MIGRATION AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE FOUR BIG RANDSTAD CITIES AND THEIR DAILY URBAN SYSTEMS

by

HELEN M. KRUYTHOFF*, REIN B. JOBSE** & SAKO MUSTERD***

Delft, Utrecht & Amsterdam

Introduction

The Randstad consists of conurbations in the West of the Netherlands growing together around a central agricultural area. It is assumed to be a whole that is more than the sum of its parts. The concept of the Randstad is a brainchild of Dr. Albert Plesman, who was president-director of the Royal Dutch Airlines between the World Wars. Buursink (1986) suspects that Plesman was inspired above all by the geographical pattern of settlements which could be so magnificently and directly observed from an aeroplane window.

The term 'Randstad' became commonplace after 1950 and has not ceased to define the body of thought on urbanization and urban planning of that part of the country. The name refers to the chain of urbanized areas ranging from Dordrecht via Rotterdam, Delft, The Hague, Leiden, Haarlem and Amsterdam to Utrecht. These places are grouped in a horseshoe-shape around the more open central area commonly known as the 'Green Heart'. The centres of gravity in the Randstad are the four largest Dutch cities of Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht (see Fig. 1). Just as a bird's eye view of the physical spatial pattern of the area reveals its contrasts, its sharply segmented social structure is clear when studied at an aggregate level.[1]

Inter-urban migration is an important, though not the only, factor structuring the way household categories and social groups are distributed over different types of residential areas. Moreover, it is a dynamic factor, responsive to changing demographic, economic and cultural conditions and continuously causing existing structures to shift. Changes in the housing stock and, particularly, the localization and differentiation of new housing construction have a strong impact on the nature and direction of migration. In the Dutch context these factors are more strictly controlled than in many other Western countries like the USA, Canada and Australia (Clark *et al.* 1986). In the relatively densely populated Randstad the 'link between process (mobility) and policy (alternate government goals and programs)' (Clark & Everaers 1981, p. 322) is even more pronounced than in the rest of the Netherlands. Control extends to, for example, the designation of growth centres, the differentiation of housing construction programmes by tenure class and the allocation of housing to households (Clark & Everaers 1981). Thus, migration in the Netherlands and especially the Randstad, as a response to local conditions, is evoked by government-controlled as well as uncontrolled processes, the latter often preceding the former.

The low socio-economic status of the pop-

* OTB Research Institute for Policy Sciences and Technology, Delft University of Technology, P.O. Box 5030, 2600 GA Delft, The Netherlands.

** IRO Institute for Spatial Research, University of Utrecht, P.O. Box 80.115, 3508 TC Utrecht, The Netherlands.

*** CGO Centre for Metropolitan Research, University of Amsterdam, Jodenbreestraat 23, 1011 NH Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

Received August 1990; revised January 1992.

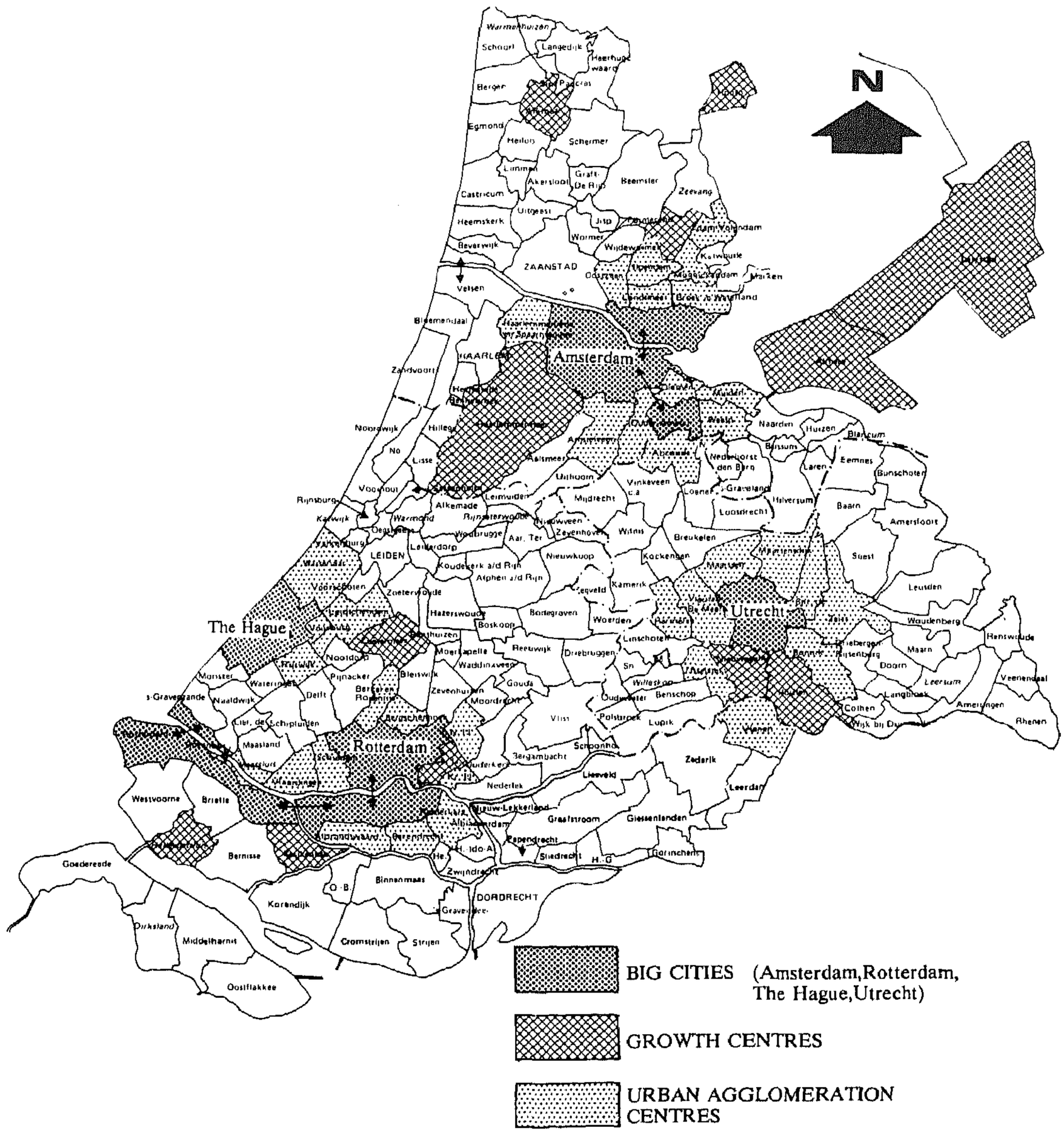

Fig. 1. *The urban systems of the four big cities in the Randstad.*

ulation of the four big Dutch cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) can be attributed largely to selective outmigration in the 1960s and 1970s. Prosperity increased and the relatively old, partly deteriorating housing in the cities did not measure up to the rising aspirations of young, affluent and middle-income families; these households moved in large numbers to small suburban towns and villages and, later on, also to the planned 'growth centres'.[2] In the meantime the elderly and the poor stayed behind. The influx of ethnic minorities from abroad and young one-person households starting off on very small incomes increased the relative preponderance of lower-income groups in the cities. Furthermore, the inflow of these newcomers could not offset the numeric loss of inhabitants. Consequently, the populations of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague decreased by about a fifth between 1965 and 1980. Poverty in the cities was intensified by developments in the employment structure; the decrease of jobs in the manufacturing industry resulted in higher unemployment. The economic recession at

the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties inevitably struck the most vulnerable part of the population the hardest.

Recognition of the big cities as 'problem places' paved the way to intensive urban renewal and house-building programmes in the cities. Economic restructuring led to an increase in service jobs, but this only enlarged the gap between the demand and the (local) supply of labour.

In the first half of the eighties there was a turning point in the attitudes of both the national and local authorities, starting with the introduction of the 'compact-city' policy. Revitalization was increasingly supported by considerable 'image building', which was supposed to change the big cities from 'problem places' to 'high-value centres'. House-building in the growth centres was cut back and the focus of all urban activities was diverted to the central cities. Migration flows to and from the big cities changed as well. Outmigration had been falling sharply since 1975. This can be partly explained by the general inertia related to a national (and international) economic recession, causing residential mobility in the country as a whole to drop to a very low level (Jobse & Musterd 1989). As Deurloo *et al.* (1986) have pointed out, residential mobility tends to be even lower in the Randstad than in the rest of the Netherlands due to prevailing housing market constraints. The decrease of people moving out of the big cities was, indeed, stronger than the country-wide decline in migration. Remarkably, the number of people moving to the big cities increased, even though on average fewer people were moving between municipalities.

The change in migration flows in quantitative terms raises the question whether earlier trends of inmigration (lower-status groups moving into cities, attracted by houses and neighbourhoods no longer desired by higher-status groups) have made way for a new pattern, whereby higher-status groups compete more and more with lower-status groups for the sparse city space. In more general terms, the question to be considered here is: how are changed policy attitudes regarding urbanization of the Randstad and changed conditions in the four big cities reflected in migration to and from those cities in the first part of the eighties? Concretely, what is the impact of migration on the socio-economic status of the cities?

This article reviews the socio-economic and household composition of migrants moving into and out of the big cities. It deals with the question how migration may have influenced the population structure of those cities and their daily urban systems. Conversely, it also focuses on the differences between the cities with respect to spatial structure and housing characteristics and the resulting impact on the respective patterns of migration. Specific questions to be answered are:

1. Is the persistent revaluation of the big cities reflected in the incoming and outgoing migration flows?
2. What is the effect of these flows on the socio-economic structure of the cities and the suburbs, in particular, the 'growth centres'?
3. What do the migration tendencies mean, particularly in view of national house-building plans for the coming decades, to different socio-economic groups in the Randstad?

Operationalization, data sources and organization of this article

Population composition of spatial areas is influenced by intranational as well as international migration. Both types of migration will therefore be reviewed. However, due to limitations imposed by the available data set, the main focus of this article is on inter-urban intranational migration. We shall attempt to find some answers to the questions we posed in the first section by considering households which moved into and out of the big cities between 1982 and 1986 in comparison to the city populations in terms of household and income characteristics. The data (concerning the intranational migrants) were drawn from the most recent Housing Demand Survey (WBO) of which results were available at the time of the study. This survey was undertaken at the end of 1985 and the beginning of 1986 by the Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS). It covers an approximate one per cent stratified random sample of all persons living in the Netherlands aged eighteen or older. The data set contains a large amount of individual-level data relating to dwellings and households and it records the last move in the period since the previous survey in 1981. The results of the sample have been raised to population level, employing case weights developed by the CBS for households and dwelling. Three income groups[3]

were distinguished, standardizing for one-person households and larger households[4]:

lower: one-person households
Dfl[5] 22,000 or less per year
larger households
Dfl. 30,000 or less per year

middle: one-person households
Dfl. 22,000 – Dfl. 31,000 per year
larger households
Dfl. 30,000 – Dfl. 42,000 per year

higher: one-person households
over Dfl. 31,000 per year
larger households
over Dfl. 42,000 per year

Households are differentiated not only by income but also according to type. This variable consists of seven categories based on three characteristics: the size of the household, the age of its head, and the presence of children.

Although the Housing Demand Survey 1985/1986 includes data on new residents of the cities coming from foreign countries, the size of the sample does not permit detailed analysis of this relatively small group. Of course, absolutely no data are available on emigrants. For a description of the trend in foreign migration, we have to rely on data from recent publications on that topic. However, that data concerns primarily immigrants. Obviously these figures do not permit us to determine income and household categories, as we did for the analysis of intranational migration flows. Thus, a general sketch of the socio-economic characteristics of the salient groups of foreign immigrants has to suffice. Figure 2 provides a schematic overview of the groups comprising the research population. This diagram shows the variables or characteristics to be analyzed and indicates their place in this article.

In the next two sections we examine the total inter-urban, intranational migration which is centred on, or originates from, each of the four big cities. In the fifth section we narrow our focus to the (inter-urban, intranational) migration flows to and from specific residential areas. The data do not allow a systematic review of all variable categories concerning the sub-groups involved; in this section we therefore discuss the most important categories only. In the following section we briefly review developments in immigration from abroad during the last decade and the socio-economic characteristics of the immigrants. We then turn to some possible explanatory factors regarding the described

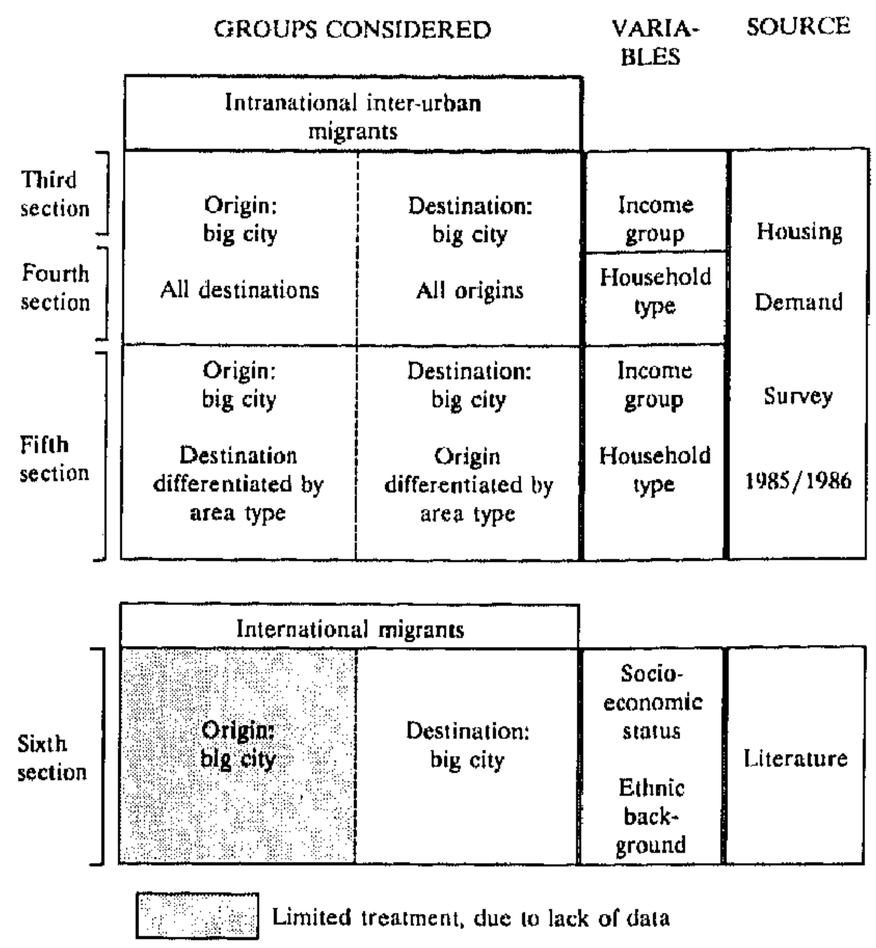

Fig. 2. *Migrant groups included in the analysis; variables and sources of data.*

migration patterns. In the next-to-last section we sum up the recorded and expected migration patterns. There we also elaborate on the effects of those patterns on the distribution of socio-economic groups in the big cities and in other residential areas in the Randstad. The last section offers some final remarks inspired by the preceding conclusions.

Inmigrants and outmigrants of the big cities by income group (intranational migration)

The outmigrants – There are no striking differences between the four cities regarding the composition of outmigrants by income categories. Neither do households which have moved out of the city differ very much from the average inter-urban migrant. There is an important difference, however, between the income composition of the outmigrants and the city population. Figure 3 shows that in all four cities the proportion of higher-income groups is larger among the households leaving than among those living in the cities. Clearly, there has been selective outmigration in terms of higher-income groups in the period studied. Relatively fewer higher-income groups moved out of Amsterdam and Utrecht, however, than out of the other two cities, despite the fact that the proportion of higher-income groups in the populations is much the same in all four cities. The outflow

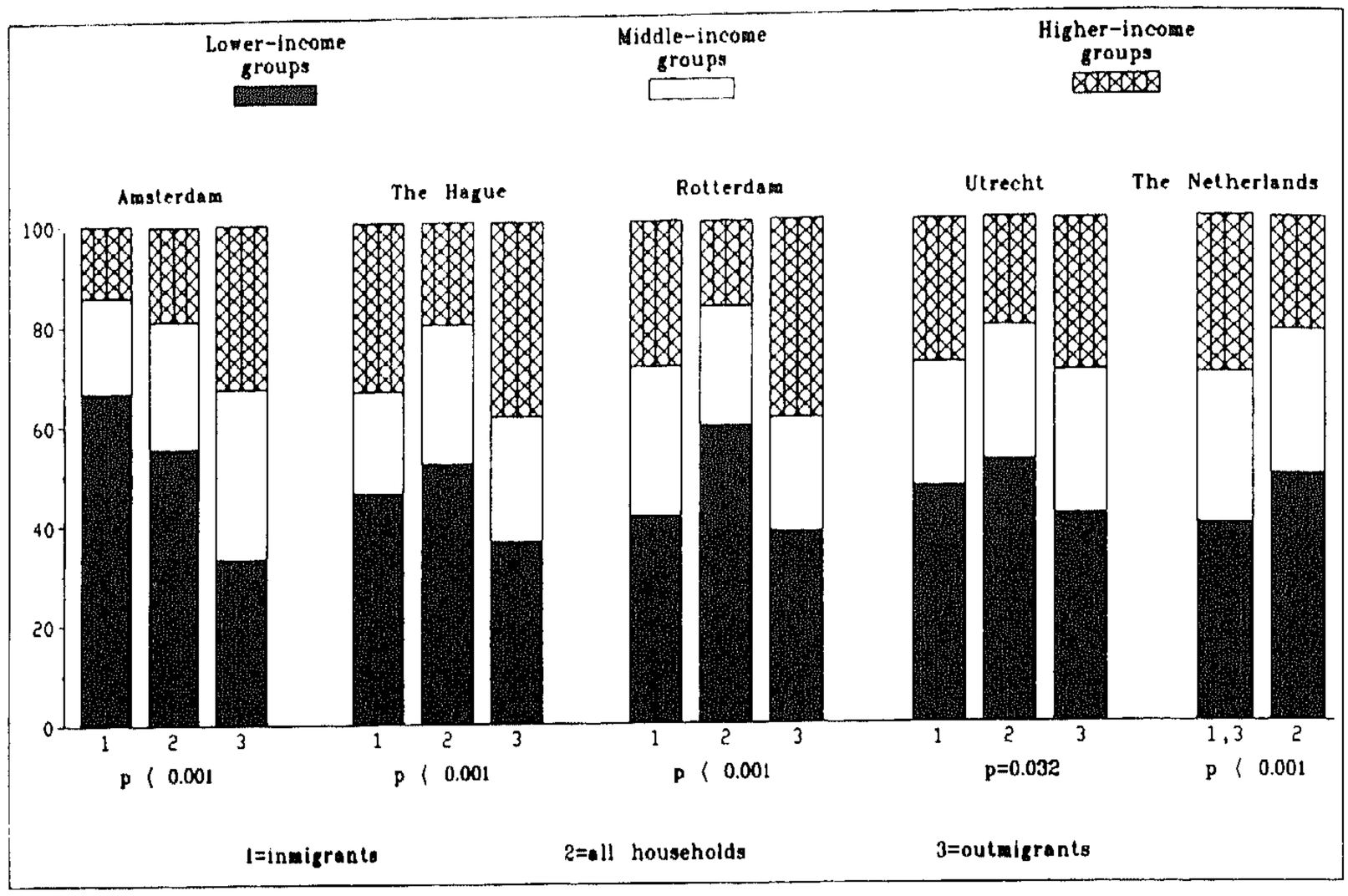

Fig. 3. *Intranational, inter-urban migrants (1982-1986) and population at large of the four big cities and the Netherlands, by income group (households in percentages).*

of the middle-income group from Amsterdam was comparatively higher. This city has the largest number (6) of growth centres (see Fig. 1), towns which are directly linked to the urban housing market. Growth centres provide a relatively large supply of dwellings especially attractive to middle-income groups. Buys (1988) has stressed the importance of these centres in accommodating the 'overflow' of Amsterdam-born, middle-income families.

The inmigrants – In contrast to outmigrants, income categories for inmigrants differ between the cities (see Fig. 3). Amsterdam, in particular, diverges from the other cities. In The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht, the selective outmigration of higher-income groups is offset somewhat by a selective inmigration of the same groups. By contrast, in Amsterdam the share of higher-income groups is smaller among households which have moved in than among the city population as a whole. Moreover, there is a relatively large influx of lower-income groups into the capital city (67% of the inmigrants belongs to that category), while in the other cities the share of lower-income inmigrants falls short of the corresponding proportion of the population. Rotterdam has a comparatively large share of middle-income households among its inmigrants.

Evidently, there are differences between the cities, besides certain similarities, which may account for their distinct migration patterns. All four cities are centres of higher education, which attract many young one-person households. This characteristic is particularly striking in Utrecht, which has one of the largest universities of the country but happens to be the smallest of the big cities. Many young singles must get by on a modest income, acquired either from study grants, a low-paid job or benefits. Yet the city with the highest percentage of lower-income inmigrants is Amsterdam.

As we intend to illustrate further on, differences regarding the nature of the housing stock and newly built houses, the tightness of the housing market, but also the cultural climate appear to be important explanatory factors of the migration patterns peculiar to each of the four cities.

We should stress, however, that inmigration and outmigration characteristics are not the only factors that determine the social dynamics of the cities considered. Many city dwellers may pass through a variety of social

stages: for example, starting out as a student, then progressing to graduation and employment, or, conversely, dropping out and moving on to unemployment. These processes should be taken into account as well.

Inmigrants and outmigrants of the big cities by household type (intranational migration)

The outmigrants – The outflow of higher-income groups can be attributed largely to the departure of households consisting of more than one person, but with no children, in both age categories (see Table 1). Especially The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht have experienced a strongly selective outmigration of these household types, of which the greater part (among those leaving Rotterdam as much as 93%) belong to the higher-income category.

The selective outmigration of families with children, a much-described phenomenon, is now limited to the younger category, which forms only a very small proportion of the city population. Families headed by persons aged 30 years or older are not represented more strongly among outmigrants than in the population at large, except in the case of Amsterdam. While in the other three cities outmigration of these families is not selective, the families who have left have a higher income than those who have stayed. The Hague is the exception in this case; this city appears to retain its higher-income families pretty well. The relatively few families who do leave The Hague are for the most part in the middle-income group.

The older, childless households account for the largest share of households which have moved out of the cities (except in the case of Utrecht). This is, of course, due to the strong representation of this category in the city populations. The majority are lower- or middle-income households.

The inmigrants – Young, one-person households dominate the inmigration in all four cities, but particularly in Amsterdam and Utrecht (see Table 1). These households are for the most part in the lower-income category. We can assume that most students belong to this group, as well as many young working people with a low wage; in Amsterdam, for instance, two-thirds of the young inmigrants living alone have a job. The share of young one-person households which have

Table 1. *Intranational inmigrants and outmigrants (1982-1986), related to all households living in the four big cities and in the Netherlands, by household type (percentages).*

	Amsterdam			The Hague			Rotterdam			Utrecht			The Netherlands		
	in-m.	all house-holds	out-m.	in-m.	all house-holds	out-m.	in-m.	all house-holds	out-m.	in-m.	all house-holds	out-m.	all migr.	all house-holds
One-person hh. < 30 yrs	46	15	9	34	10	7	37	10	7	53	20	24	21	7
One-person hh. 30-50 yrs	18	15	10	8	9	6	8	9	10	*	10	7	8	6
Larger hh. < 30 yrs, childless	16	6	9	10	4	17	5	5	17	16	7	22	18	6
Larger hh. 30-50 yrs, childless	4	5	10	9	5	9	3	3	9	9	5	7	8	5
Househ. < 30 yrs, with children	3	3	5	8	4	5	5	5	5	*	2	9	7	4
Househ. > 30 yrs, with children	8	24	28	17	28	26	22	30	26	12	28	22	26	42
Househ. > 50 yrs, childless	6	33	30	14	41	29	11	29	29	6	28	10	13	30
Significance:	p < 0.001			p < 0.001			p < 0.001			p < 0.001			p < 0.001	

Source: National Housing Demand Survey 1985/1986, processed by DGVH.

moved to the cities, large as it is, may even be underestimated. The survey sample was taken from the city register, and it is conceivable that not all young people living in rented rooms and comparable accommodations are always registered.

Young households, larger than one person but without children, are also over-represented among the inmigrants. Many of these households have a double income, especially in The Hague (67%) and Rotterdam (57%). As a result, more often than the young single persons, they are in the higher-income category. The socio-economic profile of these inmigrants is not very different from the same household category in the population.

Cities do not attract great numbers of families with children. Especially in Amsterdam and Utrecht the inflow of families is strikingly low. This should not lead to the conclusion, however, that only childless households are inclined to live in big cities; notably in The Hague and Rotterdam families still account for about a quarter of the inmigrants. The families who do move in, especially those headed by a person older than 30, account for a large proportion of the more affluent inmigrants; 40 to 50 per cent of those families belong to the higher-income group (Amsterdam being the exception). Only 20 to 25 per cent of all the families living in the cities belong to that income group. Considering the strict regulations in the cities on housing allocation, especially those affecting outsiders, as well as the limited supply of dwellings most preferred by families, it appears that certain families do make a positive choice to live in the city. This certainly applies in the case of The Hague and Rotterdam. We can assume that city-oriented families have a different lifestyle and different preferences than the families moving in the opposite direction, to the suburbs.

The migratory relationship between the big cities and other residential areas

In this section we focus on migration flows between the big cities and three types of residential areas: growth centres, urban agglomeration centres (both considered to be part of the daily urban system of each city) and the rest of the Randstad (all municipalities in the Randstad located outside of the respective daily urban systems) (see Fig. 1). The WBO sample sets a limit to the degree of detail in which relationships between variables may be analyzed. We therefore review only the most striking aspects of the composition of the migrant groups. Even so, the number of observations in some contingency table cells tends to be low. As a result the statistical significance of some differences remains unclear. This section should therefore be considered merely indicative.

Destinations of outmigrants (intranational migration) – The most important question to be considered in this section is: what types of destination are chosen by (selectively) migrating households with higher incomes and which by lower- and middle-income groups?

There are considerable differences between the ways the surrounding areas serve the 'overflow' from the various central cities (Fig. 4). These differences are related to the nature of the housing market and the space capacity of the daily urban systems considered. Amsterdam has six growth centres, providing a substantial supply of social rental housing. Yet The Hague, for instance, has but one growth centre: Zoetermeer. Furthermore, the urban agglomeration centres surrounding The Hague lack the space capacity for substantial expansion; The Hague has an extremely congested daily urban system. Thus, while the Amsterdam growth centres exclusively receive the largest proportion of the total outflow from the capital city (40%), Zoetermeer and the urban agglomeration centres together only absorb a little more than a quarter of all the households leaving The Hague. Outmigrants from The Hague often have to resort to areas in the rest of the Randstad. Still, the nature of the relationship between growth centre(s) and donor city is much the same in the case of both cities: the growth centres are important destinations, above all for middle-income families. The Amsterdam growth centres receive many older, childless households and a relatively large proportion of lower-income groups. The Utrecht growth centres (two), on the other hand, perform quite a different function for their donor city. It is above all the higher-income category which is over-represented in the migration flow towards these towns. Houten in particular is a highly desirable type of suburban town, with pleasant natural surroundings and a large percentage of single-family homes and owner-occupied dwellings. Nieuwegein is a strategically lo-

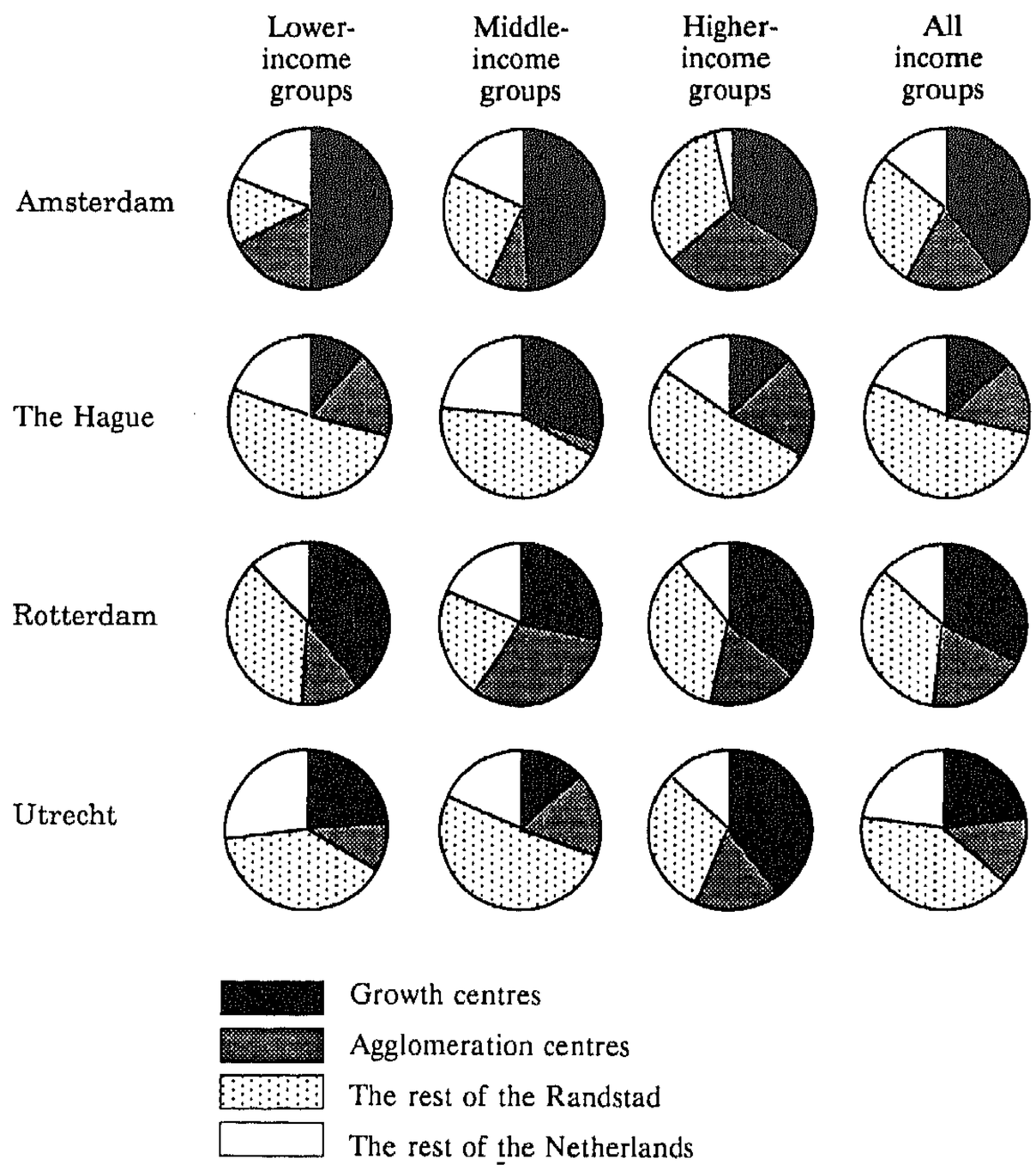

Fig. 4. *Intranational outmigrants (1982-1986) originating in the big cities, by income group and destination.*

Source: National Housing Demand Survey 1985/1986, (data processed by the Directorate General of Housing).

cated town, not only with respect to Utrecht, but also with regard to traffic connections with the rest of the region and the rest of the country. While the higher-income groups which have moved out of The Hague and Rotterdam have no specific destination, those who left Amsterdam are clearly more focused on the urban agglomeration centres than on other types of residential areas. Apparently, these households often prefer to remain in the direct vicinity of the city.

Origin areas of inmigrants (intranational migration) – In the previous section we pointed out that inmigration has played a different and more important part than before in the development of the population structure in the cities. The inmigration, which increased in the research period, has tended to reinforce the socio-economic level of the population in The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht. Indeed, the higher-income groups were represented more strongly among the inmigrants than among the population while the lower-income groups were represented less strongly. The opposite was true in the case of Amsterdam. The question is whether the higher-income groups come from certain types of areas. This seems to be the case (Fig. 5). Notably, in all four of the urban systems there is an over-representation of higher-income groups in the migration flows from the growth centres to the donor cities, compared to the total influx in the respective cities. We can conclude that the migratory relationship with the growth centres involves a reciprocal exchange of income-groups: lower-income groups (in The Hague: middle-income groups) move from the cities to their growth centres more than other groups, while higher-income groups are over-represented in the opposite flows. (Utrecht, where higher-income groups are over-represented in both directions, is an exception.) This helps to explain the fact that between 1981 and 1986 the socio-economic differences between the

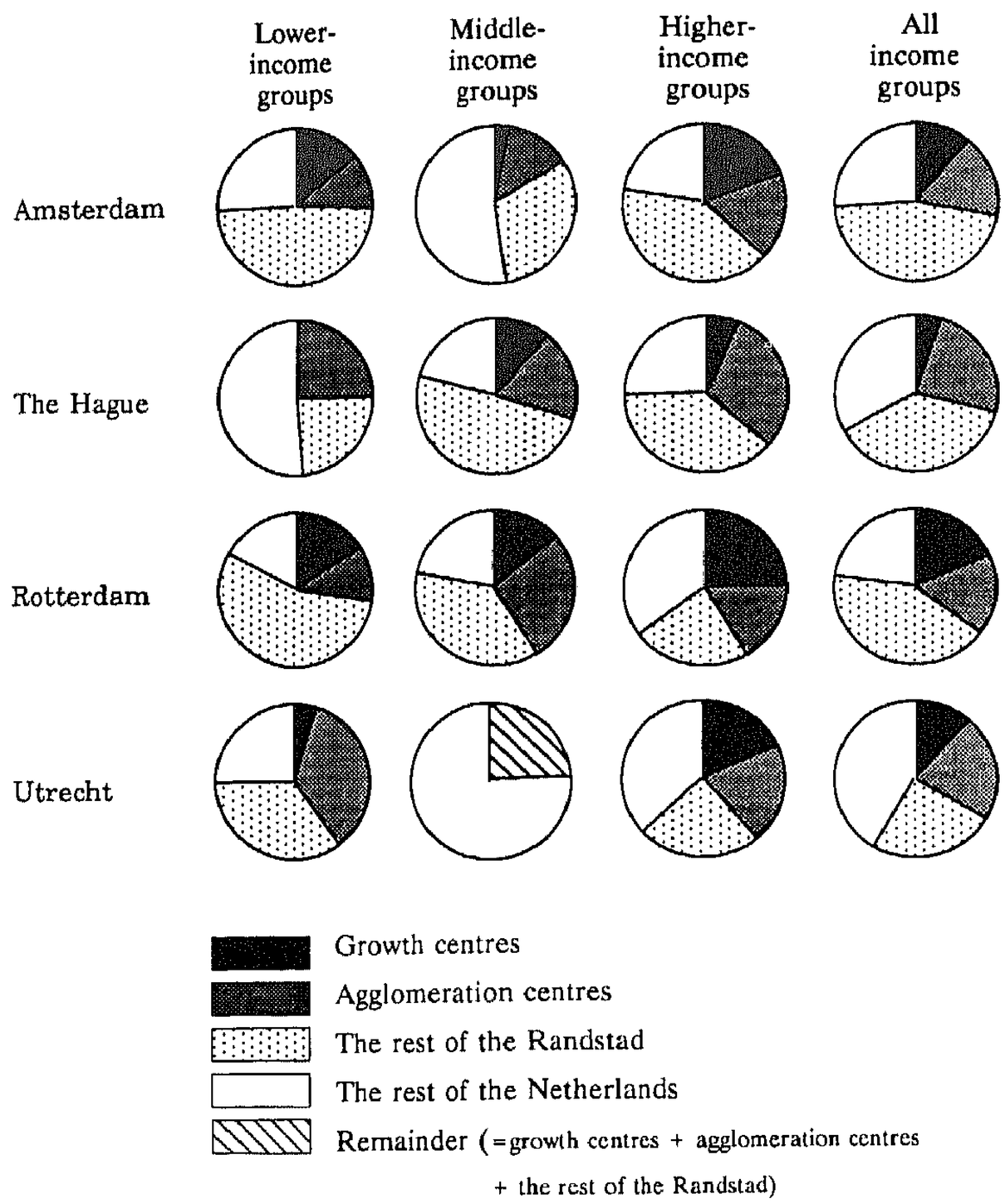

Fig. 5. *Intranational inmigrants (1982-1986) entering the big cities, by income group and place of origin.*

Source: National Housing Demand Survey 1985/1986, (data processed by the Directorate General of Housing).

big cities and the growth centres levelled out somewhat. The increase in equity, however, proved to be due mostly to a decrease in the socio-economic position of the growth centres and not to a rise in the socio-economic position of the big cities (Kruythoff 1989). Apparently, the relatively strong influx of higher-income groups (except in Amsterdam) is neutralized by the influx of lower-income groups from abroad and by negative socio-economic developments among the established inhabitants (such as unemployment or early retirement). Moreover, one must bear in mind that the inmigration of higher-income groups is usually limited to just a few attractive areas; vast parts of the cities do not undergo any upgrading due to inmigration (Hoffschulte & Musterd 1989). With regard to household type we observe that the relatively few families with children who move to Amsterdam originate from the growth centres. In the case of The Hague and Rotterdam families are responsible for an above-average percentage of the flow from the agglomerations. This is surprising in view of the proximity of the origin and destination areas. The most important group of inmigrants in the cities, young singles, are particularly well represented in the flows from areas outside the Randstad. This is explained by the fact that the Randstad cities attract many students from all over the country. As the distance to these cities increases, moving to the cities versus remaining in the parental home becomes less and less a matter of choice.

Socio-economic status of immigrants from abroad (international migration)

There has been a considerable change in the immigration to the Netherlands from foreign countries in the last decade. The fluctuations are due to ups and downs in the immigration

of non-Dutch persons (Fig. 6). In 1980, there was a high, positive net migration balance. This was mostly the result of a new peak in the influx from the former overseas territory of Surinam, and the influx of numerous family members of Turkish and Moroccan inhabitants, who were eligible (according to government regulations) for reunification with their families. After 1980 this process came to an end. In the early eighties, a visa requirement for certain nationalities was introduced. As a result, until recently it was assumed that foreign immigration would keep falling and would eventually stabilize at a low balance (WRR 1989). Over the last few years, however, new groups have joined the foreign immigrants: those seeking political asylum and other refugees, mostly coming from African and Asian countries. The number of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants has increased as well, partly as the result of marriages between second-generation inhabitants and partners from the mother country.

The majority of households bearing Dutch nationality who have moved to the four big cities from abroad are in the higher-income category. The foreign immigrants largely belong to the lower-income groups. It is the latter group, especially those considered to be 'ethnic minorities', who have had the greatest impact on the socio-economic developments in the big cities. Ethnic groups are strongly concentrated there and are growing steadily, particularly when second and third generations are also considered. This is due not only to the influx of these groups. Their birth rates are relatively high. Moreover, they are poorly represented in the outflow to the suburbs and other parts of the country.

International migrants who do not belong to the ethnic minorities (the Dutch, other West Europeans, North Americans) are balanced, more or less, by in and outmigration and exert little influence on the socio-economic composition of the city populations. The socio-economic position of ethnic minorities[6] in the Netherlands is low and has declined notably over the last years (WRR 1989). In 1987, the unemployment rate for native Dutch persons was 13 per cent (for the 16-65 age group), but 43 per cent for the Turkish and Moroccan minorities and 25 per cent for the Surinamese and Dutch-Antillean groups. While unemployment decreased in the country as a whole by 12 per cent between

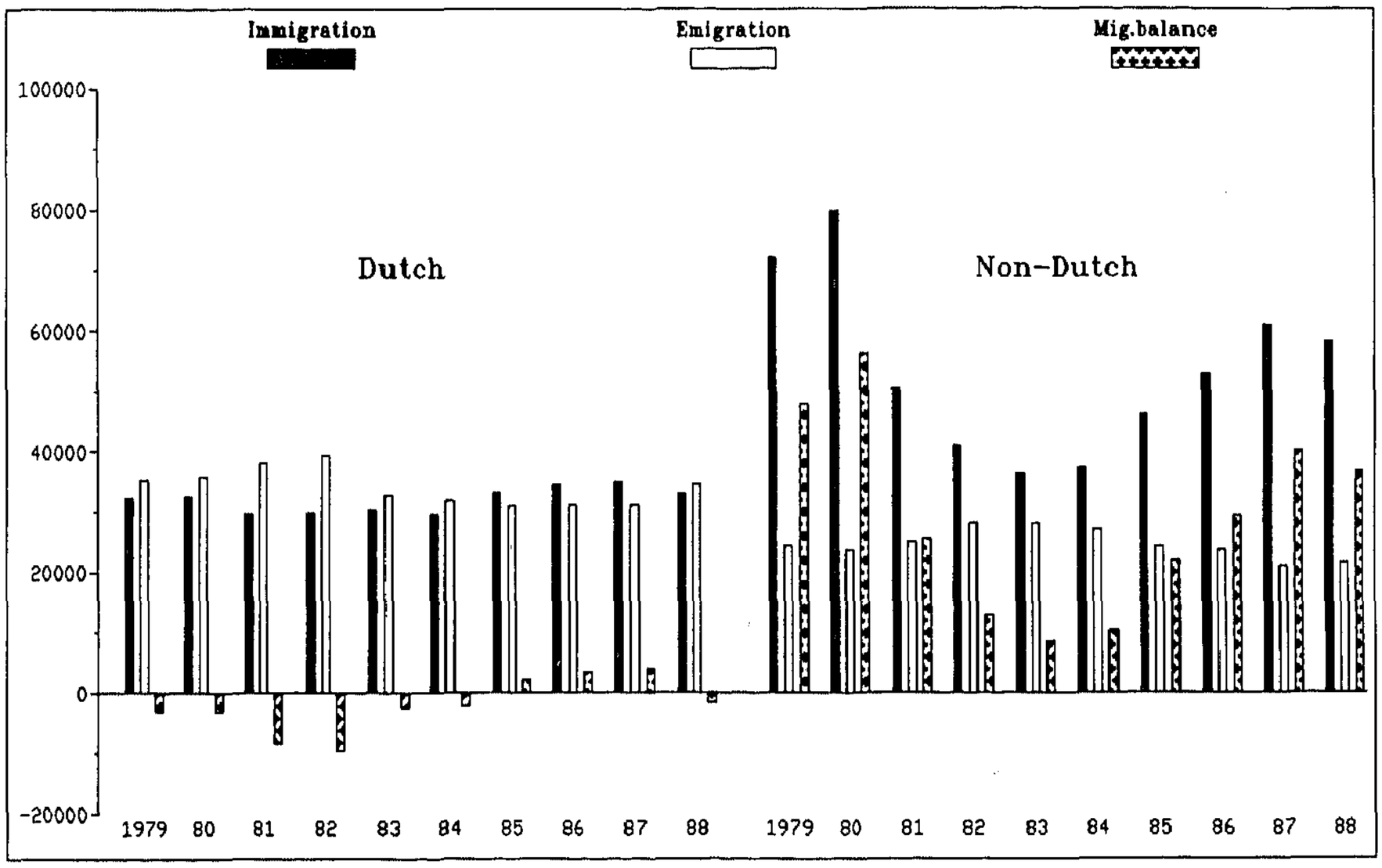

Fig. 6. *Intranational migration of Dutch nationals and non-Dutch nationals, 1979-1988.*

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (CBS) (provisional data for 1988), in WRR (1989).

1983 and 1987, it increased by almost 40 per cent among persons originating from Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles and by 14 and 26 per cent respectively among the Turkish and Moroccan groups. The unemployed minority groups are strongly concentrated in the big cities; 81 per cent of the unemployed persons originating from Surinam and 55 per cent of the unemployed Antilleans live in one of the four big cities.

Changing conditions in the big cities and their daily urban systems as a factor in migration

Migration in the Randstad has become more complex. Besides the well-described selective migration flows which we referred to in the introduction, counterflows of similar income and household groups seem to have evolved. The selective outflow of more affluent households towards the suburbs is accompanied by a smaller but also selective inflow of other higher-income groups. One can assume that those on higher incomes, especially families with children, have made a positive choice to live in the city. Different motives may play a role. The 'urbanites' may be focused on the large array of city amenities, which are usually within walking or cycling distance (Hoffschulte & Musterd 1989; Machielse 1989). Urban problems, like congestion, poverty and crime, seem to be accepted; moreover, higher-income, usually higher-educated, households are more capable of shielding themselves from those problems. Ex-commuters often move to the city because they are tired of queuing (Buys & Henstra 1987).

As we have shown, there are major differences between the four cities as well as similarities. This complex migration pattern can be partially explained by the composition of the housing stock and certain aspects determining the social climate in the different cities. The nature and supply of housing in the rest of the daily urban systems are also important explanatory factors. The housing stock in the big cities is characterized by small flats, inexpensive rental dwellings and old dwellings. This results in a housing market which is attractive to young households starting out on their own, but which does not cater sufficiently for the preferences of families with children. By contrast, the housing stock in the suburbs does not offer easy access to starters and households on low incomes (Ostendorf 1985). New construction programmes, which are strongly controlled by municipal governments, do not always reflect consumer preferences. Deurloo *et al.* (1990) remark that the spatial inequity of the Randstad housing stock leads to choices that households and policy-makers alike consider a 'mismatch'. "This seems particularly true for the large cities which have built multi-family rental housing in the main and in the suburbs where hardly any multi-family rental housing is available." (Deurloo *et al.* 1990, p. 349).

The major part of the housing stock in the big cities is controlled by regulations affecting housing allocation and is therefore not freely accessible to inmigrants from other municipalities. Occupants of both rental housing with rents under a set ceiling and owner-occupied dwellings up to a stipulated purchase value require a residence permit. The regulations concern, e.g., the linking of dwelling size to household size and the adjustment of rents and house prices to wage levels. Newcomers have to be employed in the municipality. Moreover, they are confronted with long lists of applicants already living in the city.

The above characterization can be applied broadly to all four cities. However, housing differentiation by type and tenure class diverges substantially between cities. This is demonstrated in Table 2. In Amsterdam the shares of single-family homes and owner-occupied dwellings are extremely small. Thus, particularly in that city, the supply of dwellings accessible and attractive to higher-income groups and families was very meagre in the period studied. As Figure 7 indicates, the differentiation of housing built in Amsterdam between 1982 and 1985 did not greatly enhance the housing opportunities for prospective inmigrants on high incomes. In the other cities the differentiation of the

Table 2. *Percentage of single-family homes and owner-occupied dwellings in the housing stock of the four big cities (on 1 January 1986).*

	Single-family homes	Owner-occupied dwellings
Amsterdam	9	9
The Hague*	14	36
Rotterdam	18	15
Utrecht	38	27

* on 1 January 1987
Source: Gemeente Amsterdam (1988), 's-Gravenhage (1988), Rotterdam (1986) and Utrecht (1988).

housing stock as well as of new housing was more attuned to demand. Even if the big cities have become more attractive as places to live for higher-income groups and families with children, the shortage of desirable and accessible housing has formed a formidable constraint. This applies particularly to Amsterdam.

The predominant type of dwelling in Amsterdam (small, cheap and in multi-family blocks), is, on the other hand, much in demand among young starting households and accessible to people employed in the municipality. Moreover, the supply of rented rooms and other forms of alternative housing (e.g. houseboats) is substantial in Amsterdam. Besides the nature of the housing supply, differences in the social and cultural environment of the four cities also influence the inflow and outflow pattern, in terms of income and household composition. Research by Buys & Henstra (1987) and Van Zundert (1988) has revealed that the experience of living in a big city is often an extra incentive to move there, even when the principal motive is work or education. It is possible that young people, given a choice between different cities, prefer Amsterdam, which is the prevailing 'fun city' of the Netherlands (Vijgen & Van Engelsdorp Gastelaars 1990). The relatively large proportion of inexpensive housing in the big cities has also served the needs of other low-income newcomers, notably those of foreign ethnic origins.

As Figure 7 shows, the cities have been catering more for the demand of higher-income groups since 1985. The proportion of newly built dwellings for owner-occupancy and (The Hague excepted) single-family homes has increased. The same shift of emphasis can be noted regarding the differentiation of new houses in the growth centres (Fig. 8). The total volume of new housing construction in the growth centres, however, has been cut back sharply in accordance with the 'compact city' policy. Acutely rising prices of attractively located houses in the cities indicate that the increased supply of dwellings intended for higher-income groups still does not satisfy the demand. Recently, prestigious new construction and renewal projects, including luxurious apartments, have appeared in the most attractive parts of the cities. This does not alter the fact that other city areas continue to deteriorate; development processes diverge within the city.

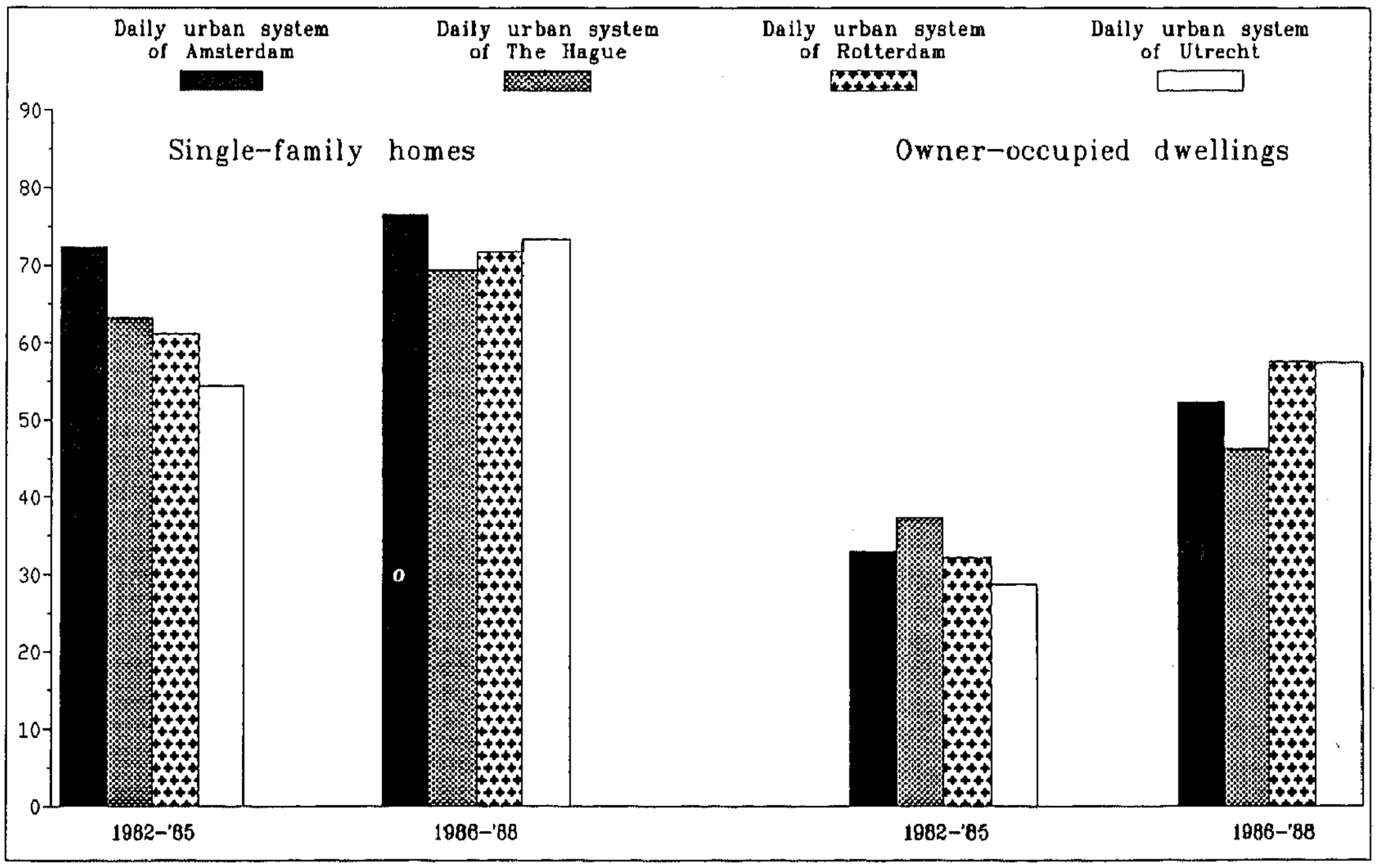

Fig. 7. *Newly built dwellings in the four big cities: percentage of singly-family homes and owner-occupied dwellings.*

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (CBS).