and Sail, was established in 2007. The SOI looks at the big picture and overall strategy. Participants highlight new trends and try to establish a priority agenda for an effective internationalization policy.

Ministrie van Buitelandse Zaken

Ministry of Foreign Affairs is relatively passive actor in the process of migration policies. Its mission is formulated on the official web-site (www.mfa.nl) and is the Dutch diplomatic mission. The embassies, consulates, and permanent representations to international organization are 'are the eyes, ears, and voice of the Netherlands. Embassies and consulates are bilateral missions that promote Dutch interests and assist Dutch nationals living or travelling abroad. Embassies are also active in development cooperation and press and cultural affairs. Consulates, subordinate to embassies, carry out more practical, routine tasks. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in The Hague coordinates the worldwide network of missions'. From this definition it is possible to conclude the main activity of the Ministry regarding highly-skilled migrants. It includes coordination, monitor of new regulations' implementation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs welcomes knowledge migrants and tries to make the process of obtaining of MVV faster and less troublesome for them. It is linking part between the Embassies of the United Kingdom of Netherlands aboard and IND office in the Netherlands.

The Ministry of Justice (Justitie)

The Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands is the leading actor in the process of migration policy formation and implementation. As it is written on the official web-site of the Ministry, "The Minister and State Secretary of Justice are responsible for maintaining order in our society, while ensuring that justice, safety and unity come first. Because no matter how different Dutch people may be, everyone shares the ideal of living in a just and safe society. The integration of established migrants and newcomers deserves particular attention. The ideal climate is one in which unity and commitment flourish, enabling us to live side-by-side, embracing our differences".

One of the main tasks of the Ministry is to maintain legitimate immigration: to accept those who need protection, and to repatriate the ones who are not granted to stay in the Netherlands.

Modern Migration Policies is the project started within the walls of the Ministry and widely supported by it and State Secretary for Justice Nebahat Albayrak (Memorandum, 2006; www.justitie.nl).

The blue print of ‘Memorandum on the review of the policy on managed migration to the Netherlands. Towards a modern migration policy’ (2006) was written in the Ministry by the working group of four people, the main findings of which were based on the knowledge gotten from consultations with public, and private actors, scientists. With little changes the Memorandum was approved by Tweede Kamer in 2006.

At the moment 12 teams represented by different actors are working on a new version of “Modern Migration Policy” document that is to be sent to the Parliament before the end of summer.

IND (Immigratie- en Naturalisatiedienst)

The IND is an organization responsible for the implementation of the immigration policy in the Netherlands. It is an enforcement organisation that deals with application of actual policies. But also it is an important actor that links immigrants and the Netherlands, by saying ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ to the request to be admitted in the country since ‘the IND assesses all applications submitted by foreign nationals *who wish to stay in the Netherlands or who wish to become Dutch nationals* (www.ind.nl). These can be refugees who are under threat in their own country, or persons who wish to work and live in the Netherlands. They also include people who have lived in the Netherlands for so long that they feel Dutch and officially want to become Dutch nationals’ (www.ind.nl).

Though IND does not play an active role in the process of policy making, other actors consult the organization as for practical side of policies implementation. The Ministry of Justice asks IND for the advice based on practical side of proposed policy (i.e. whether or not the policy can be implemented from practical point of view).

At the same time the IND creates an image of the country in front of those wishing to come, live and work here. The image can be appealing or fearing for migrants. In 2005 ‘Algemene Rekenkamer’ (Court of Audit) reported about highly unsatisfactory work of IND (Algemene Rekenkamer Audit. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2005). Since that time IND has been trying to change the quality of the service, and become customer-oriented organization (www.ind.nl).

Thus, the IND is responsible for all the administrative procedures conducted in a proper way. It issued the MVV⁷ for the incoming migrants. Let us look at the figures of decision made regarding migrants.

Number of MVV applications differentiated to procedure for 2005 and 2006 (Source: IND, 2008)

MVV applications	2006	2007
MVV dip(lomatic)	6.677	5.066
MVV sponsor	22.703	22.290
MVV simplified	7.176	7.280
MVV knowledge	3.876	5.600
Total applicants	40.432	40.236

When the decisions on immigrants are broken down to migration motives in the table, one can see that labour migration (labour and knowledge) is approximately one fourth of the total number of MVV applications. For residence permits this percentage is lower, but that has to do with the category of ‘other motives’, which are the EEA citizens that need to apply for residence. In 2006 approximately 3,900 knowledge workers were approved for residence. One year later, in 2007, 5.600 knowledge migrants were welcomed in the Netherlands.

Another table indicates the percentages of the positive decisions made regarding different types of immigrants.

Decisions differentiated to motive and MVV and residence permit (Source: IND, 2008)

Decision per motive of migration	MVV 2004 Number (% positive)	MVV 2006 Number (%positive)	MVV 2007 Number (%positive)
Family	53%	25.351 (51%)	18.665 (62%)
Labour	72%	3.254 (78%)	3.354 (81%)
Study	87%	7.724 (87%)	7.439 (93%)
Knowledge worker	-(1613)	3.917 (91%)	5.534 (95%)
Other motives	63%	2.875 (67%)	2.960 (75%)
Total applications	55.600	40.432	37.952

One can see that the 95% of the whole number of applications from knowledge workers in 2007 is the highest percentage in the table. The difference is significant and supported by the three-time growth in the general numbers of residence permits for ‘knowledge workers’ between 2004 and 2007.

⁷ Provisional Residence Permit

IND closely interacts with the number of partners. Each of the partners is somehow responsible for the implementation of immigration policies. There are *Royal Marechaussee* (an organization responsible for the first reception of asylum seekers), *Vreemdelingenpolitie* (Aliens police), *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, *Centraal Orgaan opvang asielzoekers (COA)* (Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers), *Internationale Organisatie voor Migratie (IOM)* (International Organisation for Migration), *Dienst Terugkeer & Vertrek* (Repatriation and Departure Service).

International Organization for Migration (IOM)

Established in 1951, IOM is the leading inter-governmental organization in the field of migration and works closely with governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental partners.

IOM is dedicated to promoting humane and orderly migration for the benefit of all. It does so by providing services and advice to governments and migrants. The organization includes 122 member states, a further 18 states holding observer status and offices in over 100 countries,

IOM works to help ensure the orderly and humane management of migration, to promote international cooperation on migration issues, to assist in the search for practical solutions to migration problems and to provide humanitarian assistance to migrants in need, including refugees and internally displaced people (www.iom.int).

The IOM Constitution recognizes the link between migration and economic, social and cultural development, as well as to the right of freedom of movement.

IOM works in the four broad areas of migration management:

- Migration and development
- Facilitating migration
- Regulating migration
- Forced migration.

IOM activities that cut across these areas include the promotion of international migration law, policy debate and guidance, protection of migrants' rights, migration health and the gender dimension of migration.

IOM in the Netherlands works to supervise migrants to and from the Netherlands, to reintegrate them into their country of origin, to organise the temporary secondment of migrants to their country

of origin, and the organisation also works on labour migration, migration and health and the combating of human trafficking.

Being defender of migrants' rights, IOM concentrates its attention on asylum seekers and highly-skilled migrants at the same degree. In "Jaarverslag 2006. Nederland" one can find an Essay "De moeizame omgang met arbeidsmigratie" written by Jeroen Doornik for IOM. In this research the author gives an insight on immigration history in the Netherlands, and welcomes the latest changes in the migration policies. At the same time, IOM is an international organization that is caring about keeping economic, social balance all over the world. Thus, its interest is not only welcome highly-skilled migrants in the Netherlands but do it without loss for other countries, by avoiding brain drain problem.

MKB

Royal Association MKB-Nederland is an actor that combines 135 trade organisations and 250 regional and local business associations. MKB-Nederland protects the interests of around 186,000 entrepreneurs.

On behalf of all of these entrepreneurs, MKB-Nederland negotiates and consults with national, European, provincial and local governments, social partners and others. This makes the umbrella organisation *the* mouthpiece for the Dutch business community. MKB-Nederland includes among its tasks making existing rules and regulations more entrepreneur-friendly and, in particular, initiating new policy tailored to changing circumstances in the small and medium-sized enterprises (SME) sector. The SME sector benefits greatly from a healthy business climate. A combination of all entrepreneurial forces is of decisive importance to achieving this. In MKB-Nederland, that combination of forces is a fact.

The members of MKB-Nederland can count not only on the effective protection of their interests, but also on actual support. They are directly involved in all national activities of MKB Nederland and can make use of the facilities offered by MKB-Nederland under favourable conditions. Members are given information that is selected by the importance to their own activities. MKB-Nederland 'translates' developments concerning laws and regulations into the specific interests of the affiliated organisations. Trade organisations, regional organisations and local business associations receive an information bulletin every two weeks. All entrepreneurs also receive the monthly magazine *Ondernemen!* or 'Enterprise!'

Membership of MKB-Nederland enables trade organisations and their members to make use of the facilities that this interest group offers the SME sector. Trade organisations can make use of the services offered by the Working Conditions Office, for example. This office can draw upon the knowledge and experience of a team of advisors that assist branches of industry in the areas of employment conditions and labour law. By providing advice on (or conducting) collective bargaining agreement (CBA) negotiations with unions or updating the employment conditions, for instance. External projects in collaboration with subsidy or funding providers are developed at MKB-Nederland's Project Office.

The SME sector makes an important contribution to the quality of society and gives shape to the level of regional local facilities level like no other. Also, many new forms of service and countless technical and environmentally-friendly innovations are developed in this dynamic sector. The SME sector is therefore receiving more and more of the economic, social and political recognition that it deserves. It is the SME sector that adds gloss and an extra dimension to modern-day entrepreneurship in the Netherlands. And above all, the SME sector is the economy's most important jobs motor. A motor that constantly needs a powerful injection.

MKB cooperate with HBO-Raad, and since 2001 they run special project 'Regioregisseurs'. The aim of this initiative is to make cooperation between universities, colleges, high-schools and business closer.

MKB takes the problem of attracting highly-skilled labour seriously and initiates lobbying that aimed to make access of educated foreigners to Dutch labour market easier. In one of the latest publications of the *Ondernemen!* we read:

"...the company now is more conscious and just looking for a chance".. In their office in Delft civil engineer said: "We have a great shortage in technicians and highly-skilled workers. In spite of that recent research presented of CBS shows that highly-skilled workers of foreign origin have less chances on the labour market than local ones. They are getting a suitable job with big difficulties. As a result, these people are moving to other foreign countries: Canada, the USA, and Great Britain. A great number of them are thinking about this step very seriously. There is something wrong here..."
The poor chances for those of foreign origin on the labour market have negative influence on the students...All these factors are discouraging.." (Thorborg, 2007, p. 56).

So, MKB is an organization that represents medium- and small- business interests. And their goals are to fill the existing gap on labour market, and, thus, make environment for coming professionals more appealing.

VNO-NCW

The Confederation of Netherlands Industry and Employers is the largest employers' organisation in the Netherlands. VNO-NCW represents the common interests of Dutch business, both at home and abroad and provides a variety of services for its members.

180 (branch) associations are members, representing more than 115,000 enterprises. They cover almost all sectors of the economy, including more than 80% of all medium-sized companies in the Netherlands and nearly all of the larger, corporate institutions.

VNO-NCW represents the interests of Dutch business and industry and provides a range of services to its members.

VNO-NCW strives to represent its members' interests by promoting a high quality business environment and investment climate in the Netherlands, with a view to boosting the competitiveness of Dutch industry. VNO-NCW's involvement extends to matters relating to education, infrastructure, public finances, taxation, the environment and social security.

VNO-NCW's role in representing its members is reflected in its active ongoing contacts with the government, politicians, public authorities, trade unions and non-governmental bodies. As such VNO-NCW helps to define the socio-economic climate in the Netherlands; it also contributes to the drafting of new laws and regulations and has a say in government decisions which may affect the business sector.

As the voice of Dutch business, VNO-NCW sits on numerous government advisory and consultative committees. The most important of these are the *Social and Economic Council (SER)*, one of the Dutch government's key advisory panels, and the *Labour Foundation*, the official central consultative forum for employers' and trade union representatives. VNO-NCW also consults with the government regularly on behalf of Dutch industry.

Alongside these largely institutionalised forms of representation, VNO-NCW also maintains less formal contacts with politicians, governments and other social groupings (such as other employers' organisations at home and abroad, trade unions, environmental groups and consumer organisations), the media and international organisations.

To help it represent the interests of Dutch business in the European Union, VNO-NCW has its own office in Brussels. It is also a member of the European employers' organisation and actively participates in the policy-making of this body. At an international level, VNO-NCW represents Dutch companies in the Geneva-based *International Labour Organisation* (ILO) and, through the *BIAC*, in the OECD, the collaborative association of Western industrialised nations. VNO-NCW also has its own representatives in dozens of countries around the globe.

A key part of the services provided by VNO-NCW consists of the large volume of up-to-date information it maintains relating to business and industry. This information covers the entire socio-economic, economic, financial, fiscal, legal and ecological spectrum. VNO-NCW's provision of rapid, reliable and customised information allows companies to exploit relevant developments at an early stage. VNO-NCW's written publications (e.g. *Weekly Bulletin*, *Forum*) are a key part of this service.

VNO-NCW includes 80% of all Dutch companies employing between 10 and 100 staff; 95% of enterprises employing between 100 and 500 staff; and all the companies in the Netherlands employing more than 500 staff.

The members of VNO-NCW help to prepare and ultimately determine the policy VNO-NCW pursues. In terms of policy preparation, members participate in a large number of committees (classified according to policy area), as well as in platforms and monitoring groups (classified according to sectors and business categories). These are not only important for policy preparation, but also play a crucial role in the provision of information. With regards to policy-making, the members basically decide on the position adopted by VNO-NCW on relevant issues.

The VNO-NCW Executive Board is composed entirely of representatives of member associations and companies. Whereas policy is prepared by the Executive Board, which meets every three weeks, the General Council, which meets every six weeks, is VNO-NCW's highest policy-making body.

The VNO-NCW president fulfills a special role in the Executive Board. Not only is he responsible for the running of VNO-NCW as a whole but he also acts as the confederation's external spokesperson.

Being a 'voice' of the business VNO-NCW plays a critical role in labour force policy, and in particular in highly-skilled labour migration. Dutch companies are interested in attracting knowledge

migrants. As it is stated on the official web-side of VNO-NCW, “VNO-NCW apprises the success of new highly-skilled migration regulations” (www.vno-ncw.nl). However the organization is not only ‘welcome’ new migration policies but also on the changes in the field of labour migration become reality. It is constantly interacting with politicians, governmental organizations.

The organization keeps informing about latest changes in the policies on its website stating the positive attitude on the changes from the employers’ point of view (www.vno-ncw.nl).

The organization is defending all its members’ interest in governmental agencies, lobbying for new rules, regulations, and changes in the official course in the area of certain policies.

In a letter sent to the Ministers of Social Affairs and Employment, Justice and Foreign Affairs in January 2002, the VNO-NCW general employers’ association called for the expedition of the procedure for issuing work permits for people originating from beyond the EEA. The employers’ association identifies a negative trend in the Dutch economy, whereby serious labour shortages are threatening to arise in the labour market, mainly due to an increasingly ageing population and a decrease in the number of young people entering vocational training. VNO-NCW does not expect the shortfall to be solely compensated for by labour mobility within the EU and asserts that measures must be taken now to avert a crisis in the future. The Netherlands must maintain its competitive position and adapt its legislation to developments in both the economy and the labour market. The VNO-NCW general employers’ association believes that it should become easier for non-EU citizens to find employment in the Netherlands. The government must acknowledge the problem. There is a demand for staff and it would be wiser to regulate the supply than punish employers for attempting to keep their businesses afloat. According to the employers’ association, it is therefore a matter of both national interest – the Netherlands must maintain a healthy economy – and individual interest for employers facing staff shortages.

In March 2006 MKB and VNO-NCW sent an open letter to the Minister for Integration of where it proclaimed satisfaction with the changes in the labour migration policies, but at the same time the concrete suggestion as for improvement of IND work, changes in the regulations towards the highly-skilled migrants’ families, etc. (VNO-NCW, MKB-Nedeland, 2006).

In another open letter addressed to the Ministers of Social Affairs, Economical Affairs, Education, Culture and Science, Justice, and the Parliament (Tweede Kamer) VNO-NCW and MKB express their view on the new migration policy by stating, ‘VNO-NCW and MKB-Nederland

acknowledge the necessity of modernization of existing migration policy that was highlighted in the Ministry of Justice statement... therefore we believe in the positive results, taking into consideration the important of knowledge economy... We are also happy to learn that we have asked for advice from SER on this subject. We can see developments in modern migration policy that will involve all the implementation agencies and departments' (VNO-NCW, MKB, 2007).

In 2007 the VNO-NCW published a brochure "Duurzame globalisering. Discussienota Bilderbergconferentie 2008" (VNO-NCW, 2007) where the balanced overview on globalization is given. It is stated that economies, people need to face globalization as irreversible process and thus, should try to adjust themselves to it. The Netherlands is undergoing the process of globalization as well, and though many fears it is important to take the challenges and benefits of globalization (VNO-NCW, 2007, p. 84). One of the feature of globalization is labour migration, the Netherlands 'need highly-skilled and will make them more welcome' (p. 86).

The position of VNO-NCW is similar to the beliefs of MKB. Both organizations represent the Dutch business interests and work on the goal of more open labour migration policies in the Netherlands to be reached.

Summary

In this Chapter the author, on the basis of stakeholders' analysis, gave the list of the actors involved in the process of the Dutch highly-skilled migration policy-making. The number of actors is significant, but not complete. The scope of this research does not allow to provide complete stakeholders analysis. Meanwhile the dominant actors were mentioned, their main characteristics and description of their activities were given. This information will help to conduct an analysis of the Dutch highly-skilled migration subsystem.

Summarizing everything stated above about developments in the highly-skilled migration policies in the Netherlands it is possible to draw the table of the events and actors' activities happened between 2000 and 2008 in the field of highly-skilled migration policies:

Date	Event
2000	Adoption of "Lisbon strategy" , discussion on necessity of changes in the policies regarding highly-skilled on the European Union level <i>Summary:</i> the discussion and activities within knowledge migration policy was on the EU level, while there is nothing happening in the

	Netherlands
2001-2003	<p>“Aliens Act”, revised version; stress on immigration policies, nothing about migration ones</p> <p>Creation of ‘mobstacles team” within Nuffic</p> <p>“Manifesto Parties” (VNO-NCW, NWO, KNAW, and VSNU) sent an open letter to the Parliament which called for addition attention to ‘a knowledge strategy’ (www.vsnu.nl)</p> <p>KNAW urged governmental institutions to remove obstacles to the admission of foreign researchers to the Netherlands (2002)</p> <p><i>Summary:</i> There was revision of immigration policies; some actors interested in changes in migration policies became active.</p>
2004- beginning of 2006	<p>“SER Report. Evaluation the Lisbon Strategy” (2004) publication</p> <p>Discussion “<i>Grenzeloze Mobiliteit Kennismigranten: Hoe krijgen we het talent naar Nederland toe?</i>”</p> <p>Creation of working group in the Ministry of Justice that started consultations with the actors regarding possible changes in the policies, the consultations were summarized on the Conference in The Hague</p> <p><i>Summary:</i> It was time of active discussions and consultations between the actors lead by governmental institutions</p>
2006	<p>“Memorandum on the review of the policy on managed migration to the Netherlands. Towards a modern migration policy” policy document</p> <p>“Nederland Kennisland de Kenniseconomy” project</p> <p><i>Summary:</i> Major policy change in the area of migration policies (restrictive immigration policies were transformed into selective migration policies)</p>
2007-2008	<p>“ACVZ Report. A Customized Immigration Policy” (2007)</p> <p>“SER Advisory Report on Labour Migration Policy” (2007)</p> <p>Working group that included significant number of governmental, societal, private actors were holding consultations and working on the developing of the project “Modern Migration policies”</p> <p>Blue print of the “Modern Migration Policies” policy document was sent to the Parliament</p> <p><i>Summary:</i> The actors were having consultations, discussions that lead to</p>

	the changes in implementation strategies, changes in rules and regulations towards highly-skilled migrants
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There were several principal time points in the process of formation of Dutch migration policies towards highly-skilled workers: 1) 2000 – beginning of the discussion on the EU level; 2) 2004 – beginning of the consultations of the actors on the national level (the Netherlands); 3) 2006 – major policy change (adoption of “Towards Modern Migration Policies” policy document; 4) 2006-2008 – consultations on the changes of the secondary aspects of the “Modern Migration Policies” project (its logics of implementation).

This information will help to set time periods of the changes in the beliefs of the actors while doing an analysis.

5. Analysis: Developments in policy beliefs in the Dutch migration system (highly-skilled migration) (2000-2008)

Policy subsystem, according to the ACF, is a unit that is consisted of 2-5 advocacy coalitions. In its turn, coalitions are composed of politicians, agency officials, interest group leaders, and intellectuals who share a set of normative and casual beliefs on core policy issues. Core policy beliefs are include such topics as ‘the priority of different values, whose welfare counts, the relative authority of governments and markets, the proper role of the general public, elected officials, civil servants, experts... and the relative seriousness and causes of policy problems in the subsystem as a whole’ (Sabatier, 2003, p. 12). In this section policy core beliefs of the actors are to be outlined. However in order to create in-depth analysis and test expectations that would be important to describe secondary beliefs of the actors as well.

Interaction between the actors and coalitions is the next step of an analysis. It will lead to the understanding of the process of policy-oriented learning across the actors. Informational streams is another factor that can explain the processes of policy-oriented learning: what kind of information the actors were in possession of, where from they receive information, the ways they exchange the information.

External events that influence policy subsystem (changes in socio-economic conditions, changes in governing coalition, policy decision and impacts from other subsystems) is to be studied in order to answer main research question.

Finally, based on the beliefsystem, membership in the coalitions, actions of the actors, information that actors poses, perceive and exchange, and external events parameters, I will test the two expectations and draw the conclusion.

With the help of the knowledge about actors, their beliefs, their activities and sources of information they were holding and, possibly, exchanging (that was described in the Chapter 4 (“Empirical Evidence)), let me start the analysis based on the ACF.

5.1 Policy beliefs 2000-2006

Beliefsystem at the beginning of this period can be well-characterized by the words of Ms. Nabahat Albayrak, Secretary of State for Justice, who during her speech presented on the Seminar “Managing Highly-Skilled Labour Migration” said, “... none would dare to speak about labour migration.. that was blocking all kind of creative thinking... we were concentrated on who we do not need in the Netherlands, and how we could prevent them from coming... Immigration was out of control. That would be political suicide to say about migration policy”... The situation was ‘out of control’ due to the long and contradictory immigration history of the Netherlands that resulted in huge number of legal and illegal immigrants overflowed the country. At the same time, most citizens would not distinguish immigration in terms of asylum-seekers, refugees, illegal immigrants, and labour migration.

Another evidence of restrictive immigration policies is an agreement of the Cabinet in September, 2001, with ‘Knelpunten arbeidsmarkt en arbeidsmigratie’, the idea of which was to fill the gap on the labour market with recruitment of the workers from the EU states, with increase of the employment rate among the Dutch citizens (e.g. women), however the immigration policies should not to be revised.

Nevertheless, the time passed, and new reality asked for changes in the core beliefs that led to the changes in the policies.

“Lisbon strategy” of 2000 was a push for policy beliefs change. “New Aliens Act” was introduced in 2001 and was the first step towards the changes. During the years 2001-2004 the policy system had identical characteristics as it used to have at the time of its creation. It consisted of government representatives from the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. Information was taken from CPB whose research “Immigration and Dutch Economy” (2003) was not in favour of changes in immigration policies.

The policy core beliefs were concentrated around necessity of immigrants’ integration. But the leading word for the policies remained ‘*restrictive*’, regardless to ‘quality’ of the migrant (low-skilled or high-skilled labour). “European industrial observatory” noted in 2003 (van der Berge, 2003): “Current Dutch immigration policy is generally perceived as relatively restrictive and harsh”.

However it is important to point out that Lisbon strategy together with other external factors (i.e. internationalization of higher education, globalization processes) started the changes in the beliefsystem within the scope of student migration. One of the evidences of these changes became activities conducted by Nuffic (creation of ‘mobstacles team’ that aimed to become an information bridge between international students and immigration services, in 2001), KNAW and VSNU.

Driven by the Recommendations given by European Commission (the European Employment Strategy from 2003, Green paper on a European Union approach to managing economic immigration from 2005), The Hague process activities, and situation on the national labour market, the actors became active and asked for an advice from other actors on the situation.

In the Coalition agreement of 2003 one can find the first steps on the way to migration policy changes (Coalition agreement, 2003):

“The Netherlands must become a leading European country in the field of higher education, research and innovation. To achieve the necessary integrated approach, an Innovation Platform will be established to enable the ministers involved in education and innovation policy to meet with representatives of relevant parties within the community (such as the business world and educational and knowledge institutions) under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister to work out plans for future strategies for the development and exploitation of knowledge..”

In the document submitted by Secretaris Innovatieplatform (2003) the goal of new immigration policies were formulated as the following: “The Netherlands must be attractive to students and knowledge workers from inside and outside the EU by quick and clear procedures and with a coherent approach”...

The first changes on the way of major policy change were concentrated around study migration. During this period policy core belief can be indentified as the one to support integration of existing immigrants, movement toward less restrictive study policies, policy learning as for situation with migration.

Two coalitions are clearly presented at the starting point of the period:

Immigration/migration Subsystem	
<i>Policy core belief:</i> <i>belief:</i>	<i>Policy core</i>
restrictive immigration policy students and	appealing for
integration of existing immigrants workers policies	knowledge

Through the processes of changes in the membership (new societal and private actors entered the subsystem), external factors that influenced the subsystem (e.g. changes in the governing coalition), policy-oriented learning processes, the composition of the subsystem was different at the end of the period. There were no clear coalitions any longer, they started to merge, since the common policy objective was set and it was the creation of new migration policies.

5.2 Policy beliefs 2006-2008

Major policy change happened in 2006. It was the time when policy core belief regarding migration was defined as '*selective migration policies*' (instead of '*restrictive*' ones that were dominating before 2006). That time the scope of the actors involved in the process of policy formation became broader, the mature immigration subsystem had another meaning, and a new migration subsystem was born. Longer list of actors presented in the subsystem brought a new conceptualization of the situation.

During the period of 2006-2007 to already mentioned actors the VNO-NCW, MKB, HBO-Raad were added. Private actors entered the subsystem. All of them became very active and were announcing their position widely and frequently, by means of their official web-sites, researches, analysis, and open letters to the governmental institutions.

Coalition Agreement of 2007 states (Coalition Agreement, 2007):

'The policy document Towards a modern migration policy will be fleshed out in a multi-year programme to adjust regular immigration policy to meet the needs of the labour market. Immigration policy will also be adapted by continuing and improving knowledge migrant policy. An assessment will be made of the extent to which fee levels form unnecessary obstacles for these groups; if they do, fee levels will be adjusted'.

Governmental actors were leading broad consultations with research institutions, societal actors regarding the new migration policies scheme. Some regulations based on the policy document "Towards Modern Migration" came into force. Others, those that require legislation process, are due to be adopted and implemented before 2011.

"Smart migration policies" is the core word for the beliefsystem of 2008. Minister of Social Affairs, Piet Hein Donner, during his speech in the seminar "Managing Highly-Skilled Migration" (Amsterdam, 2008) stressed out that such factors as aging of population, the idea of knowledge-based

economy requires changes in the managing labour migration, and the changes should lead to increasing of attractiveness of the country for highly-skilled migrants.

Policy subsystem includes representatives of governmental organizations, companies and enterprises, societal actors, educational institutions, NGOs. Different interests and beliefs lead to the hot discussions around the topic. What perspective policy-makers need to rely on: migrants interests, governmental public accountability, business interests, 'social package'?

During the seminar co-organized by the OECD, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, and the Ministry of Justice in June, 2008, the Dutch officials (Minister of Social Affairs and Employment, State Secretary for Justice), representatives of employers (VNO-NCW), researchers (Ernst&Young) made it clear: the Netherlands are in need of new migration policies, the Dutch economy is in need of highly-skilled migrants. However there was an opposite opinion presented by prof. dr. Joop Hartog who argued that increased number of immigrants cannot contribute to national income. Instead the attention should be directed towards investments in education, dynamic innovation culture and 'high quality native supply'.

At this period of time three groups of actors can be distinguished. One can hardly call them coalitions since in the ACF terms, coalition is presented by people 'who share a particular belief system, and show a non-trivial degree of coordinated activities over time' (Sabatier&Jenkins-Smith, 1999). The three groups have similar core belief and differ in their secondary belief systems.

Group 1. Policy core belief: Selective migration policies are needed. The Netherlands is in need of highly-skilled migrants. New system of rules and regulations should make an access for knowledge migrants to the Netherlands fast and easy.

VNO-NCW, MKB, Ministry of Justice, HBO-Raad, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nuffic, VSNU, KNAW, NWO, Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, ACZV.

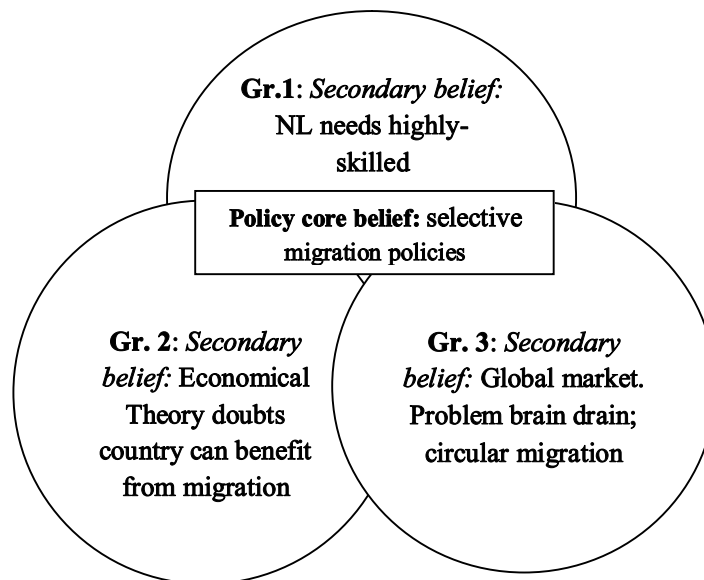
Group 2. Policy core belief: Selective migration policies are needed. The Netherlands is in need of highly-skilled migrants however one need to look at other important issues, such as protection of local labour, the reasoning of new migration policies for the national economy. Thus, policies should be selective and restrictive at the same time.

Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, CPB, some scientists, researchers, the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Justice, CWI.

Group 3. Policy core belief: Selective migration policies are needed. The Netherlands is in need of highly-skilled migrants however we should care about global market, not to let ‘brain-drain’ happen in the developing countries. Thus, a circular migration is needed.

SER, IOM, OECD.

The policy subsystem consists of three overlapping groups (one coalition). They overlap themselves in terms of beliefs and in terms of membership since, at the result, they have common policy core belief. However, their secondary beliefs differ. The whole subsystem can be presents with the help of the following scheme:



So, one can conclude that the highly-skilled migration policy subsystem started with the two coalitions that represented ‘old immigration beliefsystems’ and ‘new migration beliefsystem’. Through the processes external to the subsystem and the processes within the subsystem, three overlapping group emerged. They shared policy core beliefs (selective migration policies) and set common goal: towards new migration policies in the Netherlands.

5.5 Interaction between the actors in the subsystem

Though policy-making is a long and complicated process that involves many different actors, parties, these are politicians who make policy change to happen. Since 2001 the discussion about

integration, and failure of this process, was a hot topic in the Netherlands (Scheffer, 2001). Politicians and policy-makers were thinking on the problem of how to create such policies that would let those who the Netherlands is in need come into the country, but at the same time protect the country from mass-immigration. The solution was the idea of new migration policies.

Globalization and internationalization were external factors that motivated actors for action. The first actors that became active in the direction of new migration policies were such organizations as Nuffic, KNAW, VSNU that represented the interests of the higher education institutes. They kept sending open letters and petition to the Cabinet asking to ease administrative procedures for students, researchers and scientists. Their activities were supported by VNO-NCW, the largest Dutch employers' organization.

The change of Cabinet in May 2003 gave a new versus of policy-learning process. Among the different measures implemented by the new government was the creation of an Innovation Platform which consisted of 18 members, with the Prime Minister as Chairman of the platform, and with the Ministers of Economic Affairs and of Education, Culture and Science, and 15 others members selected from the business community and knowledge institutes. The Innovation Platform's mission was to boost innovation by stimulating business enterprises and organizations in the knowledge sector to work together and achieve concrete results. The Innovation Platform also had the objective to support the Cabinet in the development of policies which stimulate the production and transfer of knowledge and encourage innovation in the Netherlands.

In the years of 2003-2004 the discussion “Grenzeloze Mobiliteit Kennismigranten: *Hoe krijgen we het talent naar Nederland toe?*” is lead under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Social Affairs. The discussion resulted in advice to create a special working group that could work on the problem of document ‘speciaal voor alle internationale kennismigranten’ (special for international highly-skilled migrants (Secretaris Innovatieplatform, 2003). The working group included representatives of CWI, IND, VNO-NCW, MKB-Nederland, VSNU, HBO-Raad, FION, TNO, KNAW, NWO and Nuffic.

The Netherlands was facing a challenge of finding the balance between ‘stop migration’ ideas and policies that would attract highly-skilled migrants.

In 2005 the working group of four policy officers started its work in the Ministry of Justice. Their goal was a new policy document on migration policies. They started broad consultations with relevant external parties, such as employer and employee organisations (FNV, VNO-NCW), large corporations (Shell, Philips), NGOs (IOM), different societal organisations (Dutch au pair organisation), Universities (VSNU), as well as different ministries (Social Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Economic Affairs; Education, Culture and Science) to get to know all different interests and opinions and to be able to integrate them into the 'Modern Migration policy' as adequately as possible.

The final conference was in the hotel Kurhaus, The Hague, in 2006. Actors represented different range of governmental, public, private, and societal organizations were present there and exchanged their opinions (see Appendix C). Based on the result of policy learning the working team presented a blue print of the policy document "Towards New Migration Policies" to the Parliament.

In June 2008 another Seminar "Managing Highly Skilled Migration" was held under co-ordination of the OECD and Dutch Authorities (the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, the Ministry of Justice).

In 2008 the working group consisted of 12 teams (Ministry of Justice; Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment; Ministry of Finance; Ministry of Economic Affairs; Ministry of Education, Culture and Science; Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Immigration and Naturalization Service; Labour Inspection; Center for Work and Income; Aliens Polices; several organization experts) have been working on the final blue print of new version of the policy document regarding new migration policies. The paper was sent to the Parliament in June, 2008.

5.6 Testing Expectations

A Dutch immigration subsystem was created in late 1960th and existed for a long time without any changes. At the beginning of 21st century new reality called for changes. This is due to external factors (aging of the population, shortage of labour force, globalization and internationalization processes) beliefsystem of the actors underwent the process of transformation. New actors, private and societal ones, entered the subsystem (NGOs, businesses, universities). As a result differentiated groups emerged within the migration subsystem however we cannot consider them coalitions because of shared core policy beliefs they had, they differed in their secondary beliefs (administrative rules

and procedures as for admission of highly-skilled migrants, ways of core policy position implementation).

Based on the empirical evidence let me test my *First Expectation*.

If major policy change occurs, this happens due to changes external to the subsystem.

Changes external to the subsystem include *changes in the socio-economic conditions, policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems, changes in systematic governing coalitions, changes in public opinion.*

Major policy change within the scope of Dutch migration policies happened in 2006. That was the time of creation of new parliamentary majority that consisted of the Christian Democratic Alliance (CDA), Labour Party (PvdA) and Christian Union, all the representatives of center and center-left position. Previously to this composition of parliamentary majority was CDA, People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) and D66, where VVD was a party that stands for extreme left beliefs. And though there were on-going debates on the necessity of more liberal migration policies in the Tweede Kamer between the representatives of 'extreme left, extreme right position' and 'center, center-left, center-right' parties, the change in the policy happened.

Socio-economic position, such as aging of the population, labour shortages on local market, globalization and internationalization had a huge impact on policy change.

Finally, impacts from other subsystems that in later period of time overlap immigration subsystem (i.e. education subsystem, business subsystem) had much to do with the policy change. Actors from education subsystem (VSNU, Nuffic, KNAW, NWO), from business subsystem (MKB, VNO-NCW) entered immigration subsystem and became very active in it.

Thus, we can conclude that external factors were crucial for major policy change. However inside-system parameters – changes in beliefsystem associated with new actors that entered the subsystem, composition of the subsystem (membership), exchange of information, policy-oriented learning across the actors - created the basis for the major policy change. These last factors will help me to test my next *Expectation*.

While changes in the policy core are usually the result of external perturbations, changes in the secondary aspects of a governmental program are the result of policy-oriented learning by various coalitions.

At the starting point of time (2000) one can clearly distinguish two coalitions holding two sets of opposite beliefs. Due to the external factors influence (as it was proved my Expectation #1) there was major policy change. Next to the policy change there was a perturbation in the composition of the groups (I call them groups since they can hardly be called coalitions, they share one policy core belief). Three groups - based on the secondary beliefsystems – appeared.

The policy document “Towards a modern Migration policy”, that is an evidence of major policy change, was issued in 2006. A new policy document “Modern migratiebeleid” was sent to the Parliament in June, 2008. Both documents represent common core belief as for highly-skilled migrant: the Netherlands is in need of knowledge workers, that is why new selective migration policies are introduced and there are on-going changes in regulation system; those changes that demand legislation process are to be in 2010-2011. At the same time there is process of wide consultations across the groups and actors. The working group consisting of representatives from governmental organizations, social and societal partners, NGOs, science was developing the final version of the 2008 blue print of the “Modern migratiebeleid” policy document. The conference in 2006 in The Hague, and in 2008 in Amsterdam were another source of information exchange and the process of policy-oriented learning. The advices from SER and ACVZ in complex with other mentioned below events made the changes on the level of secondary beliefsystem possible. These changes included introduction of the new version of point-based system for highly-skilled migrants in the latest version of the policy document (Modern Migratiebeleid, 2008) and emphases on English as the language that is used in the country next to Dutch.

The point-based system is a part of supply-driven migration system used in the UK, the USA, Canada, and Australia. The Dutch migration policy system is demand-driven one, and in the initial version of the policy document “Towards Modern Migration” (Memorandum, 2006) there was very little space devoted to the scheme.

Emphases on English as a language widely-spoken in the Netherlands aimed to create more appealing image of the country for those highly-skilled who want to come here.

We can conclude that through the process of policy-learning across the actors the secondary aspects of governmental programs were changed. The expectation was proved.

6. Conclusion

This part of the paper will outline the main results of the study and recommend possibilities for further research on the topic.

In order to find the answers to the key research questions - *how and why the highly-skilled migration policies in the Netherlands have been developed to what they are right now, and what, and who influenced the latest changes in the policies (2000-2008)? How the changes in the policies can be explained from the Advocacy Coalition Framework perspective?* – the author went through several stages of analysis.

The starting point of the theoretical part was the Advocacy Coalition Framework and its resources used in order to explain the factors leading to the major policy change. Based on the empirical evidence that can be characterized in term of five variables – beliefs; membership of the actors in the coalitions and groups; information, information exchange and interactions of the actors that is the basis of policy-oriented learning; actions of the actors; external factors, – a causality chain was created.

The ACF starts with the premise that the most useful aggregate unit of analysis for understanding policy change in modern societies is a policy subsystem, i.e. those actors from a variety of public and private organizations who are actively concerned with a policy problem or issue, such as migration. So, the basic unit of the research was chosen and it was a migration subsystem. It started with the immigration subsystem that, with time, got a new meaning: next to the governmental, a great number of social, societal, and private actors entered the subsystem; they brought their beliefs, values and new thoughts to the subsystem (i.e. an idea as for changes in the policies towards highly-skilled workers). Even the name of the subsystem was changed: from immigration to migration. And highly-skilled migration became a part of it.

According to the ACF, actors within the subsystem are grouped in the coalitions on the basis of their policy core beliefs, i.e. beliefs that are subsystem-wide in scope and deal with fundamental policy choices. The changes in policy core beliefs lead to the major policy change.

Major policy change within the scope of Dutch migration subsystem took place in 2006. It was the time of adoption of a new project “Modern Migration Policy”. Restrictive immigration policies were transferred into selective migration policies (Memorandum, 2006) that, according to the ACF

terms, represented indeed a change in the policy core belief of the subsystem, hence a major policy change.

In terms of membership the migration system appeared to be rich and heterogeneous. And with time it became broader, its circle of actors increased. If one compares the list of experts for the project “Modern Migration” in 2006 (Appendix C) with the number of participants in the discussions around the project in 2008 (Appendix D), a significant difference can be noticed. New actors were added (employer and employee organisations, large corporations, NGOs, different societal organisations, Universities, different ministries) to the ones already known. Through the process of policy learning the migration subsystem was acquiring a new meaning, and was undergoing a process of transformation.

At the starting point of the analysis (2000) two coalitions were active within the immigration subsystem. The first one was composed of governmental actors, and the other one was represented by education institutions, higher-education and scientific organizations, as well as employers’ organizations that were fighting for easier and faster administrative procedures for students, researchers, and other knowledge migrants. There was no conflict between the coalitions. The reason for that can possibly be found in the nature of the migration policies. It lies in the governmental domain, and non-governmental actors play just a minor role. Another possible explanation of the absence of a conflict between the two coalitions is the nature of the subject. Highly-skilled migration policies were a new issue that appeared on the social agenda calling for consultations and cooperative work.

A number of factors influenced the policy subsystem and lead to the major policy change in the Netherlands’ highly-skilled migration subsystem. First of all, there were external events: the processes of globalization and internationalization, shrinking of the local labour force, aging problem, directives on EU level, and changes in the governing coalition (i.e. creation of a new parliamentary majority in 2006) that affected policy-making. Second, there were changes in the composition of the subsystem (a number of societal and private actors entered the subsystem; some of them became very active). In the period between 2006 and 2008 the two coalitions were substituted by the three groups of actors with a common policy core belief (selective migration policies). The actors were combined into the groups on the basis of their secondary beliefs they differed (i.e. rules and regulations as for the logics behind implementation process of new migration policies; decisions concerning administrative rules).

So, it is possible to conclude that the policy change discussed so far happened in 2006. There are several determining factors: 1) an increase in the number of actors who entered the policy subsystem; 2) a new system of beliefs that is associated with the new actors which entered the subsystem; 3) external factors (changes in governing coalitions; socio-economic factors such as aging of population, shrinking local labour force; globalization and internationalization processes). So, the expectation that *'If major policy change occurs, this happens due to changes external to the subsystem'* was proved by empirical evidence. However there are also factors which are internal to the subsystem that make major policy change occur (i.e. composition of the subsystem, beliefs of the actors).

The second expectation was concentrated on the correlation between secondary beliefs of the governmental programs and policy-oriented learning: *'While changes in the policy core are usually the result of external perturbations, changes in the secondary aspects of a governmental program are the result of policy-oriented learning by various coalitions'*.

Empirical evidence suggests that policy-oriented learning across the actors has an influence on the secondary aspects of a governmental program. An example of the changes occurring in the secondary aspect of a governmental program (coursed by consultations and information exchange among actors which is a form of policy-learning) is the innovations taking place in migration policies which we can see in the blue print of "Modern Megratiebelied" document from 2008. By secondary aspects of a governmental program in the case of the Dutch highly-skilled migration policies the author means the logics behind the implementation of new policies introduced in a new policy document, and presenting the new system of rules and regulations regarding highly-skilled migrants.

It can be concluded that one of the two initial expectations was proved in the case of highly-skilled migration policies. A major policy change happened due to factors external to the subsystem: a new policy program towards highly-skilled migrant (that is part of migration policy) was introduced in 2006 as a result of the changes in socio-economic conditions and in systematic governing coalitions. However, factors such as the composition of the subsystem (membership), and the beliefs of the actors within the subsystem were also influential and contributed to the change. The secondary aspects of the governmental programs were upgraded as a result of policy-oriented learning across the groups of actors.

Finally, the empirical evidence suggests that the 2000 immigration subsystem has undergone serious transformation: a new set of actors with their beliefsystems entered the subsystem; some of

the 'native' actors became passive in the part of the subsystem that is associated with highly-skilled migration policies, while other actors, mainly the new entrants, were very active. Thus, the subsystem changed its *scope and topic*. But is there an emergence of the new policy subsystem seen as a spin-off of an old one or not is a question to be more thoroughly examined in future.

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www.minocw.nl – Ministry of Education, Culture and Science

www.minbuza.nl - Ministry of Foreign Affairs

www.minszw.nl - Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment

www.justitie.nl – Ministry of Justice

www.ind.nl - Immigration and Naturalization Service

www.cbs.nl - Statistics Netherlands

www.cpb.nl - Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis

www.mkb.nl – MKB-Nederlands, an association for medium- and small- enterprises

www.hbo.nl – HBO-Raad, The Netherlands Association of Universities of Applied Sciences

www.acvz.com – The Advisory Committee on Aliens Affairs

www.ser.nl – The Social and Economic Council of the Netherlands

European Union

www.ec.europa.eu/eurostat Statistics European Union

www.ec.europa.eu/employment_social/index_nl.html European Commission – Employment, Social

Affairs and Equal Opportunities

www.ec.europa.eu/justice_home/index_en.htm European Commission –Freedom, Justice and Security

Treaties and laws

Vreemdelingenwet 2000 – Dutch Immigration Act

Wet Arbeid Vreemdelingen – Aliens Employment Act

Besluit uitvoering Wet Arbeid Vreemdelingen – Decree enforcement Aliens Employment Act

Delegatie- en uitvoeringsbesluit Wet Arbeid Vreemdelingen – Delegation and execution decree Aliens Employment Act

Vreemdelingencirculaire – Aliens Act implementation guidelines (part B16 is concentrated at highly-skilled migrants)

Seminar

“Managing Highly-Skilled Labour Migration”. Seminar co-organized by the OECD and the Dutch Authorities (Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, and the Ministry of Justice). Jolly Hotel Carlton, Amsterdam, the Netherlands, Wednesday, 18 June 2008.

Appendix A

Tweede-Kamerverkiezingen - 6 mei 1998

Partij	Afk.	Aantal	%	+/-	Zetels
Partij van de Arbeid	PvdA	2494555	28,98%	+5,01%	45 +8
Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie	VVD	2124971	24,69%	+4,73%	38 +7
Christen-Democratisch Appèl	CDA	1581053	18,37%	-3,86%	29 -5
Democraten 66	D66	773497	8,99%	-6,50%	14 -10
GroenLinks	GrLinks	625968	7,27%	+3,81%	11 +6
Socialistische Partij	SP	303703	3,53%	+2,21%	5 +3
Reformatorische Politieke Federatie	RPF	174593	2,03%	+0,26%	3 0
Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij	SGP	153583	1,78%	+0,06%	3 +1
Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond	GPV	108724	1,26%	-0,06%	2 0
Centrumdemocraten	CD	52226	0,61%	-1,85%	-3
Algemeen Ouderenverbond/Unie55+	AOV/U55+	45994	0,53%	-3,97%	-7
Nederland Mobiel	NMob	45219	0,53%		
Senioren 2000	S2000	36157	0,42%		
Nederlandse Middenstandspartij	NMP	23512	0,27%		
De Groenen	Groenen	16585	0,19%	+0,04%	
Natuurwetpartij	NWP	15746	0,18%	-0,13%	
Katholiek Politieke Partij	KPP	8233	0,10%		
Vrije Indische Partij	VIP	7225	0,08%	-0,05%	
Nieuw Solidair Ouderenverbond	NSOV	6455	0,07%		
Nieuwe Communistische Partij-NCPN	NCPN	5620	0,07%	-0,06%	
IdeAlisten/JIJ	IdeA/JIJ	2500	0,03%		
Het KiezersCollectief	KColl	1668	0,02%		
Totaal geldige stemmen		8607787			150
Ongeldige stemmen/ % uitgebr. stemmen		14435	0,17%	-0,35%	
Uitgebrachte stemmen/Opkomst		8622222	73,35%	-5,46%	
Kiesgerechtigd		11755132		+2,61%	
Kiesdeler		57385,2467			

Tweede-Kamerverkiezingen - 15 mei 2002

Partij	Afk.	Aantal	%	+/-	Zetels	
Christen-Democratisch Appèl	CDA	2653723	27,93%	+9,56%	43	+14
Lijst Pim Fortuyn	LPF	1614801	17,00%		26	
Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie	VVD	1466722	15,44%	-9,25%	24	-14
Partij van de Arbeid	PvdA	1436023	15,11%	-13,87%	23	-22
GroenLinks	GrLinks	660692	6,95%	-0,32%	10	-1
Socialistische Partij	SP	560447	5,90%	+2,37%	9	+4
Democraten 66	D66	484317	5,10%	-3,89%	7	-7
ChristenUnie	CU	240953	2,54%	-0,76%	4	-1
Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij	SGP	163562	1,72%	-0,06%	2	-1
Leefbaar Nederland	LN	153055	1,61%		2	
Verenigde Seniorenpartij	VSP	39005	0,41%			
Vrije Indische Partij & OuderenUnie	VIP/OU	10033	0,11%	+0,02%		
Duurzaam Nederland	DN	9058	0,10%			
Partij van de Toekomst	PvdT	6393	0,07%			
Nieuwe Middenpartij	NMP	2305	0,02%	-0,25%		
Republikeinse Volkspartij	RVP	63	0,00%			
Totaal geldige stemmen		9501152			150	
Ongeldige stemmen/ % uitgebr. stemmen		14074	0,15%	-0,02%		
Uitgebrachte stemmen/Opkomst		9515226	79,06%	+5,71%		
Kiesgerechtigd		12035935		+2,39%		
Kiesdeler		63341,0133				

Tweede-Kamerverkiezingen - 22 januari 2003

Partij	Afk.	Aantal	%	+/-	Zetels	
Christen-Democratisch Appèl	CDA	2763480	28,62%	+0,69%	44	+1
Partij van de Arbeid	PvdA	2631363	27,26%	+12,15%	42	+19
Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie	VVD	1728707	17,91%	+2,47%	28	+4
Socialistische Partij	SP	609723	6,32%	+0,42%	9	0
Lijst Pim Fortuyn	LPF	549975	5,70%	-11,30%	8	-18
GroenLinks	GrLinks	495802	5,14%	-1,82%	8	-2
Democraten 66	D66	393333	4,07%	-1,03%	6	-1
ChristenUnie	CU	204694	2,12%	-0,42%	3	-1
Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij	SGP	150305	1,56%	-0,16%	2	0
Partij voor de Dieren	PvdD	47754	0,49%			
Leefbaar Nederland	LN	38894	0,40%	-1,21%		-2
Partij van de Toekomst	PvdT	13845	0,14%	+0,08%		
Lijst Ratelband	Ratelb	9045	0,09%			
Duurzaam Nederland	DN	7271	0,08%	-0,02%		
Nieuwe Communistische Partij Nederland	NCPN	4854	0,05%			
Conservatieven.nl	Cons.nl	2521	0,03%			
Vooruitstrevende Integratiepartij	VIP	1623	0,02%			
Alliantie voor Vernieuwing en Democratie	AVD	990	0,01%			
Lijst-Veldhoen	Veldhoen	296	0,00%			
Totaal geldige stemmen		9654475			150	
Ongeldige stemmen/ % uitgebr. stemmen		12127	0,13%	-0,02%		
Uitgebrachte stemmen/Opkomst		9666602	80,04%	+0,98%		
Kiesgerechtigd		12076711		+0,34%		
Kiesdeler		64363,1667				

Tweede-Kamerverkiezingen - 22 november 2006

Definitieve einduitslag

Partij	Afk.	Aantal	%	+/-	Zetels	
Christen-Democratisch Appèl	CDA	2608573	26,51%	-2,13%	41	-3
Partij van de Arbeid	PvdA	2085077	21,19%	-6,07%	33	-9
Socialistische Partij	SP	1630803	16,58%	+10,26%	25	+16
Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie	VVD	1443312	14,67%	-3,25%	22	-6
Groep Wilders/Partij voor de Vrijheid	PVV	579490	5,89%		9	
GroenLinks	GrLinks	453054	4,60%	-0,54%	7	-1
ChristenUnie	CU	390969	3,97%	+1,85%	6	+3
Democraten 66	D66	193232	1,96%	-2,11%	3	-3
Partij voor de Dieren	PvdD	179988	1,83%	+1,34%	2	+2
Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij	SGP	153266	1,56%	0,00%	2	0
EénNL	EénNL	62829	0,64%			
Lijst Vijf Fortuyn	Fortuyn	20956	0,21%	-4,93%		-8
Verenigde Seniorenpartij	VSP	12522	0,13%			
Ad Bos Collectief	Ad Bos	5149	0,05%			
Partij voor Nederland	PVN	5010	0,05%			
Lijst-Potmis (Islam Democraten)	ID	4339	0,04%			
Nederland Transparant	NLTrans	2318	0,02%			
Groen Vrij Internet Partij	GVIP	2297	0,02%			
Liberaal Democratische Partij	LibDem	2276	0,02%			
Lijst-Poortman (Blanco Lijst)		2181	0,02%			
Continue Directe Democratie Partij	CDDP	559	0,01%			
LRVP-Het Zeteltje	LRVP	185	0,00%			
Solide Multiculturele Partij	SMP	184	0,00%			
Tamara's Open Partij	TOP	114	0,00%			

Totaal geldige stemmen		9838683			150	
Ongeldige stemmen/ % uitgebr. stemmen		16315	0,17%	+0,04%		
Uitgebrachte stemmen/Opkomst		9854998	80,35%	+0,31%		
Kiesgerechtigd		12264503		+1,55%		
Kiesdeler		65591,2200				

Appendix B

Policies for Highly-Skilled Immigrants in the Netherlands (OECD-Report, 2008)

Permanent migration programmes relevant for highly-skilled workers	Permanent residence permit (after 5 years of residence)
Main temporary migration programmes relevant for highly-skilled workers	<p><i>Labour migrant work permit</i> 3Y LMT non renewable. In general people are required to take a civil immigration test in their home country (Applicants must be between the ages of 18-45)</p> <p><i>Highly-Skilled migrant</i> 5Y (wage \geq 33.3k for people under 30 or wage \geq 45.5k. No limit and spouse can work)</p>
Quota	No
Characteristics of the Labour Market Test	Center for Work and Income must approve employer request, which must meet minimal wage to support entire accompanying family
Shortage occupation list	No, but in some cases the labour market test can be lifted for specific occupations or sectors
Foreign students can change status after the completion of their studies	Yes, international students after graduation can stay for up a year to seek a job

Appendix C

Experts for the project “Modern Migration” (2006)

University of Rotterdam
Vrije Universiteit
Universiteit Leiden
Universiteit van Amsterdam
Universiteit van Tilburg
CPB
Ministry of Economic Affairs
Ministry of Finance
Clingendael
Edmund Burke Foundation
SER
Engbersen, migration expert
Olivier, migration expert
Spijkerboer, migration expert
Schuyt, migration expert
ACVZ
WODC
NOC-NSF
WRR
IOM
Innovatieplatform
De Nederlandsche Bank
Nederland Kennisland
Shell
FMO Finance for Development
Philips
Havenbedrijf
Kamer van koophandel
Ministry Of Social Affairs
Ministry of Education, Culture and Science
FNV
CNV
KNAW
VSNU
HBO-raad
IND (Immigration and Naturalisation Service)
Belastingdienst
MKB

VNO-NCW
Nuffic

Appendix D

Consultation group for the Project “Modern Migration” (February, 2006)

Uitwisseling en Studie (1 en 2)
De Vereniging van Universiteiten (VSNU)
Nederlandse Au Pair Organisatie (NAPO)
Platform Internationale Educatie (PIE)
Stichting Nederlandse organisatie voor internationale samenwerking in het hoger onderwijs (NUFFIC)
De Wmij / Federatie van Kunstenaarsverenigingen
Landelijke commissie gedragscode internationale student, IB-Groep
Islamitisch Universiteit Rotterdam
Technische Universiteit Delft
MBO- Raad
Voorzitter tafel
Beleidsinhoudelijk ondersteuner
Arbeid 1
Algemene Werkgeversvereniging Nederland (AWVN)
CWI, afdeling Juridische Zaken

Federatie Cultuur
Stichting Internationale Culturele Activiteiten (SICA)
NOC NSF
Vereniging Internationale Arbeidsbemiddelaars (VIA)
AIESEC (internationale studentenorganisatie)
Adviescommissie Vreemdelingenrecht van de Nederlandse Orde van Advocaten, Everaert Advocaten
FNV
Loyens & Loeff N.V.
Voorzitter tafel
Beleidsinhoudelijk ondersteuner
Arbeid 2
Shell International B.V.
ING Bank
Technische Universiteit Delft
Philips Transfer Services Netherlands
De vereniging van de Universiteiten (VSNU)
KNAW (Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie voor Wetenschappers)
Stichting Nederlandse organisatie voor internationale samenwerking in het hoger onderwijs (NUFFIC)

Vakcentrale voor middengroepen en hoger personeel
(MHP)

VNO-NCW
Voorzitter tafel
Beleidsinhoudelijk ondersteuner
Familie en gezin (6, 7 8), humanitair
Everaert Advocaten
Amnesty International
Stichting Nidos (Jeugdbescherming voor Vluchtelingen)
Forum (Instituut voor Multiculturele Ontwikkeling)
Federatie Opvang (Koepelorganisatie voor instellingen voor maatschappelijke opvang)
Project Bonded Labour in Nederland (BlinN) van Humanitas en Oxfam Novib
Pharos (Het landelijke kenniscentrum voor vluchtelingen en gezondheid)
Vluchtelingenwerk Nederland
Stichting voor Vluchteling-Studenten (UAF)
Stichting Buitenlandse Partner
Konferentie Nederlandse Religieuzen/Commissie PIN
Humanistisch Verbond

CoMensha- Coördinatie Centrum Mensenhandel
Technische Universiteit Delft
Voorzitter tafel
Beleidsinhoudelijk ondersteuner
Religieuze organisaties
Stichting Jeugd met een Opdracht
Boeddhistische Unie Nederland
CMC Mensen met een Missie
Islamitische Universiteit Rotterdam
Kerk van Jezus Christus van de Heiligen der Laatste dagen
Konferentie Nederlandse Religieuzen (KNR)
Samen Kerk in Nederland
Vereniging Imams Nederland
Wachttorengenootschap
Konferentie Nederlandse Religieuzen/Commissie PIN
Everaert Advocaten
Interkerkelijk Contact in Overheidszaken
Sjiïtisch Islamitische Raad (SIR)
Limburgse Islamitische Raad (LIR)
Raad Marokkaanse Moskeeën Nederland
Voorzitter tafel
Beleidsinhoudelijk ondersteuner

Deelnemers vanuit ministeries/panelleden

Everaert Advocaten
Universiteit van Amsterdam
Project Modern Migratiebeleid
OC&W
SZW
Arbeidsinspectie
EZ
Ministerie van Justitie / Project Modern Migratiebeleid
Ministerie van Justitie / directie Vreemdelingenbeleid
IND
Extern adviseur Project modern migratiebeleid
Project Modern Migratiebeleid
Ministerie van Justitie / directie Wetgeving
Project Modern Migratiebeleid
Rijkstrainee Justitie / project Modern Migratiebeleid
Extern adviseur Project modern migratiebeleid

Appendix E

List of interviews

<p><i>Eduard Jansen</i></p> <p>Beheerder Huygens Scholarship Programme Directie Capaciteitsopbouw en Beurzen Nuffic</p>	11, April, 2008, 15.00
<p><i>Dr. Eric Beerkens</i></p> <p>Nuffic, Knowledge and Innovation Center</p>	14, April, 2008, 14.00
<p><i>Lennart Nooij</i></p> <p>Senior policy officer Ministry of Education, Culture and Science</p>	28, May, 2008, 14.00
<p><i>Alex von Balluseck</i></p> <p>Senior policy officer Ministry of Education, Culture and Science</p>	28, May, 2008, 14.00
<p><i>Kitty Hemmer</i></p> <p>K.M.A.A. Hemmer Advisor Mobility Issues Nuffic</p>	28, May, 2008, 10.00
<p><i>Suzanne Govers</i></p> <p>Nuffic</p> <p>Communication Directorate</p>	
<p><i>Adri Zagers</i></p> <p>International Organization for Migration (IOM) Project Development Officer</p>	2, June, 2008, 14.00
<p>Niels Achterberg</p> <p>Ministry of Economic Affairs</p>	20, June, 2008, 14.00
<p><i>Selinde Vetkamp</i></p> <p>Ministry of Foreign Affairs Aliens and Visas Division (DPV/VV)</p>	9, June, 2008, 14.30

<p><i>Ira M.C. van der Zaal - van Bommel</i> Project Modern Migration Deputy Manager</p> <p><i>Martijn de Wal</i> Senior Policy Officer - Modern Migration project Ministry of Justice</p>	<p>23, June, 2008, 10.00</p>
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