

PREPARING FOR THE FUTURE

MINORITIES, MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION POLICIES IN

WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES:

BACKGROUNDS, TRENDS AND PROSPECTS

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INTRODUCTION

This volume was produced as part of the international project 'Ethnic and Cultural Minorities in Education'. The focus of that project, which involved the co-operation of the Czech Republic, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland and Slovenia, was on education. However, education is only one of several interconnected domains that form part of policies towards minorities. That is why it was decided to publish, as a complement to the other project publications, a book that would offer a more general framework for policies towards minorities. The present publication, then, describes current trends in immigration and addresses policies towards minorities in more general terms.

The first part offers an overview of immigration in the Netherlands and other Western European countries. It looks at historical aspects as well as current trends and policies towards minorities.

Part two focuses on the situation in Central and Eastern European countries (CEE countries), dealing with factual data on immigration, expected developments and aspects related to the difference between national minorities and immigrant minorities.

Part three presents a framework for policy, based in part on work in this field by the Council of Europe, and a number of considerations and questions that are confronting policy-makers who are dealing with the integration of ethnic and cultural minorities in society.

Part four is concerned with more technical aspects, which are a vital precondition for effective policy-making: data collection and monitoring of trends within the context of policy evaluation. This part concludes with some observations concerning accountability.

It will be obvious that there are no clear-cut solutions to the many problems that need to be addressed by policies towards minorities. However, by defining the major policy dilemmas, by offering a framework within which these dilemmas can be considered and by presenting some of the technical tools that are required for effective policy-making, we have sought to assist policy-makers in anticipating on future developments and to offer a basis for rational decisions.

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PART 1

THE NETHERLANDS

AND OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

1.1 MIGRATION IN THE 20TH CENTURY¹

The major international migration movements in early 20th century Western Europe were a direct consequence of the industrialisation process that had started in the previous century. Rapidly growing industries in Western European countries (with Great Britain in first position) attracted labour from less industrialised countries; at the same time, poor living conditions and bleak prospects enticed many workers to emigrate to countries with seemingly unlimited possibilities. As a consequence, the period from 1875 up to the First World War saw two major types of international migration: migration from Europe to overseas destinations (North America, South America, Australia) and migration from peripheral European countries (such as Poland and Italy) to Western Europe. Britain received large numbers of Irish workers, as well as Jewish immigrants from Russia; Germany's industries employed Poles, Ukrainians, Italians, Belgians and Dutchmen; France became a destination for workers from Italy, Belgium, Germany and Switzerland; in the South of the Netherlands, the coal mines engaged workers from Poland, Germany and Italy.

During the First World War, when many migrants returned home to do military service, the warring countries attempted to solve their labour shortages by recruiting labour from occupied areas (e.g. forced recruitment of Russian and Belgian workers by Germany), colonies (e.g. North-African and Indo-Chinese workers recruited by France) and other non-fighting countries and by using forced labour of prisoners of war. The

¹ This paragraph is largely based on Castles & Miller (1998), Entzinger (1984) and Van Nimwegen et al. (2000).

interbellum period that followed saw a decline of international migration, as a consequence of economic stagnation and growing hostility towards immigrants. Only France received substantial numbers of immigrants in this period. In order to remedy the labour shortages caused by the war (which left 1.4 million men dead and 1.5 million permanently handicapped) and the long-term effects of the low birth rates at the end of the previous century, France actively recruited workers from Poland, Italy and Czechoslovakia and received many 'spontaneous' immigrant workers.

After World War II, migration patterns changed drastically as a consequence of interrelated developments. First, in many countries the demographic balance had been upset by the war. A substantial part of the labour force had been lost, which induced governments to encourage immigration. Secondly, there were political changes with a profound impact. The reshuffling of the political maps in Europe caused flows of millions of refugees, particularly to Germany, and the independence of the British, French and Dutch colonies induced many people to move to the mother country. Thirdly, the economy in Western Europe gave a strong impetus to international migration. Labour was needed to rebuild the production system and, at a later stage, to maintain the high level of production. This was the main cause for the emergence of international labour migration from economically less-developed countries in the periphery of Europe. The southern European countries, Finland, Ireland and – later – North Africa became the major sending countries of foreign labour to Western Europe.

Until well into the 1970s, government interference in migration movements was generally limited, although some governments attempted to regulate immigration through residence permits and work permits. On the whole, however, it was tacitly assumed that immigrant workers would either return to their home country or integrate smoothly into the host society. Neither of these assumptions turned out to be correct. In the 1980s, when the economic tide in Europe turned and unemployment went up, governments were forced to recognise that immigrant workers were to stay and that their integration required targeted efforts. As the employment prospects in Western Europe rapidly deteriorated, a considerable number of the labour migrants from Southern European countries returned home, attracted by the improvements in their home countries: economic progress, the return to democracy (Spain, Greece, Portugal) and the recently acquired or pending membership of the European Community. However, the majority of migrants chose to make use of their legal right to settle permanently – a right accorded after a certain length of stay. In fact, the number of immigrants went up, as a result of another right accorded to immigrants by governments: the right to family reunion. Schools were now confronted with new pupils from abroad who did not speak or understand the school language and with

whose parents teachers could barely communicate. Once an economic necessity, immigration was turning into an educational and social problem.

In the 1980s and 1990s, political debates about migration in Europe have focused increasingly on a new group of migrants: refugees and asylum seekers. During this period the number of asylum seekers worldwide almost tripled from 2.3 million in the 1980s to 6.1 million in the 1990s (Europaworld, 2002). In the European Union, the annual number of people seeking asylum has fluctuated from 680,000 in 1992 to 220,000 in 1996 and has more or less stabilised in the period 1999-2002 at about 400,000 (ECRE, 2003). The majority of refugees in Europe in the past decade came from European countries and applied for asylum in another European country. They included people fleeing communist regimes and, after the collapse of communist rule, people fleeing the war in former Yugoslavia.² By the start of the new century, some of the countries that at one time produced asylum seekers had in turn become receiving countries. The governments of the European Union are finding it difficult to formulate a common policy to deal with the issue of asylum seekers. Although a Council Directive has laid down minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers (Council of the European Union, 2003), these standards still leave room for considerable differences between national policies. As a result, governments are still – and increasingly so – vying with each other for severity and strictness in dealing with applicants, fearing that a more lenient approach might make the country a more attractive destination for asylum seekers than the neighbouring countries. However, as asylum pressure on the European Union as a whole seems fairly constant, the result is a situation that resembles a water bed: when the number of applicants goes down at one point, it immediately goes up at another (Van der Erf, 2003). The general tendency to impose fiercer restrictions on immigration has been further intensified by the worries about safety in the wake of the terrorist attacks on the United States³.

1.2 DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENTS

Migration to Western Europe has been strongly influenced by the historical developments described above. Over a long period of time, the size of the foreign

² The number of applicants from former Yugoslavia rose from 68,000 in the 1980s to 877,000 the following decade. Ibid.

³ Human Rights Watch has noted that "throughout Europe, governments [have] linked anti-terrorism measures with the fight against illegal immigration and [have] introduced measures that severely curtailed the rights of refugees and migrants" and is concerned that governments "use counter-terrorism measures as a guise to roll-back well-established refugee and human rights protection standards." (Human Rights Watch, World Report 2002).

population in Western European countries has shown consistent growth. Data from Eurostat show that international migration towards and from the member states of the European Union has consistently resulted in positive annual net migration rates (immigration minus emigration) in the past years.

Table 1:
Net migration rates to the European Union 1990-2001 (rates per thousand inhabitants)

1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
2.8	2.8	3.5	2.7	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.3	1.4	2.4	3.1	3.1

(Source: Eurostat)

The proportion of the foreign population to the total population differs per country. In 2000 Luxembourg and Switzerland had proportionally the largest groups of foreigners: respectively 37.3 and 19.3 percent. In Austria, Belgium and Germany the proportion ranged between 9.3 and 8.4 percent. In Denmark, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom, it ranged between 5.4 and 3.3 percent (SOPEMI, 2002). These figures should be viewed with caution, however, as they do not include the growing numbers of citizens from non-indigenous background who were born in the country of residence or who acquired its nationality through naturalisation.

The importance of international migration for demographic development is increasing, because the natural population growth in Europe is declining; Germany, Italy and Spain already have negative natural growths (Eurostat, 1999). In 2000, 90 percent of the total population growth in Europe was caused by international migration (van Nimwegen et al, 2000). Moreover, the combination of falling birth rates and higher life expectancy, which is characteristic of most Western European countries, leads to population ageing and a decline of the labour force in the longer term. It would be a mistake, however, to believe that migration can solve the demographic problems that will arise in the years to come as a result of these developments. As the European Commission stated in its *Communication on a community immigration policy* (2000): “The Commission believes that, while increased legal immigration in itself cannot be considered in the long term as an effective way to offset demographic changes, since migrants once settled tend to adopt the fertility patterns of the host country, it could, in the short term, be an important element in population growth which could accompany other responses to demographic change, such as more friendly family policies. Equally, increased immigration will not, of itself, be an effective long-term way to deal with labour market imbalances, including skill shortages, which should be addressed by an overall strategy of structural policies in the field of employment and human resources development. However, controlled immigration may help to alleviate shortages provided it takes place within the context of an overall structural strategy.”

Migration patterns

Migration patterns as reflected in the characteristics of the immigration population differ per country, bearing witness to each country’s colonial history, its sources of foreign labour and its accessibility (geographical and political) for refugees and asylum seekers. Thus, Africa is an important source of foreign migrants for France and Portugal and, to a lesser extent, for Italy and Belgium; America (mainly South America) is an important source for Spain and Portugal; the United Kingdom has many immigrants from the Indian subcontinent and the Caribbean, while Greece receives large numbers of immigrants from the Middle East and Italy from the Philippines (Salt, 2001).

Research in the sending and the receiving countries shows that the process of international migration to Europe generally follows the same pattern, regardless of social or cultural characteristics of the country of origin. The first to leave are generally young males, who migrate for economic reasons. In the next phase, they are followed by women and children, who migrate to join their emigrated partner or parents. The presence of family, friends and other acquaintances plays a crucial role in the course of the migration process, because this ‘migration network’ provides potential migrants with information about the host country, practical help with administrative procedures and – in many cases – legal access to the host country, for example by offering the new migrant a job in the family business. It is particularly due to this phenomenon of chain migration that migration flows which once started are continued and more or less self-sustained in the longer term (van Nimwegen et al, 2000; Waldinger, 1996; Castles & Miller, 1998).

Factors determining immigration:

- Differences in the level of affluence between the host country and other countries (continuous migration pressure from Third World countries)
- The state of the economy in the host country (e.g. declining unemployment triggers immigration)
- Crisis situations in other countries (which causes flows of refugees and asylum seekers to countries in Western and Central Europe)
- The presence of immigrant groups in the host country (which attract new immigrants from the same countries of origin)
- The effectiveness of restrictive admission policies (as well as differences in policy and policy implementation between the host country and other countries)

(adapted from van Wissen et al., 2000)

1.3 MIGRATION TO THE NETHERLANDS

The historical developments and the migration patterns described above are also clearly visible in the Netherlands. Even before the second World War there were some periods when there was an immigration surplus. For instance, during the first World War many Belgians sought refuge in the Netherlands because of its neutrality. And in the early 1930s the relatively favourable Dutch economy and the political developments in Germany caused a flow of immigrants from Germany. It was not until after the second World War, however, that immigration became a more or less structural demographic phenomenon in the Netherlands. (Entzinger, 1984).

Roughly four periods can be distinguished, each with their own immigration patterns:

- 1945-1960: decolonisation
Following the independence of Indonesia in 1949 many inhabitants of the former 'Dutch Indies' decided to move to the Netherlands. They were regarded as Dutch people and were relatively smoothly 'assimilated' into Dutch society. This has remained the largest group of 'ethnic' immigrants in the Netherlands, totalling over 400,000 people.
- 1960-1973: labour migration
A booming economy and a shortage of labour induced companies and the government to recruit workers from Mediterranean countries, in particular Spain, Italy, Turkey and Morocco. This was a period of both spontaneous immigration as well as immigration through recruitment contracts between the Dutch government and the sending countries. Turks are now the second largest minority group, totalling about 300,000 people; Moroccans are the fourth largest group, numbering about 250,000. The phase of active recruitment came to an end with the oil crisis of 1973, which marked the beginning of a period of economic decline.
- 1973-1985: family migration
In reaction to the declining economy, the government started to put restrictions on immigration for instance by requiring new immigrants to have a visa. However, even though the influx of immigrants declined, it did not stop. There were two reasons for this: first, immigrants started to make use of the right to family formation and family reunion⁴; secondly, when in 1975 the former Dutch colony Surinam became independent and Surinamese citizens were offered the choice between the Surinamese and the Dutch nationality, many opted for the Dutch nationality and moved to the Netherlands.

⁴ This right is derived from article 8.1 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which reads: 'Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence.'

- 1985-present: family migration and asylum migration
With the economic recovery that set in around 1985, the rate of immigration went up again. The most important development in this period, however, is the sharp increase in the number of refugees and asylum seekers. Generally speaking, since 1990 trends in migration to the Netherlands are no longer dominated by developments that have their causes in the Netherlands, but by international developments (van Wissen, 2000). The collapse of the communist system marked the beginning of a period of instability and was followed by armed conflicts within and outside Europe. As a consequence, large flows of refugees and asylum seekers sought refuge in Western Europe. This trend was further reinforced by the fact that the fall of the Iran Curtain made it easier to travel in Europe. Also, armed conflicts in Africa and Asia produced flows of refugees and asylum seekers. In 1991, asylum migration to the Netherlands constituted 9 percent of the total immigration; in 1994 the figure peaked at 25 percent (Croes, 1995); since then the numbers of applicants have fluctuated. Large numbers of refugees and asylum seekers came from Afghanistan, Angola, Guinea, Iran, Iraq, Sierra Leone, Somalia and former Yugoslavia. It should be noted that, even though asylum migration has in recent years attracted most of the attention of the public and of politicians, chain migration still accounts for the largest numbers of immigrants.

As a result of the developments described above, the diversity of the immigrant population has greatly increased. The foreign workers who arrived in the 1960s were generally adult males from a small number of countries. The arrival of their wives and children since the 1970s added a new dimension to this homogeneous picture. The new groups of refugees and asylum seekers that have come to the Netherlands from many different parts of the world have further diversified the composition of the immigrant population: the Netherlands currently has immigrants from around 150 different ethnic backgrounds.

The most salient developments in migration to the Netherlands in the past decades can be summarised as follows (Entzinger, 2002a):

- immigration has become a structural phenomenon
- the nature of migration has become more diverse
- the categories of immigrants have become more diverse

1.4 TRENDS IN POLICY

As regards migration policies in the Western Europe, a distinction must be made between policies towards citizen of the European Union and policies towards non-EU citizens. Most types of migration by EU-citizens are governed by a number of

supranational regulations of the EU. The regulation on the freedom of movement for workers within the Community was introduced in 1968 and was followed by other regulations concerning the right of movement and residence for workers, job seekers and students. Generally speaking, EU-citizens are free to travel and stay in other countries of the EU, provided that income can be generated by a job or self-employment, or by the Member State of origin (e.g. scholarship or pension). Unemployed EU-citizens have the right to look for work in another EU country for three months, but if they do not find a job, they have to return to their own country (Muus, 2001).

By contrast, migration by non-EU citizens to EU countries is still to a large extent governed by national laws. Historically speaking, these national policies have followed the migration trends described previously. When the first groups of labour migrants came to Western Europe in the 1960s, there appeared to be little cause for policy intervention, as it was assumed that the migrants would sooner or later return to their own country. Even when it became apparent that the majority were to settle permanently, as they started to bring over their families, governments were still reluctant to develop policies because they were slow to become aware of the problems that developed in society and in education and because they were afraid to recognise that their country had in fact become an immigration country. In consequence, policy-making has at best been reactive, responding to problems that could no longer be ignored, rather than anticipating developments in a coherent and integrated fashion.

National policies in Western Europe are currently focused on closing the borders to non-EU immigrants. Examples abound: in Italy, non-EU immigrants are entitled to a residence permit only if they can show a work contract; in Denmark people under 24 years of age are not allowed to marry a person from outside the EU; Great Britain is considering immediate extradition of asylum seekers whose application has been rejected, so they can only lodge an appeal from abroad; Spain wants to limit opportunities for family reunion and to withdraw the possibility for illegal immigrants to legalise their stay (De Gruyter, 2002). It is apparent then that, although a common EU policy has yet to be developed, national policies are already converging in their aim to restrict entry by non-EU migrants and in the increasing severity of the regulations to achieve this aim.

Current EU policy

In recent years, attempts have been made to harmonise migration policies at the EU level. The Schengen agreements (1985, 1990), which have been included in EU policy via the Dublin Convention and the Treaty of Amsterdam, provide some principles for a common EU immigration policy, including the notions of ‘safe third country’ and ‘safe

country of origin.’ However, in most matters the responsibility for dealing with immigrants still lies with the individual Member States. In 1999 the Member States decided in Tampere, Finland to harmonise their justice and migration policies. At that meeting EU leaders affirmed the importance of the ‘absolute respect of the right to seek asylum.’ They promised that any common European asylum system would be based on application of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, and that the principle of ‘nonrefoulement’ would be maintained. The common system is to include (a) guidelines for determining which state is responsible for processing an asylum application, (b) common asylum procedures and minimum reception standards, as well as (c) rules on the refugee status. However, so far little progress has been made, although following the 11 September attacks on the United States a start has been made with the harmonisation of criminal law, including a common extradition policy.

The EU has made some progress coordinating its asylum policies with, for instance, the Eurodac system (a Europe-wide fingerprint database of asylum-seekers), a directive offering temporary protection to mass influxes of migrants and, perhaps most significantly, the ‘Directive laying down minimum standards for the reception of applicants for asylum in Member States’, which was adopted on 19 December 2002 by the European Justice and Home Affairs Council. As the European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) has noted, the adoption of the Directive laying down minimum standards is a “significant milestone in the path towards the development of a Common European Asylum System in so far it provides refugees with certain minimum benefits (such as housing or health care) that should lead in some Member States to the improvement of reception conditions during the period when their application is being examined.” On the other hand, ECRE notes with justified disappointment that, “17 projects for the control of the European Union’s external borders and the fight against illegal immigration have been launched. However, instruments aiming at the integration of refugees and other third country nationals in the European Union, such as family reunification and the status of long term residents, have been dropped off the decision making agenda due to lack of progress” (ECRE, 2002). A comprehensive European policy concerning immigration and integration is clearly still a long way off. This makes it inevitable for member States and prospective member States to develop their own policies.

Policy in the Netherlands

Policies in the Netherlands, just as in other Western European countries, have a twofold – and in some respects contradictory – aim. On the one hand they seek to reduce immigration rates to a minimum; on the other they are intended to promote the integration of existing groups of immigrants and their descendants. The importance accorded by the government to this latter domain of policy is reflected by the

appointment, in 1998, of a Minister for Urban Policy and Integration, who was succeeded in 2002 by a Minister for Aliens Affairs and Integration. Notwithstanding the appointment of a separate minister for this domain of policy and notwithstanding the figures on immigration, the statement by the Minister for Urban Policy and Integration in a white paper that ‘it is an unmistakable fact that the Netherlands has become an immigration country’, caused considerable commotion. Even though the figures speak for themselves, it was apparently feared that their official recognition might attract new immigrants (WRR, 2001).

Admission policy

The central theme in current government policy regarding immigrants is the admission policy for refugees and asylum seekers. The contradictory aims of Dutch policy are most clearly visible in the new Aliens Act (2001). The policy on aliens reflected in this Act is based on the idea that the majority of the asylum applicants are not admissible. The policy is intended to encourage asylum applicants to travel through or return to their own country. While applicants are waiting for a decision about their application, they are kept away from society and from the regular provisions of the welfare state. This happens in several ways. Firstly, the reception centres are often situated near municipal borders or in industrial zones, away from the city centre. Secondly, the reception centres have their own infrastructure, with provisions like health care and a system of allowances (pocket money). Thirdly, applicants are discouraged or even forbidden to undertake activities. Receiving asylum seekers outside Dutch society and withholding them the provisions of the welfare state is seen as a way to avoid raising expectations among inadmissible applicants and to prevent them from ‘taking roots’ in Dutch society. However, an additional effect is that applicants are made dependent of the provisions that are offered to them and that they have virtually no opportunities to maintain or develop coping skills and initiative while they are waiting for a decision about their application. In combination with the long waiting periods, this can lead to psychological problems (such as ‘hospitalisation effects’); furthermore, all kinds of potential and possibilities remain unused. If an application is accepted, the reception system makes a complete turn: the applicant who was first not allowed access to Dutch society is now suddenly required to integrate (see the previous paragraph on the required participation in integration programmes). The reception system thus appears to be in contradiction with the aims of the integration policy. (TWCM, 1995; WRR, 2001).

Asylum seekers whose application is rejected are expected to return to their country of their own accord. Only in exceptional cases, people are forced to leave (‘extradition’ or ‘leave under supervision’). The idea behind this is, that if a person is capable of travelling independently to a country, he will also be capable of returning on his own.

After four weeks, the last known address is checked and if the person is not found there, he is registered as ‘administratively removed’. Although no figures are available, it seems reasonable to assume that many rejected asylum seekers leave their address but stay in the country as illegal aliens. As the system makes it difficult to remove rejected asylum seekers physically, policies have been created to make an illegal stay as unattractive as possible, by blocking access to the provisions of the welfare state. The presence of illegal aliens then becomes a problem for the local authorities, who are confronted with homeless people and problems concerning public order and safety. Some municipalities therefore tolerate informal types of assistance to rejected asylum seekers by charities or private persons and some municipalities even subsidise such assistance. This means that there are cases where central and local policies are contradictory and where rejected asylum seekers are given the impression that they will not be sent away. (WRR, 2001; Van Aniel, 1999)

Whether or not as a consequence of the stricter policies and procedures that have been introduced, the number of admitted asylum seekers has declined sharply. In 2002, 18,667 people applied for asylum in the Netherlands. This figure contrasts sharply with the figures of previous years. In 2001, the country received 32,579 requests for asylum; this was already down from 2000, when the corresponding figure was 43,895. Figures of the Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND) over the period 1995-2001 show that asylum is granted to about 10 percent of applicants.

Integration policy

The majority of migrants who settle in the Netherlands integrate in Dutch society without problems. These are returning Dutch emigrants, highly educated professionals and EU-citizens, as shown in table 2.

Table 2: Immigration to the Netherlands by migration type, 1999

Migration type	Absolute figure	Percentage
Dutch	32,000	27
EU-citizens	18,000	15
Labour migrants	20,816	18
Antilleans	9,000	8
Family reunion / formation	20,492	17
Refugees / recognised asylum seekers	13,490	11
Total	119,000	100

(Source: WRR, 2001)

Immigrants from the EU and other Western countries integrate smoothly, finding their own way and building up an existence without the need for intervention by the

government. The problems occur with immigrants from non-Western countries that are economically and culturally remote from the Netherlands. These are problems of various kinds (WRR, 2001):

- The size and the composition of these populations of immigrants are determined by external developments. Dutch national policy has only a slight effect on the influx of these groups, which makes it difficult to develop effective policies.
- Non-Western immigrants come from increasingly diverse origins. In the past, the composition of the non-Western immigrant population was fairly transparent, with the majority coming from a limited number of countries. In consequence, government policies were specifically geared to these groups. However, increasing diversity (both with regard to the country or origin and the age of the immigrants) calls for other and more general policies.
- Research and experience in the past shows that these groups run an increased risk of disadvantage, marginalisation, exclusion and values conflicts.
- There is a fear that these groups will place a disproportionate demand on social security provisions, to which they themselves can hardly contribute due to their generally low levels of education, Dutch language proficiency and work experience.

The history of integration policy in the Netherlands can be divided into four stages⁵. In each stage, the objectives of policy were adapted to the changed situation with regard to immigrants and changed perceptions among policy-makers of the relationship between immigrants and Dutch society.

Stage 1: avoidance (up to 1973)

The first response of the Dutch government to the arrival of immigrants (mainly labour migrants), was to tolerate their presence, while refraining from developing integration policies. As migrants were expected to return to their home countries, no need was felt for the development integration policies. A similar attitude is currently found among some policy-makers in central and eastern European countries, who maintain that there is no need for integration policies, claiming that most migrants are transit migrants and that the numbers of migrants are too slight to require large-scale government interference anyway.

Stage 2: ambivalence (1973-1980)

As a consequence of the oil crisis, recruitment of migrant workers stopped, but, contrary to expectations, only a small minority of those who had come to the Netherlands returned to their home country. However, neither the policy-makers nor the public at large were ready to accept the permanent presence of migrants. On the

other hand, the arrival of migrants' spouses and children made it inevitable to develop some kind of policy to cater for these new groups in society. The policies that were developed reflected the government's ambivalent attitude. These policies aimed to promote 'integration with preservation of ethnic identity', or, in other words, to encourage people to integrate while keeping the option of a return to the home country explicitly open. In ideological terms, policies increasingly came to be inspired by a multiculturalist view of society, with growing recognition of cultural difference. Schools were required to provide instruction in the home language and culture of immigrants, but the main aim of such instruction was to prepare children for the return to their home country.

Stage 3: acceptance (1980-1990)

Few migrants returned to their home country, while there was a growing number of immigrants who came to reunite with their family or to form a family. This led to a shift in the focus of policy, based on the acceptance of the permanent presence of immigrants. The concept of preserving one's identity was judged to be too static and inadequate to take account of the diversity of immigrants' backgrounds. On the other hand, there was a growing awareness that some groups of migrants failed to improve their situation due to persistent disadvantages and unequal access to institutions and provisions. This led to the development of policies to:

1. reduce disadvantages
2. combat discrimination
3. enhance participation, emancipation and cultural experiences

To a large extent, these were general policies, targeting both Dutch and non-Dutch disadvantaged groups. This was particularly the case for educational and social policy. At the same time, specific attention was paid to specific ethnic groups and provisions were created to enable minority groups to establish their own organisations. Ideologically, the policies were characterised by a combination of a multiculturalist approach and the development of a more general approach to redress social disadvantage.

Stage 4: control (1990-)

In the course of the 1990s a new shift in policy orientation took place. Growing concern in society, caused by the growth of the minority population and the real and perceived problems related to the integration of immigrants led to the development of policies that aim more explicitly at gaining control over the integration process. A clear example is the introduction in 1998 of an obligatory civic integration programme for newcomers (see appendix I). On the other hand, there is also a growing awareness that integration is a reciprocal process, involving rights and duties of both immigrants and the receiving society. The presence of immigrants is accepted and their rights and

⁵ Adapted from Entzinger, 2001.

duties are considered a formal and explicit part of the integration process. The primary goal of integration policy is to achieve self-sufficiency and active citizenship for each member of each ethnic group. Policy measures are directed at the individual level, with an emphasis on the responsibility and accountability of individuals. The position of the municipal authorities in defining and executing policy measures has been strengthened.

Current policy, then, is based on the view that in an immigration country, economic independence is a condition to achieve emancipation and full participation in society. Economic independence itself is to a large extent dependent on proficiency in the language of the host country and vocational skills. That is why a large part of the government's policies towards immigrants and their children are aimed at improving the quality of education, with a strong emphasis on Dutch language proficiency. The greatest difficulty in pursuing equality in education is that the majority of children from non-Western backgrounds who were born in the Netherlands enter the school system with a considerable delay in their cognitive and language development. Through compensatory policies, by which resources are allocated to schools in proportion to the percentage of disadvantaged pupils in their population, it is attempted to reduce the disadvantage of these children. It turns out to be very difficult, however, to make up in school for disadvantages that are related to the socio-economic position of the family and child-rearing practices that are not conducive to cognitive development. In the past years, some improvement has been observed in the school careers of pupils from immigrant background, both in performance and in staying on rates, but on average they still lag far behind their indigenous Dutch classmates (Tesser et al, 2001; OECD, 2002). The educational achievements of older immigrant children entering the Dutch school system (i.e. children of admitted asylum seekers and refugees) are generally on a par with those of other non-Dutch children, although there are wide differences between groups from different countries of origin (Mulder, 2000).

In order to promote the integration of new immigrants in Dutch society, a new law came into force on 30 September 1998: the Newcomer Integration Act (WIN; see appendix 1). This act requires local authorities to offer an integration programme to new immigrants. On the basis of an integration enquiry, the local authorities decide whether or not an immigrant is required to participate in the integration programme. The full programme consists of:

- Dutch language lessons
- information about the Netherlands (Social Orientation)
- information on possibilities for working in the Netherlands (Vocation Orientation)
- social coaching for further acquaintance with the community, neighbourhood and various facilities

- referral for further study or work.

During the programme participants are helped by a programme assistant, who keeps track of the participant's progress on behalf of the municipality. For information on how the integration programme fits into the overall integration process of immigrants in the Netherlands, see the paragraph on integration policy in part 3.

New ethnic groups in the Netherlands

A study of a selection of 'new ethnic groups' in the Netherlands revealed considerable variation in the backgrounds of immigrants and in the extent to which they integrate into Dutch society. The study looked at immigrants (admitted refugees and asylum seekers) from Afghanistan, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Iran, Somalia and Vietnam. The study found that:

- most Ethiopians/Eritreans and Vietnamese had been in the Netherlands for about ten years; they arrived without family or spouse and had been educated at primary or secondary school level
- most Iranians and Somalians had been in the Netherlands for five to ten years; Somalians arrived at a young age, unmarried and with an education at primary or secondary school level; the majority of Iranians arrived at older age, were married and had a high level of education
- the Afghans had been in the Netherlands for five years or less; when they arrived they were 30 years or older, married with children and had received secondary or higher education.

As regards the integration of these ethnic groups, a distinction was made between structural integration (participation in education and the labour market) and socio-cultural integration (contacts with Dutch people and orientation on Dutch society). With regard to these aspects that study found that:

- participation in education is correlated with the length of stay in the Netherlands: the Afghans had the lowest scores, the Ethiopians/Eritreans the highest
- the degree to which the respondents manage to find suitable work (in accordance with their level of education) depends strongly on the qualifications they have obtained in the Netherlands and on the level of Dutch language proficiency they have attained
- respondents spent most of their leisure time with compatriots; the degree to which they had contacts with Dutch people was dependent on their Dutch language proficiency and, to a lesser extent, on whether or not they had participated in daytime education in the Netherlands
- social contacts were not related to the length of stay: the Afghans had the highest scores, the Somalians and the Vietnamese the lowest

(Van den Tillaart et al, 2000)

In response to the concern about the unsuccessful integration of many older immigrants who have already been in the Netherlands for a longer period, a specific policy has been created to promote the integration of older immigrants. A national Integration Task Force was established to support local authorities in the implementation of the policy, to help them reduce the waiting lists for courses in Dutch as a second language for older immigrants and to develop a model for the information provision between central government, the local authorities and the institutions that carry out the programmes. The programmes offered to older immigrants include: Dutch as a second language, parenting support programmes and occupational orientation programmes.

Achievements and failures

As a result of the changing characteristics of the immigrant population and the changing views of policy-makers, policies over the years have been reformulated and rearticulated, at the cost, it seems, of achieving fundamental changes in policy implementation. Immigration and integration policies are not seldom ‘paper tigers’: documents whose implementation lags far behind the well-intended objectives. In consequence, discrepancies arise between official policy and practical measures at the local level.

Nevertheless, several achievements can be noted. Some are the result of general policies towards disadvantaged immigrant and indigenous groups, others are the result of specific policies targeted at ethnic minorities. In education, minority languages are taught in primary and to a lesser extent in secondary schools, but minority language education in primary schools will be abolished in the near future. Primary schools with a large proportion of disadvantaged children are given extra resources in proportion to the number of disadvantaged pupils. Secondary schools receive additional resources depending on the number of ethnic minority pupils. At the local level, special provisions have been created to prepare older newly arrived children for the Dutch education system. Expertise in teaching multilingual classrooms has improved. The educational achievements of the immigrant pupils from the most disadvantaged backgrounds (Turks, Moroccans) are slowly improving, while dropout rates are going down. On the other hand, there is still a wide gap between the achievements of immigrant pupils and those of their Dutch peers (OECD, 2002).

In the domain of social and political participation an important improvement has been established by giving immigrants in general the right to vote for local councils (although the real number of immigrant voters is still low). There are numerous minority self-organisations at the local and national level, subsidised by the government. At the national level, the government consults immigrant groups on a

regular basis in the National Consultative Body on Minorities (‘Landelijk Overleg Minderheden’), which includes representatives from the largest minority communities. Generally speaking, however, immigrant participation in political decision-making and in running ‘mainstream’ organisations is a fairly rare phenomenon. A study of the participation of immigrants in local governments found various thresholds that render contacts between immigrants and municipal bodies difficult, such as: the perception of the municipality as threatening, unfamiliarity with the relations between citizens and local governments, the feeling to be a guest (i.e. outsider instead of participant), a dislike of the Dutch culture of ‘meetings’, inadequate command of Dutch, ineffective approaches to inviting immigrants, unattractive types of meetings (too formal), fear to be forced to assimilate. (De Paus, 1998)

In the cultural domain barriers to the practising of certain religious customs have been removed. Also, the State Secretary for Culture has launched a policy specifically aimed at promoting cultural diversity in theatres, museums, art education and in the governing bodies of cultural institutions. A separate project has been launched to improve access to the cultural heritage of ethnic minorities. The Media Act has been adjusted to achieve wider diversity in radio and television programmes and to reach a wider audience. In cooperation with the four largest cities, the State Secretary has initiated the foundation of the ‘Netherlands Multicultural Television’, a television producer that will provide programmes for the largest ethnic minority groups. Cultural differences between Dutch and immigrant populations with regard to norms and values have become a topic of political debate in the wake of the attacks on the World Trade Centre as well as several violent incidents in the Netherlands. Some politicians have even proposed to introduce a separate subject in schools to teach children norms and values. Incidentally, it appears that the second generation (i.e. children born in the Netherlands whose parents were born abroad) are less likely to cultivate traditional cultural customs and values. It is expected that following generations will increasingly adopt Western values like rational bureaucracy, democracy, urbanisation, secularisation, individualisation (WRR, 2001).

In the domain of employment, improvement can be seen in terms of falling unemployment rates among immigrants: the unemployment rate fell from 16 percent in 1998 to 9 percent in 2001. This is partly due to the economic prosperity of the late 1990s, but partly also a result of general labour market policies as well as specific policies targeting immigrants. Specific measures that have been taken in recent years include agreements between the Minister of Social Affairs, the former Minister for Urban Policy and Integration, the municipal governments of the large cities and a number of large companies with regard to multicultural personnel policy, the reintegration of long-term unemployed immigrants and the provision of combined

work-training programmes. In January 2001, covenants had been concluded with nearly 90 companies, concerning the introduction of culturally unbiased selection tests, the training of personnel managers, the organisation of trainee programmes for higher educated immigrants and the introduction of a mentoring scheme (Minister for Urban Policy and Integration, 2001). In spite of these achievements, however, immigrant adults are still three times as likely to be unemployed than Dutch adults. It is not unlikely that immigrant employees will be particularly hit by the currently less favourable economic development.

PART 2

CENTRAL EUROPE

2.1 MIGRATION AND MINORITIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE

Under communist rule, the borders of Central European countries were strictly controlled and generally closed to migrants from outside the region. For a long time, the only minority groups of significant size in these countries were groups that had lived there for a long time, but whose presence was not always officially acknowledged. These groups fell into two categories: 'national minorities' (who had not migrated to their country of residence, but found themselves living there as a consequence of historical developments, such as changing borderlines) and Roma. The closed borders prevented migration on a significant scale and the migration movements that nevertheless did occur consisted mostly of citizens fleeing their own country; on a more limited scale, 'repatriation' of ethnic minorities occurred, as well as government-controlled movements of migrant workers (Okólski, 1997). In migration terminology, Central European countries during that period were 'sending' rather than 'receiving' countries. In consequence, immigration was a relatively unknown phenomenon until the end of the 1980s, when the communist regimes started to collapse and the countries opened their borders. From that time, increasing numbers of migrants have found their way to (and through) Central European countries: asylum seekers, refugees, transit migrants, temporary workers, as well as ethnic nationals moving back to their 'home country'.

Thus, whereas in Western Europe 'migration' and 'minorities' are largely regarded as synonymous concepts (the vast majority of minorities being foreigners who moved to Western Europe in the past fifty years and their descendants), in Central Europe the concepts are associated with two distinct phenomena, 'migration' generally referring to

the people who have entered the country (either to settle there or to move on to another country) since the late 1980s and ‘minorities’ being primarily associated with national minorities and Roma. The importance of these differences in perspective, resulting from different historical developments, should not be underestimated. Much of the confusion in the debates between Western and Central/Eastern European countries is caused by these differences.

In recent years, the immigration policies in the Eastern European candidate member states of the European Union have been strongly influenced by the conditions set by the European Commission regarding EU membership. In its yearly reports on the progress of candidate member states with regard to the preparation for the European accession, the European Commission has repeatedly emphasised the need for measures to improve control of migration flows, through more effective border management systems, harmonisation of asylum policies, alignment of visa legislation with EU standards and the like. In consequence, and in line with the conceptual distinction described above, immigration policies in Central Europe have so far focused largely on complying with EU criteria, while minority policies – including integration policies – have tended to focus on national minorities and Roma.

2.2 MIGRATION TRENDS

The opening up of the borders in Central Europe and the political turmoil during the transition period have sparked a wide diversity of new migration movements. The types of migration that have flourished since the early 1990s can be categorised as follows (Okólski, 1997):

- settlement migration to Western Europe
- asylum and refugee migration
- migration between the successor states of the former USSR
- temporary labour migration to Western Europe
- intra-regional flows of labour
- labour migration from non-European countries
- labour migration from Western countries
- migration to overseas countries
- ethnically motivated migration

Kraler and Iglicka (2002) observe that in the course of the 1990s, most Central European countries have become net immigration countries, with the number of officially registered (long-term) immigrants exceeding the number of (long-term) emigrants. The only exception seems to be Poland, which has a negative migration

balance, due to the fact that the largest group of immigrants are seasonal and temporary workers. Throughout the 1990s, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia had high immigration rates, which shows that these countries are becoming increasingly attractive destination countries for migrants. The fact that immigration continues to take place even during times of high unemployment proves that migration movements have their own dynamics, which are not always based on rational individual decisions. Where migrants have settled, others, in many cases relatives or friends from the same ethnic background and the same geographical origin, are bound to follow. This partly explains the comparatively large size of the foreign population in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia. Furthermore, the tightening border controls on the EU borders and the growing harmonisation of asylum procedures have made it more difficult for migrants to reach Western Europe and, as a consequence, ‘transit’ countries on the border of the EU have become destination countries in their own right.⁶

Transit migration

A striking phenomenon in Central European countries is the fact that many immigrants consider their stay as temporary. In fact, it frequently occurs that more illegal migrants are apprehended as they attempt to leave the country than as they enter. For instance in 1999 in Hungary 2,109 people were caught illegally entering the country, while 4,374 were caught attempting to leave the country illegally. This phenomenon also occurs in other years and other countries (Nyíri et al., 2001). As stated above, this phenomenon is gradually losing significance. Following the accession, the role of ‘transit countries’ is likely to be taken over by a new buffer zone of Eastern European countries.

Refugees and asylum seekers

In Central Europe the numbers of asylum seekers have been relatively limited in the past years. However, as the figures in table 3 reveal, there has been a general increase since 1993, although in some cases the figures fluctuate. As stated earlier, in the EU as a whole, the rate of asylum immigration appears to decline slowly. Whether the influx to EU candidate countries will decline or stabilise upon their accession to the EU is hard to predict. Their location on the border of the EU makes them easier targets for asylum seekers. On the other hand, as a consequence of stricter border controls and regulations, it is possible that the pressure shifts to the new buffer zone countries, i.e. the neighbouring non-EU countries.

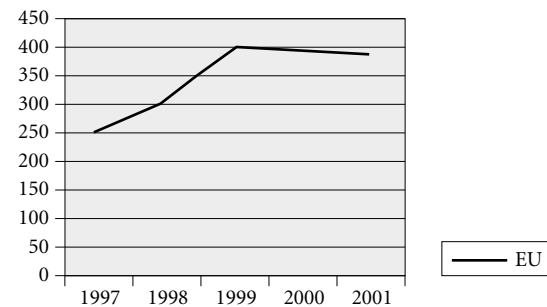
⁶ Kraler & Iglicka (2002) expect that following the accession of the first round of Central and Eastern European countries, this process will repeat itself in the new buffer zone countries (e.g. Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Ukraine).

Table 3: Numbers of refugees and asylum seekers in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia, 1993- 2001

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Czech Republ.	2,190	1,188	1,406	2,156	2,098	4,080	7,217	8,787	18,087
Hungary	730	440	590	667	1,110	7,118	11,499	7,801	9,554
Poland	830	598	847	3,207	3,531	3,398	2,836	4,589	4,506
Slovenia	11	(not available)	13	35	70	500	849	9,244	1,511

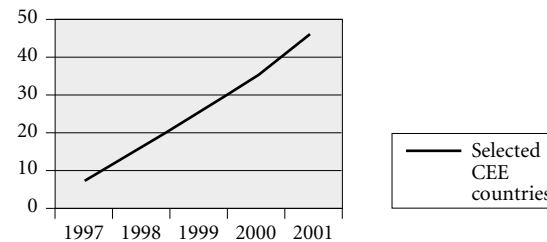
(Source: Lackzo et al, 2002)

Diagram 1: Asylum applications in the EU 1997-2001 (x 1000)



(source: UNHCR)

Diagram 2: Asylum applications in selected CEE countries (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia) x 1000



(source: Lackzo et al, 2002)

2.3 TARGET GROUPS IN POLICY⁷

As stated earlier, policies towards minorities in Central European countries have tended to focus on national minority groups and the Roma population. An important source of inspiration for the institution of legal provisions for these target groups have been international agreements and conventions initiated by such organisations as the Council of Europe, the United Nations and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE).

National minorities are explicitly defined or named in various legal documents. For example, in Czech legislation reference is made to Bulgarian, Croatian, Hungarian, German, Polish, Roma, Ruthenian, Russian, Greek, Slovak and Ukrainian minorities as members of the Council of the Government for National Minorities. In Hungary, the 1993 Act on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities accords rights to "any ethnic group with a history of at least one century of living in the Republic of Hungary, which represents a numerical minority among the citizens of the state, the members of which are Hungarian citizens, and are distinguished from the rest of the citizens by their own language, culture and traditions, and at the same time demonstrate a sense of belonging together, which is aimed at the preservation of all these, and the expression and protection of the interests of their communities, which have been formed in the course of history"; according to this definition, there are 13 national minorities living in Hungary, whose formal rights include the right to establish a minority self-government. In Poland, minority groups entitled to specific provisions (including the right to teaching of the mother tongue, culture and history) are: Germans, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Slovaks and Kashubians. In Slovenia, the rights of the two recognised national minorities, Hungarian and Italian, are protected by the Slovene Constitution.

The Roma are the target group of countless policy measures, projects and programmes in Central Europe. Given the size of their populations, this is not surprising. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2000) provides the following estimates of the size of Roma populations:

- Slovenia: 8,000 - 10,000
- Poland: 50,000 - 60,000
- Czech Republic: 250,000 - 300,000
- Hungary: 550,000 - 600,000

⁷ Information partly provided by the officials participating in the project (see appendix 2).

Policies and programmes targeting Roma include:

- specific legislation protecting Roma rights
- social integration programmes
- scholarships for talented Roma and scouting of talented Roma
- establishment of cultural centres
- employment programmes
- anti-discrimination measures
- television programmes by Roma and about Roma
- promotion of self-government organisations
- pre-school education programmes

In many cases, representatives from national, regional or local Roma self-governments participate in the development of policies and programmes. In Hungary, more than 700 Roma self-governments are active. Many programmes for Roma are organised and funded or co-funded by Non-Governmental Organisations.⁸

2.4 OLD VERSUS NEW MINORITIES

New immigrant groups (e.g. from Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Eastern Europe) have so far received comparatively little systematic attention in national policies in Central Europe, except in the context of immigration control⁹. Where the integration of immigrants is concerned, comprehensive national policies have yet to be developed. This relative lack of attention for the integration of new immigrant groups is explained by several factors. First, the EU has explicitly asked countries in Central Europe to give priority to the protection of their borders. Secondly, the countries themselves tend to view immigrants as transmigrants, on whom integration efforts would be wasted. Thirdly, immigration from outside Europe is a recent phenomenon in Central Europe and as a result, the immigrant populations are still comparatively small (but growing fast) in comparison with national and Roma minorities. But the main reason is that new immigrants do not enjoy the same degree of protection under as national and Roma minorities, which fall under various bilateral and multilateral international agreements.

⁸ In spite of the many initiatives and provisions here referred to, the problems they target have been far from solved. All over Central and Eastern Europe the Roma are still a vulnerable group, with a poor socio-economic position and frequent victims of discrimination and racially motivated attacks. According to the UNHCR report (ibid.), “the Roma, perhaps more than any other identifiable trans-national group of people, [are] subject to three main aspects of Central and Eastern European life that gives rise to what may become one of the greatest destabilising factors in Europe since the 1920s and 30s. These were: increasing economic deprivation, increasing social instability, and the surfacing of long-suppressed ethnic hostilities, fuelled by the ‘skinhead’ syndrome that has made its way from Western Europe.”

⁹ See for an overview Nyíri et al. (eds), *Diasporas and politics*, 2001.

Several groups of national minorities in particular are entitled to preferential treatment on the basis of bilateral agreements between neighbouring states¹⁰.

As current developments in migration as well as historical developments in previous ‘new’ member states of the European Union show, it is likely that the enlargement of the EU will lead to growing numbers of new immigrant groups, placing increasing demands on the receiving societies. Experiences in Western Europe show that the influx of refugees and asylum seekers of various ages and from various backgrounds requires specific measures to enable their integration. The argument that most immigrants are ‘transmigrants’ and that the numbers are too small to present a real problem is increasingly losing its validity, as growing numbers of migrants to Central Europe are settling in the country of arrival (Kraler & Iglicka, 2002). This will only increase as the economic situation in these countries will improve following accession to the EU¹¹. Furthermore, developments in all Western countries show that the presence of immigrant communities triggers chain migration. In other words, immigrant communities also have their own dynamics, with a tendency to grow as a result of, for instance, family formation or family reunion.

New minority groups may require policies specifically targeted at these groups, because they differ in important aspects from national minorities and Roma, as shown in table 4. A marked difference between new minorities on the one hand and national and Roma minorities on the other concerns the degree of organisation, protection and political representation. Where the situation of national minorities and Roma makes it possible for them as a community to the claim, negotiate and exercise equal rights (e.g. bilingual education), the new immigrant groups are more or less at the mercy of the government. This makes the development of policies for these groups a moral responsibility. In addition to that, it is clear that governments just cannot afford to ignore the increasing demands that will be made by the new minorities on the education system, the labour market, the health care system, the social security system, etc. The dynamism and the diversity of the new immigrant population shows that the complexity of the problems attending immigration and integration are bound to including immigrants. In Western Europe there is a tendency to opt for general policies

¹⁰ The legal aspects of the relationships between ‘kin-states’ (states with national communities living abroad), ‘kin-minorities’ (national communities abroad) and ‘home-states’ (states of residence of the national communities) have been explored by the European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission) in their *Report on the Preferential Treatment of National Minorities by their Kin-State* (2001).

¹¹ All Central European economies, except the Polish, are doing well, with growth rates faster than the EU average. The Czech Republic and Hungary are doing particularly well, with exports that have almost trebled since 1993. (Source: *The Economist*, 19 December 2002, ‘And now let’s have another look at the road map’)

Table 4: Characteristics of current minorities in Central European countries

national minorities	Roma	new minorities (immigrants)
geographically concentrated	geographically dispersed (although often concentrated in local communities)	geographically dispersed (although tending to concentrate in urban areas)
homogeneous populations	relatively homogeneous populations	wide diversity in terms of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • language • nationality • culture • religion • personal background (persecution, war traumas, economic deprivation) • etc.
relatively stable populations	relatively stable populations	dynamic populations, tending to grow in size and diversity
generally well-organised, with official representation and participation in policy-making	generally well-organised, to some extent with official representation and participation in policy-making	generally not well-organised, no representation or participation in policy-making
limited, if any, cultural distance to majority culture	average to wide cultural distance to majority culture	limited to wide cultural distance to majority culture
supported by government of 'home country' abroad		generally not supported by government of home country abroad
protected by international agreements and by bilateral agreements between national governments	protected to some extent by international and national agreements	protected by international agreements

increase. As these groups are generally not organised or represented in policy, it will be up to the local and national governments to take the initiative to address these problems.

The question is to what extent policies for national minorities and Roma are also suitable for the new immigrants. For instance, when it comes to educational policy or social policy, it may be very profitable, from the perspective of clarity and transparency in policy, to explore whether existing policies may apply – with some adjustments – to immigrants or whether new policies need to be devised that are suitable for all groups,

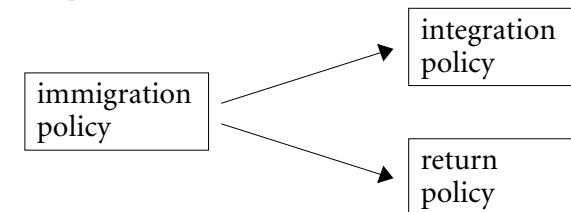
for a wide target group. Education policy is a point in case. The causes of failure in education are only partly related to ethnic background. These causes are mostly related to language problems and the educational level of the parents (as an intermediary factor). It will be clear that these causes occur in all of the groups distinguished above, as well as in indigenous populations. In short, not all immigrants fail in education, nor do all indigenous pupils succeed. In consequence, it seems more profitable to devise policies that target all disadvantaged pupils simultaneously (including indigenous pupils), rather than to develop a separate policy for each separate group. In the Netherlands, this development has taken years to come about. In the 1970s specific educational policies were developed for the immigrant populations that entered the school system at that time. However, these policies became unsuitable when the diversity of the immigrant population increased.

PART 3

A FRAMEWORK FOR POLICY

3.1 COMPONENTS OF POLICY

Governments that have accepted immigration as a structural phenomenon inevitably need to develop a comprehensive policy towards (new) minorities consisting of three components:



The three components are logically connected: people who enter a country are either admitted or rejected. In the first case, an integration policy is required to facilitate the integration of those people who cannot manage on their own. In the second case, a return policy is needed to facilitate or force the return of those who have been rejected. As we have seen, Central European countries have so far focused mainly on their immigration policies. In a short period of time they have acquired a large amount of experience and expertise and have implemented a range of policy measures and procedures to improve the protection of their borders and the reception of asylum seekers, refugees and illegal migrants¹². It is to be expected that in the years to come, immigration policies will need to give increasing attention to labour migration and family migration.

¹² See for an overview Nyíri et al. (eds), *Diasporas and politics*, 2001.

3.2 RETURN POLICY

Efforts to develop national return policies have only recently begun. Even in Western Europe, with its long history of immigration, this is a fairly new development. For example, the Netherlands has recently started to send back groups of illegal aliens to their home country and in order to prevent their immediate return, an agreement has been made with the government of the home country to confiscate the passports for some time. These forced extraditions are a consequence of the Dutch government’s policy to intensify the enforcement of measures aimed at returning rejected asylum seekers and to keep out illegal immigrants. However, solutions such as these have a strongly ad hoc character and lack as yet a coherent, comprehensive policy framework. The Dutch government is also increasing efforts to encourage the voluntary return of rejected asylum seekers, in cooperation with the International Organisation for Migration (IOM). Voluntary return is, for obvious reasons, a difficult matter. In the Netherlands an attempt was made to assist rejected refugees in their return through a programme comprising orientation (in the Netherlands), return travel and reintegration (in the home country). The programme, entitled ‘Facilitated return of rejected Ethiopian, Eritrean and Angolan asylum seekers’ failed due to lack of motivation and distrust on the part of the participants and was discontinued. In 2002, the intermediary semi-governmental organisation Bureau Maatwerk (Tailored Solutions Office) was set up to assist rejected asylum seekers in their return in cooperation with other organisations, including Cordaid and IOM.

Table 5: Number of aliens returned from the Netherlands to the country of origin with the help of IOM

2001		2002	
Slovakia	317	Yugoslavia	309
Iran	185	Slovakia	196
Yugoslavia	122	Iran	159
Bosnia-Herzegovina	111	Bosnia-Herzegovina	117
Russian Federation	71	Afghanistan	94
Other	601	Other	1,182
Total	1,407	Total	2,057

(Source: IOM, 2003)

On the basis of the experiences in the Netherlands, the Dutch Evert Vermeer Foundation makes the following recommendations with regard to voluntary return policies:

1. Develop, in cooperation with social organisations with partner networks in the countries of origin, a database and a methodology aimed at facilitating return.

2. Take account of the situation in the country of origin when developing a return policy; a country in conflict or in a post-conflict situation offers little hope for a successful return.
3. Offer prospects to the people who return to their country of origin. An approach that offers returners something they can use in their own country (trade, training) makes a successful return more likely. In particular, support for starting entrepreneurship offers an increased chance of success.

3.3 INTEGRATION POLICY

In order to facilitate the development as well as the reviewing of integration policies at the national level, the Council of Europe has published a useful *Framework of integration policies* (Coussey, 2000), based to a large extent on international conventions and other legal instruments, including the ‘European Convention on the legal status of migrant workers’, ‘European Convention on Establishment’, ‘European Convention on Participation of Foreigners in Local Public Life’, ‘European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages’ and the ‘Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities’. The framework applies to policies towards all minority groups: new arrivals, long-term immigrants and national minorities. It offers specific recommendations to governments under nine headings that are particularly relevant in the context of the integration of minorities:

- legal status and rights
- employment
- housing
- health & other services
- culture, language & religion
- education
- media
- government functions
- monitoring & evaluation.

Although the recommendations are of a fairly general nature (e.g. ‘consider the importance of promoting multilingualism’) and do not go into practical consequences, they do offer a useful checklist for reviewing existing policies and gaining inspiration for the development of new policies.

Another way of looking at integration policies, is to focus on the course of the integration process itself. In January 2002, the then Minister for Urban Policy and Integration Policy published the policy paper *Integratie in het perspectief van immigratie* (‘Integration in the perspective of immigration’). In this paper he describes a ‘chain

approach' to integration, based on the view that the integration process consists of a chain of interconnected and interdependent links. In order to make the chain approach work for each individual, the chain must be tailored to the individual situation of the person concerned, which means that the number and the order of the links may differ. For example, the first two links do not apply to immigrants who enter the Netherlands for reasons of family reunion or formation. The text below is adapted from the said policy document.

Link 1 request for asylum (asylum seeker)

The first link in the chain runs from the request for admission up to the decision regarding the status of residence. Important issues related to this link are: the nature and quality of reception facilities and the duration of the application procedure. Of particular concern is the question of how to promote independence and self-sufficiency without raising unjustified expectations for a definitive stay.

Link 2 Granting of permission for temporary residence (asylum seeker)

This link starts when the request for asylum has been granted. Important issues related to this link are: housing and starting the integration programme. Arrangements for housing are to a large extent dependent on local facilities. If no housing is available in the short term, a provision should be created whereby admitted immigrants can start their integration programme near the asylum seekers' centre where they are housed.

Link 3 Initial integration of the immigrant

In the first year of residence, admitted immigrants from outside the European Economic Area are required to participate in an integration programme ('inburgeringsprogramma'), which aims to facilitate the initial integration of immigrants. The programme is described as part of the Dutch Integration of Newcomers Act in Appendix 1. The main components of the programme are: the integration inquiry (interview and tests, in order to adjust the programme to the immigrant's ascertained needs, knowledge and skills); an education programme (courses Dutch as a second language, Social Orientation and Vocational Orientation), concluded by a test; and general coaching and social counselling, in order to assist the immigrant from the time of application to the follow-up activities. When the programme has been completed, an interview is held with the immigrant, a representative of the educational institution and the job centre. On the basis of the interview, the municipality offers the immigrant possibilities for follow-up training or work.

Link 4 Equal rights, equal treatment

The fourth link concerns the equal rights and equal treatment of immigrants who enter Dutch society and the Dutch labour market. The main concerns in this respect

are: legal provisions for equal opportunities, anti-discrimination policies, affirmative action policies and provisions for people to lodge discrimination complaints.

Link 5 Institutional interculturalisation

This link is in a way an elaboration of the previous link, with a specific focus on institutional settings. It is concerned with equal access for all citizens to products and services of public and private institutions. Of particular concern in this context is the interculturalisation of the staff composition of institutions. In the Netherlands an Act has been adopted which requires businesses and institutions with over 35 staff to report annually about the ethnic composition of their staff and the measures they take to promote equal representation of ethnic minorities among their staff.

Link 6 Self-sufficiency

When immigrants have become acquainted with Dutch society and are given the same rights and the same treatment as other citizens, they should be capable of acting as an autonomous, independent citizen in society. The sixth link, then, is concerned with self-sufficiency, both from an economic perspective (participation in the labour market) and from a social perspective (active participation in society). If immigrants continue to depend on support, it is the task of the municipal governments to provide (compulsory) retraining or to urge them to accept a job.

Link 7 Participation, Dutch citizenship

Naturalisation constitutes the juridical conclusion of the integration process. Dutch citizenship makes it possible for a person to participate politically (at national and European level) as a full member of Dutch society. The conditions for naturalisation are currently a topic of political debate in the Netherlands. In principle, double nationalities are not permitted: a person who accepts Dutch citizenship is required to abandon his or her other nationality.¹³

Link 8 Remigration

Although this is not a logical next link in the chain, it is connected to the integration process as a whole, in that it is concerned with the possibility for legal immigrants to return to their home country. In 2000, the Dutch government adopted the Remigration Act, which offers support to those who voluntarily decide to return to their country of origin. The implementation of the Act will be evaluated in 2004.

As the framework specified by the Council of Europe is concerned with domains of policy, whereas the links described above are concerned with the process of

¹³ The policy to allow double nationalities was introduced in 1992 and revoked in 1997.

immigration and integration, the two perspectives may perhaps be usefully combined into a ‘policy matrix’, with the domains of policy on one axis and the links of the integration process on the other. The resulting matrix could be used to analyse existing policies and to identify any gaps in policy-making. Table 6 shows what such a matrix would look like.

Table 6: The integration policy matrix

	Request for asylum	Temporary residence	Initial integration	Equal rights	Institut. Intercult.	Self-sufficiency	Citizenship	Remigration
Legal status & rights								
Employment								
Housing								
Health & other services								
Culture, language, religion								
Education								
Media								
Government functions								
Monitoring, evaluation								

Although clearly not all the boxes need to be filled, the matrix can be very useful – both at national and regional/local level – to:

- determine where policies are in place
- determine where policies are lacking
- formulate pertinent questions to inspire debates about desirable and undesirable policies
- list and analyse examples of policies in other countries/regions/municipalities

3.4 POLICY QUESTIONS, CONSIDERATIONS AND DILEMMAS

The policy framework presented in the previous section outlines relevant domains of policy in relation to the phases of the integration process. In this section we shall present a number of issues and considerations that may help form the basis for decisions regarding the content of policy. Where relevant, we shall refer to the trends described earlier in this volume. To illuminate specific elements of policy, we shall mostly draw on developments and experiences in the Netherlands.

Needless to say, it is impossible to provide clear-cut solutions to each of these issues discussed. Historical backgrounds, demographic and economic developments and political situations differ too much between countries to make universal solutions feasible. Nevertheless, it will be profitable to look at the questions from various angles in order to determine one’s own position and to understand that of others.

1. What trends in immigration can be expected when new countries join the EU?

Contexts and trends

- Worldwide economically motivated migration processes continue to take place; at the same time there is an increasing flow of asylum seekers. Diversity among migrants is growing. However, the vast majority of refugees stay in their region of origin.
- Within the EU attempts are made to harmonise immigration policies, but this appears to be very difficult. As long as there is no common European policy in place, national governments are forced to develop their own policies. National policies in EU Member States focus on reducing the influx of asylum seekers and, to a lesser extent, on promoting the integration of newcomers and older immigrants.
- In countries with immigrant populations, the presence of immigrants leads to ‘chain migration’. In other words, one of the reasons why immigrant communities grow is the arrival of relatives and acquaintances.

Europeanisation

European immigration policies focus on the Southern and Eastern borders of the EU. From the perspective of the EU, the first priority for the new Member States is to improve border control, to harmonise visa and admissions procedures and to build adequate reception facilities for immigrants.

Recent trends suggest that migration into and within Europe will continue to take place, in particular legal and illegal migration of workers with a poor level of education and legal migration of highly educated migrants (Entzinger, 2002b). Transnational

processes are taking place, with old and new immigrants maintaining links with people in their region of origin. Cultural diversity among immigrants increases, while large groups lack an adequate level of proficiency in the official language of the host country. The issue of the social, economic and cultural distance between immigrants and the surrounding society will have to be seriously addressed.

2. What is expected to happen in the future in Central European countries?

Central European countries will not experience the same influx of immigrants as Western Europe. Migration to Western Europe is mainly determined by historical developments, the vast majority of immigrants being related in one way or another to the labour migrants who settled in Western Europe in the 1960s and 1970s. Chain migration on this scale will not occur in Central Europe, for the simple reason that the immigrant communities in these countries are much smaller. Moreover, as long as labour migration to Europe is subject to strict regulations, the influx of labour migrants will never reach the same level as in the period before these regulations came into existence. The main types of migration to Central Europe will be: illegal migrants, asylum seekers and highly skilled workers. Chain migration will progressively develop, as the migrant communities expand. Economic growth, social stability and democratic development, in the wake of the European accession, will make Central European countries an increasingly attractive destination for migrants.

In addition to the developments outlined above, demographic developments will act as a pull factor for immigration. In the short/medium term, emigration from Central to Western Europe will create room on national labour markets. According to several research studies, between 4 and 7 percent of the population of Central and Eastern Europe (3 to 5 million people) will move to Western Europe following the accession (Fassmann & Münz., 2002). In the longer term, declining birth rates will lead to permanent shortages on the labour market.

3. What information is available at the national level about the influx and the integration of immigrants? To what extent is data collection a basis for policy making?

Research, data-collection and monitoring are an indispensable basis for policies designed to get a grip on migration processes. Without a clear factual basis, it will be impossible to construct targeted policies whose effect may be measured. Data may be gathered by (and from) all kinds of sources, such as advisory councils, field operating services, the municipalities, the immigrant population itself and the media. In order to

define a policy that will effectively address the problems of migrants, quantitative data on a wide range of issues will have to be collected, for example.

- How well do immigrants integrate in the labour market? (employment rates)
- How well do immigrant children do in school? (attendance, participation in various types of education, exam pass rates)
- Where do immigrants settle? (housing, concentration of populations)
- Also, data will have to be gathered about more qualitative issues, such as:
- Which groups of immigrants face which type of problems? For example, problems may differ according to ethnicity or duration of stay.
- Are there intermediate structures in place or feasible that may help individuals?

Clearly, these issues need to be addressed both at the national and at the regional/local level. Problems with regard to integration become manifest at the local level. This means that local governments should have the power and the means to address these problems. National policies will not suffice to deal with the specificities of local circumstances. Local governments need specific information about developments in the local situation (see also part 4).

4. What, if any, push or pull factors are operating with regard to immigration?

Immigration may be encouraged by a range of push and pull factors that are operating in the receiving country or in the sending country. To some extent, such factors may be managed or anticipated, for example by conducting labour market prognoses or international comparative analyses or by establishing particular provisions. Relevant questions in this context are:

- In what sectors can a growing demand for skilled or unskilled labour be expected?
- What types of immigrants will be attracted? How will they be selected?
- To what extent are official admission procedures applied?
- What choice do immigrants have in selecting their destination country? This issue can be illustrated by the earlier mentioned metaphor of the water bed: if one European country sets stricter rules for admission procedures, immigrants tend to choose another country. It seems as if an invisible hand is operating, but in fact this is rational behaviour based on a calculation of risks and opportunities.
- What is the quality of the initial reception system (for workers, families, children)?
- What is the government's influence on the influx of immigrants and on their integration? What is considered the role of employers and potential employers?
- Is there any kind of cooperation between the receiving country and the sending countries?
- What prospects are offered to immigrants? Are they allowed to stay more or less permanently?

Countries that receive immigrants need to tackle several dilemmas in developing their immigration policies:

- There is a considerably high, if fluctuating, demand for asylum protection, which necessitates selection. Sometimes – as in the case of war – there is no choice. On the one hand, the Geneva Convention on Refugees offers protection to immigrants; on the other hand, many countries are exploring possibilities for enforcing stricter admission procedures.
- The possibilities for managing family migration (immigration for purposes of family reunion and family formation) are more limited than the possibilities for stemming the influx of asylum seekers. However, this type of immigration accounts for a much larger proportion of immigration in Western Europe than asylum immigration. There exist considerable differences between the national policies of Western European countries with regard to family migration – differences that may affect the attractiveness of a county for prospective immigrants.
- The relationship between immigrants and the labour market is ambiguous. For many migrants (including asylum seekers), the reason to move to another country is the lack of employment opportunities in the home country. The demand on the labour market can work both ways: the demand for labour can be a reason for admission or a reason for rejection. Some nations actively recruit immigrants for high-skilled jobs. The distinction between asylum seekers and economic migrants proves to be inadequate.
- The management of processes of immigration and integration and of the choices of individual immigrants poses a challenge to all countries and requires a balance between immigration and integration policies. In many cases, policies seem to pursue two conflicting aims: one the one hand, they seek to prevent those who stand little chance of being recognised as an asylum seeker from participating in the host community (or to deter them from applying altogether); on the other hand, they encourage – or even force – those who are admitted to integrate swiftly. Shorter application procedures only go some way towards solving this problem.
- Nations can choose their own solutions for managing the influx of immigrants, but international approaches will ultimately be more effective. On the other hand, in the absence of international agreements, countries are forced to develop their own solutions.
- Restrictive immigration policies are needed to protect the achievements of the social welfare state, but they entail the presence of illegal immigrants.
- In many cases a temporary residence of immigrants is officially allowed, without the prospect of a more permanent stay. Thus, the more ‘humane’ solution in the short term turns out as a more frustrating solution for the people concerned in the longer term.

5. What is the government’s view on immigration?

The government’s view on the nature of immigration will determine to a large extent the nature of the policies it develops. Are new immigrants regarded as an asset or is their presence considered unwelcome but inevitable? In Western European countries, policies are generally based on an egalitarian view of cultural difference and the awareness that specific measures are required to facilitate the political and socio-economic emancipation of immigrants (Vermeulen, 1997).

The government’s view of how to address the problem of the integration of immigrants is closely related to its view of the ethnic composition of the country’s population. Generally speaking, the composition of the population can be regarded as¹⁴:

- homogeneous: largely homogeneous, with ‘relatively small, usually geographically and socially marginal minorities’
- dyadic/triadic: composed of two or three relatively equal ethno-linguistic groups
- mosaic: composed of a substantial number of resident ethnic groups.

The government’s formal view (and corresponding policies) do not always reflect the actual situation. In the Netherlands, policies seem to reflect a view of society as ‘homogeneous’, whereas in fact the Dutch population has the characteristics of a ‘mosaic’ society. Inevitably, this leads to a tension between policy and reality, which is reflected in measures aimed at unilateral adaptation, or even assimilation, of immigrants, rather than at a reciprocal process of adjustment in which the incoming individuals and the receiving society are equally involved.

A related question is whether the government views immigration as a factual and structural phenomenon or whether it looks at immigration as a more or less temporary issue. Three different views are possible:

- The presence of immigrants is regarded as temporary; immigrants are expected to return to their country of origin or to move on to another country. No urgent need is felt to develop policies (‘avoidance’).
- The duration of stay is viewed as ‘undetermined’, i.e. more or less permanent. The absence of a clear point of view makes it difficult to develop clear policies (‘ambivalence’).
- The duration of stay is regarded as permanent. The need for policies is recognised. (‘acceptance’)

¹⁴ See volume 2 of this series for a more detailed discussion of these concepts, in the context of language policy.

Obviously, different views may apply to different phases of immigration and different groups of immigrants. Policy scenarios will have to take account of this. As stated earlier, a comprehensive policy consists of three components: immigration policy, integration policy (including access to provisions of the constitutional state) and return policy.

6. What can be learned from existing experience with regard to the integration of immigrants?

What is known about how immigrants perceive their new environment and living conditions? What is known about their prospects? What is known about their cultural and socio-demographic characteristics?

To answer these questions it is necessary to look at the integration process itself. There are wide differences between immigrant groups in the pace and degree of integration. In Western Europe, immigrants from Southern Europe have integrated relatively smoothly in comparison with immigrants from Turkey, Algeria and Morocco. A Dutch comparative research study of Southern European and Turkish immigrants, found that the major group characteristics facilitating the integration of Southern Europeans were: the educational level of the parents, the labour market participation of the mothers and the openness towards the dominant culture (which also expressed itself in the higher number of mixed marriages) (Junger-Tas, 1999; Lindo, 1997). In more general terms, the degree of integration also depends on the length of stay and therefore has to be viewed from a longitudinal, generational perspective. In the course of time the socio-economic position of an immigrant may change, the orientation to the new society and its norms and values may shift and the original language (and religion) may gradually disappear or lose importance. Looking at the integration process from a generational perspective means that comparisons are made between immigrant parents and immigrant children, immigrant and non-immigrant children and immigrant and non-immigrant parents. Different aspects can be distinguished:

- Cultural distance/ethnic identification. To what extent does modernisation occur? Are specific norms and values internalised? (gender roles, autonomy of young people, secularisation, egalitarian family relationships) The extent to which new norms and values are adopted depends on the degree of one's identification with the ethnic group. Immigrants can choose several positions:
 - An assimilative position (a strong orientation to the new society)
 - A dissociative position (clinging to the ethnic community)
 - An integrative position (orientation to both communities)
 - A marginal position (no positive attitude to either community)

- Socio-demographic characteristics. The age of marriage, the number of children and the choice of life partner define the extent of social participation at the micro-level, the level of the individual. Do these socio-demographic aspects contribute to society or are immigrants lagging behind the mainstream in society? In the Netherlands we see that the wish to start a family among immigrants leads to a new influx of marriage partners from the countries of origin, mostly with low educational levels. Family reunion among asylum seekers produces an influx of children of compulsory school age.
- Language is both an expression of culture and an instrument of communication. A common language for communication is indispensable both for the individual and society. Language is thus a precondition for participation in society. On the other hand, the mother tongue is a core component of a person's cultural identity. So the question is what room should be given to minority languages and what demands can be made with regard to learning the language of the receiving country? In a multilingual society, priority will need to be given to a common language of communication for all citizens. As regards the provision of minority language teaching, this should not only be based on ideological principles, but also on the needs expressed by the minority groups (parents and children) themselves. There are many ways in which religions are institutionalised; some social functions of religious institutions may be positive as long as they fit within the framework of local policy.

It appears that the second generation (i.e. children whose parents were born in the country of origin) has less difficulty finding its way in society than the first generation. They are less likely to hold on to traditional customs and values and show a stronger orientation towards Western values, such as democratisation, individualisation, secularisation and a rational bureaucracy. Religious identity appears to be a strong binding factor between immigrants with roots in different countries of origin; this is true of both first generation and second generation immigrants.

7. Does the government have an explicit, documented view on its own role with regard to immigration and integration, on the goals it wishes to attain and on the organisation of the policy making process? How realistic are the goals? To which groups or individuals do the goals refer? What are considered the core domains of policy?

Generally speaking, immigration policy at the national level sets – or should set – the framework for integration policies at the local level, where provisions are created and measures taken that take account of the local situation and of the individual characteristics of immigrants. Theoretically, the objectives formulated for policies concerning immigration and integration may range from 'assimilation' to 'pluralism',

with the government's view on the existing and desired position of immigrants in society determining in which direction the scale tips. In reality, the choices in policy-making are to a large degree determined by external circumstances, such as international agreements, developments in migration, public opinion and the availability of resources.

Immigration and integration policies have a vertical and a horizontal dimension, the vertical dimension being the relationship between national and the local level (vertical coordination), the horizontal dimension being the interconnection of the different policy domains (horizontal coordination). In general, the main concern in policy-making is the definition and coordination of objectives and responsibilities (the vertical dimension), whereas the main concern in implementation is rather the coordination of procedures and provisions that are part of different policy domains at the local level (the horizontal dimension).

The domains of a comprehensive integration policy have been referred to earlier as part of the policy framework defined by the Council of Europe. We shall here briefly go into three of the core policy domains, taking again the Dutch case as an example.

Educational policy

There can be no question that education policies will at some stage have to take account of the presence of new groups of pupils of different ages and from different ethnic backgrounds. At the preschool level, the key issue is the transition from home to school, including family backgrounds and culture, childrearing practices and the use of the home language. At the compulsory education level the teaching of the language of the host country is the key issue, closely connected to education of home languages and the broader social and cultural development of school children. In adult education priorities are: the teaching of the language of the host country, informing immigrants about the customs and the rules of the host society and, in the case of parents, school-parent relations.

There is a reciprocal relationship between the education system and the immigrants using the system: education needs to adapt to immigrants in order to be effective and immigrants need to adapt to education in order to benefit from it. This means that teaching methods will have to be adapted and that new expertise in the education system will have to be developed. Even the goals of education will to some extent have to be changed. On their part, immigrants will have to acquire knowledge on the education system and change their attitudes and orientation towards education. Intermediaries from minority backgrounds can help achieve this.

Language policy

In the Netherlands the gap between policy and practice is clearly visible in the domain of language education. Although in policy-making considerable scope is given to the teaching and use of foreign languages (including minority languages), in practice the implementation of multilingualism is hampered. To some extent, this is due to practical obstacles, for instance, the sheer number of languages spoken in the Netherlands makes it impossible to provide education in all languages. Also, some languages are only spoken and lack a written corpus, which makes it very difficult to develop teaching materials. There are also obstacles of a more qualitative nature. It appears that languages differ in vitality, modernity and the ability to incorporate new concepts: this is a qualitative obstacle. This means that policy decisions about minority language teaching should also take account of the feasibility of providing education in these languages .

A major issue that needs to be addressed in language policy making is the position of minority languages (e.g. the role of minority languages in school learning, the use of minority languages inside and outside school). It has been suggested that learning the official language of the host country should be linked to practical, meaningful contexts, such as work settings or child rearing (WRR, 2001). Support in the home language may facilitate these learning processes.

Religion

Religion is a major issue in the debate on immigrant minorities. It is estimated that nearly half of the immigrants in Europe have an Islamic or a Hindu background (Vermeulen, 1997). Large groups of them come from societies where religion is an important aspect of public and private life. In consequence, policy-makers in the receiving countries are confronted with demands regarding the practice of religious customs and the teaching of religious traditions. Important issues that will need to be addressed in this context are: the recognition of religious minorities as discussion partners in policy-making, the establishment and financing of prayer rooms and policies regarding the place of religion in education, including the right (or not) to found Islamic schools.

Religious customs have a visible impact on public life. In some schools with Islamic pupils in Netherlands (and elsewhere), discussions are going on about the right of girls to wear different kinds of headscarves in the classroom. In the Netherlands, this right is protected by the freedom of religion included in the Constitution, but some schools and other public institutions nevertheless ban the scarves, not on religious, but on practical grounds. Religious festivals are another expression of religious identity which is taken into account by an increasing number of schools. For example, the festive

celebration which concludes the period of Ramadan, is in some Dutch inner-city schools with a majority of Muslim pupils a holiday for all pupils. In short, religion is an issue par example that needs to be addressed both at the national, the local and the institutional level.

8. In what ways is immigration a subject of public debate? How are immigrants represented by the media?

In society images exist of the culture and behaviour of immigrants and other minorities; these images operate as standards, against which actual behaviours are tested. This may lead people to adjust their image and to accept the actual behaviour, but it may also lead to rejection. The media play an important role in creating the image of immigrants, as they may represent immigrants in different ways. They may ignore or marginalize immigrants, while reinforcing the dominant culture. They may picture immigrants as different or threatening. On the other hand, they may inform public debate by offering objective information in articles and broadcasts and they may foster the acceptance of immigrants by recruiting talented immigrants for different types of posts and roles in the media. The ownership of the media (public, private) is an important factor in this context. The government itself can exert influence on the policies of the media, for instance by setting an example, by encouraging multicultural personnel policies or by setting and enforcing legal requirements, for example regarding non-discrimination.

9. What is, or should be, the relation between policies towards national minorities and policies towards new immigrant groups?

In Central Europe educational policies for national minorities are closely linked to the more general social and cultural policies. Specific policies are formulated for the Roma minority. Sometimes even the countries of origin are engaged in education for national minority children in the country of residence. In most cases, the right to minority language teaching is legally based.

As has been argued earlier, policies towards national minorities cannot all be applied to new immigrant groups. A clear example is the system of bilingual education that is common in Central European countries with large groups of national minorities in distinct geographical areas. This system is unsuitable for the multilingual communities that are developing as a result of the influx of immigration from different parts of the world. As it is, the small numbers of immigrant children that enter the school system

are mostly 'immersed' in their new surroundings, without significant adaptations in the curriculum or the teaching methods to facilitate the acquisition of the instructional language or the subject matter. It will be inevitable to adapt teacher training and school curricula in order to cater for the multilingual classrooms of the future. Initial efforts ('pilot projects') should focus on urban areas, where the largest concentrations of new immigrant communities tend to develop.

10. What can new and prospective EU Member States learn from Western European countries like the Netherlands?

New Member States face the need of reconsidering existing social, educational and cultural policies. Experiences in the Netherlands and other Western European countries may help new Member States to anticipate on future developments regarding migration and the integration of minority groups. On the basis of the facts, views and considerations presented in this volume, the following recommendations can be made to national and local governments and other policy-making bodies in Central Europe:

1. Accept immigration and the presence of old and new minority groups as a fact. As long as there are regions that offer better prospects than others, migration will continue to take place. Policies will have to take account of this fact. In consequence, it will be necessary to anticipate the development of growing multiethnic communities, in particular in urban areas, where populations of new immigrants tend to concentrate.
2. Give priority to creating the necessary conditions for the development of a factual basis for policy making. Collecting factual information, through systematic monitoring, should be a major concern. Data collection should not only be concerned with the influx of new groups, but also with their longer-term integration in society. (See also part 4 of this volume.)
3. In the field of education, develop where possible policies targeting all disadvantaged groups: immigrants, national minorities, Roma and indigenous disadvantaged groups. This is not only a matter of creating equal opportunities (all children being equally entitled to high quality education), but also a matter of practicality: in the long run, it is unfeasible to develop different policies for each group. Early childhood education should be aimed at preparing children with educational disadvantages for school and at bridging the gap between school and family.
4. Develop where necessary specific policies for specific disadvantaged groups. General policies cannot address all problems related to disadvantaged groups or minorities. For example, specific measures will be needed for teaching the official language to non-indigenous groups of different ages. Also, at the local level special attempts

should be made to foster minority parent involvement and participation, for example through intermediaries between school and families. This, too, will require different approaches for different groups.

5. Develop language policies for both the national, the local and the school level, recognising the basic right of education in the languages of national and ethnic minorities. Ideally, language policies are based on comprehensive data on the linguistic characteristics of the population¹⁵. At the same time it will be necessary to take account of the possibilities and limitations of national and ethnic languages teaching. Intercultural education is the complement to language policies and should foster communication and understanding among pupils, families, schools and local communities.
6. Invest in the integration of legal immigrants and the return of rejected asylum seekers. Integration policy and return policy are the logical complements to a country's immigration policy.
7. Give local authorities the power and the resources to develop local solutions, suited to the specific characteristics of the local situation and local developments.

¹⁵ See also: Kees Broekhof & Hans Cohen de Lara (2003), *Prospects for language education in multilingual societies*. Sardes European Accession Series volume 2.

PART 4

MONITORING AND EVALUATION

OF MIGRATION AND POPULATION CHANGE

4.1 POLICY MAKING AND RESEARCH

Policy makers and researchers are uneasy partners. On the one hand they need each other, on the other they view the world in quite different ways. Policy makers need researchers because they can provide information and insights, because they influence public opinion and because they tend to look forward, observing how society develops and what new problems or opportunities become manifest. Researchers need policy makers not only to provide funds for research activities, but also because policy makers have a strong influence on the definition of the research agenda. The relationships between policy making and research have been the object of many research studies and have become a domain of specific interest in their own right. In many Western countries subsystems of research have been defined by the closeness of the links between policy making and research. In the Netherlands for instance three different sources of funding of research are distinguished.

1. Research for mainly scientific purposes, with no direct relationship to policy making, mostly done at universities, with scientific quality as its most important goal.
2. Research as a mix of science and policy information, investigating e.g. cause-consequence relations in areas that are the object of policy making, often done in specialised institutes for this kind of research, not necessarily connected to universities.
3. Research directly related to policy issues, to explore social phenomena, to evaluate ongoing policies, or to look into some issue that is the subject of political debate, often done by specialised institutes not connected to universities.

Of course these three categories often overlap, but to some degree they are separate entities, with their own networks, standards and working procedures. It should be

noted that research on policy issues is not restricted to questions of central government, but may also deal with questions of local or institutional policy making (e.g. semi-governmental organisations). Categories b and c have a much shorter tradition than category a, having emerged at the end of the 1960s, when the income of both the state and the population reached higher levels than in the preceding decades and policy making spread out to most domains of life.

4.2 EVALUATION

A characteristic of policy oriented research (categories b and c above), is that policy makers determine or at least explicitly approve the definition of the research question. They may themselves formulate the question and even define how the research should be carried out, or they may be more reactive, by accepting ideas or proposals from researchers. The important thing is: they approve the research proposal. As a consequence, types of research begin to predominate that are best suited to explore the questions posed by policy makers. In the period since 1960 there has been a constant growth in policy making. More domains of life have come to be actively addressed by policy makers; policy making strategies have changed and an increasing number of laws and other policy making instruments have been produced. A central question that policy makers want to see answered is “do our policies work and if not, why not?”. Thus, evaluation of governmental policies became one of the most important – if not the most important – fields of policy oriented research. In the 1970s and even more in the 1980s, policy evaluation research developed into a major specialisation within the research community. Evaluation research proved to be difficult and complex, requiring not only scientific expertise and knowledge of methodology, but also knowledge of the culture of policy making, the ability to operate in networks outside the research community, and the skills to present and discuss evaluation results in public.

Out of numerous approaches to policy evaluation research, we select the five basic areas defined by Eleanor Chelimsky of the General Accounting Office in Washington¹⁶.

1. The development of the policy question; the evaluation cannot be seen as completely a creature of the evaluator’s choosing. The choice of the programme to evaluate emerges from the political process.
2. The translation of the policy question into an evaluation question; this implies the movement from policy question to evaluation question, where thought has to be given to the time requirements, the costs, the relation of the type of findings expected to the particular policy need, the kind of programme, knowledge from

¹⁶ Chelimsky E. (1987), ‘What have we learned about the politics of program evaluation.’ *Education evaluation and policy analysis*, vol 9, no 3 pp. 199 – 213.

- prior research, and the controversiality of the issue that is to be evaluated.
3. The translation of the evaluation question into the evaluation proper; the evaluation design and the writing of the report need to be understood with the political context in mind. Evaluators tend to look back, decision makers tend to look forward. Almost invariably, the evaluator will be asked to say what the evaluation findings mean in a prescriptive way.
4. The translation of the evaluation findings into policy answers that respond to the original policy question; this is about communication of research findings to a political audience in such a way that the findings will be both understood and persuasive. It is a matter of ‘putting first things first at the right time’.
5. Use of the evaluation findings and the generation of new policy questions; the question of how the results of the evaluation can be used to improve policy making and what new research questions arise from this kind of use.

Evaluation research developed rapidly on its own methodological fundaments and an entire scientific library developed, both in books and in specialist journals. However, in the 1990s, after the peak had been reached, a decline of policy evaluation research set in. What were the weak points of policy evaluations?

First of all, evaluations take time and are expensive. After the policy question has been stated it takes on average two to three years before the results of the evaluation become known. By then, the interest in the original question may have faded, while other questions are getting more attention. The costs of scientifically valid and reliable evaluations are often above € 100,000, which few local authorities can afford. Secondly, evaluations often fail to produce the kind of answers policy makers are hoping for. More specifically, though evaluations often show what developments have taken place, it is not always possible to link these to the policy measures under consideration. For instance, in the Netherlands we have observed an improvement in the school success of ethnic minority children, but the causes are unclear. Should the improvement be ascribed to the policy measures or to the fact that most ethnic minority children pupils now were born in the Netherlands, whereas their elder brothers and sisters came as migrants to Holland? Thirdly, policy makers generally do not like evaluations that are critical of government policies. In the Netherlands policy makers these days are not as open to criticism as they used to be, as a result of more sensitive political relationships.

Although evaluation research is still important, it now takes place on a modest scale. Policy makers often prefer concise ‘quick scan’ studies or descriptive research showing how things have developed without the ambition to analyse underlying causes. One new concept has received much attention in recent years: the monitoring of policy development.

4.3 MONITORING

Conceptually, monitoring is basically much simpler than evaluation. Monitoring implies periodical collection of basic data, mostly existing data or data that can be gathered without much difficulty. Comparison of data gathered at different time intervals reveals what developments have taken place. For example the Dutch language scores of groups of pupils may be monitored to analyse their development over time.

Monitoring has become a popular concept among national and local policy makers. Some advantages of monitoring are:

- It generates basic information on variables that are relevant for policy makers. To some extent, the information gaps caused by the abolishment of national censuses are partly filled by this instrument.
- A monitor may be set up as a system that out of many complicated streams of information selects information that is relatively easy to view and to interpret.
- The information from the monitor may be used not only to improve policies, but also to account for the results of public investments. Schools and other institutions have to account for their activities to local policy makers; municipalities have to account for their policies to national government and to their own city council, ministries have to account for their policies to the ministry of finance and to Parliament.
- Once a monitor has been set up, it needs little maintenance and produces information at regular intervals, enriching the information over the course of the years.

Although the concept of monitoring is rather simple, technically it is very complicated and many questions arise about how to define the object of monitoring. Some of the problems are:

- Information from monitors should be comparable between cities or parts of the country. This means that definitions, ways of measuring variables and statistical operations should be identical. For example, if cities use different definitions of school dropout, the information on dropout rates loses much of its meaning, because it cannot be compared accurately. Several monitors have been seen to produce strange and unreliable data.
- The information from monitoring is mostly descriptive, it may be a starting point for looking at explanations, but it does not provide explanations. So monitoring raises just as many questions as it provides answers.
- A decision has to be taken as to what is monitored. At the moment some municipalities are developing education monitors, confining themselves to collecting data on educational variables, but others choose to develop youth monitors, with the

ambition to create a picture of the life of young people, not only with regard to education, but also including health care, culture, living circumstances etc. The danger that so many monitors are developed that an overload of monitoring is created, is not imaginary.

In the past four years in the Netherlands much time and money has been spent on developing monitors at the national and local levels. Although this has yielded quite a few interesting results, in many places developments are stagnating. An example of an interesting monitor can be seen on the internet website www.jeugdmonitorzeeland.nl. (unfortunately only in Dutch), which shows the recently developed youth monitor of the province of Zeeland.

Two observations should be made here regarding monitoring:

1. Government organisations normally are not able to develop monitors themselves. Most of the work is done by specialised institutes in the research sector or new businesses specialised in this kind of work.
2. A law has been passed in Dutch Parliament, approving the introduction of a system of student registration. Every pupil will be identified by a unique 'education number', which makes it possible to develop monitors using child-specific variables. This is an extension of the system of fiscal numbers, used to identify tax payers.

4.4 MONITORING AND EVALUATION WITH REGARD TO MIGRANTS

Information about population changes caused by migration and about the integration of migrants is very much needed by policy makers. Each year the Dutch Social and Cultural Planning Bureau presents a report about minorities in the Netherlands, reviewing all the information available from research, evaluation and monitor systems. All information systems in the public sector take into account that specifications have to be made for minorities. This sense of urgency is explained by demographic developments in the past decades. By now, in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague over 50 percent of school children come from a minority background. If a large part of these children fail to reach a level of education that gives access to the labour market, this will have severe economic and social consequences. Thus, the progress of ethnic minority children in basic skills (e.g. Dutch and mathematics) and their progress in terms of their ultimate level of qualification, are the focus of a range of research and evaluation studies and are central in the development of monitor systems.

Table 7: Information from the youth monitor Amsterdam Oud-Zuid

	0-4 years	4-12 years	12-16 years	16-23 years
Education		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • numbers of pupils, social background, ethnic origin • test scores • absenteeism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • community school: number of participants, social background, ethnic origin • after school care: number of participants, social background, ethnic origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • number of students in schools in the area, social background, ethnic origin • early school leavers, numbers, social background, ethnic origin
Welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provisions for young children, nurseries and playgroups, numbers, social background, ethnic origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provisions • numbers, social background, ethnic origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provisions sport/culture/other provisions in community schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provisions • numbers, social background, ethnic origin
Leisure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provisions • numbers, social background, ethnic origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provisions • numbers, social background, ethnic origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provisions • numbers, social background, ethnic origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provisions • numbers, social background, ethnic origin
Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • inoculations/ social background, ethnic origin • use of baby clinics, social background, ethnic origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • inoculations/ social background, ethnic origin • data about use related to the service of the municipal health organisation (social background, ethnic origin) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • data about use related to the service of the municipal health organisation (social background, ethnic origin) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • dangerous life styles/ drugs/ alcohol • social background, ethnic origin
Youth care	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • number of requests for help and care applied/social background, ethnic origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • number of requests for help and care applied/social background, ethnic origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • number of requests for help and care applied/social background, ethnic origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • number of requests for help and care applied/social background, ethnic origin
Living/ Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • data based on neighbourhood monitor and special surveys 			
Social affairs and employment			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • data on special projects • number of changes in employment • number of vacancies 	
Public order and safety			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • youth criminality: number of reports • number of notifications • number of convictions • number of participants in youth punishment programmes • number of cases of damage by vandalism 	

(Source: Aarssen, 2002)

To show what kind of information a monitor may generate, table 7 presents information from a youth monitor designed for the Amsterdam borough of Oud-Zuid, an area with many migrants and a very heterogeneous population structure.

In order to construct a monitor based on a scheme as the one presented in table 7, data from many different sources have to be used and put together in a practical design. As the youth monitor of Zeeland shows, the data can be organised in databases, offering flexible ways of combining or presenting them by users. Moreover, the database need not only be filled by statistical data, but can be enriched by data from other surveys or qualitative research.

4.5 NEED FOR INFORMATION OVER A LONG PERIOD

One reason why it is important to develop information systems about migration and minorities, is that developments in this field are often quite unexpected, but may have an enormous impact in a short period of time. Most Western European countries were hardly prepared for the number of migrants and refugees that have arrived since the 1960s. During that period the composition of the population changed fundamentally and society in all its parts has had to adjust to this change. This process is still going on.

The complexity of migration makes it difficult to organise and collect suitable statistics. Particularly difficult to capture are short term movements, status changes and illegal migrations. Numbers of illegal migrants are often based on police estimates that tend to underestimate the total number of illegal migrants.

Given the complexity of migration and the unpredictability of developments in migration flows and types over time, as well as the pressure of large-scale migration on provisions and institutions in the receiving country, there is clearly an urgent need for useful and reliable information (including statistics) about migrants and migration. Without such information, it is well-nigh impossible to develop suitable policies or to get a picture of the results of those policies. Setting up a information system about migrants and migration is a complicated enterprise. It is preferable to start with a basic system and to expand and adjust it when developments in migration or migration policy make this necessary.

The basic information should at least include:

- name
- country of origin/birth
- nationality

- age
- gender
- religion
- family status (single/married, number of children)
- home language
- educational level

Today the registration of new arrivals in the Netherlands is strictly organised, and new migrants are obliged to take a civic integration course (see appendix 1). The educational progress of ethnic minority children is monitored and evaluated. However, some types of data, such as home language, nationality and country of origin are still not collected in a uniform way, because information systems were adapted too late and not integrally. In consequence, figures about many developments are still based on estimates. To inform policy decisions on issues that are relevant today e.g. the organisation of language courses for immigrants, the employability of immigrants, or the school careers of immigrants and their children, the variables indicated above are essential.

One of the main issues is of course which procedure to use to collect these data. Regular procedures for registering inhabitants may provide much information, but may not be adequate to get an overall picture. Registrations by institutions such as schools, nurseries, employers and hospitals may be necessary to supplement and possibly correct the information gained from official registrations. In the Netherlands experiments are currently conducted to involve youth health services in data collection and in monitoring families in need of special assistance in education or health care. This is not limited to migrants, but also applies to the indigenous population.

4.6 ACCOUNTABILITY

Accountability is a fairly new phenomenon in policy making in the social sector. It is seen as an instrument to improve the quality of the social sector, by demanding local authorities and institutions to account explicitly for the way they spend their budget and the results they obtain¹⁷. Accountability is closely linked to monitoring, because data from monitoring are necessary to show how budgets are spent and what results obtained.

¹⁷ *Tijdschrift voor de sociale sector*. Special issue Accountability, vol. 55, no. 12 December 2001.

An example is the national policy to introduce quality programmes in preschool playgroups and primary schools, specially aimed at Dutch and non-Dutch children of parents with little education. One of the goals is that by 2006 half of all target group children should participate in one of the programmes that have been approved by the government. Local authorities receive budgets from the government to introduce these programmes. They are required to provide information about the results they reach. If they fail to account for their spending, they may be required to return part of their budget. Similarly, institutions like schools are held accountable for the budgets they receive to address specific problems, e.g. reducing dropout or improving the school careers of immigrant pupils.

Introducing accountability systems is a complicated matter. In the literature examples abound of the things that can go wrong¹⁸. There are also interesting publications on how these systems may work in education¹⁹. Three interesting aspects of accountability are:

1. Goals have to be set, such as improving language scores by 25 percent within four years; or: reducing school dropout by 30 percent in the same period. Note that this last goal was even set by the European Union at the 1991 Lisbon meeting.
2. Monitoring and evaluation should provide decisive information about whether the envisaged results have been obtained.
3. There should be a strategy on what to do if local authorities or institutions fail to achieve their goals (sanctions).

With regard to the first aspect, it should be noted that it is difficult to define quantitative goals in education, because we often do not know what results can be obtained or what is needed (money, time) to obtain particular results. Without benchmarks (e.g. schools that reached certain results), goal setting may be a matter of guessing. With regard to the second aspect, the question is how to measure educational results reliably and validly. Since large budgets may be at stake, those who are held accountable may have a different view on how to use figures than those who ask for the accounting. The saying that ‘figures don’t lie, but liars can figure’ may not necessarily apply, but it is well known that statistics do not always give the real picture of what has happened. With regard to the third aspect, a system of accountability will only be effective, if sanctions are applied at least to those who clearly have failed to spend budgets reasonably and to reach any results. If a school functions inadequately and for instance spends budgets on other things than those intended, what sanctions can be

¹⁸ See for example Blau, P.M. (1969), *The dynamic of bureaucracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago press.

¹⁹ See for example Brooks, S.R. (2000), *How states can hold school accountable. The strong schools model of standard-based reform*. Washington: Center on Reinventing Public Education, University of Washington.

applied? In some countries schools may be closed or put under special surveillance, but in the Netherlands this kind of sanctions is not known.

Despite the acknowledgement of these and other complications with regard to accountability, considerable advantages are expected of this approach. Basically, the idea is that a good discussion about the results of policies may have a positive effect on the quality of the work that is done. Apart from this, accountability is seen as a response to developments in policy making and in government, such as:

- The idea that the government should work as a company, with the population in the role of clients who are to be served.
- The decentralisation of functions of national government to local authorities, which calls for new ways of connecting policies at different levels of policy making.
- The growing influence of the population on policy making and the tendency to hold politicians accountable for what they have done or not done.
- The need to counterbalance the growing autonomy of schools and similar institutions. As schools are becoming more autonomous in spending and policy making, there is a need for more control mechanisms to check school output and quality.
- Professionals in schools and other institutions wish to improve the quality of their work and feel a need for more insight into the results and the output of their own work.

At the moment it is difficult to foresee whether accountability will be an effective instrument to improve the quality of policy making and whether monitor systems will provide sufficiently useful information about education. But both concepts certainly have a strong position in contemporary policy making strategies.

APPENDIX 1: THE INTEGRATION OF NEWCOMERS ACT (WIN) IN THE NETHERLANDS²⁰

1. Introduction

On 30 September 1998 the Integration of Newcomers Act (WIN) went into force in the Netherlands. Under this act each newcomer is required to apply for an integration inquiry. This inquiry determines whether the newcomer needs a programme and whether he can be compelled to participate in such a programme. This integration programme comprises training in the Dutch language, Social Orientation and Vocational Orientation. In addition, newcomers receive social counselling and general programme coaching. WIN also provides for a referral to the labour exchange or a follow-up course. Below is a detailed description of the integration policy for newcomers.

2. Aim and Background of Integration of Newcomers Act (WIN)

The primary aim of the integration policy is to promote the self-sufficiency of newcomers. They should be able to function independently in Dutch society as soon as possible. They are therefore approached soon after their arrival and prepared for what awaits them in the Netherlands. Early attention focused on newcomers prevents the formation of new groups of underprivileged. This is why the WIN provides a number of obligations and rules which together, should lead to a situation where:

- all newcomers who risk joining the underprivileged participate in the programme
- newcomers are offered a high-calibre, made-to-measure integration programme
- newcomers take optimum advantage of this offer
- municipalities are given enough space to provide a made-to-measure programme
- early referral is made to further training or the job market

The organisation of the WIN is based on experience with the reception of newcomers and is an extension of the regulations introduced in 1996. Under these rules, integration contracts are concluded on a voluntary basis. The decision was taken to reinforce integration policy through a statutory regulation that applies to both newcomers and municipalities. The municipality where the newcomer is registered is responsible for implementation of the integration policy. The newcomer is required to apply for an integration inquiry, and participate in an integration programme that has been agreed with him.

²⁰(Source: www.inburgernet.nl, the official government site on the integration of newcomers.)

3. Bearing Surface and Division of Responsibilities

The WIN was drawn up in close consultation with the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Affairs of State (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties), the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (Ministerie van OC en W), the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports (Ministerie van VWS), the Association of Dutch Municipalities (VNG), the social midfield and pressure groups of immigrants and refugees. A great deal of attention was devoted to a good link-up to educational institutions and the job market. Under the WIN, the municipality bears primary responsibility for implementation of Integration of newcomers act (WIN) integration policy for newcomers. The national government plays a stimulating and supporting role.

4. Target Group

Every foreigner with a residence permit for a fixed period (VBT) asylum or a regular residence permit is in principle eligible to participate in the integration programme in the framework of the WIN. Exceptions are persons who come to the Netherlands for employment or self-employment (Article 1, section 2 under a and b) or who come for a temporary purpose (Regulation for Referring Newcomers Due to Stay with Temporary Purpose, Stb. 1998, 185).

The act also applies to newcomers of Dutch nationality who are born outside the Netherlands. On the basis of the Decree for Educational Requirements for Dutch Newcomers (Stb. [Bulletin of Acts, Orders and Decrees] 1998, 408) they can – assuming they meet the relevant educational requirements – apply for exemption from the obligation to report for purposes of integration. The integration programme is available to minors of 16 and 17 who are no longer required to attend school and cannot be accommodated in the regular educational system.

5. Application and (Temporary) Exemption

A newcomer with Dutch nationality is required to apply for an integration inquiry within six weeks after being registered in the Municipal Records Database (GBA). A newcomer of another nationality is required to apply for an integration inquiry within six weeks after issue of his residence permit, or in the case of a newcomer who stayed in a reception centre or with family or friends under a self-care arrangement (ZZA), within six weeks after registration with the municipality of residence. This is also the period within which temporary or permanent exemption can be requested. Exemption can be requested if the newcomer is unable for physical, psychological or other serious reasons to take part (temporarily) in the integration programme. Newcomers of Dutch nationality are eligible for permanent exemption if they meet certain educational requirements. The municipality decides on the granting of such exemption. A temporary exemption can be granted for up to one year, after which the newcomer may

apply for extension. Before an individual integration programme is drawn up for a given newcomer an integration inquiry is conducted to determine the need for, and content of such a programme. The inquiry takes account of previous knowledge, previous training and work experience. Each section of the integration programme is explained below.

6. Integration Inquiry

After application by the newcomer, the integration inquiry begins.

- Integration process in brief
- Registration with Citizen Affairs (GBA) or issue of decision for admission
- Sending in application
- Exemption (temporary or permanent) and exemption form
- Integration inquiry
- Exemption
- Integration programme
- Conclusion of programme;
- Issue or certificate

Since the newcomer is required to enrol at an educational institute within four months, this enquiry must be completed within the same period. The purpose of the integration inquiry is to determine the extent the newcomer is threatened with becoming underprivileged and in which parts of an integration programme participation is necessary. The integration inquiry consists of at least the following sections:

- assessment of the application form
- initial interview, with explanation of the integration inquiry
- test of knowledge and skills, including knowledge of Dutch language and society
- final interview about the integration programme desirable for the newcomer concerned, particularly the final objectives and the rights and obligations of the newcomer

The educational background and work experience of the newcomer are important in determining his starting level and final aim. This concerns education and experience acquired both in the Netherlands – such as during the Day Structuring Programme at an asylum-seekers centre – and in the country of origin or elsewhere. If necessary, an International Diploma Evaluation (IDW) is conducted (Article 7.4.7, WEB). The educational institution and the Centre for Work and Income (CWI) are also involved in the inquiry. In this way individual perspectives in the Netherlands for follow-up training or the job market can be broadened during the integration programme itself. The integration inquiry is concluded with a decision by the municipality that specifies the programme that the newcomer is to follow. Parts of the educational programme may also be waived entirely or partially. Not everyone who receives a permit for a fixed

period will necessarily be allowed to stay in the Netherlands indefinitely. The permit may be revoked or not converted into a permit for an indefinite time. The official responsible for conducting the integration enquiry is required to keep the newcomer informed on this matter.

7. Educational Section of the Integration Programme

Within four months after applying for the integration inquiry the newcomer is required to enrol at an educational institution with which the municipality has concluded a contract. The newcomer signs a training contract with this institution. The educational section then begins. This course consists of Dutch as a second language (NT2), Social Orientation (MO) and Vocational Orientation. It concludes with a test. This test on NT2, including listening, speaking, reading and writing, and MO is given no later than twelve months after enrolment at the educational institution. On the basis of the test the educational institution issues a certificate attesting the level that the newcomer achieved for the parts of the educational programme he took part in. (For further information see the section ‘Work and Integration.’)

The newcomer should be notified that:

- the integration programme provides the newcomer the possibility to build up an independent life during the time he remains in the Netherlands
- the person concerned should take into account that the permit may eventually be revoked or not converted
- in the event the permit is revoked while the integration programme is still being followed, the programme stops and the person concerned must prepare to return to his country of origin
- participation in an integration programme is not a reason against revocation or non-extension of the permit for a limited time.

If the results of the tests indicate that the newcomer has not yet reached the target level set, the decision may be taken to extend the integration programme by a maximum of six months (that is, the maximum period during which referral is to be made [see the section of referral]).

8. Other Sections of the Integration Programme

In addition to the educational programme, general programme coaching and social counselling are also given to the newcomer. General programme coaching is essential for the success of the integration. It is the programme coach who personally assists the newcomer from the time of application to the follow-up activities, gives support in the event of problems, helps motivate the newcomer and provides information about the

residence procedure. If the asylum or regular VBT is not extended or is revoked, the person concerned must be notified and referred to the agencies that give instruction and information about return to the country of origin. The basis of programme coaching is an individual plan for the duration of the entire integration programme. In this way the programme coach draws up a plan which is specifically suited to the individual newcomer. The programme plan is drawn up at the end of the integration inquiry. The programme plan specifies the knowledge, insight and skills that were determined during the integration inquiry, as well as the means for achieving the final objective. The programme plans also provides an arrangement for interim evaluation talks. These evaluation talks, which are held during the period of programme coaching, are intended to keep track of progress and if necessary, help motivate the newcomer. The educational institution regularly reports back to the municipality on the progress of the newcomer. A good registration and monitoring system is necessary here. Social counselling is a required part of the integration programme and consists of a varied selection of practical support suited to the needs of the newcomer and applicable in his daily life. Both professionals and volunteers can be employed in this section, depending on how a municipality has organised it.

9. Referral and Conclusion with Certificate

The integration programme concludes no later than six months after the final test. An important part of the referral aspect is an interview with the newcomer, a representative of the educational institution and the CWI during which recommendations for further referral can be drawn up. The municipality then provides suitable flow-through to work in the care sector, follow-up training or the job market. The newcomer receives a certificate from the municipality that specifies the programme that has been followed and the results that have been achieved. The declaration issued by the educational institute is added to the certificate as an appendix. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) provides financial assistance to foreigners in the Netherlands who are obliged to return to their country of origin, or who have been admitted to a third country to which they wish to go.

10. Enforcement, Sanctions and Fines

The WIN provides that the municipality supervises compliance by the newcomer with the obligations of the act. The WIN stipulates sanctions for newcomers who fail to meet any of the following obligations:

- applying for an integration inquiry (Article 2, WIN)
- cooperating with the integration enquiry (Article 4, section 4, WIN)
- registering with the educational institution (Article 8, WIN)
- attending all parts of the educational programme drawn up for him, including taking a test (Article 9, section 1 and Article 10, section 3, WIN)

- cooperating with the other parts of the integration programme drawn up for him (Article 12, section 1, WIN)

If a newcomer who is entitled to national assistance fails in any way to meet his obligations, the mayor and aldermen will usually impose on him an administrative measure under the National Assistance Act (ABW). An executive fine is imposed on a newcomer who is not eligible for national assistance (Fines Decree, Integration of Newcomers, Stb. [Bulletin of Acts Orders and Decrees] 1998, 330). Municipalities are in all cases required to attune the measures or the amount of the fine to the degree of culpability, the seriousness of the offence and the personal circumstances of the newcomer (Article 2, ABW and Article 2 of the Fines Decree, Integration of Newcomers).

11. Work and Integration

The aim of the integration policy is to make newcomers self-sufficient as soon as possible. This means that they should be able to find employment quickly. To promote progress towards finding employment and provide suitable support here, the CWI has been involved in the integration programme from the start. After the conclusion of the programme, the CWI makes recommendations concerning newcomer integration that concern follow-up activities and any remaining obstacles to employment. Even during the integration programme itself efforts can be made to remove any obstacles to employment. Experiments have shown that students learn Dutch more readily when working or taking vocation training. This approach matches the purpose of the WIN: to make the newcomer self-sufficient as soon as possible.

Within the framework of the WIN it is possible to combine work and integration in a dual programme. This comprises the following elements:

- Combining an NT2 programme and vocational training. The programme is implemented at a Regional Educational Centre (ROC). This form can be expanded with work-placement or on-the-job training at a company.
- Combining an NT2 programme and work. The NT2 section is implemented by an ROC and can if necessary be taken at the firm itself. The CWI can be called on to help channel candidates to the firms. This form can sometimes be expanded with a short vocational course or job training during the dual programme.

The provision of a dual programme allows for a better match with the newcomer's educational background and work experience in his own country, and meets the desire of many newcomers to support themselves. The Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment has appointed a special account manager to advise firms and provide support in the establishment of dual programmes.

At the same time, this approach helps prevent newcomers from dropping out of the integration programme and winding up on the job market with insufficient

qualifications. Firms have the choice of allowing the newcomer while employed to finish the NT2 programme at the ROC or to combine the integration programme with work at the firm. In the latter case the firm needs to call in the ROC to provide an in-house integration programme and to tailor it with the municipality where the newcomer lives. When the municipality agrees to the firm's proposal, it can fund the costs of the integration programme within the framework of the WIN by settling up with the central government.

12. Funding

The WIN receives lump-sum funding. In other words, the municipalities have the freedom to determine allocation of the budgets. Municipalities receive each year a contribution for the welfare component from the Ministry of VWS (Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport) and a contribution for educational programmes from the Ministry of OCW (Education, Culture and Science). The total amount of the government's contribution is determined by budget legislation based on an estimate of the number of newcomers to be integrated. In 2001 VWS and OCW together provided 360 million guilders for integration programmes for newcomers. In 2002 the two ministries have budgeted the sum of 374 million guilders. The apportionment of these resources among the individual municipalities is based on the min-2 system. The number of declarations and orders that a municipality has determined in a given year is the point of departure for the amount of government contributions two years later. Every municipality receives with respect to the declarations and orders a proportional share of the total government contributions. For apportionment of the amounts to each municipality, the number of declarations issued counts more than the number of orders issued. The contribution of the OCW and that of the VWS are completely interchangeable when it comes to the activities required under the WIN. The municipalities can even develop an apportionment key as long as the required programme sections are realised. The funds that the municipalities have left can be applied to educational programmes, as provided under Article 7.3.1 of the WEB or to activities under Article 2k of the 1994 Welfare Act. This siphoning of funds is maximised in the payment decree for newcomers. Surplus funds that cannot be siphoned to other programmes can be reserved. Reserved funds can be applied only in the year that they are used, for the purpose of educational programmes or for the welfare component.

Conversely, resources from the regular educational budget (Art. 2.3.1, WEB) and funds for article 2 of the 1994 Welfare Act are also used for the WIN: these include funds for social services, social assistance, child care, integration and reception of refugees, etc.

13. Support Structure Integration Task Force

To support municipalities, ROCs and the other organisations concerned in their efforts

to improve the integration process, the Minister for Large Cities and Integration Policy set up in June 2000 the Integration Task Force. The assignment of the Task Force consisted of three sections:

1. Eliminate by 1 May 2001 the NT2 waiting lists for long-standing newcomers.
2. Improve implementation and municipal management of newcomer integration, including regional cooperation.
3. Improve the administrative information and monitoring of integration.

In the period leading up to May 2001 the Task Force's activities focused on eliminating the waiting lists of long-standing newcomers. In the period to the end of 2002 the emphasis was on improving the structure of the integration process. The Task Force concluded its work in January 2003.

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